

GOVERNMENT BILLS — Contd.

The Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill, 2010

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI M. VEERAPPA MOILY): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Representation of the People Act, 1950.

The question was put and the Motion was adopted.

SHRI M. VEERAPPA MOILY: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, we shall take up The Nalanda University Bill. Shrimati Preneet Kaur.

The Nalanda University Bill, 2010

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI PRENEET KAUR): Sir, I beg to move:

“That the Bill to implement the decisions arrived at the Second East Asia Summit held on the 15th January, 2007, at Philippines and subsequently, at the Fourth East Asia Summit held on the 25th October, 2009, at Thailand for the establishment of the Nalanda University in the State of Bihar as an international institution for pursuit of intellectual, philosophical, historical and spiritual studies and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto, be taken into consideration.”

In order to carry forward the decision taken at the Cebu Summit of the East Asia Summit, Government of India constituted the Nalanda Mentor Group in 2007 under the Chairmanship of Prof. Amartya Sen, which was mandated to examine all aspects including the academic and administrative structure that would facilitate the revival of Nalanda as a centre of excellence in East Asia and South Asia, reflecting in some measure the role played by the Nalanda University in ancient times. The Nalanda Mentor Group has held six meetings between 2007 and 2010, including an on-site meeting in Gaya, in February, 2009. The recommendations and comments of the Nalanda Mentor Group have been duly incorporated in the Bill.

The University shall have the following schools of education on its establishment: (1) Buddhist studies, philosophy and comparative religions; (2) historical studies; (3) international relations and peace studies; (4) business management in relation to public policy and development studies; (5) languages and literature and (6) ecology and environmental studies. The University shall have any other school as may be prescribed by the statutes. The Nalanda Mentor Group has proposed that an additional school on information sciences and technology should also be set up.

The Nalanda University shall be established as a non-State, non-profit, secular and self-governing international institute with a continental focus. Government of India, as the host country, shall make the land available. The Government of the State of Bihar, which has acquired 446 acres of land for the University, has agreed to transfer this land to the Nalanda University. Private donations, international contributions from other foreign Governments and

member countries of the EAS are expected on a voluntary basis. Positive indications have been received from some member countries of East Asia Summit in the project. The Singapore Foreign Minister, during his recent trip to India early this month, announced that the Buddhist organizations in Singapore have offered funds amounting to around four to five million US dollars for building a library at the proposed Nalanda site.

The question was proposed.

SHRI BALAVANT *alias* BAL APTE (Maharashtra): Sir, while participating in the discussion on this Bill for establishment of the Nalanda University, initially I would like to make two general observations. One is about our approach to education and the establishment of universities. Sir, education is one and it encompasses all possible disciplines. But, unfortunately, our administrative structure is such that if a university is established for a particular purpose, then it doesn't come from the Education Ministry but it is established by some other Ministry which has nothing to do with education. Here this University is being initiated by the External Affairs Ministry. If some university is to be established in a tribal area, then again it is not through the Education Ministry but it is the Tribal Ministry which introduces it. If it is a college or university for social work, then sanction does not come from the Education Department but it comes from the Social Services Department. If a college or an institution is to be established in a rural area, it comes from the Rural Development. All these Departments have nothing to do with education and yet they establish universities. In such a situation, it is necessary that for the purposes of development of education in this country and when they are talking about that knowledge society, then education has to be under one command with the entire structure being seen as a part of the whole. That is missing. This is my first observation.

Secondly, all these years, after Independence our perspective has always been Euro-centric. Our history is looked at from a Euro-centric point of view; our geography and economy are looked at from Euro-central point of view and even our map is drawn from a Euro-centric point of view. Now, the United Nations has corrected that map and the correct size has come. Otherwise, everything is Euro-centric. Fortunately, all this pattern is, in a way, evolving into something better and that is the aspect which is at the basis of the establishment of this University, and now we are looking eastward. Initially, it was South-Asia, then South-East Asia and now East Asia. This change of attitude is very relevant and, I would say, very welcome. Sir, from the economic point of view this is better. The other day I had asked a question about our Free Trade Agreements, particularly to know whether we are concentrating on this area or not. Fortunately, we are having Free Trade Agreements — AFTA, SAFTA, ASEAN — and, therefore, our attitude is changing economically.

So far as other aspects of international life are concerned, this entire area has a deep civilizational underpinning which naturally brings us together and our coming together may be able to shape the destiny of the world tomorrow. This area which is coming together economically, culturally and politically is very very relevant because this solid combination will shape the destiny of the world. Sir, before the establishment of this University and the establishment of South Asia University, these civilisational underpinnings were noted not only by us but by this entire region and this is reflected in three statements of this region which are the foundation of this legislation. I would like to refer to these three statements. One is given in the SAARC meeting held in Dhaka. The Dhaka Declaration of 13th November, 2005, expressly mentions, in so far as this region is concerned, our shared values, beliefs, aspirations and shared cultural heritage. This entire region has shared values and shared cultural heritage. Therefore, it becomes very relevant. In that circumstances, in 2005, we offered for South Asia that yes, we would establish a university here for this entire region. That offer was reiterated by our Prime Minister in 2008 in Sri Lanka that said that we would do it in Delhi. Consequently, the South Asia University Act was passed by this Legislature last year. Unfortunately, it was passed without discussion, and, therefore, we did not have the opportunity to share our views here. But, the legislation is passed and a University for South Asia is established in Delhi. I don't know about its progress, and in so far as established universities and their progress is concerned, I have always been pessimistic. But, I hope that something might have been done.

Sir, the second relevant international statement was made in the Second Summit of East Asia. That was in 2007. There, the Chairman's Statement, that is, the Statement of that Summit mentions renewal of our historical ties, and as a part of that renewal of historical ties, it is mentioned that let us revive the Nalanda University. The reason that was given then was "for improving regional understanding, appreciation of one another's heritage and history." This is the commitment which we made and the Bill has now come. Sir, the third document, which really throws much light on what this country can do for this entire region, is the ASEAN-India Summit. These summits are going on for quite some time now. This Fifth ASEAN-India Summit was held in January, 2007, and I do not know the coincidence, but it was 14th January, that is the day of Makar Sankranti, the day of change — change towards brightness. On that day, the Chairman's Statement, that is, the Statement of that ASEAN-India Summit mentions three things. One, they say, and they are addressing India, that your 'Look East' Policy is welcome. Secondly, they say, "We acknowledge India's cultural and religious influence in Asia and other parts of the world." They have referred to this cultural and religious influence along with the influence of Bollywood, our weightless goods. Then, thirdly, they say, "We welcome India's offer to institutionalise the training course for diplomats from ASEAN countries." We have initiated that and we have said that we will establish a permanent institution here for training diplomats for the

entire region. So, India, a natural, historical hub of knowledge and training, is again seeking to assume that role. Thereafter, the Fourth East Asia Summit was held in Thailand and we again offered that this University shall be an international university and it was decided there that Nalanda University will be established in this country. In this background, the present Bill is introduced and naturally, what the preamble says is from these Summits' statements. The preamble says that we are establishing an international institute for pursuit of intellectual, philosophical, historical and spiritual studies and for matters connected therewith. Secondly, it mentions that we are doing this to improve regional understanding and appreciation of one another's heritage and history — the second East Asia Summit — and, thirdly, networking and collaboration between the proposed Nalanda University and existing Centers of Excellence — the fourth East Asia Summit — so that the participating countries can work together symbolizing the spirituality that unites all mankind. This is what the Summits said, and, this is what we have adopted as the Preamble, naturally, and, now, this Bill has been introduced.

Sir, earlier, the Bihar Government had taken a welcome initiative and had already established the University of Nalanda in 2007. As several other good initiatives by the Bihar Government for development, this initiative was naturally very good, and, now, that University under this Bill is being incorporated under an Act of Parliament. Sir, at this stage, I will not go into the sections of the Bill. The objectives are those which have been mentioned earlier.

As I said, this shows that we are, again, going towards the idea of this country being the hub of knowledge and learning, and, it is very relevant in this 21st century where we are talking about the establishment and existence of knowledge societies in which India has a primacy in terms of its youth, its talent, its knowledge and in terms of information, knowledge and wisdom. Information is relevant if it is knowledge, and, knowledge is relevant if it is blessed with wisdom, and, all these put together is one word in this country, which is called, 'Vidya'. Vidya is knowledge with wisdom, and, we say, सा विद्या या विमुक्तये। Earlier, it was wealth; yes, people came here mainly for wealth; but people came here for knowledge. So, we have that rare combination of wealth and wisdom, and, therefore, the Universities in this country were sought after by the entire world. The history goes back to 3000 years. 800 years B.C., Takshila University flourished. This university had 18 disciplines, from Combat to Construction, from *Ved* to *Vadan* and, students from as far as Mesopotamia, Parthia, Media came to this university to study.

Sir, we had university at Gunashila. Sir, Bihar had been the cradle of the Indian civilization, of the Hindu civilization. All this is in Bihar. Gunashila, a Jain university in Bihar, was established 500 years B.C. It was a Jain university promoting mainly women's education, and, then, there was Kundinpur, again, of 500 B.C., and, it was mainly for physical training. Then, Kanchi was there from 100 B.C. to 1200 A.D., and, then, of course, Nalanda. Nalanda flourished between 400 A.D. to 1200 A.D. This university had students and teachers from all over the world. Hiuen

Tsang was a student here who toured the entire world. Several other Chinese were students here. There were 78 disciplines, as they say, 14 खद्या, 64 कला, from Ayurveda to Dhanurveda, and, from Ved to Viman. Unfortunately, anti-civilisation invaders came and all this was destroyed. Now, we have this University.

Sir, I have two-three specific suggestions in so far as this University is concerned. One is, the motto of this University should be शील वृत्त फला विद्या। शील is character and वृत्त is conduct. So, the knowledge should be such which will guide both character and conduct, and that should be the motto of this University which is going to be an international University. Sir, an amendment is coming from one of the respected Members of this House who says that this concept of University should be abandoned. If it is to be really an international University, it should be a University of learning. So, it should be *Vidyapeeth*. He says adopt that word, bring it into English and enrich that language. Secondly, Sir, what this University should do — in fact, every educational institution should do — is this. Why are we here? Why are we learning? The example of the Yale University is, I think, worthy to be emulated. Sir, the Yale University established a course. They call it direct studies. This course was established after the Second World War and the reason was to tell the present students the ingredients of the civilisation for whose sake the War was fought. Why was the War fought? Not merely to defeat Hitler, but to save a civilisation and the ingredients of that civilization should be known. That is why the War was fought. That is why we are here. Therefore, that course of direct studies was established in the Yale University. I believe, this University should also establish a course as to why should we read. To protect the ingredients of a rich civilization which this entire region inherits and which this entire region has a responsibility to transmit to the rest of the world. Sir, if we do this and if we retain the high standards of education in this University, maybe this can be a hub like the South Asia University. Students not only from the Asian region but from the entire world will come for knowledge and wisdom which this country is destined to give to the world. Thank you, Sir.

DR. KARAN SINGH (NCT of Delhi): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Bill. India, through the ages, has been the repository of knowledge and wisdom, not only in philosophy and religious studies but in many other fields, in medicine, in metallurgy, in architecture, in numerous fields which are enumerated in our sacred texts. This knowledge has spread throughout the length and breadth of India, starting perhaps in the Himalayas. *Kalidasa* in his first sloka of the *Kumarasambhavam* described the Himalayas as:

अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा
हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः।
पूर्वापरौ तोयनिधौ वगाह्य
स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदंडः॥”

A great divine presence that has given us the stream of education of various religions, of pluralistic tradition that is in India all the way from the Himalayas down to Kerala and Kanyakumari. Sir, three great religions had been born in India, in fact, four, Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and later Sikhism. But the two religions that really spread throughout south and south-east Asia were Hinduism and Buddhism. I am sure many hon. Members have been to Angkor Wat. It was built a thousand years ago at the same time as Rajaraja Chola was building the great Brihadeeswara temple in Thanjavur. Simultaneously, this great temple was being built in Cambodia. It is the largest place of worship in the world which is one square kilometer. It is a marvel. It started off as a Hindu temple, Vaishnav temple and Shaiva temple, and then became a Buddhist temple, but without any destruction.

One of the unique features of our cultural efflorescence is that it has never been through the force of arms. All our cultural spread was entirely peaceful. That is why you will find that in the whole of South- and South-East Asia, whether it is Burma or Thailand, Vietnam or Cambodia, or all the way to Korea or China, through Tibet to mainland China to Japan, all the developments that had taken place, the deep impact of Indian culture there has been through the ages entirely peaceful. This is perhaps unique in world history. This is the culture that has never tried to use force to impose itself. It has sent merchants; it has sent artisans; and it has sent architects. That is why those cultures are still greatly treasured by those countries, even though they may have become Buddhist countries, and there are many Muslim countries.

In Indonesia, for example, there is Prambanan temple of Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma. The Borobudur is the Bhadra Vihara, the great vihara. Indonesia is a 95 per cent Muslim country. But it treasures, respects and maintains all these great treasures. The architecture, the philosophy and the literature of India have had a tremendous impact upon South- and South-East Asia.

Sir, the Ramayana story, for example, is told throughout Asia in different versions. I have seen a Ramayana story being danced in Indonesia. That is much better than our Ramaleelas here. The Ramaleelas here have become gross, crude and noisy, whereas the way they portrayed it in Indonesia was very graceful and all the actors were Muslims. In Thailand, it is so graceful. We have had this great creative impact.

Today, we are discussing Nalanda. There were other great universities like Vikramshila and Takshila. Nalanda was par excellence the international symbol of India's eminence in the field of knowledge. Even, I believe, the Prophet of Islam, somebody can tell me, said that from India he got the fragrance of wisdom. That is in the West. But, in the East, there is this great residential university. It was a marvel. It was an architectural marvel. Ten thousand students would be living there in the university. There were two thousand teachers from all over the world. And for eight hundred years, this university became, we would say, the Harvard and the Oxford put together of ancient times.

It was such a great university. Many people used to come there. Nagarjuna came there. Hiuen Tsang came there. Many great people came here and received knowledge and went back. They also brought some knowledge. Our concept has always been “आ नो भद्राः क्रतवो यन्तु स्वतः” It means let good knowledge, good thoughts come to us from every side. That is what Nalanda stood for.

Nalanda is a great symbol. People from China, Japan, Mongolia, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Bukhara, and Tibet used to come to study here. Unfortunately, it was destroyed in one of the greatest holocausts in human history. Bakhtiyar Khilji's troops burnt Nalanda. Ten thousand monks were either burnt alive or beheaded. And the library of Nalanda, which was a greatest repository of wisdom ever, burnt for six months. That's one of very frightful episodes in our history. But, none the less, it does not distract from the great achievements of Nalanda. Therefore, Sir, it is a matter of great satisfaction and I would like to congratulate the Government of India for having taken this initiative now 800 years later. Nalanda existed, first of all, for 800 years; then, it was destroyed after 800 years; now, 800 years later, we are re-establishing another Nalanda. My friend wondered why it wasn't under the Education Ministry. The answer is simple. It is a trans-national university and it is the External Affairs Ministry that has to deal with the representatives of the friendly Governments that are helping us — whether it is China or Japan or Thailand or whatever. That is why, the university is there. I do not accept that all universities must necessarily be under one super czar. After all, we are living in a pluralistic world. Many technical universities are now developing. Therefore, there is no necessity that they must all be under the same Ministry. In any case, there is a great deal that can be said, but, my plea is, let this not be just another university. Let it be a genuinely trans-national university. Let the faculty come from these countries also. Let us re-establish the links between India and South and South-East Asia that were shattered by centuries of colonial rule. We can re-establish the links, to some extent, through Pali, through Prakrit and through English. English is a world language now. We must really see that the architecture also reflects the ancient greatness. I went to Nalanda a couple of years ago and I visited the Hiuen Tsang Memorial that has been made. I must say, it is very beautiful. If we are able to build up a university, not through the PWD architecture, with folded hands, I may say, let us have some innovative architecture. If Indonesia can have innovative architecture, Hindu-based architecture or Buddhist-based architecture, why can we not have? We must have something that looks different, something that feels different and something that is different. And, the structure, with the public private partnership plus the trans-national dimension, is a very special structure. Therefore, I submit that whoever is in charge of this university, the whole team, has got to be very sensitive and very imaginative to try and build something that is entirely new.

Sir, Asia is rising again after many centuries of servitude and I sincerely hope that this new Nalanda will become a symbol of a resurgent Asia and, of course, a resurgent India.

SHRI BALAVANT ALIAS BAL APTE: Sir, Cholas from Tamil Nadu went beyond Indonesia and took the entire civilisation with them and that too, peacefully and not militarily.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Shri Pramod Kureel. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI PRAMOD KUREEL (Uttar Pradesh): Honourable Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I feel very privileged and honoured to be here making this my maiden speech in this House and that too, on such a subject like Nalanda University. I think, I cannot think of a better speech than speaking on this subject.

Sir, Dr. Karan Singh, my senior colleague in this House, has spoken very beautifully about history, art, culture and architecture of Nalanda University as it existed hundreds of years back. He was referring to Nalanda University and he was comparing it with Oxford, Cambridge and Harvard of today. He said that Nalanda was Oxford or Harvard of that time. I think, we should call it the other way round. Oxford, Harvard and Cambridge are Nalanda of today. There is a lot which has already been said by the earlier speakers, especially, Dr. Karan Singhji, who is a very learned man, a man of high intellect. To my mind, Nalanda is not just a University in the normal sense of the word. To me, Nalanda encapsulates, epitomizes the universal values of global peace, brotherhood, fraternity and equality. Nalanda is not just another University, and I won't like to even compare it with Harvard or Oxford. Maybe, they have their own value in the given time, in the present time. Nalanda was not just for imparting education to students from the world over. Its role was more in terms of creating a value system, and Dr. Karan Singhji just pointed out a few minutes back that some miscreants, some people, they burnt it. The library of that University kept burning for almost six months or more. I do not want to go into the details as to who burnt it and why they burnt it. There can be many interpretations, many view-points on the subject. Whatever that may be, to my mind, the way again after hundreds of years, thousands of years, this Nalanda University is again going to become a reality, or, should I say, it is again going to rise like a phoenix from the ashes. Literally and figuratively speaking, again, it is going to rise like a phoenix. In that sense, I congratulate the hon. Minister for introducing this Bill here in the Rajya Sabha. I thank her for the same.

Besides that, I would like to make a few points, a few suggestions. There are two aspects of the Nalanda University why it is famous the world over even today. One was, of course, the subjects which were taught there. It is very difficult to imagine that hundreds of years back, thousands of years back, subjects like Astronomy, Literature, Arts, Architecture, Management, perhaps, and what not, these were taught in that University when the Universities like Oxford, Cambridge and Harvard were not even born. Almost the whole of the world was living in dark ages, semi-civilized conditions. But here in India, in Nalanda, in the present day Bihar, we saw this University which came up, which attracted students from all over the world, specially, Asian countries. I think, it is something that we should all be very proud of, and in that sense, after

hundreds of years, this University is again coming up. It should be a matter of great pride for all of us.

As it was pointed out by Dr. Karan Singhji that this library was burnt, yes, it was burnt. We all know it. All the knowledge of hundreds of years perished in that fire. But my feeling is that one can burn a book or a library, but one cannot burn, one cannot perish the value system which has become a way of life for common masses. That is why even though Nalanda University does not exist as it existed 100 years back, the values it propounded, the value systems it propounded, they still lay in our country, in our hearts, in our minds, and these values and these value systems have, again, ensured that the Nalanda University is coming up again after a gap of 100 years. It is a matter of great satisfaction for all of us.

Sir, I would like to make, here, a few suggestions. My first suggestion is that this Nalanda University, which is coming up again, should be modeled in terms of both its academic curricula and its architecture and should be based on the historic Nalanda City so that the image of Nalanda University could still be seen by us. The new building or the new campus should take into consideration the architecture of old Nalanda City or old Nalanda University. We do not say that the Nalanda University is being created. Instead, we should say that it is being recreated. So, it should be a continuation of the same values, same architecture, same planning and same thought which existed in yester years and which is again coming up today.

Secondly, today, we are seeing that the students, especially from India, existed in yester years; they take great pride in going to Oxford or Cambridge. We proudly call them, when they come back, 'Oxford Returned', 'Howard Returned' or 'Cambridge Returned'. I think there was a time, hundreds of years back, when students from all over the world used to claim that they are 'Nalanda Returned' and they used to take pride in that. Today, a lot of our talent is going to other countries. First, they go there for studies. Then, they stay there. They do not come back. It is causing 'brain drain' as it is called. I think, with the coming up of this Nalanda University, in a few years' time, we can convert this 'brain drain' into 'brain gain'. The students from other countries will take pride in coming to India to study in the Nalanda University, and this will not only stop 'brain drain' but will also enrich our society, our country further where you can stop the 'brain drain' and we can call students from other countries to come and study here, and continue their work.

Thirdly, in the proposed Nalanda University, — this is my humble submission and suggestion — the Buddhist religion, Buddhist philosophy, Buddhist art, Buddhist architecture and Buddhist value system should be the focus of academic curricula. Since we are saying that it is coming up again after a gap of hundreds of years, there should be a continuity of those values. It should not seem as if only for namesake you are repeating the name 'Nalanda' and the course content, and that the academic curricula should be entirely different from the earlier one. Instead, there should be continuity in terms of courses to be offered and the central theme of

that University in terms of academic curricula should be Buddhist religion, Buddhist philosophy etcetera, etcetera.

As you know, Sir, in every university, there is a tradition, there is a system of establishing Chairs in the name of eminent personalities. My suggestion is that in this University also Chairs should be established in the name of Dr. Ambedkar, Ashoka the Great, King Kanishka, Sariputta Moggalayan, Rahul Sankratyayan, Bhadant Anand Kosalyayan, etc., who were great exponents of Buddhism and who devoted their lives for the spread of Buddhism as a religion, not only just in India but also all over the world, and preservation and promotion of Buddhist arts, culture and literature.

At the same time, when this University Campus comes up, various buildings like libraries, academic sections, hostels and gardens should be named after eminent personalities as it is a general tradition everywhere. Dr. Karan Singh has just referred to the Huen Tsang memorial at Nalanda. My suggestion is that important buildings in this Nalanda University should be named after important Buddhist personalities, both national and international, who were connected with this University in old times. Personalities like Fa Hien, Huen Tsang, Bodhi Dharma and many others were associated with this Nalanda University one way or the other. In their lives, they came to Nalanda, lived there, studied there, went back and spread Buddhist religion all over Asia. So, their contribution, especially, Fa Hien and Huen Tsang, is very important and, I think, we can only pay back a little bit for the enormous work that they have done for the cause of Buddhism and the spread of Buddhism by naming a few buildings and structures in this University after them.

Another thing which comes to my mind is this. I have read in the newspaper reports that His Holiness Dalai Lama's name is not there in the panel. But somehow his name is missing from this University's panel. I can understand that the Government might have some problem because of certain reasons, because of certain neighbouring countries. But my humble suggestion is that His Holiness Dalai Lama should not be seen just as a head of Tibetan Government in exile or just as a religious leader. More importantly, he is a moral authority. He is not just a religious leader. He is a moral authority which is accepted and revered all over the world. My feeling is that he should be there as an important Member in the Governing Body. I hope that the Minister will try to see to it that His Holiness name is included in the list of Members of Governing Body of this University.

There is already a provision in this Bill — it is a very good provision — that learned persons, who are exponents of Buddhism, religion, art, culture and architecture, from all over the world will be invited as guest teachers and professors. I think, it is a very good idea. The Nalanda University should truly be a global university and I welcome this step. Sir, again, I am taking a cue from Dr. Karan Singh's speech. He was referring to the architecture of the Nalanda University. Somehow, I am also an architect by profession. I was practising earlier as an architect, but now I am in Rajya Sabha. So architecture for me is a special thing.

12.00 NOON

Dr. Karan Singhji rightly said that such a prestigious, global, important University should not be handed over to an agency like the PWD or anything like that. My suggestion is that there should be an international design competition for designing the campus of this University. Architects, from all over the world, should be invited and they should be given a chance to contribute their intellectual and design input for the designing of this University. This is also a very important aspect because when we talk of education, I think and I know from my experience, architecture of a university greatly affects the learning environment. So, the proposed building, my humble suggestion is, should not be just a steel and glass box that we see everywhere today. The architecture of this University should be based on old Buddhist architecture. This is my humble suggestion. Sir, as you know, Buddhism in this country, is followed by everybody, all sections of the society. But, especially the SCs, STs and OBCs of this country, have a special place for Buddhism in their hearts. They may not be practising Buddhism; they may not be having the label of Buddhists, but Buddhism, as a religion, as a value system, has a special place in their hearts. My humble suggestion is, the reservation quota for SCs, STs and OBCs, both in faculty and for students should be ensured as per the policy of the Government of India. Why I am saying this thing is, of late, there have been some instances when the Government or the Ministry arbitrarily put a tag of 'Centre of Excellence' on a particular university, and from that university the reservation quota for SCs, STs and OBCs is totally scrapped. I hope the reservation quota for SCs, STs and OBCs, both in the faculty as well as for students, will be ensured and it will not be scrapped in the name of 'Centre of Excellence' from this great University.

Sir, the Nalanda University is going to be funded by the Central Government with a budget of around Rs. 1,000 crores. I think many other countries are also contributing in this budget. But I would like to make one suggestion. As this University is going to be funded by the Government of India and some other countries, there should be a provision — I am just giving an idea for the Minister to work out or the people connected with it to work out — that contribution from everybody, right from the common man to the richest man on the earth, should be welcomed for the construction, management and maintenance of this University. Why I am saying this is, this University is not an ordinary University. It is not just a historic University. It has a very important place. It is coming up for people all over the world. Everybody, all the citizens, the global citizens, should be made to involve through their monetary contribution, whatever little it may be. Maybe, the Government can put a cap, the minimum and the maximum limit. But there should be a provision that everybody, all the citizens of the world, from every country in the world, should be in a position to contribute a little bit from their pockets for the construction and management of this University. I think that will make them a real participant and shareholder in the value system, which the Nalanda University is going to re-create. Then, this University, we

can say, can be a project of the global citizen, by the global citizen and for the global citizen. In my view, that would epitomize the spirit of the historic Nalanda University, which is going to come up.

Finally, Sir, I congratulate the Minister for bringing this Bill in this august House. I hope that very soon, the Nalanda University will become a reality, will attract students from all over the world, and will regain its glory that existed hundreds of years back. And I hope that the spirit of historic Nalanda will continue to flow in through this present day Nalanda. I can assure the hon. Minister that when this Bill comes for voting, you will get the loudest 'Ayes' from our side. And, I thank you, hon. Deputy Chairman, Sir, for giving me this opportunity.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, now that we are having the Private Members' Business today, and we have to take it up at 2 o' clock, we will have to skip the lunch hour. There are still 14 Members to speak on this. So, I would request the hon. Members, while speaking, to look towards the two boards, that have been put up, for the time left for Members and their respective parties. Kindly cooperate with the Chair. Now, Shri Sitaram Yechury.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY (West Bengal): Sir, I am rising in support of this Bill, and fortunately, I am in such a position where I cannot see either of the boards, unless I develop a pain in my neck turning towards this side and that side. And, you do not have one put up on your side. So, I kindly seek your indulgence.

Sir, I am rising in support of this Bill. I am also very excited at the prospects of the establishment of such a University which is an international project, a project of 16 countries jointly to establish this University with a very eminent team of international thinkers, philosophers, Nobel Laureates, etc. I am excited at the prospects of this University being established, not in terms of settling scores of the past in history, but in terms of trying to revive the glory that once was of Nalanda, which is very important — I would want it to be revived — and not in terms of saying that so and so did such and such wrongs, and therefore, I am doing this to correct the wrongs of history. I think I am excited at the prospects for the future; I am excited at the prospects of what we have contributed in the past, which needs to be carried forward for the future. Dr. Saheb has very correctly said about Bakhtiyar Khilji's troops and the vandalism they did at Nalanda. This is the history, Sir. The barbaric nomads and tribes called Huns destroyed the mighty Roman Empire. But these wrongs of history are not the ones to be corrected by establishing a University, or, for that matter, a question that plagues all of us is that after the 7th century A.D., is Buddhism thriving outside the borders of India. Why is it that inside the borders of India you find Buddhist culture only in caves, where people were ostracized from the society? Why is all their art and literature underground in caves? These are issues of history. That is not the project of this University. The project of this University, Sir, from what I can conceive of it,

and I want this to be considered seriously, is what Nehru says in 'Discovery of India' on the eve of Independence. How does he describe India? Jawaharlal Nehru invokes the very evocative example of the palimpsest. Now, what is the palimpsest? In ancient times, before the discovery or invention of paper, the palimpsest was either a tablet of stone or a tablet of wood on which every victor would erase the past history and write his own version of history. But then, as Nehru says in the *Discovery of India*, "India is an ancient palimpsest on which layer upon layer of thought and reverie had been inscribed, and yet, no succeeding layer had completely hidden or erased what had been written previously".

Sir, we are the churning crucible of human civilization, and that is what these lands represented. Various tendencies have come; we have assimilated various tendencies and on that basis, we have advanced. And today, the BBC describes, in its Epic History series, India as the only continuing civilization in the history of human civilization anywhere in the world. Dr. Karan Singh referred to Raja Raja Cholan's Thanjavur temple built in 1002 B.C.; in 2010, every morning, at the stroke of dawn, it opens with the same *shlokas* that have been read out for over 1008 years. You have that continuity and you have the change. Nalanda represented that; it represented for a millennium, for 800 years or more, from the 6th century B.C. to the 6th century A.D., the repository of world's knowledge where the advent of ideas was continuously taking place. If you go by the accounts of Huen Tsang, it was not only a temple of knowledge, but a temple of the highest pinnacle of tolerance, and religious tolerance at that, which is something that we have to imbibe today. So, today, in restarting the Nalanda University, we should look into the future. And, Sir, this is where the issue of tolerance is absolutely important. It is not to reclaim that glory — of course, it is the glory; *Angkor Vat* is a glorious example. But the question is, those glories came on the basis of a knowledge. We had the discovery of the zero during this period. This millennium was the period of maximum scientific advance. It is a different story, why it stopped after the 7th century A.D.; why did we not advance and why did the centre of knowledge move to the West? These are issues of intolerance; we will have to make sure that they do not interfere in the work of the university. There is a fascinating book written by a French intellectual Charles Seife, called, *The Biography of a Dangerous Idea*. And that dangerous idea was the zero, which the Arabs took from us, and the world came to know of them as the Arab numerals but, to be fair, the Arabs always gave us the credit for having discovered it. Now, why was it dangerous? Can you conceive, Sir, today, of nothingness? It was impossible in human civilization at that point of time to say, there can also be a possibility that nothing exists. And what was the counterpart? A zero cannot be conceived even today in mathematics, without having the conception of the infinite. Infinity and zero go together, as dialectics will tell you, the unity of the opposites. And that is the reality! And such discoveries that were made from a base like Nalanda is the basis on which we have to advance to the future civilization. So, my request would be, let us not reduce this university to settle scores of history. Let us not reduce this

university to restore the so-called glory of the past; let us build the glory of the future. It is the building of the glory of the future that Nalanda must actually represent. I think, this is where it becomes very important for us here to talk of that future. It is ironic — I don't want to mention it — but Bakhtiar Khilji was the one who destroyed it. The current Chief Minister of Bihar was born in Bakhtiarpur. He is the one who is moving the legislation for the resurrection of this university. So, history has its own ways. So, let us not try to settle historical scores; but, when it comes down to research, I think, that is where some fine-tuning needs to be done with this Bill because we are talking in terms of establishing by law of the Indian Parliament what is stated as a university that is 'a non-State, non-profit, secular and self-governing international institution'.

With the sovereign law of India establishing such a university, it also goes on to say, 'we have to have further agreements with all these countries on how this university is run'. These are all the fine print which we can go into. But, the conception and the perception of the university is what actually concerns us today. I think, we have come to a stage in India where this churning crucible which is called the Indian civilization has a variety and divergence that is unknown and unconceivable anywhere in the world from the Kashmiriyat to the Dravidian civilization, from the *pari mahal*, which was once in Dr. Karan Singh's kingdom where Dara Shikoh wrote that famous treaty called *majma-ul-Bahrain*, where he was talking of the synthesis of Sufism and Upanishads, mingling of the two oceans. The brink at which we are today—we were, Sir, and we still are—at advancing human thought, human civilization to higher levels. Such is the levels to which, I think, this university will have to aim. As Marx said once, Sir, before the evolution of capitalism, all ideological differences were settled in this sphere of religion. Religion was the theatre. And that is why when zero was invented, the complementarity of the infinite came up. What is the symbolism that emerged from this civilization? If you have the cosmic dance of Shiva in the Tandav, which the Tao of Physics inscribes it at the CERN Laboratory in Switzerland today where the Hadron collider is actually trying to find out what has happened at the first collision in the cosmic space, when the zero was created. At that laboratory, you have the Tao of Physics quoting the cosmic dance of Shiva's Tandav. How do you portray Shiva's Tandav today? You always portray Shiva's Tandav only in a circle which represents the zero—the infinite of the Tandav and the zero of the material world cannot be separated. It is this unity of opposites that dialectical materialism tells us, Sir, which generates the adventure of ideas. It is towards this adventure of ideas that we will have to move.

Therefore, I think, in the final analysis, we must remember, Sir, that we are moving into a higher plane of human intellect and civilization. Remember the final paragraph of Swami Vivekananda's declaration at Chicago. ...(*Interruptions*)... He says, 'I take pity from the bottom of my heart on those who believe in the destruction of someone else's religion for the purpose of

his own religion. In the final analysis it shall be inscribed on the banner of every religion assimilation not destruction.’ I am quoting from my memory; there may be small mistakes of comma or full stop. That is the philosophy with which we have advanced and come to this stage. Therefore, what is required in the final analysis is that you have to get back to the creation of this university—I again go back to Nehru; in the first few days after Independence when he was delivering the convocation address of the Allahabad University. This is what he says about a university, Sir: “A university stands for humanism, for tolerance, for reason, for the adventure of ideas and for the search of truth. It stands for the onward march of human race towards even higher objectives. If the university discharges its duties adequately, then it is well with the people and the nation.” This Nalanda University will have to fulfil these objectives. I would want this august House, through the adoption of this Bill, to set up the mechanism internationally where these objectives can be achieved, and, I think, under the leadership of Dr. Amartya Sen, there is a very eminent group that has been working out on the dynamics of this. While I fully agree with Dr. Saheb, this is the final point, Sir, about the architecture of the building, I would like the entire House to join us in trying to build the intellectual architecture for this University. The intellectual architecture, in the final analysis, is the most important thing. With that objective, I rise to support this endeavour, and, I think, this is a very exciting endeavour that will take India into higher planes of civilization. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The debate was of such a high standard that I forgot to see my watch. Now, Shri N.K. Singh.

SHRI N.K. SINGH (Bihar): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am privileged to speak on this important Bill which not only celebrates, perhaps, one of the most glorious periods of Indian history but also represents in some ways what previous speakers have said a beacon of hope, and what India can really offer to the world.

I am particularly privileged, Sir, also for two reasons. First, belonging to Bihar and having studied in Patna, remember the numerous occasions when Rajgir, one of the favourite picnic spots, was roaming around the hills of Rajgir, built from the quartz rock, much older than the formation of the Himalayas, and being overawed by the names of Jarasandh, Bimbisar and Ajat Shatru, the son of Bimbisar, who established Pataliputra in the 5th century B.C., one could not but see the sad ruins of glorious Nalanda quite proximate to the sites of the hills of Rajgir. I had wondered at that time whether ever a day would come when we would be able to recreate, in some form or the other, and innovatively so, another university in its proximate surroundings to represent the ruins of Nalanda. That day, Sir, fortunately has arrived. That day is today. That day, Sir, is embodied in this legislation, which is before us.

Second, Sir, having been privileged to be a member of the Mentor Group and a member of the Transitional Governing Body of the proposed Nalanda University, I have been privileged to be

associated with the design, with the conception, the architecture and the sort of the vision which has been expressed by many of the previous speakers so eloquently, Sir.

One does not have to be a linguist or a historian to know that Nalanda which really means Lotus, representing knowledge and to Give Knowledge in Perpetuity, a seat of ancient learning, established in the time of Kumara Gupta in 427 AD and continued to be there till its destruction after the fall of the Palas in West Bengal, around the twelfth century. For those 700-800 years, with 10,000 residential students, 2,000 teachers and practicing Buddhism, not in the narrow confines of Buddhism, not in its religious context, but in the broader context in the pursuit of astronomy, of physics, of medicines and of mathematics. That is the broader context in which a Buddhist University established at the time of the Gupta empire really managed to be the seat of intellectual power. Sir, I, therefore, view today that this initiative has four important attributes. First of all, it is a high point of catalytic effort, and can become an 'Icon of Asian renaissance'. Many have increasingly described the 21st Century to be an Asian century. I cannot forget what Prof. Amartya Sen continued to remind the Mentor Group that almost during the period, if not the very week, when Oxford was being inaugurated, Nalanda was being destroyed. And, while Oxford does not represent, perhaps, Europe's oldest university, the older versions being Padua, Bologna and Paris, which for 150 years co-existed with Nalanda, the fact remains that the inauguration of Oxford and the destruction of Nalanda more or less during a synchronized period did represent in some sense the transition of intellectual power and knowledge from Asia to Europe. And whether the revival and the Asian renaissance represents not merely the economic powers with which we want to reposition Asia, improve our life quality but in some way regain the intellectual and knowledge leadership which Asia had forgone 800 years ago. Therefore, this effort of Nalanda as is being described by many scholars, Sir, an icon of Asian renaissance. Second, Sir, we all know that the old Nalanda University was the confluence of East Asia and South Asia. It represented, therefore, the cross civilization influences between these two important strands. In some way, therefore, we would want to see whether Nalanda would try to seek these commonalities which existed at the time of the old Nalanda as confluence between East Asia and South Asia. Third, Sir, whether it could be trend setter for the power of soft diplomacy and whether, in some way, the old Nalanda University could look towards not only a pan Asia but looking to the Asia and the Pacific. There are two important attributes to this. First of all, Sir, we know that in the Chinese literature, *tianxia*, which represents (All Under Heaven), a formal tribute system, as indeed under the Indian who describe the world to *mandala* and viewing it in different forms, transcending territory. And, whether, therefore, the differences in territory, factors of sovereignty could, in some way, be transcended by the power which is some way this kind of effort which existed in Nalanda long time ago could hope to recreate and could make advances in overcoming geo-political differences, differences in territories by the power or what culture and education can live together. Finally, in terms of its broader purposes with the

institutional mechanisms like the East Asia Summit and other kinds of efforts which are being made can in some way bring together and strike at the broader commonalities of Asia, Asian values and what can strike between beyond Asia, into the Asia Pacific region as a whole. I would not like to go into the main features of this Bill. They have been described exceedingly well by some of the previous speakers but to emphasize two important actions. First, its secular character and it is part of the important objective of the Bill, one of the important objectives is to understand Buddha's teachings in the contemporary context without excluding any other thought and practices from any other part of the world. This was an important objective of the old Nalanda University. This remains an important objective of the new Nalanda University. And, indeed, in one of the schools of the Nalanda University the Buddhist studies, philosophy and the comparative religions seek to bring about and strike this kind of a commonality. I will not go into the funding of it. I am conscious of the constraints of time but I cannot end my short intervention today except to quote, somewhat, with your permission, Sir, one little passage from the book Amartya Sen, the mentor of this group, who talks about India and China in the context of Nalanda. I seek your permission to quote that when Xuanzang, who has been referred to by the previous speaker, was just leaving Nalanda at that time where he lived for sixteen years and he was being implored by the monks of Nalanda to stay. This is what Xuanzang had to reply. When he was asked why he was leaving, he replied in a rhetorical way that Buddha established his doctrine so that it might be diffused to all lands. Then he asked the monks, "Who would wish to enjoy it alone and to forget those who are not yet enlightened." I think, with these words, Xuanzang took leave of the monks of Nalanda and he left. Let me end on an optimistic note, Sir, to say that let us hope and pray that new Nalanda University would be this Voice of an Enlightened Asia. Thank you.

DR. JANARDHAN WAGHMARE (Maharashtra): Sir, I rise to support the Bill. The revival of the ancient Nalanda University is a great event in the history of Indian education and culture. Like a phoenix it is rising from its ruins and ashes. The ancient Indian universities like Nalanda, Taxshila, Vikramshila were great centres of learning. The ancient Nalanda University was a *sui generis* university in many respects. It had grandeur and glory of its own. Its sprawling campus with parks, lakes, gardens, lawns, temples and buildings was most attractive. Light of knowledge spread from here across many Asian countries. Its magnificent nine-storied library building was a huge nest for scholars. Ten thousand students were taking education there, and 2000 teachers were engaged in teaching and research. On the Campus of this ancient Indian university students, scholars and teachers were engaged in 'learning how to live together' as brothers and friends. Nalanda University's character was secular, students of lower castes were in majority. Here science and spirituality were kith and kin. Nalanda even today evokes peace, pride and passion for knowledge in our minds. Apart from India, students from China, Japan,

Korea, Tibet, Greece, Russia, Turkey came to Nalanda in pursuit of knowledge. Nalanda was in existence for six centuries. It was destroyed in 1193 in a war. The Nalanda of yore is being revived after eight hundred years. It will spring up from the same ancient sites in Bihar. The new Nalanda will be a confluence of cultures and civilizations, tradition and modernity, science and spirituality, knowledge and wisdom, East and West. Today the world is caught in violence, hatred, terrorism, communalism etc. There is a clash of civilizations across the world today. The Nalanda University will promote culture of peace. The Nalanda University is going to be a university of national importance. It will however be developed as a world class university vying with Oxford, Cambridge and Harvard. It will be associated with these and other world class universities in the world. Sir, here at Nalanda students will acquire and attain Pragnya (intellect), Karuna (compassion) and Shila (character), the three attributes which were given upmost importance by Lord Budha. Here students will not lose learning in information, knowledge in learning and wisdom in knowledge. The Nalanda University will stand — to use Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's words — for humanism, for tolerance, for reason, for adventure of ideas and for the search of truth. It will illuminate the mind of human race and lead India to enlightenment and towards a humane society. It will lead us to the world where the minds are free and without fear and where the heads are held high. It will cherish Rabindranath Tagore's dream of freedom. It will be another Vishwabharati. Knowledge alone can liberate humanity from all shackles. 'Sa Vidya Vimuktaye'. True learning is that which liberates. True education is that which emancipates. Sir, the jurisdiction of the Nalanda University shall be the whole of India with its centres within and outside the country, especially in South Asian countries. Nehru had a dream of Asian Renaissance. The Gangotri of the Asian Renaissance will start from the Nalanda University and flow across the world singing the hymns from the Dhampada and the Upanishads. There will be centres of the Nalanda University in different parts of India. Let us establish one such centre in the vicinity of Ellora Caves in Maharashtra where Buddhism was revived by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and his followers. Universities are local, provincial, national and international. But, the Nalanda University will be a universal university. Its catchment area will be the whole of the universe and the whole of the cosmos. The University is going to be a great centre of learning. I would like to suggest one thing. Let us add one more objective to the objectives *i.e.*, to teach and promote Pali, Prakrit, Sanskrit language and literature.

I congratulate the hon. Minister for introducing this Bill. The Bill is nicely drafted with all the provisions. But, there are certain things which are lacking. I would suggest that there should be Students' Service Centre under the guidance and supervision of Student's Director. The University should also have the Board of Games and Sports under the guidance and supervision of Director of Games and Sports. There should be a regular Tribunal in the University campus for redressal of grievances of teachers, students and employees of the University.

The University shall function under a PPP mode. This is the second International University that India would be having after the South Asian University.

The Nalanda University should promote inter-disciplinary studies and research. The School of Languages and Literature should promote Pali, Sanskrit and literature. Courses of comparative literature will be very useful, indeed. This is my suggestion. This University is going to have a secular character. One of the objectives of education defined by the International Commission on Education is, 'Learning how to live together.' The Nalanda University is expected to fulfil that objective. It will build bridges over religions, cultures, civilization, nationalities and ethnicities. Let it be a future-oriented university. Thank you.

SHRI BAISHNAB PARIDA (Orissa): Sir, it is my privilege to speak on behalf of my party and congratulate the hon. Minister for piloting this Bill which is going to revive the glorious traditions, wisdom, knowledge which India has contributed to the world. Sir, Nalanda was a centre of knowledge, research, philosophy, literature, architecture and many other things. Buddhism has given to this world, during those ancient days, its world outlook, a social outlook. It has shown how to see this world, how this world was formed, who created it, even about creation of the God and about the society — whether this society should be divided into castes, should there be discrimination and should there be division among the human beings. It was a great challenge that Buddhism had posed to the then thinking of our Indian society. It is a challenge and it has established a new order, a casteless society which the great Buddha has given not only to the Indian people but the entire world. He was the light of Asia and Nalanda represented and adorned that great tradition and wisdom of our history. Some of our friends are talking about how it was destroyed. There should not be an attempt to score points on the issue of destruction of Nalanda, destruction of a great religion, which was so noble, so high and unthinkable in the world at that time. In Buddhism, there were different schools of thoughts. There were debates in Nalanda in this regard. The *Hinyana*, the *Mahayana*, the *tantra*, all these things were discussed and researched. Because of the religious tolerance, these things were discussed in a scientific way, without harming anybody's sentiments. We are thinking of re-establishing that great university, the great centre of knowledge, the great centre of tolerance, a great centre of peaceful message *i.e.*, the message of *ahimsa*. The message of *ahimsa* was propagated by this university. A large number of scholars, from different far off countries, got attracted to this great university. Those scholars lived here for a long time. After that, they again went back to their respective countries and preached that religion there. ...(*Time-bellings*)... We must know, through our studies, why such a great university was destroyed. And, by that, we will learn that by destroying this great university, by destroying this great source of knowledge, you can't change the history, which is etched in the minds of the knowledgeable people, in the minds of researchers, in the minds of the historians, in the minds of scholars.

Nobody can stop that. It is a lesson to the intolerant world, intolerant people that by intolerance you can't destroy the knowledge. Hitler could not do it; others could not do it. Many of our friends may not know that the great novelist, Tolstoy, had written his thesis on Buddhism. He held Buddhism very high in his world outlook, in his literary activities, and, through war and peace, he taught the world that non-violence and tolerance are the only ways for humanity to survive. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude; please conclude. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BAISHNAB PARIDA: The Buddhism taught us all this. The Buddhism is still relevant today. My friend, Shri Pramod Kureel, was saying that the Buddhism is very dear to the dalits, the backwards and other sections of the people. Why? Because it was revived by the Baba Ambedkar. It was also revived by Gandhiji, and practised it throughout his life. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BAISHNAB PARIDA: So, I congratulate the Government for bringing forward this Bill. My friends did not mention that the original idea of reviving this University came from Patna. Shri Nitish Kumar is, perhaps, one of the promoters of this idea of re-establishing the Nalanda University. I also congratulate him, Sir. Then, Sir, one provision is there.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no, don't go to the provision now, because there is no time.

SHRI BAISHNAB PARIDA: Sir, this is my last point.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken double the time allotted to you.

SHRI BAISHNAB PARIDA: Sir, one provision is there that it will have its centers inside India and outside India. Pushpagiri which was mentioned by Huen Sang was in Orissa. ...*(Interruptions)*... Since it has been discovered now, so, I request the Government to have a campus in Pushpagiri. Thank you, Sir.

श्री मोहन सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसभापति महोदय, मैं सरकार को धन्यवाद देने और इस विधेयक का पुरजोर समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। भारत की दुश्वारी है कि भारत के प्राचीन इतिहास के अध्ययन और अध्यापन, लिपियों और साहित्य के अध्ययन और अध्यापन के जितने प्रयास इस देश में हुए, वे सब विफल होते चले गए। काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय जिसमें ऑरिएंटल स्टडीज का सबसे बड़ा सेंटर स्थापित किया गया, डा. साहब वहां के कुलाधिपति बैठे हैं, ऑरिएंटल कॉलेज में 25 विद्यार्थी हैं और 75 अध्यापक हैं। ऐसे विषयों के अध्ययन और अध्यापन के लिए अध्यापक उपलब्ध हैं और विद्यार्थी उपलब्ध नहीं हैं। ऑरिएंटल कॉलेज ऑफ पूना में आज की तारीख में अध्यापकों की संख्या 22 है और विद्यार्थियों की संख्या 6 है। इलाहाबाद यूनिवर्सिटी में उर्दू के अध्ययन और अध्यापन के लिए अध्यापकों की संख्या 13 है और विद्यार्थियों की संख्या पोस्ट ग्रेज्युएशन में 3 है। देश और दुनिया का कुछ ऐसा वातावरण बना कि पढ़ाई का मूड कुछ दूसरी दिशा में दौड़ पड़ा। नतीजा यह है कि हमारे देश के जो प्राचीन संस्कृति से जुड़े हुए तत्व हैं उनके अध्ययन और अध्यापन में सारी रुचि खत्म हो गई। पाली और प्राकृत का विभाग जवाहर लाल नेहरू यूनिवर्सिटी में बहुत ही धूमधाम के साथ खोला गया और आज की तारीख में बामुश्किल चार से पांच विद्यार्थी वहां पढ़ने के लिए मिलते हैं, वह भी इस मंशा से कि आई.ए.एस. की परीक्षा में उनको एक पर्चा लिखने के लिए मिल जाता है जिसमें 90 से 95

नम्बर प्राप्त होते हैं। इसलिए इस मंशा से पाली और प्राकृत पढ़ने के लिए कुछ बच्चे वहां चले जाते हैं। हमारे देश की जो सनातन संस्कृति है और जो सनातन सभ्यता है उसके बारे में काम करने की अनन्त सम्भावनाएं हैं। आज की भी तारीख में सिन्धु घाटी की सभ्यता की जो लिपि है उसको पढ़ा नहीं जा सका है। सिन्धु घाटी में ईसा से कोई ढाई हजार से चार हजार वर्ष पहले एक ऐसे नगर का हमने इंतजाम किया था जहां सुन्दर भवन बनाने की कला इस देश के वासियों को मालूम थी। आज की तारीख में नदियों के प्रदूषण का बहुत बड़ा संकट पैदा हो गया है। नगर का सब गंदा जल नदियों में छोड़ने की उस जमाने की जो सभ्यता थी, नगर का गंदा जल किसी भी कीमत पर नदियों के अंदर नहीं आता था, इसका ड्रेनेज सिस्टम ईसा से ढाई हजार वर्ष पहले सिन्धु घाटी की सभ्यता में मोहन जोदड़ो और हड़प्पा की सभ्यता के लोगों ने विकसित किया था और ठीक उसी तरह की सभ्यता ईसा शताब्दी शुरू होने से ठीक एक हजार वर्ष पहले इलाहाबाद से यमुना के किनारे कौशाम्बी में एक विशाल नगर उस जमाने के लोगों ने बसाया था, जिसमें वे यमुना की नदी के जल का उपयोग तो करते थे लेकिन अपने नगर का गंदा जल और गंदगी उस नदी में न जाए, इसकी व्यवस्था उन्होंने की थी। आदरणीय डा. साहब द्वारा यहां बहुत सही बात कही गई कि उस जमाने का जो आर्किटेक्चर था, नगरों को बसाने की जो कला थी उसके बारे में अभी बहुत ज्यादा अध्ययन करने की आवश्यकता है। हमारे देश की दुश्वारी है कि विभिन्न धर्मों में जो उपासना पद्धति है, हमने उसको अपनाकर और उस उपासना पद्धति को लेकर आपस में मारा-मारी की शुरुआत अपने अंदर कर दी, लेकिन उसके साथ जो जुड़ा हुआ दर्शन और आध्यात्म था, उसको हमने छोड़ दिया। सभी धर्मों में जो आध्यात्म और दर्शन है, उसमें एक तरह की synthesis है, सभी धर्मों ने आध्यात्म और दर्शन के मामले में एक दूसरे से कुछ लिया है। हमारे देश में धर्म के माध्यम से जाति प्रथा ईसा की शताब्दी शुरू होने से दो सौ, ढाई सौ वर्ष पहले आई, लेकिन वेदों की रचना बहुत पहले हो गई। ऐसा कहा जाता है कि कोई एक हजार वर्ष पहले वेदों की रचना हुई और उसी के साथ उपनिषदों की रचना हुई। जिसमें दर्शन के तमाम तत्व हमारे देश के साहित्य में सिमटे पड़े हैं। यदि आयुर्वेद में, जिसके बहुत सारे गुण यजुर्वेद में उपलब्ध हैं, आगे शोध हुआ होता है, तो मैं समझता हूं कि चिकित्सा क्षेत्र में आयुर्वेद से बड़ा ज्ञान विश्व को नहीं मिला होता, आयुर्वेद के जरिए हम ने दुनिया को दिया होता। कहा गया, “ईशावास्यमिदम् सर्वम् यत्किंचित् जगत्याम् जगत्, तेन त्यक्तेन भुजीथा मा ग्रध कस्यसिद्धनम्” आप मार्श की सारी पुस्तकों का अध्ययन कर लीजिए, एक वाक्य में, उपनिषद में जो बात कह दी गई कि ईशावास्यमिदम् सर्वम् यत्किंचित् जगत्याम् जगत्, तेन त्यक्तेन भुजीथा मा ग्रध कस्यसिद्धनम्”, यदि हमारे संसद के सदस्य भाई इस श्लोक को उपनिषद से पढ़े होते, तो वेतन के लिए मारा-मारी करने की प्रवृत्ति उनके मन में पैदा नहीं होती है। हमारे देश में दुश्वारी यही है कि हमारे देश के साहित्य ने त्याग की, निश्प्रयता की, भोग से अलग हटने की और अलग से पूंजी संगठित करने की अजीब सी संस्कृति हमारे देश में साहित्य के माध्यम से करने की शुरुआत की थी। उस पर नये सिरे से शोध और उस पर नई विचाराधारा को आज की तारीख में सबसे अधिक विकसित करने की जरूरत है। भारत की एकता के सत्र, उत्तरयत् समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेस्चैव दक्षिणं, एतत् देश भारतम् नाम भारती यत्र संस्तुतिः। भारत की इससे सुंदर और सुसंगठित परिभाषा कहीं मिल सकती है! भारत के भूगोल और भारत के नक्शे के बारे में आज बहस होती है। लेकिन उस बहस के जो सूत्र हैं, उन सूत्रों को हमारे आज के जो कर्ता-धर्ता हैं, वे उनको शुरू नहीं करते हैं। कौटिल्य से जो अर्थ-शास्त्र लिखा, उस अर्थ-शास्त्र की कोई भी भूल प्रति आज की तारीख में उपलब्ध नहीं है। जिसके मन में जो सूत्र समझ में आता है, उसी सूत्र को लिखकर कह देता है कि यही मूल है। कौटिल्य ने राजधर्म के बारे में, राज व्यवस्था के बारे में, अर्थ-नीति के संबंध में जो सूत्र दिए, आज की तारीख में भी, वे हमारे आदर्श हो सकते हैं। नालंदा विश्व विद्यालय ने उन सूत्रों को सबसे अधिक अपने जमाने में संगठित किया था। इसीलिए हम कहना चाहते हैं कि केवल बौद्धिज्म नहीं, जिसको हम हिन्दू संस्कृति से जुड़े हुए प्रश्न कहते हैं, हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर बाहर से आया हुआ इस्लाम, हिन्दुस्तान में बाहर से आई हुई जो ईसाइयत है, इन सबके जो सूत्र हैं, सबकी एक थीसिस उस विश्वविद्यालय को, केन्द्र के रूप में हमको विकसित करने की आवश्यकता है। इसीलिए इसकी मूल अवधारणा में कहा गया है कि इसका जो चरित्र होगा,

वह सेक्युलर होगा, ऐसा कहने के पीछे मंशा क्या है? ऐसा कहने के पीछे मंशा सिर्फ इतनी है कि हमारे देश में विकसित एक धर्म, जिसने साउथ ईस्ट एशिया को, ईसा के पैदा होने से पहले दक्षिण भारत के राजाओं ने, चोल नरेशों ने साउथ ईस्ट एशिया में अपनी संस्कृति का विस्तार किया। आज की तारीख तक साउथ ईस्ट एशिया में, चाहे इंडोनेशिया हो या मलेशिया हो, अगाध धारा संस्कृति की जो चली आ रही है, उस पर भारतीय संस्कृति की विशेष छाप है। सभी जातियां जब माइग्रेट करती हैं, तो एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान पर कुछ चीजें छोड़ती हैं और कुछ चीजों को वहां ले जाकर पहुंचाती हैं। उनकी माइग्रेशन के कारण क्या हैं, इसके बारे में इतिहासकारों ने अभी तक गंभीर अध्ययन नहीं किया है। माइग्रेशन के बाद उन्होंने कौन-सी चीज वहां ले जाकर दी और किस चीज को वहां छोड़ दिया, इसके बारे में आज की तारीख में अध्ययन की बहुत आवश्यकता है। हम निवेदन करना चाहते हैं कि हम पुरानी चीजों का तो अध्ययन करायें, नालंदा में इस विश्वविद्यालय को खोलने के पीछे हमारी मंशा सिर्फ इतनी है कि भारत की जो सांस्कृतिक धारा है, जो हमारी एकता का आधार है, उसका अध्ययन हो, उसका विश्लेषण हो, उसकी मीमांसा हो। इसके साथ-साथ जो आज की आधुनिकता है और जिसका प्रभाव पूरी दुनिया में फैल रहा है, हम उसके साथ अपने को जोड़कर, इस चीज को कैसे आगे बढ़ाएं, ताकि हमारा देश पूरी दुनिया का मुकाबला कर सके। पहले कहावत के रूप में लोग कहते थे कि तब हम दुनिया के गुरु थे, इसलिए हमने इसके बारे में काफी शोध करने की कोशिश की, लेकिन पता नहीं चल पाया कि हम कब थे, लेकिन हम ज्ञान और विज्ञान के केन्द्र जरूर थे। उस ज्ञान और विज्ञान का जो विस्तार हुआ, वह बहुत सीमित जगहों पर हुआ। हमारे पड़ोस के देश तिब्बत में हिन्दुस्तान का बौद्धिज्म गया। वहां की भाषा में उसके दर्शन के जितने शोध हुए, वहां के गुरुओं ने उसके ऊपर जितने सदुपदेश दिए, उनको राहुल सांक्रुतायन जी ने हमारे देश में खच्चरों व घोड़ों पर लाकर प्रदर्शित करने की कोशिश की। उनके लिए हुए सारे ग्रंथ आज की तारीख में नष्ट हो रहे हैं और उनको कोई देखने वाला नहीं है, इसलिए मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि इस विश्वविद्यालय में पुरानी सभी लिपियों को संगृहीत किया जाना चाहिए। भारत की जितनी पुरानी लिपियां हैं, वे धीरे-धीरे मर रही हैं और भारत की जितनी पुरानी भाषाएं हैं, वे भी धीरे-धीरे समाप्त हो रही हैं। उन लिपियों और उन भाषाओं के पुनर्जीवन के बारे में एक गहन मंथन और शोध होना चाहिए, इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ इस विधेयक का समर्थन करते हुए, इसकी भावना का समर्थन करते हुए तथा अर्वाचीन और प्राचीन थीसेज़ की अपील करते हुए, मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं। आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI H.K. DUA (Nominated): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, for giving me the chance to speak on, what is certainly, a very important Bill. I find from the proceedings in the House so far that everybody is supporting the measure. I hope, the Government brings more such measures which draw a lot of support from the entire House.

Sir, we have been talking of the irrelevance of borders, but that was, for quite some time, particularly for borders only on the West to become irrelevant. Lately, we have been laying some emphasis on giving an eastward look to our Foreign Policy. I see this measure not only as a part of the universal message which a university can spread, but also as a part of India's eastward look policy. There is so much scope for looking towards our neighbours in the east. If setting up a university makes the borders soft on each side, opens up the mind, gives more attention to countries in South-East Asia, and they look towards us, it would be a helpful input in our foreign policy. But, I do not see this only in the context of South-East Asia or in the context of Asian renaissance, as Mr. N.K. Singh said — I am glad he was there on the Mentor Group; so, this House gets associated with the setting up of this University by his being on the Mentor Group —

but I thought the University's concept should be more universal, after it has consolidated its work in Asia. It should be a world university, and of that standard. It will teach the subjects which are listed in the Bill on page 20, namely, Buddhist studies, philosophy and comparative religions, historical studies, international relations and peace studies, language and literature, ecology and environmental studies and other schools as may be prescribed. I am glad the Mentor Group and the Board are keeping this flexibility. I am particularly happy about the modern subjects, like international relations and peace studies, business management in relation to public policy, an area which is much required at times when there is so much tension in the world between nations, in different regions. I do not see any particular region which is at peace with itself. And if new ideas come from this University, it would be a contribution to the world, — the world of ideas. It should not be exclusively the University which teaches only Humanities, Arts and Literature or historical studies. I would like the University to look deep into the 21st Century and see what would be the needs of the 21st Century. Institutions or Schools which may be set up — I am sure the Mentor Group will give attention to it; then the new governing Board will give attention to it — should not spurn subjects related to science and technology. The world is not that exclusive. There is not going to be two cultures again — the Culture of Humanities and the Culture of Science. A vast number of scientific developments are taking place in different areas which have direct impact on human welfare. There are other subjects which can lead to human destruction. But let this University pick up those ideas of science and technology which have direct impact on human ideas and future development of mankind. I think the University will take into account those subjects. I don't think that the University will have funding problem to set up more Schools. There is no problem of land — 446 acres of land is enough. The House should be thankful to Bihar Government for letting this land for the University despite the land acquisition controversy. Sir, the Nalanda spirit should be looking into the 21st Century needs not only of India, not only of South East Asia, but also, as Mr. N.K. Singh said, of wider global confluence of ideas and of minds. This kind of place it should be. Much will depend on what kind of minds you attract in the beginning itself. The Mentor Group has been very ably represented and chaired by none else than Dr. Amartya Sen, and other scholars from the South-East Asia. The faculty should be very selectively chosen. Unless the faculty is top-class, the University will not grow. I like that there should be an international competition for a good design and I am sure that the best of the design will be chosen. But it is not just about building, it is about what kind of faculty you are going to appoint. I have a feeling that this University should provide not just the degrees, but to make it a place of confluence of ideas there has to be exchange of ideas. In fact, scholars of eminence from all over the world should be invited. They should be resident scholars. Let the University finance their stay; let them discuss their ideas in the coffee house, and I am sure you will provide some good coffee houses also. Let exchange of ideas take place and out of which some four or five good ideas may come. If this exchange of ideas takes place on a positive track, I am sure it will work. On the Governing Board I find, frankly speaking, that there is over-

1.00 P.M.

representation of Secretaries of the Government of India. I think the Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs should be there and rightly so unlike a suggestion was made that it should be made part of the HRD Ministry. I think the Ministry of External Affairs has the right to manage it because there is an international message attached to it of public diplomacy which is very important. But why so many other Secretaries? The best thing is to look for the top academicians anywhere in the world to give shape to the University. It is like a child which has to be nurtured. If it is nurtured on proper lines, I think it will be an advantage for the country and the people and it should be advantageous for the world also.

SHRI BHARATKUMAR RAUT (Maharashtra): Sir, I feel proud, privileged and fortunate to be a part of the process in this House in which history is awakening after 1200 years. The re-inception of Nalanda is a historic moment in this world. I am also proud that this House today has shown how in-depth and serious discussion it can indulge into. Those who only say that House is an akhada for *mara-mari*, they should see that this House can also become serious and impart some good information and thoughts when it comes to the real test.

Sir, right in the beginning, I would say that I have introduced couple of amendments. I would first talk about them and then, I would talk about the rest of the Bill. Sir, I would suggest that this University should be called 'Nalanda Vidyapeeth'. I am not against the word 'University' per se. I am not against the English language. But, when we are trying to show India as a soft power, here, we should also preserve its history. 'Vidyapeeth' is a seat of learning. It has a place in Indian philosophy. Hiuen Tsang, in his travelogue, has mentioned Nalanda as *Vidyapeeth*. University is a western concept. I am not against it. University is a concept, but when you have to preserve the eastern side, I think, this should be called 'Nalanda Vidyapeeth'. The Act may be called anything, but the university should be called 'Nalanda Vidyapeeth'.

Having said this, I would like to make a couple of suggestions in this Bill. The Bill is very comprehensive, but, still, I think it needs to give a re-look to some provisions. I will go through some clauses. Clause 7 mentions that how the Governing Board will function. As Mr. H.K. Dua just now mentioned, there is too much presence of bureaucracy in this Bill. Why do you need bureaucrats in this area of academics? Here, I would like to make one suggestion. Clause 7(d) says that a Member, not below the rank of Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, to be nominated shall be the Member Secretary of the Governing Body. Sir, this is a new university, where a lot of work is to be done by the Secretary General of the Governing Body. How do you expect a Secretary rank person in the External Affairs Ministry to discharge this function? He has his own work on his desk. Over and above that, he should take care of this work also. It means he will be doing this as an additional work. My suggestion to the Minister is to have a full-time Secretary General for this body. You need a full-time Secretary General to look after the day-to-day working of this body.

Another thing is that there are many bureaucrats; there are donor Members and others. This House will be enacting the Act, by which this University will come into existence. In many universities of the country, particularly Central Universities, you have representative from both Houses of the Parliament. I don't see any representation of the Members of Parliament in this body. I am a proud parliamentarian and we have many Members who can really contribute to the University's functioning. We have learned Dr. Karan Singh sitting here. We have Dr. Kapila Vatsayayan, Dr. Ram Prakash sitting here. Shri Balavant alias Bal Apte is here, and we have many more such Members. They can really contribute to the working of the University. So, my suggestion to the Minister is to include, at least, two Members of the Parliament on the Governing Board. ...*(Time-bell rings)*... They are in many such bodies, in Aligarh University, in Banaras University.

Sir, I have some more suggestions. In clause 24, we talk about which schools this university will have. That gives a list of around seven schools. My request to you is that when we are talking of this as an ancient university, Nalanda, during its time, was the most modern university. It had a modern outlook and it was considered to be the most modern university in those times. Don't consider this as an ancient thing. When we are reviving Nalanda, we should have a modern outlook for it. Don't dwell into the past; history is gone by, the good and the bad of history is gone by. As famous Marathi poet, Keshavsut, a rebel poet said,

जुने जाऊ द्या, मरणा लागुनी, जालुनी अथवा पुरुनी टाका, सावध ऐका पुढल्या हाका!

Whatever is the old, let it go by, and, listen to the call of tomorrow. Sir, we should also listen to the call of tomorrow.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI BHARATKUMAR RAUT: And, for that, apart from Buddhism and other things, we should have medical sciences like Unani, and, many medical sciences in the East should be brought forth into this university. There is no provision for medical schools in this. There should be a communication school. There should be a modern management school. There should be schools of modern sciences. If you bring them here, then, new students would like to join those schools. If I am not interested in history, even then, I should be able to get attracted to...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Raut, please conclude. We have a number of speakers. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BHARATKUMAR RAUT: Sir, with these words, I conclude my speech. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would like to again remind the hon. Members that we have hardly 55 minutes because at 2 o' clock, we have to take up the Private Members' Business. Here, we have seven speakers left. We have to finish this including the Reply in 55 minutes; otherwise, this debate would not be concluded. At 2 o' clock, the Private Members' Business has to be taken up.

SHRI M. RAMA JOIS (Karnataka): Sir, I feel extremely happy to speak on this Bill. I would say that the day of introduction of this Bill should be recorded in golden letters. Nalanda University was one of the world's largest university with 10,000 inmates and 1,500 to 2,000 teachers. People from all parts of the world came here for education. It was proudly declared by our ancestors.

एतद्देशे प्रसूतस्य साकाशाद्ग्रा जन्मनः
स्वम् स्वम् चरितम् शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्याम् सर्व मानवः

1,500 years ago, people from all parts of the world were coming here for higher education. That was the position. Nalanda, Takshila, and, Vikramshila were set up in Bihar. But, unfortunately, in the meandering course of our history, Nalanda University was destroyed. Fortunately, it is being resurrected in the form of this Nalanda University Bill. 100 years ago, Max Mueller from Germany, who studied our entire philosophy, Vedas, Upanishads, delivered a lecture, and, the title of the lecture was "What India can teach us". He said, if I am asked a question: Under this sky and this wide world, on which part of the earth, there has been an indepth study of human nature and solutions have been provided, I can point out, India and India alone. That is what Max Mueller had said.

Bihar is one of the richest State of our country. I think, the first Governor of Bihar was Shri R. R. Diwakar. ...(*Interruptions*)... He wrote a book titled, "Bihar through the ages". He has written a very big book recording the entire history of Bihar, in which, there is a reference to the Nalanda University.

Some people say, America is the richest country, or, some other country is the richest. From the financial or wealth point of view, it may be some other country, but from the point of view of human values, cultural values, I can say, with all confidence, that ours is the richest country and no wealth of the world can equal it. I will speak about that, but the first thing I would speak about is appointment of a Vice-Chancellor. A University can be made best provided you appoint the best Vice-Chancellor. The whole object can be defeated if the first Vice-Chancellor is appointed by collateral consideration. That should not happen.

Another thing is, establishment of Nalanda University should be the inauguration of friendly relationship between India and China. We see that all the pilgrim centres of Chinese Buddhists are in India Bodh Gaya, Sarnath, Rajgir. Buddhism is flourishing in Sikkim also. There is one statue of Padmasambhava. I have gone there and I have seen that statue. That is 185 feet statue in sitting pose. Hinduism and Buddhism, joining together, can establish harmonious relationship among people all over the world.

Another thing is, today, we are facing corruption, the most rampant thing. The answer is found in the teachings of Buddha. Buddha had said two things. What are they? Greed is the root of misery—*aaseye dukkhakke moolavayya* in Kannada. The second thing is अहिंसा परमोधर्मः—Don't indulge in violence either against human beings or even living beings. These are the two teachings of Buddha. Today, the very root of corruption is the greed of the human being and the people who are in power. Bihar is such a State where great personalities,

famous all over the world, were born. Only to name a few, Sita, Raja Janak, Buddha, Mahavira, Patanjali, Chanakya, Chandra Gupta and then Yagyavalkya who wrote Mitakshara.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand): Guru Gobind Singh.

SHRI M. RAMA JOIS: Guru Gobind Singh was born in Patna. I have seen that Gurudwara also. I was fortunate of being Governor there. But, unfortunately, I found that there was no Buddha statue in Patna whereas so many politicians' statues were there. When I was the Governor, I contacted a monk in Bodh Gaya. He presented a beautiful bronze statue of Buddha brought from Thailand. It was installed in front of the statue of Babu Rajendra Prasad. Every evening, it becomes a place of pilgrimage for the people in Patna. Then, Buddha gave most importance to the *dharma*. Why do you consider *dharma* supreme? The answer is given in half a line in the Mahanarayan Upanishad— धर्मेण पापमपुनुदति तस्मात् धर्म परमं वदन्ति —*Dharma* destroys sinful thoughts and, therefore, *dharma* is supreme. Therefore, I always say that *dharma* is preventive and law is punitive. Law will come in to act only after a person commits offence but *dharma* has the capacity to prevent a man from committing this offence. Therefore, this Nalanda University should become a place to inculcate sense of *dharma* in every student who comes for study there. And, the slogan from most ancient time is सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनः — All should be happy. Never think in terms of religion or caste or whatever it is. That is why in Hitopadesha, Sarvajna Narayana declares अयं निजः परो वेति गणना लघुचेतसाम् उदारचरितानां तु वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् — This man belongs to my clan; that man does not. Let him ruin like that. That should never be there in our mind. We always consider that the entire humanity is one. Now, people say that world is one. But there is a difference. The Westerners' concept is that world is one market whereas ours is that world is one family. That is the difference. Then, what is the quality of *vidya*? Suppose he is a graduate, he is a Ph.D. holder, he has got Master's Degree or MS from America and all that. It is such highly-educated persons who are indulging in terrorism, in hijacking planes. Are they uneducated persons? Most educated persons are indulging in terrorism and that is because the *vidya* is minus culture. Unless *vidya* is accompanied by character and humanness, it is dangerous. That is why, today, educated persons are the so-called demons in human form. They are the persons who are creating a lot of trouble.

“Vidya dadati vinayam
Vinayad yati patratam
Patratam dhanam apnoti
Dhanad dharmum tatab sukham”

Education provides character and fitness. Once you get fitness and suitability, through it, you can earn money legally. And when you earn money legally, not illegally, you lead a happy life. But, unfortunately, today, education is minus ethics or minus character. That is the problem we are facing today. I am sure the Nalanda University will re-start this process of inculcating character and sense of *dharma* in every individual.

A great definition of vidya is given by Bhartrihari which has now become part of judgement of the Supreme Court.

विद्या नाम नरस्य रूपमधिकं प्रच्छन्न गुप्तं धनम्

It means education is the special attribute of a man and it is related to wealth.

विद्या भोगकारी यशःसुखकारी विद्या गुरुणं गुरुः।

Education gives pleasure, success, and happiness. It is the teacher of the teacher.

विद्या बंधुजनो विदेशगमने विद्या परा दैवत

When you go abroad, education is your best friend. Education is God incarnate.

विद्या राजसु पूज्यते न तु धनम् विद्याविहीनः पशुः ॥

Education, not money, is respected by the State. A man without education is equal to an animal. That has been quoted by the Supreme Court in AIR1994. They said that education is a fundamental right. No Article of the Constitution says that education is the fundamental right. But the Supreme Court declared that education is a fundamental right because we have a right to life and liberty. And subsequent to the judgement of the Supreme Court, Article 21 A has been added to the Constitution conferring right to education as a fundamental right. Now the Compulsory Education Act has been passed by Parliament.

Swami Vivekananda said thus about education. Character building and man-making education should be imparted to every individual. Without that, nation cannot progress.

My appeal is that the Nalanda University should be made the best university in the world through which cultural value can be imparted to all not just to the individuals of our country. The slogan given by our ancestors is that we will civilise the entire world through education. At that time, students from all parts of the world were coming to India for getting real education. Unfortunately, that trend was reversed. Now people go from our country to foreign countries for education. And what type of education are they receiving? There are two things. One is for earning money, another is developing character. As far as first one is concerned, probably we may have progressed. Education has been imparted for earning money. Many medical colleges, engineering colleges and law colleges have come into existence. But there is no college, no educational institution which imparts character to an individual. Without character we cannot serve the nation at all.

Because, the police, the CBI, and Magistrate's court cannot solve the problem of rampant corruption. Corruption can be removed only by inculcating sense of dharma in every individual. This university should become pioneer in imparting good education to every individual.

Therefore, my submission is that in the real sense of term the entire world is one; all human beings belong to one family. The so-called secularism par excellence has been our rajadharma. Our rajadharma declared "Yatha sarvani bhutani dhara dharyate saman, Tatha sarvani bhutani vibhratah parthivam vratam." It means, how the State should treat all the citizens. Just as

mother earth gives equal treatment to all her children, the State should give equal treatment. (Time-bell ring) There is another Narada Smriti पाषंड नैगम पूरा व्रत गणाधिषु, संरक्षेत समयं राजा। Disbelievers in Vedas should be given the same amount of protection as is given to the believers in Vedas. That is why, in thousand years of our history, there is no question of State (Kings) persecuting persons belonging to any other religion. That is why, Swami Vivekanand said that ultimately if you want to civilise the entire world and bring harmony among all the people, the responsibility is given to India and India alone. That has been the declaration of Swami Vivekanand. Therefore, we should resurrect all our cultural values and ultimately, India should be taken to the pinnacle of glory.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: One minute please. If the House agrees, I would request Shri Shantaram Laxman Naik to take the Chair.

[THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANTARAM LAXMAN NAIK) IN THE CHAIR]

SHRI M. RAMA JOIS: Sir, I conclude with these words. Sir, Nalanda means, give ananda to everybody. Etymologically, Nalanda means that. Let this university be a major step to take our nation to the pinnacle of glory. Thank you.

डा. राम प्रकाश (हरियाणा) : श्रीमान्, भारत ने ज्ञान के क्षेत्र में विश्व को बहुत कुछ दिया है। शून्य और गिनती, जिसे गांव में आज भी हिन्दसे कहते हैं, क्योंकि अंकों की गणना भारत से गई थी, इसलिए इस विद्या का नाम हिन्दसे है। और भी बहुत कुछ हमारे यहां से देश-विदेश में गया है। यहां नालंदा, तक्षशिला, विक्रमशिला विश्व प्रसिद्ध ज्ञान केन्द्र थे। इसलिए आज इस विद्यापीठ की स्थापना का उद्देश्य, स्थान का चयन, नालंदा नाम को पुनर्जीवित करना, ये सभी बहुत सराहनीय कार्य हैं, जिनके लिए मैं सरकार के प्रति आभार प्रदर्शित करता हूँ।

इसके उद्देश्यों में स्पष्ट लिखा है कि इन देशों की बौद्धिक, दार्शनिक, ऐतिहासिक, धार्मिक, आध्यात्मिक विरासत और भाषा का अध्ययन करना, उसे समझना और पारस्परिक एकता का आधार बनाना इसका लक्ष्य है। इस नाते बौद्ध संस्कृति और दर्शन के अध्ययन की बात को मैं बहुत अच्छा मानता हूँ। लेकिन, तुलनात्मक अध्ययन के लिए इसके साथ प्राचीन वैदिक संस्कृति, भारतीय दर्शन, वेद शास्त्रों और आर्ष साहित्य का अध्ययन नितांत आवश्यक है।

वेद विश्व में प्राचीनतम ग्रंथ हैं। विदेशियों ने भी इस बात को स्वीकार किया है। पुराने ऋषियों से लेकर महर्षि दयानंद सरस्वती तक के वेद भाष्यों के तुलनात्मक अध्ययन के लिए यह विश्वविद्यालय एक विभाग अवश्य निश्चित करे। संस्कृत भाषा के ज्ञान के लिए यह नितांत आवश्यक है कि व्याकरण का अध्ययन किया जाए और पाणिनी की रचना अष्टाध्यायी मानव मस्तिष्क का एक अद्भुत आविष्कार है। उसके बिना हमारे प्राचीन साहित्य को समझ पाना नितांत कठिन है। इसके उद्देश्यों में एक बात ancient science की लिखी गई है, इसलिए मेरा यह अनुरोध रहेगा कि बौद्ध चिकित्सा पद्धति और आयुर्वेद को भी इसमें सम्मिलित किया जाना चाहिए।

आज विदेशी लोग भारतीय प्राकृतिक संपदा का पेटेंट बना करके उसे अपने कब्जे में ले रहे हैं और इसकी सुरक्षा के लिए बहुत जरूरी है कि यहां हम आयुर्वेद के अध्ययन पर बल दें। साथ ही, मैं यह बात कहना चाहूंगा कि एक बौद्ध ग्रंथ ललित विस्तर के दसवें अध्याय में 64 लिपियों की चर्चा की गई है। आज वे लिपियां लुप्तप्राय हैं। ब्राह्मी, जो बायें से दायें लिखी जाती थी, खरोष्ठी, जो दायें से बायें लिखी जाती थी, आज इनके ज्ञाता नहीं हैं। अगर मैं गलती नहीं करता तो, हरियाणा, पंजाब, हिमाचल प्रदेश, यह जो उत्तर भारत का क्षेत्र है, इसमें इन लिपियों का केवल एक ज्ञाता आचार्य विरजानंद दैवकरणि हरियाणा का निवासी है। अगर इन

लिपियों के जानने वाले लोग नहीं रहेंगे, तो जो सिक्कों, मोहरों, शिलालेखों, ताम्रपत्रों और कहीं-कहीं घड़ों पर लिखी हुई इन लिपियों में इतिहास है, वह लुप्त हो जाएगा। इसलिए अगर हम प्राचीन इतिहास का, पूर्वी एशियाई देशों के इतिहास का अध्ययन करना चाहते हैं, तो इन लिपियों के ज्ञाता पैदा करना भी इस विद्यापीठ का एक विशेष लक्ष्य होना चाहिए। यह बात मैं इस नाते कह रहा हूँ कि इतिहास का ज्ञान संस्कृत के जाने बिना संभव नहीं है। इंडोनेशिया के एक राष्ट्रपति का नाम सुकर्णो था। यह उनकी भाषा का शब्द नहीं है। यह सुकर्ण से बना है, अच्छा सुनने वाले से बना है और हमारा अपना शब्द है। बाली द्वीप में बैंक को अर्थलोक कहते हैं, इससे बढ़िया इसके लिए कोई और शब्द नहीं हो सकता। इसी तरह पंजाबी में गांव को पिंड कहते हैं, क्योंकि कभी एक बुजुर्ग ने गांव बसाया था। उसके बाद उसके बच्चे, उनकी संतानें वहां बसती गईं, क्योंकि वे एक पिंड से पैदा हुई संतानें थीं, इसलिए गांव का नाम पिंड पड़ गया। बिना संस्कृत को समझे, पंजाबी भाषा के गहन अर्थों को समझना भी नितांत मुश्किल है, इसलिए मैं यह समझता हूँ कि इस पर ध्यान देना ज़रूरी है। इन देशों में बहुत इतिहास बिखरा पड़ा है। मैंने रामायण पर इंडोनेशिया का टिकट 1971 में देखा था। इन देशों में हमारी जो संस्कृति है, उसे जानने के लिए इन लिपियों का ज्ञान आवश्यक है।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ। इस विश्वविद्यालय को हम विद्यापिठ कहना चाहेंगे, क्योंकि अगर आपने नालन्दा को पुनर्जीवित करना है, तो उसे जमाने में विश्वविद्यालय शब्द नहीं था और जब वहां विश्वविद्यालय शब्द नहीं था और विद्यापिठ था, तो हम उसी शब्द को इस्तेमाल क्यों न करें? आज पूना को पुणे, बम्बई को मुम्बई, ये सारे नाम बदले गए हैं तो इस नाम को भी पुनर्जीवित करने की आवश्यकता है। मैं यह बात इस नाते कह रहा हूँ कि देवनागरी का एक विभाग निश्चित रूप से वहां खोला जाना चाहिए। ये शब्द विनोबा भावे की इस अवधारणा का समर्थन करते हैं कि अगर हमें राष्ट्रीय एकता को पैदा करना है, अगर हमें एक-दूसरे के ज्ञान को समझना है, तो सब भाषाओं की अपनी लिपियां हों, कोई बात नहीं, उसका मैं स्वागत करता हूँ, लेकिन उसके साथ वैकल्पिक लिपि के तौर पर देवनागरी लिपि भी हो और जिन बोलियों की कोई लिपि नहीं, उनको देवनागरी लिपि प्रदान की जाए, यह भी बहुत ज्यादा ज़रूरी है। वैसे तो देवनागरी का एक विश्वविद्यालय खुलना चाहिए लेकिन कम से कम यह एक विभाग ज़रूर हो।

महोदय, अंतिम बात मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जो कमेटी गठित की गई है, उसमें मुझे एक अभाव बहुत अखरता है। इसमें कोई प्राच्य विद्या का विद्वान नहीं है, इसमें कोई भाषाविद् नहीं है। डा. लोकाश चन्द्र जैसा विद्वान इस कमेटी का हिस्सा होना चाहिए। उनके पूज्य पिता डा. रघुवीर ने जितनी इस देश की भाषायी दृष्टि से, साहित्यिक दृष्टि से सेवा की है, मैं यह समझता हूँ कि वह व्यक्ति भारत रत्न के लिए उसी तरह हकदार है जिस तरह धर्मशास्त्र का इतिहास लिखने के बाद डा. पी.वी. कणे उसके हकदार थे।

महोदय, अंत में मैं आपसे यह निवेदन करूंगा कि इसकी गवर्निंग बॉडी पर सरकारी अफसरों की बहुतायत नहीं होनी चाहिए। बाद में हम चीखते हैं, हमें दुख होता है कि इसको ब्यूरोक्रेसी ने जकड़ लिया। इसमें भाषाविद् हों, इसमें प्राचीन इतिहास को जानने वाले लोग हों, प्राचीन लिपियों को जानने वाले लोग हों, आयुर्वेद को जानने वाले लोग हों, अगर ऐसे लोगों के साथ इस विद्यापीठ की स्थापना की जाएगी, तब तो यह अपना लक्ष्य पूरा करेगी, नहीं तो यह भी दूसरे विश्वविद्यालयों की तरह एक विश्वविद्यालय बनकर रह जाएगा। महोदय, नाम का बहुत महत्व होता है। मैं महर्षि दयानन्द की एक बात के साथ अत्यधिक सहमत हूँ। उन्होंने कहा था कि हम कर्मभ्रष्ट तो हो गए, नामभ्रष्ट तो न हों। इस नाते इसका नाम विश्वविद्यालय न रख करके विद्यापीठ रखा जाना चाहिए। आपने मुझे अपनी बात कहने का मौका दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद करता हूँ।

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि (उड़ीसा): हमारी ओर से आपका नाम भी दिया गया है। भारतकुमार राऊत जी कह रहे थे...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राम कृपाल यादव (बिहार): धन्यवाद उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सबसे पहले माननीय मंत्री जी के प्रति आभार व्यक्त करता हूँ जो इस ऐतिहासिक पल में इस ऐतिहासिक बिल, नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय विधेयक, 2010

को लेकर आए हैं। मैं अपनी तरफ से और अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से तो उनके प्रति आभार व्यक्त करता ही हूँ, पूरे बिहार की नौ करोड़ जनता की ओर से भी माननीय मंत्री जी के प्रति आभार व्यक्त करता हूँ। महोदय, बिहार का अपना एक अलग गौरवशाली इतिहास रहा है, इस संबंध में कुछ कहने की जरूरत नहीं है, पूरी दुनिया जानती है, आप स्वयं भी जानते होंगे। कई महत्वपूर्ण योगदान बिहार के रहे हैं। नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना पांचवीं शताब्दी में हुई थी और दुनिया की विभिन्न जगहों से यहां पर लोग अध्ययन करने के लिए आया करते थे - तर्कशास्त्र का अध्ययन करने के लिए, अर्थशास्त्र का अध्ययन करने के लिए, गणित का अध्ययन करने के लिए, ज्योतिष विद्या का अध्ययन करने के लिए - 16 ऐसे महत्वपूर्ण विषय थे, जिनको पढ़ने के लिए लोग यहां बिहार में नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय में पढ़ने के लिए आते थे। यहां पर दस हजार विद्यार्थी हुआ करते थे। यह विश्वविद्यालय लगातार बारहवीं शताब्दी तक चला। बारहवीं शताब्दी में इसका समापन हो गया। लोगों में मानसिक परिवर्तन आया होगा, सोचा होगा, कई तरह की बातें हुई होंगी, नए concept आए होंगे और इस प्रकार बारहवीं शताब्दी में यह विश्वविद्यालय समाप्त कर दिया गया। मगर आज सरकार ने उसकी अहमियत को समझा और यह निर्णय लिया कि इस बिल के माध्यम से पुनः नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना हो तथा यहां उन तमाम विषयों की पढ़ाई हो जो आदिकाल में हुआ करते थे। अब फिर इस विश्वविद्यालय में पढ़ाई होगी - गणित की पढ़ाई होगी, व्यापार की पढ़ाई होगी, विज्ञान की पढ़ाई होगी, तर्कशास्त्र की पढ़ाई होगी, ज्योतिष विद्या की पढ़ाई होगी, कई अन्य महत्वपूर्ण विषयों की पढ़ाई होगी और लोग ज्ञान प्राप्त करेंगे। इस प्रकार अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर इसको स्थापित करने की कोशिश, पुनर्विद करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। महोदय, बौद्धिक दृष्टिकोण से, शिक्षा के दृष्टिकोण से बिहार बहुत ही सनद रहा है, अमीर रहा है। वैसे बिहार गरीब राज्य है, आज भी वहां पिछड़ापन है, अशिक्षा है - मैं इन सब चीजों को मानता हूँ। बिहार की यह बहुत पुरानी मांग रही थी कि वहां पर जो नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय से खंडहर है, उनको पुनर्जीवित करने का काम किया जाए और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस कानून के माध्यम से वह पुनर्जीवित होगा और यह बिल पुनः इतिहास बनाने का काम करेगा। मैं इस संबंध में मंत्री जी को जितना धन्यवाद दूँ, कम होगा। महोदय, जो यू.पी.ए.-1 की गवर्नमेंट थी, जिसमें हमारी पार्टी का समर्थन था, आदरणीय रामविलास पासवान जी, जो एल.जे.पी. से हैं, उनका भी समर्थन था, उस समय ही इसका शुभारम्भ हो गया था, एक खाका तैयार होने लगा था। जब ढाका में 2005 में शिखर सम्मेलन हुआ, उसी समय इसकी बुनियाद डाली गयी।

लोगों ने इस पर विचार करने का काम किया सार्क सम्मेलन नहीं, शिखर सम्मेलन नहीं। उसका जो कंसेप्ट है वह कार्यरूप में 17 जनवरी, 2007 को आया और यह निर्णय हो गया कि नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना बिहार में होगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह मेरे लिए ऐतिहासिक पल इसलिए भी है और हम सब लोगों के लिए सौभाग्य की बात है कि यहां हमारी पार्टी के सम्मानित नेता जाबिर हुसेन साहब हैं, जो विद्वान हैं, प्रोफेसर हैं, साहित्यकार हैं, लेखक हैं, जिनकी यह जन्मस्थली भी है। मैं इनका भी आभार व्यक्त करता हूँ और इनको भी बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। यहां हमारे जो माननीय नेता राजनति प्रसाद जी हैं, यह उनकी भी जन्मस्थली रही है। सर, मैं आपको बताऊँ कि...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शान्ताराम लक्ष्मण नायक): अब आप वाइंड अप कीजिए, समय हो गया है।

श्री राम कृपाल यादव: मैं पहला व्यक्ति हूँ कि जब खड़ा हुआ हूँ और किसी को नहीं रोका गया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शान्ताराम लक्ष्मण नायक): एक मिनट में खत्म करें।

श्री राम कृपाल यादव: सर, मैं लिमिटेड समय में ही अपनी बात कह दूंगा।

जैसा कि मैंने बताया कि अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सहमति के बाद पूर्व एशिया शिखर सम्मेलन के फैसले के आलोक में विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना करने का फैसला जनवरी, 2007 में हुआ। भारत सरकार ने जून, 2007 में नालन्दा सेंटर ग्रुप का गठन किया, जिसकी 6 बैठकें हुईं और उनमें विश्वविद्यालय की रूपरेखा तैयार कर ली गई। महोदय, मैं आपको बताऊँ कि इस विधेयक के बारे में देश के लोगों को आज अपार खुशी हो रही है, सभी माननीय सदस्यों ने भी इसका स्वागत किया है। सर, इस विधेयक के उद्देश्य के प्रति भी मैं अपनी सहमति व्यक्त करता हूँ। जो मूल उद्देश्य है इस विधेयक को लाकर कानून बनाकर विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना करने का, उस

मंशा पर भी मैं सहमति व्यक्त करता हूँ। इस विधेयक में इस विश्वविद्यालय को नॉन प्राफिट सेक्युलर और स्वसंचालित संस्था के तौर पर पेश किया गया है, इसमें महात्मा गौतम बुद्ध के आदर्शों, उनकी नसीहतों के प्रति आस्था व्यक्त करते हुए शिक्षा और शोध के कार्यक्रम तय किए गए हैं, विधेयक में अध्ययन और अध्यापन के व्यापक प्रारूप भी दिए गए हैं। नालन्दा एक प्रकार से पूरे बिहार की धरती, गुरु महात्माओं, सूफी संतों की धरती रही है। पूरी दुनिया में इसका ऐतिहासिक महत्व है। यहां महात्मा बुद्ध, भगवान महावीर, गुरुनानक देव, शरफुद्दीन, यहिया, मनेरी, शाह शुएब आदि अनेक गुरुओं ने धर्मनिर्पेक्ष मूल्यों के आधार पर जीवन-शैली अपनाने के व्यावहारिक उपदेश दिए हैं। मेरा सुझाव है कि इस विश्वविद्यालय में इन सभी धाराओं का समावेश हो और समान रूप से सभी धार्मिक सामाजिक आस्थाओं को स्थान दिया जाए। विधेयक की धारा-9 में ...**(समय की घंटी)**... बस, सर, दो-तीन मिनट में खत्म कर रहा हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शांताराम लक्ष्मण नायक): आप अपनी ही पार्टी के मेंबर का टाइम ले रहे हैं।

श्री राम कृपाल यादव: सर, मैं बिहार से आता हूँ, इसका ऐतिहासिक महत्व है।...**(व्यवधान)**... टाइम तो सब लोगों का पूरा होता है, कहां इंटरप्शन आता है। मैं खड़ा हुआ, तुरन्त घंटी बज जाएगी।

विधेयक की धारा-9 में विश्वविद्यालय के उद्देश्यों की विस्तृत चर्चा की गई है। इसमें “without excluding any other thoughts and practices” का उल्लेख है, मैं इसका भी स्वागत करता हूँ। विधेयक में विभिन्न भाषाओं तथा साहित्य के अध्ययन शोध की चर्चा है। सच्चाई यह है कि अब भी विभिन्न शोध संगठनों में प्राचीन भाषाओं में बहुमूल्य पांडुलिपियां अप्रकाशित, असुरक्षित पड़ी हुई हैं। वे पांडुलिपियां पाली, प्राकृत, संस्कृत, फारसी, अरबी भाषाओं में हैं। विश्वविद्यालय के उद्देश्यों में इनके प्रकाशन तथा आज के परिवेश में इनकी व्याख्या का भी प्रावधान किया जाना उचित होगा। महोदय, विधेयक में पब्लिक, प्राइवेट तथा विदेशी जोनेशन की व्यवस्था है। इसमें पूर्व एशियाई देशों का आर्थिक सहयोग शामिल है। सरकार को पी.पी.पी. तथा विदेशी धन पर खास नजर रखने की जरूरत होगी, ताकि किसी भी रूप में इसका दुरुपयोग नहीं होने पाए। सार्क देशों के बीच हुई सहमति के आधार पर दिल्ली में एक अंतर्राष्ट्रीय विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना का विचार आकार ले चुका है। पूर्व में जवाहर लाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना भी इन्हीं ऊंचे आदर्शों को लेकर की गई थी। ...**(समय की घंटी)**... सर, बस, खत्म कर रहे हैं। आज वहां की स्थिति क्या है, यह हम सब लोग जानते हैं। क्या वहां पर सब कुछ ठीक-ठाक चल रहा है, इसको देखने की जरूरत है..।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शांताराम लक्ष्मण नायक): ठीक है, ठीक है।

श्री राम कृपाल यादव: नालंदा mentor group, Harword विश्वविद्यालय और न्यूयार्क विश्वविद्यालय के डिप्लोमा को जगह दी गई है। ये विद्वान भारतीय मूल के हैं, मैं इसका भी स्वागत करता हूँ, परन्तु भारतीय विश्वविद्यालयों में भी दशकों से कार्यरत विद्वानों को उचित महत्व दिया जाना चाहिए। सरकार इस पर ध्यान देगी, मेरा यह विश्वास है। मैंने जो अपने विचार रखे हैं, उनका समावेश इस विधेयक में किया जाना चाहिए। इस विधेयक में जो कमी है, उसको दूर किया जाना चाहिए। मैं इस विधेयक का पूरा समर्थन करता हूँ। मुझे विश्वास है कि इस विधेयक के माध्यम से जो नालंदा विश्वविद्यालय का निर्माण किया जा रहा है, उसके उद्देश्यों को सरकार पूरा करेगी और देश-विदेश के लोग इस अंतर्राष्ट्रीय विश्वविद्यालय में आयेंगे तथा शिक्षा ग्रहण करके, उनका व्यक्तित्व निखरेगा और वे देश तथा दुनिया की सेवा करेंगे। मैं पुनः इसका समर्थन करते हुए, आपका आभार व्यक्त करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

प्रो. सैफुद्दीन सोज (जम्मू और कश्मीर): जनाबेवाला, डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब ने ठीक कहा था, जब वह सदरनशीन थे यहां के कि आज की बहस का म्यार इतना बुलंद हो गया कि उन्होंने घड़ी की तरफ नहीं देखा। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे इस विषय पर कुछ नहीं बोलना था। मैंने समझा कि मेरे पास वह इल्म नहीं कि मैं नालंदा विश्वविद्यालय के बारे में बोलूँ। लेकिन जब मैंने डा. कर्ण सिंह जी की तकरीर सुनी, तो मुझे लगा कि डा. कर्ण सिंह जी ने ऐसा मिजराब छेड़ा है जिसकी ले का दिल की कायनात में, इंसानियत की बका के लिए एक रूहपरवर तलातुन पैदा कर सकता है। मैं इस ले का इस्तकबाल करता हूँ। मुझे आज बड़े दिनों में एक लुत्फ पैदा हुआ कि सारा एवान जो था, हर मेम्बर जो इस सभा का था, वह ले का आशिक हो गया था। हम सब

जुड़ गए थे हिन्दुस्तान की अजमत के लिए। मैं डा. कर्ण सिंह जी को मुबारकबाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस सदन का वकार बुलंद किया है और मैं हुकूमते हिंद को, यूपीए सरकार को मुबारकबाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान की अजमततेरफता को, फिर से जिंदा किया है। यह ऐसा पैगाम है सारी दुनिया के लिए, मैं देख रहा था कि ईस्ट एशिया की सम्मिट मिलेगी, लेकिन यह पैगाम जो नालंदा का है, ये हिन्दुस्तानगीर नहीं है, यह आलमगीर है। इसलिए मैं इस कंसेप्ट का, इस ख्याल का, इस तजवीज का खैरमकदम करता हूँ दिल की गहराईयों से।

मैं अभी देख रहा था, क्योंकि डा. साहब ने जब तकरीर फरमाई और हमको जोड़ दिया, तो मैंने देखा कि पिछले हफ्ते में अमर्त्यसेन और George Yeo जो सिंगापुर के वजीरे खारजा हैं, उन्होंने एक mentor group तशकील दिया है और काफी बातें की हैं। मैं इस एवान में एक तजवीज रखता हूँ, इसलिए नहीं कि उनसे कहता हूँ, बल्कि उनका मर्तबा बढ़ेगा कि उस mentor group में डा. कर्ण सिंह जी को शामिल किया जाना चाहिए, एक दरखास्त उनको देनी चाहिए। अभी ईस्ट एशिया सम्मिट हो रही है, आज जब इस बिल को पास करेंगे, उसके बाद उनकी तजवीज है कि ईस्ट एशिया सम्मिट में, इस बिल को, हमारी तजवीज को वह देखेंगे। उसके बाद नालंदा यूनिवर्सिटी का निर्माण होगा। अभी डा. साहब बता रहे थे, मैंने सोचा था कि इस बहाव में याद दिलाऊँ कि जब नालंदा यूनिवर्सिटी थी, इससे कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता है मेरे भाइयों कि इसको विद्यापीठ कहेंगे, यूनिवर्सिटी कहना ज्यादा मुनासिब है। यह तो बड़ा म्यार रखा, सारी तकरीरें, एक से एक बढ़िया तकरीरें यहां हुई हैं। अभी यहां मोहन सिंह जी याद दिला रहे थे कि ये सेक्युलर यूनिवर्सिटी होगी, सबकी यूनिवर्सिटी होगी। मैं उस पर भी जरा आऊंगा। जब हम इस यूनिवर्सिटी के काम में आगे बढ़ेंगे, तो मुझे ख्याल आया कि मैं एक कश्मीरी होने के नाते डा. साहब को याद दिलाऊँ, वह उस मायने में मेरे हम वतन है कि जिस वक्त नालंदा थी, उस वक्त तक्षशिला यूनिवर्सिटी थी और उस वक्त कश्मीर की शारदा यूनिवर्सिटी थी। कश्मीर ने क्या इस मुल्क को कुछ नहीं दिया है? हमने इबनेबतूता दिया है, हमने कलहन दिया है और आज की तारीख में जो आपके पास लाइब्रेरी में सारी किताबें प्रिंटेड हैं। हमारे इतिहास की हिन्दुस्तान की पांच हजार साल पुरानी तारीख है, जो लिखी हुई है। उसमें जो लिखा हुआ इतिहास है, वह कश्मीर ने दिया है, कलहन ने राज तरंगनी में। तो मैंने चाहा था डाक्टर साहब को याद दिलाऊँ कि कभी इस एवान में शारदा यूनिवर्सिटी की बुनियादी रखने का भी प्रोजेक्ट होना चाहिए। क्योंकि उस जमाने में नालंदा के साथ शारदा यूनिवर्सिटी भी थी और यह सब मीरास जो है, मैं याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ मोअज्जिज साहेबान को कि यह मीरास इंसानियत की मीरास है, हिन्दू, मुसलमान, सिख, इसाई और बौद्ध की मीरास है। इसलिए मैं नालंदा यूनिवर्सिटी के इस ख्वाब की जो ताबीर हुई है, उसका इस्तकबाल करता हूँ। यह मीरास सबकी है, हिन्दुस्तान के हर बाशिंदे की है और दुनिया के हर बाशिंदे की है। इसीलिए मैं इस सदन को यह याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ, कभी-कभी मौका मिलता है, कभी-कभी हम घर से तैयार होकर बोलने के लिए आ जाते हैं, कभी-कभी डाक्टर कर्ण सिंह जी जैसे लोग यहां मिजराब छेड़ते हैं और दिल के तार हिलने लगते हैं और रस्मे तहरीक पैदा होती है कि कुछ बोला जाए। आज मुझे यह कहने का मौका मिला है कि जब जहालत फैल जाती है, उसका मजहब से ताल्लुक नहीं होता है, जब महात्मा बुद्ध के बुत बामियान में तोड़े जा रहे थे, मैं दुनिया के उन करोड़ों मुसलमानों में शामिल था, जिनके दिल में बड़ा दुख पैदा हो गया था। बाकी लोगों की तो बात ही नहीं है। जहालत के साथ सारे लोग नहीं होते हैं। असल में कुछ मुसलमान इस्लाम की तालीमात के दरमियान हाइल हो गए हैं और हमने मातम किया था उस अमल पर, जिसमें महात्मा बुद्ध के मुजस्समे तोड़े गए थे, क्योंकि आपके दिल में ख्याल होना चाहिए। किसी मजहब में नहीं हो सकता है ये कि वह दूसरे मजहब का अपमान करे। आपको, हमको किसी को हक नहीं पहुंचता है कि मैं किस तरफ नमाज पढ़ता हूँ, मुसलमान अपने इल्म से वह करे, लेकिन दूसरे मजहब का एहताराम करना हर मजहब ने सिखाया है और इसीलिए मुझे याद आ गया आज के दिन महात्मा बुद्ध के मुजस्समे को जिन लोगों ने तोड़ा उन्होंने खुद मुसलमानों के दिलों पर नेजे या कुदाल चलाए थे। उनको इल्म नहीं था कि इस्लाम रवादारी का मजहब है। डा. कर्ण सिंह जी ने अपनी खूबसूरत तकरीर में पैगम्बर इस्लाम को भी याद किया। मैं इसकी तहकीकात करके, अभी मैं जाहिल हूँ, मुझे मालूम नहीं है, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की मीरास, हिन्दुस्तान की अजमत और हिन्दुस्तान में जो कल्चर था, उसके बारे में जो कहा गया है, इसी सदन में पलट के आऊंगा, लेकिन उनके दो बोल मैं इस वक्त बताना चाहता हूँ। मैं इसमें जरा सा बताऊंगा कि रवादारी और वुस्सत नजर की क्या है, उन्होंने यह बोला कि मुसलमान मर्दाँ और मुसलमान औरतों के लिए इल्म हासिल करना लाजमी है

اور इल्म को इतना तंग नहीं बनाया कि कहां इल्म हासिल करें और दूसरे बोल में कहा कि इल्म हासिल करो। मैं अरबी में बताऊंगा — तलब अल इल्म वलौकान बैना। उस जमाने में चीन दूर था, कोई रास्ता नहीं था, कोई सड़क नहीं थी, कहा कि अगर इल्म हासिल करना जरूरी है, तो अगर चीन भी जाना पड़े तो इल्म के लिए यह हिदायत है। इसीलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि ये जो आप नालन्दा की बुनियाद रखने जा रहे हैं, यह इल्म का नूर है, यह इंसानियत की मीरास है, इसीलिए मैंने डा. कर्ण सिंह जी के साथ अपनी जरा सी आवाज मिलाने की कोशिश की है मैं अल्लामा इकबाल के एक मिसरे पर खत्म करता हूँ, शायद की उतर जाए, तेरे दिल में मेरी बात। बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया।

†] **پروفیسر سیف الدین سوز : جناب عالی، ڈپٹی چیئرمین صاحب نے ٹھیک کہا تھا،**
 جب وہ صدر نشین تھے یہاں، کہ آج کی بحث کا معیار اتنا بلند ہو گیا کہ انہوں نے
 گھڑی کی طرف نہیں دیکھا۔ میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ مجھے اس وشنے پر کچھ بولنا
 نہیں تھا۔ میں نے سمجھا کہ میرے پاس وہ علم نہیں کہ میں نالندہ و شوودیالیہ کے
 بارے میں بولوں۔ لیکن جب میں نے ڈاکٹر کرن سنگھ جی کی تقریر سنی، تو
 مجھے لگا کہ ڈاکٹر کرن سنگھ نے ایسا مضراب چھیڑا ہے جس کی لے کا دل کی
 کائنات میں، انسانیت کی بقا کے لئے ایک روح پرور تلاطم پیدا کر سکتا ہے۔ میں
 اس لے کا استقبال کرتا ہوں۔ مجھے آج بڑے دنوں کے بعد اک لطف پیدا ہوا، سارا
 ایوان اور ہر ممبر اس لے کا عاشق ہو گیا تھا۔ ہم سب جڑے ہوئے ہندوستان کی
 عظمت کے لئے۔ میں کرن سنگھ جی کو مبارکباد دیتا ہوں کہ انہوں نے اس سدن
 کا وقار بلند کیا ہے اور میں حکومت ہند کو، یوپی۔اے۔ سرکار کو مبارکباد دیتا ہوں
 کہ انہوں نے ہندوستان کی عظمت رفتہ کو، پھر سے زندہ کیا ہے۔ ایک ایسا پیغام
 ہے ساری دنیا کے لئے، میں دیکھ رہا تھا کہ ایسٹ ایشیا کی سمٹ ملے گی، لیکن
 یہ پیغام جو نالندہ کا ہے، یہ ہندوستان گیر نہیں ہے، یہ عالم گیر ہے۔ اس لئے میں
 اس کنسپیٹ کا، اس خیال کا، اس تجویز کا دل کی گہرائیوں سے خیر مقدم کرتا ہوں۔
 میں ابھی دیکھ رہا تھا، کیونکہ ڈاکٹر صاحب نے جب تقریر فرمائی اور ہم
 کو جوڑ دیا، تو میں نے دیکھا کہ پچھلے ہفتے میں امرتہ سین اور George Yeo
 جو سنگاپور کے وزیر خارجہ ہیں، انہوں نے ایک mentor group تشکیل دیا ہے
 اور کافی باتیں کی ہیں۔ میں اس ایوان میں ایک تجویز رکھتا ہوں، اس لئے نہیں کہ
 ان سے کہتا ہوں، بلکہ ان کا مرتبہ بڑھے گا اس mentor group میں ڈاکٹر کرن

† [Transliteration in Urdu Script]

سنگھہ جی کو شامل کیا جانا چاہئے، ایک درخواست ان کو دینی چاہئے۔ ابھی ایسٹ ایشیا سمٹ ہو رہی ہے، آج جب اس بل کو پاس کریں گے، اس کے بعد ان کی تجویز ہے کہ ایسٹ ایشیا سمٹ میں، اس بل کو، ہماری تجویز کو وہ دیکھیں گے۔ اس کے بعد نالندہ یونیورسٹی کا نرمان ہوگا۔ ابھی ڈاکٹر صاحب بتا رہے تھے، میں نے سوچا تھا کہ اس بہاؤ میں یاد دلاؤں کہ جب نالندہ یونیورسٹی تھی، اس سے کوئی فرق نہیں پڑتا ہے میرے بھائیوں، اس کو ودھیاپیتھہ کہیں گے، یونیورسٹی کہنا زیادہ مناسب ہے۔ یہ تو بڑا معیار رکھا ساری تقریروں کا، ایک سے سے بڑھیا تقریریں یہاں ہونی ہیں۔ ابھی یہاں موہن سنگھہ جی یاد دلا رہے تھے کہ یہ سیکولر یونیورسٹی ہوگی، سب کی یونیورسٹی ہوگی۔ میں اس پر بھی ذرا آؤں گا۔ جب ہم اس یونیورسٹی کے کام میں آگے بڑھیں گے، تو مجھے خیال آیا کہ میں ایک کشمیری ہونے کے ناطے ڈاکٹر صاحب کو یاد دلاؤں، وہ اس معنی میں میرے ہم وطن ہیں، جس وطن نالندہ تھی، اس وقت تکشیلہ یونیورسٹی تھی اور اس وقت کشمیر کی شاردہ یونیورسٹی تھی۔ کشمیر نے کیا اس ملک کو کچھ نہیں دیا ہے؟ ہم نے ابن بطوطہ دیا ہے، ہم نے کلہن دیا ہے اور آج کی تاریخ میں جو آپ کے پاس لائبریری میں ساری پرنٹڈ کتابیں ہیں۔ ہمارے اتہاس کی، ہندوستان کی پانچ ہزار سال پرانی تاریخ ہے، جو لکھی ہوئی ہے۔ اس میں جو لکھا ہوا اتہاس ہے، وہ کشمیر نے دیا ہے۔ کلہن نے راج ترنگنی میں۔ تو میں نے چاہا تھا کہ ڈاکٹر صاحب کو یاد دلاؤں کہ ابھی اس ایوان میں شاردہ یونیورسٹی کی بنیاد رکھنے کا بھی پروژل ہونا چاہئے۔ کیوں کہ اس زمانے میں نالندہ کے ساتھ شاردہ یونیورسٹی بھی تھی اور یہ سب میراث جو ہے، میں یاد دلانا چاہتا ہوں معزز صاحبان کو کہ یہ میراث انسانیت کی میراث ہے، ہندو، مسلمان، سکھ، عیسائی اور بودھ کی میراث ہے۔ اس لئے میں نالندہ یونیورسٹی کے اس خواب کی جو تعبیر ہوئی ہے، اس کا استقبال کرتا ہوں۔ یہ میراث سب کی ہے، ہندوستان کے ہر باشندے کی ہے اور دنیا

کے ہر باشندے کی ہے۔ اسی لئے میں اس سدن کو یہ یاد دلانا چاہتا ہوں، کبھی کبھی موقع ملتا ہے، کبھی کبھی ہم گھر سے تیار ہو کر بولنے کے لئے آ جاتے ہیں، کبھی کبھی ڈاکٹر کرن سنگھ جیسے لوگ یہاں مضراب چھیڑتے ہیں اور دل کے تار ہلنے لگتے ہیں اور رسم تحریک پیدا ہوتی ہے کہ کچھ بولا جائے۔ آج مجھے یہ کہنے کا موقع ملا ہے کہ جب جہالت پھیل جاتی ہے تو اس کا مذہب سے تعلق نہیں ہوتا ہے، جب مہاتما بدھ کے بت بامیان میں توڑے جا رہے تھے، میں دنیا کے ان کروڑوں مسلمانوں میں شامل تھا، جن کے دل میں بڑا دکھ پیدا ہو گیا تھا۔ باقی لوگوں کی تو بات ہی نہیں ہے۔ جہالت کے ساتھ سارے لوگ نہیں ہوتے ہیں۔ اصل میں کچھ مسلمان اسلام کی تعلیمات کے درمیان حائل ہو گئے ہیں اور ہم نے ماتم کیا تھا اس عمل پر، جس میں مہاتما بدھ کے مجسمے توڑے گئے تھے، کیوں کہ آپ کے دل میں خیال ہونا چاہئے، کسی مذہب میں نہیں ہو سکتا ہے کہ وہ دوسرے مذہب کا اہمان کرے۔ آپ کو، ہم کو کسی کو حق نہیں پہنچتا ہے کہ کوئی کس طرح نماز پڑھتا ہے۔ مسلمان اپنے علم سے وہ کرے۔ لیکن دوسرے مذہب کا احترام کرنا ہر مذہب نے سکھایا ہے اور اسی لئے مجھے یاد آ گیا آج کے دن مہاتما بدھ کے مجسمے کو جن لوگوں نے توڑا انہوں نے خود مسلمانوں کے دلوں پر نیزے اور کدال چلانے تھے۔ ان کو علم نہیں تھا کہ اسلام رواداری کا مذہب ہے۔ ڈاکٹر کرن سنگھ جی نے اپنی خوبصورت تقریر میں پیغمبر اسلام کو بھی یاد کیا۔ میں اس کی تحقیق کروں گا، ابھی میں جاہل ہوں، مجھے معلوم نہیں ہے، لیکن ہندوستان کی میراث، ہندوستان کی عظمت اور ہندوستان میں جو کلچر تھا، اس کے بارے میں کہا گیا ہے، اسی سدن میں پلٹ کے آؤں گا، لیکن ان کے دو بول میں اس وقت بتانا چاہتا ہوں۔ میں اس میں ذرا سا بناؤں گا کہ رواداری اور وسعت کی نظر کیا ہے، انہوں نے یہ بولا کہ مسلمان مردوں اور مسلمان عورتوں کے لئے علم حاصل کرنا لازمی ہے اور علم کو اتنا تنگ نہیں بنایا کہ کیا علم حاصل کریں اور

renowned for its mathematics and astronomy in ancient days. So, I would like to know from the hon. Minister why these subjects have not been included. Secondly, it was a Buddhist University, but now, will it serve the purpose of an institution devoted to global religious reconciliation?

Lastly, I would like to say in support of this Bill that there is an imperative need for retrieval of roots, a connection to the soul of Indian learning, systematically, at almost the exact physical location of the ancient Nalanda Vidyapeeth.

श्री रामविलास पासवान (बिहार): उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं भारत सरकार को बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि जो चीज खत्म हो गई थी, उन्होंने 800 साल के बाद, उसको फिर से न सिर्फ पुनर्जीवित करने का काम किया है, बल्कि विश्व के पैमाने पर भारत और नालंदा विश्वविद्यालय का नाम भी प्रकाशित करने का काम किया है। सर, जब हम नालंदा की बात करते हैं, तो साहसा बौद्ध धर्म की याद आ जाती है। यदि आज विदेश में भारत की पहचान है तो वह बौद्ध धर्म के कारण है। मैं राम और भगवान बुद्ध में कोई अंतर नहीं मानता हूँ, लेकिन भगवान बुद्ध को मानने वाले आज दुनिया में जितने लोग हैं, आप इस्लाम धर्म को छोड़ दें, क्रिश्चियन तो हैं ही, शायद ही किसी अन्य को मानने वाले हैं। उसके साथ ही जब आज भी बौद्ध धर्म दुनिया में जीवित है, तब हमें आत्मविवेचन करना चाहिए कि जो बौद्ध धर्म भारत में पैदा हुआ, जहां भगवान बुद्ध पैदा हुआ, जहां पर भुगतान बुद्ध ने दीक्षा ली, आज वहां पर बौद्ध धर्म क्यों समाप्त हो गया? बौद्ध धर्म को पुनर्जीवित करने का श्रेय यदि किसी को जाता है, तो वह बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर को जाता है। जिन्होंने 14 Oct., 1956 को, महाराष्ट्र के नागपुर में बौद्ध धर्म की दीक्षा भूमि में दीक्षा लेने का काम किया। उस समय, उनके साथ, जिन दस लाख लोगों ने बौद्ध धर्म को स्वीकार किया, वे सभी दलित वर्ग के थे। बौद्ध धर्म को यहाँ से समाप्त कर दिया गया। आज चीन में बौद्ध धर्म है, चीन अमेरिका से टक्कर लेने को तैयार है। जापान में बौद्ध धर्म है, जापान अमेरिका से टक्कर लेने को तैयार है। जिस बौद्ध धर्म ने सामाजिक कुव्यवस्था को दूर किया था, जात-पात को दूर किया था, हमने उसी बौद्ध धर्म को समाप्त करके पूरे देश को गर्त में लाने का काम किया है।

भारत की कितनी पूजा होती है। मैं ताइवान गया हुआ था, ताइवान में हमने लोगों से पूछा, वे हमारे मित्र थे, कि मैं भारत से आपके लिए क्या तोहफा लाऊँगा। उन्होंने कहा कि और कुछ नहीं, हमारे लिए बोध गया से एक पेड़ लेकर आइएगा। वहाँ से एक छोटा-सा पेड़, वह भी proper बोध गया में होता है या नहीं, लेकिन लोग बेचते हैं, मैं उसे लेकर वहाँ गया, उसकी लोगों ने पूजा की। जब मैं दोबारा गया, तो वह पेड़ बहुत बड़ा बन गया था। वह छोटा-सा पौधा बहुत विशाल बन गया था। इतनी पूजा होती है। आज यदि हम दुनिया को कहते हैं कि भारत दुनिया का गुरु है, तो उसमें भुगवान बुद्ध का सबसे बड़ा हाथ है और अहिंसा का सबसे बड़ा हाथ है। लेकिन हम क्या करते हैं?

कल मैंने कहा था कि Act अलग होता है, fact अलग होता है। हमें इस बात का डर है कि आप नालंदा विश्वविद्यालय बनाने जा रहे हैं, लेकिन कल इसका control किनके हाथों में होगा? वही कुछ IAS अफसर, IFS अफसर इसे control करेंगे। यही लोग करेंगे। मैं कोई politics नहीं करना चाहता हूँ। अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी बना, उसका minority character था, जामिया मिलिया, minority character था, हमने इसे कहाँ खत्म कर दिया? एन.के. सिंह जी यहाँ हैं, आप चले जाइए बोध गया, वहाँ बौद्ध विहार मंदिर है। बौद्ध विहार मंदिर Budhists के लिए है, लेकिन हमने वहाँ क्या उत्पात मचाया है। बौद्ध विहार मंदिर की 9 मैम्बर्स की मैनेजमेंट कमेटी है। हमारे बहुत सारे पुराने साथी यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं, अम्बिका सोनी जी बेठी हुई हैं। हमने कैबिनेट में कई बार इस मामले को उठाया कि बोध गया मैनेजमेंट कमेटी में 9 मैम्बर्स हैं और यह कहा गया है कि 9 मैम्बर्स में से 4 मैम्बर्स हिन्दू रहेंगे और 4 मैम्बर्स गैर-हिन्दू रहेंगे। कानून यह बना दिया गया कि इसका चेयरमैन कलक्टर होगा। इतनी दूर तक तो ठीक है। हम संविधान में कहते हैं कि जात-पात नहीं है, लेकिन हमने उसके एक्ट में लिखा हुआ है कि यदि कलक्टर हिन्दू होगा, तो वह चेयरमैन होगा और अगर कलक्टर हिन्दू नहीं है, Buddhist है, तो वह चेयरमैन नहीं होगा। इससे ज्यादा शर्म की बात और कुछ नहीं हो सकती है। आज यदि कोई हिन्दू

2.00 P.M.

का मंदिर है, शंकराचार्य का मंदिर है, क्या कोई मुसलमान उसका चेयरमैन बन सकता है, कोई Buddhist उसका चेयरमैन बन सकता है या कोई ईदगाह है, कोई शरीफ है, वहाँ कोई बन सकता है? जहाँ भगवान बुद्ध ने दीक्षा ली, उस बौद्ध विहार में कानून बना हुआ है कि उसका चेयरमैन हिन्दू ही होगा। अगर कोई दूसरा कलक्टर जाएगा, तो वह उसका चेयरमैन नहीं होगा। मैं आपके माध्यम से यह माँग करना चाहता हूँ कि जब आप यह प्रस्ताव पास करते हैं, आप तुरंत यहाँ से बिहार सरकार को निर्देश दीजिए कि बिहार सरकार वहाँ कानून में संशोधन करे और उस बौद्ध विहार के मंदिर में Buddhists को majority में रखा जाए। हम लोग इसके लिए कितनी बार जेल गए। 22 अप्रैल को करीब 5 हजार बौद्धों को लेकर, जो महाराष्ट्र के नागपुर से लेकर नॉर्थ-ईस्ट, सब जगह से आए थे, हम लोग जेल गए थे। इसलिए मैंने कहा कि Act अलग होता है, fact अलग होता है। हम आज कानून बना देंगे कि इसका secular character होगा, लेकिन हमें इस बात का डर है कि कब यह कट्टरवादी हिन्दुवादी के हाथों में चला जाएगा और जो भगवान बुद्ध का दर्शन है, वह भगवान बुद्ध का दर्शन इसमें से विलोपित हो जाएगा। आपने कहीं नहीं लिखा है कि जो मैनेजमेंट कमेटी बनेगी, उस मैनेजमेंट कमेटी में कितने Buddhists रहेंगे। आपने इसे बाद के लिए छोड़ दिया है। यह vague है और इसको साफ करना चाहिए।

सर, मैं आपका ज्यादा समय नहीं लूँगा, मैं देख रहा हूँ कि आप हमारी तरफ देख रहे हैं। दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप यूनिवर्सिटी बना रहे हैं, लेकिन किसी यूनिवर्सिटी का सम्बन्ध पेट से होता है। अंग्रेज यहाँ कितने सालों के लिए आए थे? अंग्रेज यहाँ 1857 में आए और 1947 में चले गए। 100 सालों के लिए अंग्रेजों का भारत में आना और हमारी मातृभाषा, हिन्दी नौकरानी बन गई है। देशी भाषा नौकरानी बन गई है और अंग्रेजी महारानी बन गई है।

अंग्रेजी क्यों महारानी बन गई है? अंग्रेजी इसलिए महारानी बन गई, क्योंकि आपने उसका संबंध पेट से जोड़ दिया, नौकरी से जोड़ दिया। जब तक आप...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शान्ताराम लक्ष्मण नायक): एक मिनट, पासवान जी। If the House agrees, we can pass the Bill first and postpone, for a while, the taking up of the Private Members' Business at 2.30 p.m.

श्रीमती वृंदा कारत (पश्चिम बंगाल): सर, पहले बिल को पास कर दीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शान्ताराम लक्ष्मण नायक): ठीक है, पासवान जी, आप बोलिए।

श्री रामविलास पासवान: सर, मैं आपसे कहना चाह रहा था कि भाषा का संबंध, जिस भाषा में नौकरी मिलती है, वह पेट से जुड़ा हुआ है। अभी हमारी साथी कह रहे थे, उस समय वहाँ पर लोकल भाषा पाली चलती थी और पाली में ही पढ़ाई होती थी, लेकिन अब लोग पाली की पढ़ाई करके क्या करेंगे? कहां जाएंगे? आज संस्कृत पढ़ने वाले लोग कहां जा रहे हैं? उर्दू पढ़ने वाले लोग कहां जा रहे हैं? सिर्फ अंग्रेजी पढ़ने वाले लोगों के लिए सभी दरवाजे खुले हुए हैं, बाकी दूसरी भाषा पढ़ने वाले लोगों के लिए कोई दरवाजा खुला हुआ नहीं है। इसलिए जब तक आप इसका संबंध पेट से नहीं जोड़ेंगे, तब तक वह सफल नहीं हो पाएगा। नालंदा यूनिवर्सिटी से जो स्टुडेंट पढ़ कर निकलेगा, वह कहां जाएगा? वह लड़का क्या करेगा? क्या वह जाकर सिर्फ बुद्धम शरणम् गच्छामी करता फिरेगा? वह आखिर क्या करेगा? जो बच्चे वहां पढ़ेंगे, आपको उनके भविष्य की तरफ भी देखना पड़ेगा।

मैं फिर कहना कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस बौद्ध धर्म ने पूरे देश में और पूरी दुनिया में मानवता का संदेश दिया, वह बौद्ध धर्म आज भारत से विलुप्त क्यों हो गया है? वह कौन सी मानसिकता है, जो यहां पर फैल रही है? हम 'सर्वधर्म' की बात करते हैं, 'वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्' की बात करते हैं, लेकिन वे कौन सी ताकतें हैं, जो हमें कमजोर बना रही हैं? हमको उन ताकतों को समाप्त करना पड़ेगा। उन कट्टरपंथी ताकतों को सोचना पड़ेगा कि भारत एक बगीचा है और इस बगीचे में हर तरह के फूल हैं। यहां पर हिन्दू भी हैं, मुसलमान भी हैं, सिक्ख भी हैं, ईसाई भी हैं, दलित भी हैं, ब्राह्मण भी हैं। बगीचे का वही माली अच्छा होता है,

जिसके बगीचे में हर तरह का फूल खिलता है। जिसे बगीचे में सिर्फ कमल का फूल खिले, बाकी फूल मुरझा जाएं, तो समझ लीजिए कि बगीचे का माली बेईमान है।

अंत में हम यह कहना चाहेंगे कि हमारे मन की मधुमक्खियां ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: माननीय सदस्य कमल की बात कर रहे हैं ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रामविलास पासवान: सर, मैंने बीजेपी का नाम कहा है, मैंने तो कमल की बात की है ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: सर, मैं माननीय सदस्य से पूछना चाहता हूं कि आखिर बौद्ध गया मन्दिर का कानून कब से बना है?

श्री रामविलास पासवान: यह कानून बहुत पहले से है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शान्ताराम लक्ष्मण नायक): ठीक है, ठीक है...(व्यवधान)... पाणि जी, आप बैठ जाइए ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: बौद्ध गया मन्दिर का कानून कब से है?...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रामविलास पासवान: हमने बोला ना कि कानून बहुत पहले से है।...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शान्ताराम लक्ष्मण नायक): ठीक है, ठीक है, समाप्त कीजिए...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: 1990 में लालू जी की सरकार थी, 9 साल आपने बिहार पर राज किया ...(व्यवधान).... आपने जब कमल के फूल का नाम लिया, तभी हम बोल रहे हैं...(व्यवधान)...

श्री प्रवीण राष्ट्रपाल (गुजरात): क्या आपने कमल का फूल पेटेंट करवा लिया है?

श्री रामविलास पासवान: कमल के फूल का मतलब क्या बीजेपी ही होता है?...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: हम इशारा समझते हैं...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रामविलास पासवान: आप इशारा समझते रहिए...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शान्ताराम लक्ष्मण नायक): पासवान जी, समाप्त कीजिए ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रामविलास पासवान: सर, लास्ट में हम इतना ही कहना चाहेंगे ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: बौद्ध गया मन्दिर का कानून कब से है?

श्री रामविलास पासवान: 1949 से हैं ...(व्यवधान).... मैं आपकी पार्टी को कहां दोष दे रहा हूं?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शान्ताराम लक्ष्मण नायक): पासवान जी, आप प्लीज समाप्त कीजिए ...(व्यवधान).... बस आपका हो गया, धन्यवाद ...(व्यवधान).... ।

श्री रामविलास पासवान: सर, अभी डॉक्टर साहब ने जो कहा, उनका समर्थन करते हुए मैं सिर्फ इतना ही कहना चाहता हूं कि रवीन्द्रनाथ टैगोर ने कहा था, हमारे मन की मधुमक्खियां संसार के सभी उद्यानों में जाएंगी, सभी बगीचों में जाएंगी और अपनी मेहनत से मधु का कोष तैयार करेंगी, इसलिए हम अपना दरवाजा खोल कर रखें। हमारी सभ्यता, हमारी संस्कृति पर हमें नाज़ है। हर संस्कृति पर नाज़ नहीं किया जा सकता है ...(व्यवधान).... और इन्होंने जो वास्तुकला की बात कही, उन सबको समाविष्ट करते हुए, उसका जो करेक्टर होना चाहिए, वह सैकुलर होना चाहिए। यदि हम सैकुलर करेक्टर की बात करते हैं तो एडमिशन से ले करके एजुकेशन तक और विद्यार्थी से लेकर शिक्षक तक, सब में सैकुलर करेक्टर झलकना चाहिए। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

श्री राजनीति प्रसाद (बिहार): सर, मैं सबसे पहले नालंदा विश्वविद्यालय बनाने की जो सोच है, उसके लिए इनको धन्यवाद देता हूं। यह बहुत ही अच्छा बिल है। मैं अपनी बात इकबाल की शायरी से शुरू करता हूं,

*कुछ बात है कि हस्ती मिटती नहीं हमारी,
सदियों रहा है दुश्मन दौर-ए-जमां हमारा।*

(श्री उपासभापति पीठासीन हुए)

जो विश्वविद्यालय दर-ब-दर नीचे दफना दिया गया था, जो खत्म हो गया था, उसे हम पुनः वापस ला रहे हैं। हमारी यह कितनी अच्छी परम्परा है और कितनी मधुर सोच है, लेकिन इस विश्वविद्यालय में पढ़ेगा कौन? उसमें शायद एन.के. सिंह जी नहीं पढ़ेंगे, रामविलास जी नहीं पढ़ेंगे और हम भी नहीं पढ़ेंगे। वहाँ पढ़ने कौन जाएगा? मोहन सिंह जी ने बहुत बढ़िया कहा कि कितने ही विश्वविद्यालय खोले गये और संस्कृत और पाली के कितने ही विद्यापीठ खोले गये, लेकिन उनमें विद्यार्थी नहीं मिलते हैं। रामविलास जी ने सही कहा कि कहाँ के विश्वविद्यालय से पास करने के बाद हमको कितना पैसा मिलता है, यह एक बड़ी बात है। इसीलिए, लोग अपने बच्चों का नाम पूना से सिम्बॉएसिस में लिखवाते हैं। नालंदा विश्वविद्यालय में अपने बच्चों को कौन भेजेगा और वहाँ बाहर से कौन आयेगा? हम हार्वर्ड यूनिवर्सिटी इसलिए जाते हैं कि उसका नाम है और अंग्रेज़ियत के कारण हिन्दुस्तान में भी नाम से ही काम मिलता है। इसलिए सर, This solemn may be virtues of life, but, Sir, the prevailing vice cannot be ruled out. This is the fortune of our nation.

इसलिए, आपने यूनिवर्सिटी खोली है, यह मुझे बहुत अच्छा लगा। मैं तो वहाँ पैदा हुआ हूँ। इससे अच्छी बात नहीं हो सकती कि आपने इतने साल पुराने विश्वविद्यालय, जिसकी किताबों को जलने में 6 महीने लगे और जहाँ के लोगों को मार दिया गया, उसको आपने पुनर्जीवित किया है, लेकिन आप इस बात का ख्याल रखेंगे कि कहीं वह किसी की धरोहर न बन जाए। दूसरी बात यह है कि फूल का मतलब गुलाब होता है, फूल का मतलब चम्पा और चमेली होती है, फूल का मतलब केवल कमल नहीं होता है। जो केवल कमल को रखेंगे तो वह चलने वाला नहीं है। अब मैं आपका समय नहीं लूँगा। मैं फिर से इनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि ये इतना बढ़िया बिल यूनिवर्सिटी के लिए लाए हैं। मेरा समय खत्म हो गया है, इसलिए अब मैं इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ। आपने मुझे जो दो मिनट का समय दिया, उसके लिए धन्यवाद।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI PRENEET KAUR): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir. I take note of the suggestions put forward by the hon. Members. Firstly, let me clarify that the Ministry of External Affairs has introduced the Bill as this will be an international University supported by 16 other countries of the East Asia Summit. We will certainly recommend the suggestion regarding the motto and the name of the university will be suitably considered by the governing body of the University and the Nalanda Mentor Group. Regarding the architecture, there will be an international architectural competition held and suggestions made by the hon. Members will be incorporated when calling for the architectural designs. I am in full agreement that our focus has to be on Buddhist studies. This has been incorporated in the objectives of the University. A school of Buddhist Studies is going to be established. I would like to congratulate the hon. Member, Shri Pramod Kureel on his maiden speech and many of the Members have proposed that there should be a special officer. It has been proposed to appoint a dedicated officer at the level of Joint Secretary in the Ministry to handle the working related to the Nalanda University. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am in full agreement that the faculty should be drawn from international academics and that all countries should be involved in Nalanda University, not only the countries of South East and East Asia. In fact, in the Governing Board itself there will be prominent academics on the Board to ensure academic content. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, some suggestions have been made to enlarge the number of school disciplines. There is an enabling clause to do so in the Bill and this will be done in the framing of the statutes. Let me clarify to the hon. Members, Sir, that there will

be a full-fledged resident Vice-Chancellor and other officers of the university for the running of the university on a day-to-day basis as has been laid down under Section 13 of the Bill itself. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I must add that this Bill provides only the broad skeleton of the legislation. The other details mentioned in the valuable suggestions put forward by the hon. Members will be suitably kept in mind while framing the statutes, academics and regulations under the Act provisions. It is with a great sense of happiness, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, that I express my sincere gratitude to the hon. Members of this August House for extending their full support today to the establishment of this great institute of learning. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, may I now request that the Bill be passed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will now put the motion to vote. The question is:

That the Bill to implement the decisions arrived at the Second

East Asia Summit held on the 15th January, 2007, at Philippines and subsequently at Fourth East Summit held on the 25th October, 2009, at Thailand for the establishment of the Nalanda University in the State of Bihar as an international institutions for pursuit of intellectual, philosophical, historical and spiritual studies and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto, be taken into consideration.

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clause 2 was added the Bill.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: In clause 3, there is one amendment by Shri Bharatkumar Raut. Are you moving?

SHRI PRENEET KAUR: Sir, we will refer it to the mentor group.

SHRI BHARATKUMAR RAUT: In view of the assurance given by the hon. Minister that the issue would be referred to the mentor group, I am not moving my amendment.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay. We will now put clause 3 to vote.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

Clause 3 was added to the Bill.

Clauses 4 to 44 were added to Bill.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: In clause 1, there is one amendment by Shri Bharatkumar Raut. Are you moving?

SHRI BHARATKUMAR RAUT: I am not moving.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay. I will now put clause 1 to vote.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

Clause 1 was added to the Bill.

The Enacting Formula, the Preamble and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRIMATI PRENEET KAUR: Sir, I move:

That the Bill be passed.

The question was put and the motion was adopted

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up Private Members' Business (Resolutions). Now, Dr. Gyan Prakash Pilonia to speak.

PRIVATE MEMBERS' RESOLUTION

Constitution of an environment adaptation and mitigation fund

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA (Rajasthan): Thank you, Sir.

Shri N.K. Singh has raised a matter of universal concern. A matter which vitally affects each and everyone — human beings, trees, plants, insects, earth, sky and all the animals. Global warming is called वैश्विक उष्णता. It means, a series of small but consistent increases in atmospheric and ocean temperatures over the past century. It affects the temperature of earth, air and seas. Every time a human cuts down a tree or drives a gas-burning car, he contributes to global warming. Global warming has a direct effect on climate change. Climate change is the affect of global warming on weather. As wind and water get warmer, the earth's climate cycles will change dramatically, leading to shifting in agriculture production and water supply. There is an anticipation — and nearly concurrence — that temperature will rise in future anywhere from 1.1 to 6.4 degree Celsius. And, if earth's temperature rises, evaporation goes up, leading to more pronounced dry spells. At the same time, all the moisture in the air collects over the oceans, and when these clouds finally roll over land, they release torrential and sudden rains. As has happened very recently, cloud burst in Leh is one example of that. There was also a cloud burst on 18th in Uttarakhand is another example of that. And, Sir, somewhere drought and somewhere torrential rains and this shifting of temperature is the affect of global warming. Global warming is generated, primarily, by Greenhouses. The most prevalent green gasses are CO₂, Methane and Nitrous Oxide. A fourth group is fumigated gasses released by Air Conditioners and refrigerators. These are the causative factors. But, Sir, global warming, as I have submitted, affects everyone. The poorest of the poor, the richest of the rich and all kinds of species are affected.

Sir, I had put a question in Rajya Sabha to reply what are the threats of climate change. This was replied on 19th April, 2010, by the hon. Minister of Environment and Forests. He is here to illuminate this to the Rajya Sabha with his views. The Government replied, "The adverse impact of climate change is:—

- “(1) increased frequency of extreme weather events;
- (2) variation in pattern of monsoon;
- (3) rise in surface temperature;
- (4) rise in sea level; and
- (5) melting of glaciers.”