

[श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर]

ने और सरकारी अधिकारियों ने मिलकर, सैनिकों की जमीन पर, कब्जा किया है। उनका कब्जा छुड़ाया जाए और उनको कब्जा दिलाया जाए। सरकार इसकी जिम्मेदारी ले। मैं श्री मेहता जी से कहूंगा कि इस प्रकार के कैसेज उनके प्रदेश जम्मू काश्मीर में भी हैं जहाँ कि इस प्रकार के सैनिक परिवार और उनकी विधवायें हैं जिनको जमीन नहीं मिली है। वह इस और सरकार का ध्यान दिलाये।

MOTION FOR ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL OF INSTITUTES OF TECHNOLOGY

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE (SHRI D. P. YADAV): Sir, I beg to move:—

“That in pursuance of the provision contained in clause (k) of sub-section (2) of section 31 of the Institutes of Technology Act, 1961 (59 of 1961), this House do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Chairman may direct, one member from among the members of the House to be a member of the Council established under sub-section (1) of section 31 of the said Act.”

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

ANNOUNCEMENT RE. ARREST OF SHRI V. K. SAKHLECHA

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have to inform Members that the following telegram dated the 12th August, 1974, regarding the arrest of Shri Virendra Kumar Sakhlecha, Member Rajya Sabha, has been received from the Superintendent of Police, Bhopal:—

“SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR SAKHLECHA, MEMBER OF RAJYA SABHA, ARRESTED AT BHOPAL ON 12-8-1974 AT 1600 HOURS U/S 188 I.P.C AND 32 POLICE ACT FOR

DEMONSTRATING BEFORE MADHYA PRADESH VIDHAN SABHA IN CONTRAVENTION OF REGULATORY ORDERS PASSED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE, BHOPAL.”

The matter regarding non-receipt of communication about the arrest of Shri Sakhlecha was raised yesterday in the House and on our taking it up with the Ministry of Home Affairs, a confirmatory telegram dated 13-8-1974 has also been received from the Superintendent of Police, Bhopal.

Another wireless message since received states that Shri Sakhlecha was sentenced till the rising of the court and was immediately released.

The House stands adjourned till 2.15 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at fifteen minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at seventeen minutes past two of the clock.
Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair

THE UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD BILL, 1974

SHRI V. B. RAJU (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to welcome and wholeheartedly support this Bill. This Bill, as the Minister has mentioned in his introductory speech and also in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, is based on three recommendations. Firstly, it is based on the recommendation contained in the 6-point formula for the State of Andhra Pradesh for its continuance as a single State, as a single unit. Then, consequential to that it is based on the amendments that are made in the Constitution, i.e., Article 371E. Thirdly, it is based on the recommendations of Dr. George Jacob's Committee. Based on these three recommendations, this Bill has been drafted and it is before us.

Sir, in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, it is said that the 6-point formula a new article namely Article 317E establishment of a Central University at Hyderabad. In pursuance of the said formula a new article namely Article 317E is inserted in the Constitution by the institution (Thirty-second Amendment) Act of 1973, empowering Parliament to make a law to provide for the establishment of a university in the State of Andhra Pradesh. In order to work out the details of the proposal for establishment of a central university in the State of Andhra Pradesh, a Committee has been appointed and it has made certain recommendations. Sir, a reference has been made to the six-point formula and what does this six-point formula contain? Paragraph of the statement issued by the leaders of Andhra Pradesh at the time of their consultation with the Central leaders reads like this; institution of uniform arrangements throughout the State enabling adequate preference being given to local candidates in the matter of admission to educational institutions and establishment of a new central university at Hyderabad to existing educational facilities should be the basis of the national policy of the State. Against this background, Sir, the Objects and Reasons of the Bill have to be examined.

Now, Sir, this is not for expanding the jurisdiction of the Central educational ministry in the country or adding one more university to the list of universities it is to "augment the educational facilities" in the State of Andhra Pradesh, and a political decision was taken. It is not for the purpose of meeting the requirements of the Centre to expand educational facilities in the country. No, it is only to augment the educational facilities within the State which had become a controversial factor because of politics. So, it is a political decision. The House should, therefore, examine the objectives and purpose of the Bill in the light of this background. It is good to say that the University is now open to all the students in the country; it is good because it is the central University, immediately it comes to our mind that doors must be kept open to

all; it is good but what is the purpose of establishing the university in Andhra Pradesh? As I understand and I think I am correct, it is only to strengthen the unifying forces in Andhra Pradesh. This concession by the Centre is being given or this financial burden by the Centre is being taken to help Andhra Pradesh to continue as a united State. That was the purpose. Sir, it is not some thing like the Jawaharlal Nehru University or the Delhi University or any other Central university. It is not like that. Sir, there is a background and a commitment was made or a statement was given on the 21st September, 1973, not even a year back. Only to honour this commitment the centre has taken action. The first action the Centre took was to amend the Constitution. Clauses (d) and (e) were added to Article 371. The President has already issued an order to meet the first requirement, that is uniform arrangement being made in the State for the educational facilities in the three Universities there, particularly the Universities, Osmania, Andhra and Venkateswara, defining who is a local candidate or what is meant by a local candidate and fixing of four years' residence. The President had taken action under Article 371(d) and now for fulfilling Article 371(e), that is, to augment the educational facilities, this Bill has been brought forward. Sir, it is proposed in the Bill that admission is open to all through a test. The hon. Minister in the other House has mentioned—it is a very important statement, when it comes from the Minister, naturally it is significant and important—that geographically the location of the University would itself guarantee that an overwhelming majority of the students would be belonging to the area concerned.

Now this is the statement of the Minister. This is what is actually behind the mind of the Government of India that by and large this university is meant for meeting the requirements of the local people of Andhra Pradesh. Let us not mince matters here. Let us not bring national unity or national disunity. Let us not import all these factors into the debate. Every time we cannot talk about it. So, this Bill has a limited

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purpose. So my submission is that the policy must be consistent and be pursued and one should not feel in any quarter that the Government of India has changed its attitude or policy. Based on this, depending upon this, the State Government requested when Dr. Jacob Committee went there, that 80 per cent of the seats could be reserved for the State's children. It is not agreed. Therefore, there is very little for me to speak because it appears to me from this Bill that this university is being constituted for extending the Centre's educational facilities that is, Centre taking up the responsibility of increasing the number of Central universities. What was the need for amending the Constitution? What was the need for Article 371(E)? Why should a university be established in Hyderabad? Why not in Madras? Why not in Bangalore? Why establish it in Hyderabad and for what reason, for what purpose? As I said, the Minister has already mentioned in the other House while replying to the debate that "because of geographical location, there will be an advantage". What is the difficulty in providing for reservations? what is the difficulty? I am a nationalist, a perfect nationalist; I want national unity but I want the policy to which the Government of India was committed, to be pursued. Therefore, this is a point which I want to bring to the notice of the House, to the notice of the Minister and to the notice of the Government of India and I would go into a bit of detail saying that Osmania University has prescribed restrictions in the admission into its colleges, affiliated colleges and its own colleges, and there was the Mulki Rule that unless a person had been a resident in Telangana area for 15 years, he would not be eligible to be admitted and even now in the Presidential order, the restriction is 4 years. Hyderabad happens to be the capital for the whole State and children of the officers or Advocates who practise in the High Court or the children of the businessmen who trade in the city of Hyderabad and who will be staying there and children from other areas who reside there must also get education and it will not be possible to get admission in to the Osmania University. Therefore, the very purpose of constituting a university at

Hyderabad is to provide additional facility. It is a simple modest purpose. On the question of admission to the Osmania University, there was a controversy and amongst the students community, there was actually some misunderstanding and there was a lot of agitation. I need not repeat the whole thing here.

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra): Sympathising with all that you have said, are you not putting too narrow an interpretation on the question of Central University?

SHRI V. B. RAJU: That is exactly for the fear I may be misunderstood, I have made myself clear. I said we could establish a Central university anywhere. It could be open to the whole of India. Why establish it only in Hyderabad? Why did you select Hyderabad? Why didn't you establish in Madras? In fact here was a move some time ago after independence to change the medium of instruction of the Osmania University from Urdu to Hindi instead of to English for national requirements. I would like a university being established in the South with Hindi as the medium. I would like it. I want it. And it may be established in Madras or in Trivandrum or in the extreme South. Those who talk loud about Hindi, what are they doing? I am not mixing up things.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala): They are the greatest enemies of Hindi.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: I will not go into that. What is the purpose? Let us recall to our mind. We have forgotten what the purpose to and what was the background in actually establishing a university in Hyderabad. I would like to request the Members of this House and the leaders of the Opposition also to read the debates. A concession was shown, that is, that the Centre would bear the expenditure for an additional University in Andhra Pradesh. In fact, the State itself could have established a university there but for its financial limitations. Moreover university education is by and large a State subject. University education is not actually the concern of the Centre.

It is in List II. Why then had we to amend the Constitution and take up the responsibility of establishing a university there? That is the point. I am not narrow minded; I will never give a narrow interpretation to a national matter; I will be the last man to do it. Even the State has been asked to give a thousand acres of land, develop it and give it.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : राजू जी आप कह रहे हैं कि 6 पोइन्ट फार्मूले के अन्दर यह खुल रहा है इसलिए यह होना चाहिए।

श्री वी० बी० राजू : वह हमने कबूल किया। पार्लियामेंट के सामने 6 पोइन्ट फार्मूला आ गया उसके बाद कांस्टीट्यूशन एमैंड हुआ। अब मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि उसी पौलिसी को आखिरी दम तक एडाप्ट किया जाय; घड़ी घड़ी पौलिसी नहीं बदलनी चाहिए।

श्री राजनारायण : यह बिल उससे कहाँ अलग हो रहा है।

श्री वी० बी० राजू : यह बिल उससे अलग हो रहा है।

This university is open for admission of students from all over India on test. Anybody can get admission. How then can the students in Andhra Pradesh be impressed upon that this university is being established for their requirements? It is a psychological factor. It may well be in Visakhapatnam, Hyderabad, Secunderabad, anywhere; we do not mind but please consider whether the establishment of this university is in conformity with the policy that has been laid down, or with the commitments made. That is all what I want; nothing more and nothing less.

श्री राजनारायण : आप क्लाज 6 का क्या मतलब लगा रहे हैं। क्योंकि उसमें तो है—
The jurisdiction of the University shall extend to the whole of the State of Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : What does it mean? It means nothing except that they could have campuses outside Hyderabad also. Nothing more than that.

श्री राजनारायण : यह भी तो हो सकता है the whole of India.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : It is true that they could do it.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : But they have not mentioned the whole of India.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : It is not merely a question of . . .

श्री राजनारायण : मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि यहां इंडिया रखें या होल आफ आन्ध्र प्रदेश रखें। दोनों में फर्क होगा या नहीं होगा?

श्री वी० बी० राजू : कुछ फर्क नहीं होगा।

I would like that this jurisdiction extends to the whole of India. If you are going to admit children from every corner of India. Let its jurisdiction extend to the whole of India. By merely saying that the jurisdiction shall extend to the whole of the State of Andhra Pradesh what is the substantial gain that the area is going to get? Nothing.

Now, Sir, I would just make a few observations on the structure of the University. There are four tiers. The Visitors, the Chief Rector and so on. What is this Chief Rector for—Is it the sixth tinger of the hand or the fifth wheel of the coach? Why all these ornaments? For what purpose? Then among the Officers of the University, what is the Chancellor going to do? What are his functions? If he is present he might preside over the convocation. Why all those ornaments? Let us be realistic. What is the newness that you are bringing into this University? You have now got an opportunity to bring in some newness, new structure and new approach. Actually you must make sure that you establish student-teacher relationship which is really the worst affected aspect today. How are you going to achieve it through this Bill? Anyhow I am happy that the Minister has already said that in the selection of the Vice-Chancellor the academic community will come into the picture in a big way and that the University will also be teacher oriented and teacher dominated. So far so good but much more important than that is the student-teacher relationship which is now today at a discount. And that is the root cause of all the troubles today in the

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country. It is not politics which is responsible but it is the lack of student-teacher relationship and the actual teacher's influence on the mind of the students. That is very necessary.

Sir, before I conclude I want to refer to the Court of the University. I was just mentioning to my friend, Mr. Rasheeduddin Khan. In the Delhi University it says the court shall be the supreme authority of the university and shall have the power to review the acts of the Executive Council and the Academic Council. That is the position of the Court of the Delhi University. Here there is nothing definite about the Court. The Court is there, the Executive Council is there, the Academic Council is there, the Planning Board is there, and all these bodies are there. Which will coordinate? In the hierarchy which is supreme? Are you not having too many bodies and pulling in different directions, with too many authorities and too many officers.

I repeat—personally, I should not be misunderstood if I am saying that the commitment made in respect of the six-point formula should be agreed to because the State Government also made a representation in the matter.

SHRI J. S. ANAND (Punjab): Despite some differences here and there, I welcome this Bill. I welcome it because it has been brought forward to implement the six-point formula, which is aimed at strengthening the integration of the State of Andhra Pradesh. As Members on both sides know, ours is a party that stood like a rock for the continued integration of the Andhra areas, and this is a step that will further strengthen the integration of the State, and this is the purpose behind this Bill. So, it has my broad support.

There are some amendments circulated one of which wants this University to be called the Hindi University of Hyderabad. Personally, I would prefer that the name should be, the University of Andhra Pradesh. But anyway, there is not much in a name. This University is mainly being constituted to serve the people of Andhra Pradesh, the area of Andhra Pradesh, and to serve the

interests of the culture and education Andhra Pradesh. Therefore, I think this Bill should be supported.

There is the question of the medium of instruction. I am firmly of the opinion the medium of instruction should be Telugu the language of the people of the area in which it is situated, because the University has to serve higher objectives. It is merely the education, but the entire nature of the culture and other aspirations of the people of the area. Therefore, I am in favour of Telugu being the medium of instruction.

Now, Sir, a very cogent case has been made out by my friend just now for 80 per cent of reservation for the people from Andhra area. Though I am in agreement with the spirit of his arguments, I am not prepared to say that I do not find it possible to agree with him that a specific measure of an amendment should be there in the Bill on the ground that 80 per cent reservation should be for that area. It is obvious that an overwhelming majority of the students of the University will be from Andhra area and they will be Telugu people, the medium of instruction being in Telugu. That will itself be a further guarantee of the same thing. But allowing it, to be put in the statute book is not a good thing. Just as there has been an assurance by the Minister, I am not for this.

Then there has been a proposal circulated for reference of this Bill to a Select Committee. I am opposed to this. I think that it is a good thing that the Bill should now come up and the process of integration of Andhra Pradesh will still go forward. The six-point formula is being implemented also. Though the reference to the Select Committee is for only one month, I am afraid it may go even beyond 12 months, and there is no point in delaying a good thing. Therefore, there should be no reference to the Select Committee.

Now, I want to come to the various bodies of the University. I want to submit that after the report of the Gajendragadkar Commission, there has been a tendency in the various universities to concentrate all the powers in the hands

the Executive Council or what is called the Syndicate in some universities, and to make the Court or the Senate a mere decorative body. I have great objection to this. I am a member of the Committee of the Guru Nanak University to go into this question, and despite all the learned arguments advanced by other Members who are from the academic field, I am not at all convinced that the Court should be a body which is only an advisory body which meets only once a year and which cannot go into the day-to-day functioning of the university—not in the matter of day-to-day details but in determining the final shape of the university, in having the final say in all matters. Sir, I feel that the Academic Council should carry on with all the academic questions and the day to day questions which do not involve matters of policy should be settled by the Syndicate or the Executive Council. But here the court is merely reduced to a decorative body.

Apart from this there has been a tendency more and more to convert all these bodies into nominated bodies. The Visitor nominates the Chancellor. The Chancellor nominates the Vice-Chancellor. The Vice-Chancellor nominates the Pro-Vice-Chancellor. Then there is the nominated Senate, out of which there is a Syndicate in which also this nomination system persists. In this Bill particularly under clause 25(2) absolute powers have been given to the Executive Council so much so that it can change the whole of the Statute. Actually that should have been left to Parliament alone. Today it infringes on the powers of Parliament. So I feel that the Court should have more power. The Court should meet at least thrice a year while the Executive Council should meet every other month and the final authority in all matters should be the Court. The Court itself should be so constituted that it represents the opinion of all sections of the people of the area concerned.

Then, Sir, there is the question of representation to the teachers, the students and the employees. Of course, the teachers do

get representation in the University. That somehow or the other exists by the very nature of the University. But the students' representation is nowhere mentioned and employees are not at all given representation in this.

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE (PROF. S. NURUL HASAN): Just a point for clarification. If the hon'ble Member would have looked at the Statute there is a special mention involving students. One of my hon'ble friends, Dr. Ramkripal Sinha, made a reference to it also yesterday.

SHRI J. S. ANAND: First of all, I demand that in all the Universities the students and the employees must be represented on all the important bodies, in the Court, in the Executive Council and on the Academic Council. Secondly, I want that that representation should not be just an eye-wash representation. I am on a body which is there to recommend to the Punjab Government on behalf of the three Universities of the Punjab. Here all efforts are made to keep the students out. It says that only M.A. students would be taken, or only students who get a first class would be taken or students who are proficient in sports would be taken. Everybody knows that this is an effort to keep out the students. The question is: Should not the students be taken in bodies where they can express their own feeling? There they can find a common ground after discussion and thereafter they can act more responsibly.

Then the question is of employees. I welcome the fact that in this Bill there has been a provision that no employee would be dismissed out of hand. There will be a show cause notice and then there is a Tribunal appointed. This Tribunal will have three members—one from the employees, the other from the University authorities and the third from the Visitor. So far as the making of the Tribunal itself is concerned, that also I welcome. But I am afraid the nominee of the Visitor and the nominee of the University will more

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or less have the same outlook and they will always have a majority and this will not lead to the satisfaction of the employees. Secondly, every citizen in this country has a right to go to the court. But here it is said that the award of the Tribunal will be final. This is very sad. This is how, according to them, the Universities vis-a-vis their employees should function. I am connected with the functioning of 14 universities in Northern India. The problem of the employees is so acute. The employees are treated in a master-servant relationship. So many problems crop up. My personal feeling is that the National Labour Commission recommendation that University employees must be brought within the purview of the Industrial Disputes Act should be accepted. If that is not possible then there should be some Central Bill brought forward which should guarantee the rights to the employees in the following matters. First of all, there should be one recognised union of the employees and that should be the union that represents the will of the majority by secret ballot. Secondly, there should be a consultative body between the employees and the administration, with equal representation where all the issues pertaining to the employees should be brought up, because across the table, more than 80 per cent of the issues can be very amicably settled, and much of the discontent of the employees can be removed. Thirdly, the right of the employees to go to the court should be there even after the show-cause notice and the tribunal, as indicated here, is constituted.

Then there is a provision here that there will be a period of probation and that period of probation may be extended. Even after that, the person may not be confirmed. I am of the firm opinion that the provision should be that there will be a definite period of probation. I am for one year. And if within that period, nothing is found against the employee, the employee should be automatically confirmed. Sir, I want to say very strongly that there is an acute discontent amongst the employees of the universities. The students

also are in a state of discontent for various reasons. The employees, the students and the teaching staff constitute the three legs on which the university stands. It will be in the interest of the university, it will be in the interest of the nation as a whole, if in all the bodies of the university proper, democratic, effective representation is given to all the three interests and if there are consultative bodies formed, which will try to remove most of the grievances and difficulties. Otherwise, what is happening is, some of the universities have become storm-centres of the students and certain issues which are not relevant to academic life or to the students' demands are also brought up. In such a situation if the employees also continue to suffer from discontent, you can imagine what their plight would be. I have gone through the records of the Parliament for the last four years and I find that on various occasions assurances have been held out by the Ministry of Labour and also by the Ministry of Education that a comprehensive Act will be brought forward to meet the demands of the employees and to remove their grievances and to give them security of service. But now I have found . . .

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: I would be grateful to the hon. Member if he would refer to any assurance of the Education Ministry in this regard.

SHRI J. S. ANAND: I can give a number of them, if you would kindly allow me. They are on the file.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala): They relate to the Ministry of Labour.

SHRI J. S. ANAND: Ministry of Labour as well as Ministry of Education.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: Ministry of Labour I am aware of, but I want about the Ministry of Education.

SHRI J. S. ANAND: Unstarred Question No. 2807 by Shri Sat Pal Kapur in the Lok Sabha on the 21st August, 1972. Mr. Nurul Hasan said:

"The University Grants Commission has set up a committee to examine the question of inclusion of non-teaching

employees of universities and educational institutions within the purview of Industrial legislation."

This is the very assurance which the hon. Minister now refuses to give. It is in the record of the Lok Sabha.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: Please read the wording.

SHRI J. S. ANAND: He said:

"The work of the committee is in progress. This question is also under the consideration of the Ministry of Labour."

What I want to point out is, a few days ago, a delegation of 14 Northern India universities came here and Shri D. P. Yadav was very kind to meet that deputation and to get the concerned officials also to come and explain their viewpoint. During the talks, it was very clear that the method that is now being followed in the Central universities is inadequate, but some effort, however, inadequate is being made for guaranteeing some rights to the employees. Then it was suggested that since most of the universities were under the States, this question could go to the States, and in each State, in each university, the statute could be revised and some way found to give protection to the employees. There it was pointed out by me—I am the President of the Federation of Northern Universities Employees—that it would take at least 20 years for this to get implemented. And the answer of the official was, "At least those people who will come after 12 or 20 years will gain from this." He conceded this point that the method that is now being followed will take time. I am prepared to circulate to the whole House, I am prepared to lay on the Table of the House, at least 10 assurances which were given by the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Education. I strongly urge, in the interest of growth of university education, in the interest of stability in the universities, in the interest of responsible upcoming of all the sections of the university, that it is very

essential that a comprehensive Bill is brought forward and the recommendation that the Industrial Disputes Act may be applied to the university employees should be accepted. Or a model Act should be passed and circulated to all the States with a directive that wherever it lies in their sphere, they should try to see that the interests of the employees are protected. In the end I would again say that apart from the question of employees and apart from certain defects that are there in this Bill, this is a Bill that has to fulfil the aspirations of the Andhra people and I support it broadly. I hope the observations that I have made are kept in view and given due consideration.

SHRI R. N. REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, while welcoming this Bill and congratulating the Prime Minister and the Education Minister on having brought forward this Bill at least in this Session, I must say that I am surprised that this Bill has not at all taken into consideration the most essential fact, that is, the Six-Point Formula. As my friend, Mr. V. B. Raju, said, this Bill has not come in the normal course. It is not just like any other University Bill. This is a Bill in consonance with the Six-Point Formula and that is stated clearly in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. Now, how did this Six-Point Formula come? What was the background for this Six-Point Formula? I would request the honourable Minister and the honourable Members of the House to just remind themselves of those days of Andhra agitation. I come from the Rayalaseema part of Andhra. I have been in people's movements for the past thirty years. I tell you, such an unprecedented agitation, most emotional agitation, which brought men, women and children of all classes, students, everybody, into the streets, when the whole Government was paralysed, nothing functioned, transport was paralysed, such a movement I had not seen in all my thirty years of life in people's movement. I was questioning myself what was behind this movement. How is it that the people were so much emotionally disturbed? One of the important facts, one of the emotional considerations, which made the

[Shri R. N. Reddy.]

people, particularly, youngsters and even women folk, come out into the agitation, was that Andhras are treated as second class citizens in their own capital, because Andhra students would not get admission in the Osmania University and other educational institutions in their own capital. That was the main thing. Whether there was ground or not, nobody can deny that the feeling was strong, that the feeling was unanimous in everybody, that Andhras do not have a place in the educational institutions at Hyderabad. And therefore, to answer that problem, to answer that sentiment, in the Six-Point Formula the Prime Minister and the Government of India wisely put in that to augment the educational opportunities in the State capital for the people of Andhra Pradesh a new University would be started. Where do I see this provision in the Bill? This main thing is lacking. This main thing is not there. The only answer that the honourable Minister gives is practically in the very nature of the geographical situation. Andhras will be there in the University. If practically it is so, what is the difficulty in putting it in the Bill? What is the difficulty in accepting the recommendation of the Andhra Government to reserve 80 per cent of the seats for Andhra Pradesh. Actually this University should have been only for the people of Andhra Pradesh, taking into consideration the special circumstances, the conditions or the situation in which this particular Bill has come, taking into consideration the Six-Point Formula. We all, say, because it is a Central University, let 20 per cent be there from outside and let 80 per cent be from Andhra Pradesh. I am not pleading for mere percentage. I am pleading with the honourable Minister and the Members of this House, in the interests of integration, in the interests of strengthening the forces of integration of Andhra Pradesh, you please introduce this reservation, because, I tell you, the situation is very delicate even today, after the Six-Point Formula, even after the President's rule was revoked and a democratic Government was installed. And just now the wounds are being healed.

Just now the wounds are in the process of being healed. Integration just now going on. I will give you an instance. Recently for the people of Andhra Pradesh living in their Capital, the President has issued an order fixing four years of educational qualifications. Now from the papers I learn that the Osmania University has for the first time introduced a test for students. Whether it is true or not the Andhras suspect that this is a ruse to eliminate Andhras from that University. They feel that the Osmania University is closing the doors with this test and then here this Central University Bill the hon. Minister has opened all the doors for all people. Why do you give scope to forces of separation to go and tell the people: "Look here, the Prime Minister's assurances are not being implemented; her six point formula is not being implemented". This is an emotional issue. If only the hon. Minister was a witness to the situation in Andhra in those days, he would have definitely brought forward this provision of reservation. Even now coming from Andhra Pradesh, I am making this request to you I do not want to repeat the big history of the movement. Everyone who has watched that movement knows that it was an unprecedented emotional movement. Andhras—whether it is their strength or weakness—are highly emotional people. Please don't give any chance to forces of separation. From my assessment of the situation in Andhra Pradesh, I can tell you that the sentiment of separation is not completely dead. It is still there lulling. Interested parties are waiting. Politicians are still there and political fights are there. There are people who are ready to exploit the situation and if that happens it will once again create difficulties for us. We had two agitations—one in Telengana and one in Andhra. We have suffered very much. Our economy has suffered. Our industrial development has suffered. Our education has suffered. Telengana boys lost one year and Andhra boys lost one precious year. If you say that this is for Andhra people, please for Heaven's sake say so. This is the main point. While discussing this Bill, I would request the hon. Members to understand the background against which

this Bill has come. As my friend Shri Raju said, if this is a general Bill for starting a Central University, maybe in Hyderabad or Bangalore, we will welcome it and let that university be open for all. I have no objection. But this Bill has come to answer a particular problem and a particular situation. Please see whether it is answering that problem or not. I request all Members to consider this Bill from that angle.

Some Members said that this should be a Hindi University. I have absolutely no objection for starting a Hindi University anywhere in the country, even in the South. But if you remember the background, you will realise that this Bill has come as a remedy, as a soothing balm to the people of Andhra Pradesh. When this amendment is here, naturally the suspicions of the Andhra people will definitely increase and they will think that you want to flood the University with all people and they will have no place there. The separatist forces will once again try to exploit the situation. When I saw this amendment, I was reminded of the story of two cats and the monkey. The two cats after lot of struggling got a *roti*, but they could not divide it among themselves equally. So, they went to a judge who was a monkey. In the process of dividing the *roti* the monkey ate the whole if it. The cats went home. I am reminded of this story. Please seriously consider this Bill. Please try to help the forces of integration in Andhra Pradesh. Please try to heal the wounds of Andhra Pradesh. Please try to help the State Government and all of us who are fighting for the integration of Andhra Pradesh because, as I said, the forces of separation are not completely dead. They are waiting there.

3 P.M.

Sir, the second point and an important point which I would like to take is about the Financial Memorandum. In the Financial Memorandum it is said that Rs. 11 crores will be given for a period of ten years. Sir, in these days of spiralling prices, I doubt very much if in ten years there will be a full-fledged University with this.

This particular Bill has come in a particularly important situation in Andhra Pradesh. In five years the University must be full-fledged, and for five years the Centre, I personally feel, should sanction, under the non-recurring deposit, at least Rs. 20 crores, and for the recurring deposit Rs. 5 crores. That would be the minimum for the purpose.

There are other minor points. I have given some amendments. But the important point on which I have already given my amendment is this. In accordance with the six-point formula that has been introduced, please state it clearly. Please do not give any scope for suspicion. Please strengthen the forces of integration, strengthen the Andhra patriotic forces and do not give any chance to say that the Central Government has gone back from its assurances. Then it will be very difficult and it is not the proper remedy.

Sir, another point which I would like to take is about the Executive Council. There are many authorities. But my experience as a member of the Syndicate is that the Executive Council is the most important body. The Court comes next. The Vice-Chancellor is there as an officer. But these bodies are important. Sir, I would request that when this is intended for Andhra Pradesh, the majority of the members of the Executive Council and the first nominated body should be from Andhra Pradesh, to protect the interests of Andhra Pradesh. In Andhra Pradesh, there are three regions: Telengana region, Rayalaseema region and Circar region. This Executive Council must have representation for all the three regions. There you will be helping us to develop this University as a force of integration, a centre of integration. My friend, Mr. V. B. Raju said that this point was a political decision. This point came as a political decision at the Centre for the special problems of Andhra Pradesh and, therefore, this University Bill is also a political decision. Please treat it from that political aspect. And if the Minister seriously considers this and agrees to my amendments we will all be very happy.

Thank you, Sir.

श्री राजनारायण : उप-सभापति जी, मुझे इस बात की खुशी तो जरूर है कि इस बिल को श्री नूरुल हसन साहब ने प्रस्थापित किया है और खशी इसलिए भी है कि हम विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन में करीब करीब साथ थे 1940 में। उसके बाद विद्यार्थियों की जो आकांक्षाएं रही हैं, विद्यार्थी समुदाय जो चाहता रहा है, उसके बारे में श्री नूरुल हसन साहब को अच्छी तरह से जानकारी है। मगर हमारी खुशी केवल इतनी दूर तक ही सीमित रह गई है कि श्री नूरुल हसन साहब ने इस बिल को पायलट किया है।

अपने विद्यार्थी जीवन में वे जिन आदर्शों के लिए लड़ते थे, विद्यार्थियों के जिन हकूकों के लिए वे लड़ते थे, उनकी कहीं भी महक इस विधेयक में नहीं आई है। इस बात से मुझे बहुत घोर दुःख और रंज हुआ है। हम इस समय इस विवाद में नहीं पड़ेंगे, लेकिन सिस्ट प्वाइन्ट फार्मुला जो है, उसके दूसरे क्लॉज में यह जरूर रखा गया है,

"Institution of uniform arrangements throughout the State enabling adequate preference being given to local candidates in the matter of admission to educational institutions and establishment of a new Central University at Hyderabad . . ."

अगर इसके तहत मंत्री जी इस विधेयक को ला रहे हैं जिसको लेकर आन्ध्र प्रदेश की राजनीति को भारत की सरकार ने वर्बाद और तबाह किया है तो उन्हें वैसा कहना चाहिए। हमारे मित्र राजू और दूसरे मित्र ने भी ठीक कहा है कि जो कहो वही करो, छिपा कर बात करने से कोई फायदा नहीं है। अगर इसके तहत विश्वविद्यालय बनाया जा रहा है तो सरकार को सफाई से कह देना चाहिए कि यह विश्व-विद्यालय हम केवल आन्ध्र प्रदेश के छात्रों को पढ़ाने के लिए बना रहे हैं। अनावश्यक ढंग से लूपहोल रखना, गुंजाइश रखना बहुत ही अनुचित बात है। हम काशी विश्वविद्यालय की घटना से अवगत हैं। पंडित मदन मोहन मालवीय ने

जब बनारस हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना की थी तो लोग अवगत हैं कि उन्होंने कहा था कि वह विश्वविद्यालय ऐसी जगह पर स्थापित हो जहां हमारे मुल्क के पिछड़े हिस्सों के लोग आसानी से पढ़ सकें। जितनी कमेडियां बनीं काशी विश्वविद्यालय में, चाहे मूदालियार कमेटी हो या कोई और, उनकी रिपोर्ट को देखा जाय, यह बात बराबर कही जाती रही है कि इसमें बलिया के तमाम लड़के आ गए, इसमें गाजीपुर के तमाम लड़के आ गए, जौनपुर के तमाम लड़के आ गए और इन्हीं जिलों के तमाम अध्यापक आ गए। यह झगड़ा बराबर रहता है। इस तरह के झगड़े को हैदराबाद विश्वविद्यालय में माननीय नूरुल हसन साहब खत्म कर दें। इसमें हम सभझते हैं कि हम लोगों को कोई आपत्ति करने की जरूरत नहीं है। इस प्वाइन्ट को मैं यहीं पर छोड़ देता हूं।

अब मैं विधेयक के कुछ खास पहलुओं पर आऊंगा। इस विधेयक में क्या खास बात है। 27 वर्ष की आजादी के बाद एक विधेयक आया है विश्वविद्यालय का। विश्वविद्यालय उच्चतम शिक्षा प्रदान करने का माध्यम है। इसमें किस प्रकार की उच्चतम शिक्षा दी जाएगी, उस शिक्षा का स्वरूप क्या होगा, उस शिक्षा का माध्यम क्या होगा, क्या ये बातें इस विधेयक में कहीं जगह पाती हैं? श्रीमन, अपने इस प्वाइन्ट को थोड़ा और इम्प्रूव करने के लिये मैं कोठारी आयोग की रिपोर्ट का कुछ पोर्शन पढ़ना चाहूंगा यह सरकारी कमेटी की रिपोर्ट है और जितने विद्वान समझे जाने वाले लोग हैं वे सब इस कमेटी में हैं। यह लिखती है :—

"Learning through foreign medium compels the students to concentrate on cramming instead of mastering the subject-matter."

यह कहती है कि विदेशी भाषा के माध्यम से अगर शिक्षा दी जाती है तो विद्यार्थियों को केवल ग्रामर और भाषा के सीखने में ही रहना पड़ जाता है, वे अपने सबजेक्ट, अपने विषय के

मास्टर नहीं हो पाते। यह कोठारी कमीशन की लेटेस्ट रिपोर्ट है। आगे चल कर इन्होंने कहा है—

“This proposal has also been supported strongly as a measure to promote social and national integration.”

इस बात को भी इन्होंने कहा है कि हम यह चाहते हैं कि अपनी भाषा के माध्यम से शिक्षा हो, जो क्षेत्र की भाषा है उसके माध्यम से शिक्षा हो। इससे नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन होता है, इससे भावनात्मक राष्ट्रीय एकता होती है। मगर मानदीय मंत्री जी ने कहीं भी इसमें नहीं लिखा कि विश्वविद्यालय की शिक्षा वहां की स्थापना स्थानीय भाषा में विद्यार्थियों को प्रदान की जायेगी। ऐसा क्यों? क्या दुनिया में किसी दूसरे मुल्क में कोई विश्वविद्यालय है जहां अपने विद्यार्थियों को दूसरे मुल्क की भाषा में शिक्षा दी जाती है? आज 27 साल की आजादी के बाद भी मुझे बहुत दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि श्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने भारत माता की जो जीभ काट रखी थी वह अब भी कटी हुई है, जैसे अपनी भाषा ही न हो। इसी रिपोर्ट में आया है “Evolution of a language policy” कोठारी आयोग ने इस बात को लिखा है कि हमें सारे राष्ट्र के लिए एक भाषा को ईवाल्व करना चाहिए ताकि हमारे देश में नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन सही तरीके से हो। कोठारी कमीशन की रिपोर्ट को बिना मध्य नजर रखते हुए एकदम से रद्दी की टोकरी में फेंककर श्री नूरुल हसन साहब इस विधेयक को ला रहे हैं।

श्रीमन्, इस विधेयक के कुछ खास खास हिस्सों को देखा जाय तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि इस में तमाम अफसरों की सीढ़ी क्यों बनायी गयी है? इस का कारण क्या है? इस विधेयक में आ गया चांसलर, तो इस के लिए तो उन्होंने बता दिया कि जो राष्ट्रपति है वह हमारे चांसलर होंगे, त्रिजिटर होंगे और जो गवर्नर होगा वह चीफ रेक्टर होगा। यह चीफ रेक्टर क्या करेगा?

मैंने तमाम विधेयक को खोद डाला यह जानने के लिए कि चीफ रेक्टर की कोई ड्यूटीज है क्या? उसके कोई कर्तव्य हैं क्या? लेकिन मुझे वह इस विधेयक में कहीं नहीं मिले। The Governor of the State of Andhra Pradesh shall be the Chief Rector of the University. इस रेक्टर के कर्तव्य क्या होंगे? नूरुल हसन साहब, आप से अनुनय विनय है कि आप इस के कर्तव्यों को भी यहाँ लिखिये। इसी के साथ साथ श्रीमन्, चांसलर, वाइस चांसलर, प्रो-वाइस चांसलर, यह तमाम चांसलर, वाइस चांसलर, प्रो-वाइस चांसलर, एक दम से सीढ़ी, सीढ़ी, सीढ़ी, तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि आखिर इन अफसरों की सीढ़ी बनाने की क्या जरूरत है। जितनी कम अफसरों की सीढ़ी बनाइयेगा उतनी ही अच्छी शिक्षा होगी और जितनी ज्यादा सीढ़ी बनाइयेगा उतनी ही खराब शिक्षा होगी और सारी की सारी पावर अगर एक प्रकार से कहा जाय तो आज राष्ट्रपति के साथ में सन्निहित है। मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि राष्ट्रपति का शिक्षा से क्या संबंध है? राष्ट्रपति क्या कोई शिक्षाविद् होता है। राष्ट्रपति तो आज वह होगा कि जिस को तिकड़म करने में महारत हो, जो तिकड़म की कला में विश्व हों वह राष्ट्रपति हो जायेगा। चाहे नूरुल हसन साहब कितने ही विद्वान हो लेकिन वह बैठे रह जायेंगे और उन से नीचे दर्जे का व्यक्ति राष्ट्रपति हो सकता है। तो शिक्षा के क्षेत्र को सरकार के खूनी पंजे में न रखा जाय यह मेरा निवेदन है।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे रामकृष्ण सिंह जी ने पता नहीं कहाँ से पढ़ कर यह बात कह दी कि उन को खुशी है कि इस में विद्यार्थियों को कुछ हक दिये गये हैं। मैंने इस को सारा पढ़ डाला, और मैं जानना चाहता हूं नूरुल हसन साहब से, कि इस में

[श्री राजनारायण]

विद्यार्थियों को कौन से और कहा हक दिये गये हैं ? वह स्टूडेंट फेडरेशन में हमारे साथी रह चुके हैं। जब तक स्प्लिट नहीं हुआ था तब तक हम साथ थे, जब उन्होंने 1941 में पीपुल्स वार का नारा लगा दिया तो हम अलग अलग हो गये। जब उन्होंने पीपुल्स वार का नारा लगाया तो हम ने कहा कि वह अलग और हम अलग। नागपुर में जो हमारा सेशन हुआ था तो जब वहां डा० अशरफ और हीरेन मुकर्जी ने कहा था...

श्री रबी राय (उड़ीसा) : डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब भी थे।

श्री राजनारायण : नहीं, यह नहीं थे। वह दो साल पीछे थे। तां उस समय डा० अशरफ ने नारा दिया था :

It is historical necessity that the students should be divided into two groups.

हिस्टारिकल नेसेसिटी। हिस्टीरिकल नेसेसिटी को नूरुल हसन माहब ने हिस्टीरिकल नेसेसिटी बना दिया और हम ने उन का कहा कि :

This is not historical necessity. This is hysterical necessity.

मगर खैर, उन्होंने हम लोगों पर आरोप लगाया था कि हम लोगों ने गांधी जी को एंथोर किया है कि अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद को खत्म करने के लिए गांधी जी जब आन्दोलन छेड़ेंगे तो हम छा। उन का साथ देंगे। यह हम ने जरूर कहा और उन्होंने क्या कहा था ? उन्होंने कहा था कि हम गांधी जी की दुम नहीं हैं। हम छात्र गांधी जी के पीछे नहीं चल सकते हैं, लेकिन हम साम्राज्यवाद को ध्वस्त करेंगे, लेकिन जब 1942 में क्रान्ति का बिगुल बजा, लड़ाई छिड़ी तो नूरुल हसन माहब का फेडरेशन पीपुल्स वार का नारा दे कर अलग हो गया और दूसरे कामों में संलग्न हो गया। उस ने कलेक्टिव फाइन करवाना और हम लोगों को गिरफ्तार कराना शुरू कर दिया। छोड़िये उन बातों को, लेकिन नूरुल हसन माहब अपनी बातों को याद करे। हम ने कहा था

कि मैनेजमेंट में विद्यार्थियों का हिस्सा हो। हम ने कहा था कि विद्यार्थियों को निकालने के पहले विद्यार्थियों की कमेटी में उन के ऊपर आरोप आरोपित किया जाय। यह 1940 का रेजोल्यूशन है जिस की हमें याद है। वाराणसी में एक अधिवेशन हुआ था। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यहां देखा जाय कि विद्यार्थियों को कितनी सरलता से निकालने की बात की गयी है।

किसी भी विद्यार्थी के ऊपर ऐक्शन लेकर जब चाहे तब वाइस चांसलर निकाल दे, अब तो ऐक्सप्लेनेशन मांगने की बात नहीं रही। आप देख ही रहे हैं इसी हमारे राज्यसभा के सम्मानित प्रो-वाइस चांसलर राष्ट्रपति के द्वारा मनोनीत हैं। जब से हमारी युवजन सभा को नोटिस दे दिया गया है। आनंद कुमार जो फर्स्ट क्लास फर्स्ट पास हैं, जो जवाहरलाल नेहरू यूनिवर्सिटी के स्टूडेंट हैं, रमाशंकर नहीं आ सकता, विजय प्रताप ससपेंडेड और गौतम का नाम है, एम० ए० में पढ़ता है। उसको कहते हैं कि तुमने राजनारायण को बुलाया। राजनारायण और जनेश्वर मिश्र का प्रोग्राम था 9 अगस्त को। प्रो-वाइस चांसलर ने हाल मंजूर किया था। हाल मिल चुका था हमारी सभा के लिए। मगर पता नहीं दिमाग में क्या फितूर आ गया कि अगर राजनारायण आयेंगे तो शायद ये, अपने उम्मीदवारों को जिता लें। वहां लाखों करोड़ों रुपया खर्च हो रहा था, शराब की बोटलें उड़ रही थीं। मैं चाहता हूं कि इसमें एक क्लाज रखनी चाहिए थी कि युनिवर्सिटी कैम्पस में कोई विद्यार्थी शराब नहीं पीयेगा। अगर ऐसा संशोधन लायें तो मैं उसका पूरी ताकत से समर्थन करूंगा। मगर इस चुनाव को देखकर मैं हैरत में रह गया। सारी प्रो-वाइस चांसलर की कोशिश, सारी सरकार की कोशिश, सारी शिक्षा मंत्रालय की कोशिश, तमाम पुलिस की कोशिश, शराब की ताकत, धन की ताकत नाकामयाब हो गई क्योंकि प्रमुख स्थान पर विद्यार्थी परिषद का उम्मीदवार जीता और 12 हजार वोट से। इस तरह से कभी नहीं जीता था। तो मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जो

ह कहा जाता है कि विश्वविद्यालय के अन्दर जनीति नहीं प्रवेश हो, इस पर क्या रोकथाम लगी, इसके लिए कोई गुंजाइश है ? यहां इसकी कोई गुंजाइश नहीं है । हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री जी रूल हसन साहब इसको देखें, समझें, बूझें कि सा क्यों होता है ? विद्यार्थियों को बिना आरोप गाये निकाल दिया जाता है और जो विधेयक स तरह की ताकत वाइस चांसलर के हाथ में ता हो, उस विधेयक का हम समर्थन करेंगे ।

“Maintenance of discipline among the students of the University. All powers relating to discipline and disciplinary action in relation to students of the University shall vest in the Vice-Chancellor.”

अब आप श्रीमन्, समझ लें कि वाइस चांसलर नियुक्ति होगी विजिटर के द्वारा, चांसलर के रा । विजिटर साहब सरकार जो सलाह देगी ति के मुताबिक काम करेंगे । तो एक प्रकार से विश्वविद्यालय सरकार की कुत्सित नीति र कुटिल नीतियों के कारण चलाने का माध्यम गया जा रहा है । आन्ध्र प्रदेश के छात्रों को, ग्रार्थियों को शिक्षा प्राप्त कराने के लिए ा बल्कि सरकार की साजिशों का वसेरा अब राबाद में इकट्ठा होगा । हम श्रीमान्, माननीय ति जी से निवेदन करेंगे कि माननीय मंत्री जी ग्रार्थियों को इस आसानी के साथ विश्वविद्यालय निकालने की व्यवस्था न करें वरना वह ते रह जायेंगे, वह निकालते रह जायेंगे ा डिसिप्लेन नहीं रहेगा । यह भी मैं आपको देना चाहता हूं कि दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय में अगर बड़ी से बड़ी आसुरी ताकत चाहे कि हम ग्रार्थियों को निकालकर विश्वविद्यालय में प्रवेश बन्द करके डिसिप्लेन रख लेगे तो वह डिसिप्लेन का अर्थ ही नहीं रह जाता, वह डिसिप्लेन ना नहीं समझ सकता । तो मैं चाहूंगा कि स चांसलर कौन बने, वाइस चांसलर के र कौन सा गुण हो इसका विवेचन होना हेए । वाइस चांसलर की नियुक्ति की कंडीशन हो ? श्रीमन्, वाइस चांसलर की तनख्वाह

के बारे में भी यहां वर्णन है, बाकी लोगों के बारे में कहा गया है कि जैसे आर्डिनेंस बनायेंगे वैसे होगा । वाइस चांसलर 3 हजार रुपये तन-ख्वाह पाता है । इसके बाद वाइस चांसलर सुसज्जित भवन पायेगा । उसके रख-रखाव का प्रबन्ध होगा और वाइस चांसलर को आने-जाने का साधन मिलेगा तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूं आदरणीय मंत्री महोदय से कि प्राइमरी स्कूल के अध्यापक को क्या मिलता है ? प्राइमरी स्कूल के अध्यापक की तनख्वाह में और वाइस चांसलर की तनख्वाह में क्या रेशो है ? नूरुल हसन साहब के दिमाग में यह बात नहीं आती, मैं चाहता हूं उनके दिमाग में यह बात आनी चाहिए थी कि इसका वाइस चांसलर प्राइमरी स्कूल के अध्यापक से तीन गुणा या ढाई गुना से अधिक नहीं पाएगा । हम समाज-वादी हैं । पातंजली ने कहा है कि जहां समता का व्यवहार हो वह समाज है । मैं कहता हूं यह समाजवाद नहीं है यह ढोंगवाद है । अमरीका पूंजीवादी मुल्क है । अमरीका के प्राइमरी स्कूल के अध्यापक की तनख्वाह में और वाइस चांसलर की तनख्वाह में फर्क 1 : 2 का है । प्राइमरी स्कूल के अध्यापक को 3 हजार रुपए महीना तनख्वाह मिलती है और वाइस चांसलर को 6 हजार रुपया महीना तनख्वाह मिलती है । इसी प्रकार भंगी और वाइस चांसलर की तनख्वाह में फर्क 1 : 4 का है ।

प्रो० एस० नूरुल हसन : नहीं ऐसा नहीं है ।

श्री रबी राय : जो वहां तनख्वाह है क्या नूरुल हसन साहब आप उसको मान लेंगे ?

प्रो० एस० नूरुल हसन : नहीं ।

श्री रबी राय : तो फिर कहने का क्या लाभ ?

प्रो० एस० नूरुल हसन : मेरे पुराने साथी हैं राजनारायण जी । इनके कहने के बाद प्वाइन्ट आफ फक्ट की ओर तबज्जो दिलाना क्या सही नहीं है ?

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI (West Bengal): May I ask one point from Mr. Rajnarain? What is the difference between the pay of the lowest paid bearer or peon and the pay of a Secretary or an IAS or ICS officer? Has he gone into that question before talking of the highest-paid man in the Education line?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have to wind up now.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं माननीय सदस्य के भावों का स्वागत करता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि हर क्षेत्र में आप अनुपात का स्तर तय कर दीजिए ।

डा० आर० के चक्रवर्ती : हाँ, यह कहिए कि हर क्षेत्र में हेतना चाहिए ।

श्री राजनारायण : अगर मैं सब जगह के लिए कहता तो सत्तारूढ़ दल का कोई उठ कर कहने लगता कि आप बोल रहे हैं एजुकेशन पर और चले गए कर्मचारी पर । इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्राइमरी स्कूल के अध्यापक की तनखाह में और वाइस-चांसलर की तनखाह में अपनी बुद्धि के मुताबिक, 1 : 3 या 1 : 4 से ज्यादा फर्क नहीं होना चाहिए ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up now.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, he is in one of his rare moods today and he must be allowed a little more time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am not concerned with his moods.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीय नूरुल हसन साहब ने बनारस हिन्दू युनिवर्सिटी की चर्चा की । माननीय नूरुल हसन साहब ने अलीगढ़ युनिवर्सिटी की चर्चा की । माननीय नूरुल हसन साहब ने जवाहरलाल नेहरू युनिवर्सिटी की चर्चा की । इसलिए अगर उधर मैं अपना ध्यान नहीं देता और उन बातों पर अपनी सम्मति प्रगट नहीं करता तो मैं अपने कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं करता । इस विषय में मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि जब आप हमारे दल

में थे और हमारे नेता के रूप में बैठते थे, तब डा० बी० के० आर० वी० राव और छागला साहब इसी सदन को आश्वासन दे चुके हैं कि हम एक ऐसा विधेयक लाएंगे, जिसमें हिन्दू और मुस्लिम शब्दों का प्रयोग जिससे सम्प्रदाय या जाति का भेद प्रकट हो, ऐसे शब्दों का प्रयोग बन्द हो जाएगा । मैं चाहता हूँ कि मंत्री महोदय कोई ऐसा विधेयक इस समय लाते जिससे हिन्दू और मुस्लिम शब्दों का प्रयोग अलीगढ़ और बनारस युनिवर्सिटी से हटता और लोगो के अंदर यह भावना पैदा होती कि हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय सब के लिए है, अलीगढ़ विश्वविद्यालय सब के लिए है । यह केवल हिन्दू या मुसलमान लोगों के लिए नहीं है । मुझे दुःख है कि यह चीज यहाँ पर नहीं आई । वह चीज यहाँ पर नहीं आई, इसका मुझे अफसोस है । यहाँ पर जब जवाहरलाल विश्व-विद्यालय और हैदराबाद विश्वविद्यालय की चर्चा हुई तो मालूम हुआ कि जवाहरलाल युनिवर्सिटी को 36 करोड़ रुपये दिये गये । पूरा नक्शा हमारे पास मौजूद है । 36 करोड़ रुपये दिये गये इसको देख लिया जाय । जवाहरलाल विश्व-विद्यालय को 36 करोड़ रुपये दिये गये, जहाँ पर केवल 13 सौ विद्यार्थी हैं । बनारस हिन्दू युनिवर्सिटी में 15 हजार विद्यार्थी हैं और हैदराबाद में जो नया विश्वविद्यालय बन रहा है, उसको दस वर्षों के लिए केवल 11 करोड़ रुपये क्यों दिये जा रहे हैं । मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि नेहरू युनिवर्सिटी में जो ढांचा है, उसमें भारतीय संस्कृति का अभी तक कोई विभाग नहीं है । सारी विदेशी कल्चर, विदेशी भाषा, विदेशी भाव, विदेशी भाषण और सब कुछ वहाँ पर विदेशी है । (Interruption) हाँ, विदेशी शराब भी है ।

2-8-74 को हमने माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री को एक खत लिखा था । उन्होंने 10 अगस्त, 1974 को उसका उत्तर दिया है । उन्होंने लिखा है कि जवाहरलाल विश्वविद्यालय के भवन निर्माण के संबंध में आप अपने पत्र दिनांक 2 अगस्त, 1974 को देखने की कृपा करें । आपको शायद याद होगा, आपने मुझे एक

ोट दिया था जिसमें विश्वविद्यालय के निर्माण कार्यों और अन्य विषयों के बारे में कई बातें लिखी हैं। मैं इन विषयों की जांच करवा रहा हूँ। अब आप जवाहरलाल विश्वविद्यालय को जाकर देख लीजिये। वहाँ का सारा सीमेंट ब्लैक में बेच दिया गया है। दीवारें चू रही हैं, खिड़कियों के शीशे टूट गये हैं और छत के फटने से कई लोगों के सिर फट गये हैं और दरवाजों की यह स्थिति है कि चोर आसानी से घरों में घुस सकते हैं। वहाँ पर अभी तक बसों का कोई इन्तजाम नहीं किया गया है। जब से पंडित कमलापति त्रिपाठी यहाँ आये हैं, तब से हम उनको टेलीफोन करते रहे हैं, मगर, अब एक हफ्ते से वहाँ पर 40 मिनट के फर्क से बस जा रही है। यह हालत है वहाँ पर। यही नहीं, डिफेंस विभाग के कोटा से दिया गया एक ट्रक सीमेंट जो विश्वविद्यालय के लिए गया, सारा ब्लैक में बेच दिया गया। आर्किटेक्ट को दिया गया इनाम जो पहला आर्डर होगा वह 35 हजार रुपये का होगा, दूसरा 20 हजार का और तीसरा 5 हजार का होगा। आस्ट्रेलिया से आर्किटेक्ट बुलाया गया है। यह आपका भारत-वर्ष है। यहाँ पर किस तरह से विश्वविद्यालय बनाये जाते हैं, यह भी आप इसमें देखिये। आप जानते होंगे कि गांधी जी को पंडित मदन मोहन मालवीय जी ने काशी विश्वविद्यालय की नींव के अवसर पर बुलाया था और उस वक्त वहाँ पर बड़े-बड़े राजा-महाराजा भी बुलाये गये थे, जो स्वर्णमयी पोशाकें पहने हुए थे। गांधी उठता है बोलने के लिये, गांधी कहता है कि ये जो बड़े-बड़े राजा पोशाकें पहने हुए हैं, ये गरीबों के खून के छीटे चमकते हैं। राजा लोग खड़े हो गये और मालवीय जी से कहने लगे कि यह कैसा आदमी है, इस तरह बोलता है, पागल है वह गांधी था, लेकिन हमको तो राज्य सभा के सदन से बाहर कर दिया गया। मालवीय जी ने कहा कि मैं गांधी को कसे छोड़ सकता हूँ। वह यहाँ रहेगा, आप रहें चाहे न रहें। यह सारा प्रोसीडिंग पढ़ लिया जाय। मुझे अफसोस है कि पंडित मदन मोहन मालवीय जी ने गांधी जी की

राय नहीं मानी। गांधी जी ने कहा था कि ऊपर की छत पर टिन लगवा दो, नीचे फर्श पक्की करवा दो, बड़ी-बड़ी बिल्डिंगें बनवाने की जरूरत नहीं है। तुम लोग विद्या दान करने के लिये हो, इसलिये बड़ी-बड़ी बिल्डिंगें बनाने की जरूरत नहीं है। हमारा गरीब मुल्क है। यहाँ पर अमेरिका की तरह बिल्डिंगों की आवश्यकता नहीं है। हमें पश्चिम यूरोप के मोडल की बिल्डिंगों की आवश्यकता नहीं है। हमें अपने बच्चे पढ़ाने हैं। मैं श्रीनूरुल हसन साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह मुल्क विद्या चाहता है, बिल्डिंगें नहीं चाहता है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इसकी कोई व्यवस्था यहाँ की गई है? कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। जवाहरलाल विश्वविद्यालय के बारे में आप देखेंगे कि वहाँ पर मरामतें बने हैं कि चोर डाकू आसानी से उनमें घुस सकते हैं, खिड़कियाँ और दरवाजे टूटे पड़े हैं। वहाँ पर लोहे की छड़ें तक नहीं हैं। पतली जालियाँ किसी काम की नहीं हैं। छत के जीने खुले हुए हैं। कोई भी आसानी से उनमें घुस सकता है। ये मकान विदेशों की नकल के ऊपर बनाये गये हैं। एयर कन्डीशन के बगैर यहाँ पर रहना संभव नहीं है। गर्मियों में बड़ी कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ता है, ठंड के दिनों में भी परेशानियाँ होती हैं। भारतीय सभ्यता में इस विश्वविद्यालय को कोई मतलब नहीं है। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जवाहरलाल विश्वविद्यालय तमाम दिल्ली से बाहर 22 मील दूर जाकर क्यों खोला गया? तमाम पहाड़ को तोड़ कर के क्यों बनाया गया? और भी अच्छी जगहें थीं। सारा रुपया पहाड़ को काटने में लगाया। अनेक प्रकार के वहाने बना कर आर्किटेक्ट, भवन बनाने वाले लोग, खूब खाएँ—36 करोड़ रुपया। क्या यह स्थिति हैदराबाद में होगी? मैं चाहता हूँ हैदराबाद में यह स्थिति न आए।

श्रीमन्, मेरा आपसे निवेदन है और आपके द्वारा श्रीनूरुल हसन साहब से निवेदन है कि नूरुल हसन साहब कोई ऐसी व्यवस्था करें कि जसी

[श्री राजनारायण]

नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय की दुर्गति हो रही है वैसे दुर्गति, अगर हैदराबाद में विश्वविद्यालय बनता है, उसमें न हो। हमारे मित्र चले गए, मैंने कहा था यहां रहना—श्याम लाल कालेज में 3 प्रोफेसर 15 दिन पहले बिना किसी आरोप के निकाल दिए गए। रोज प्रोफेसर आते हैं, नूरुल हसन साहब कहते हैं हम विश्वविद्यालय ऐक्ट में तरमीम करेंगे वाइस-चान्सलर हमको रोज कहते हैं कि हमने शिक्षा मंत्रालय को अपनी रपट दे दी है, शिक्षा मंत्रालय सुनता नहीं है, क्यों नहीं सुनता है? नूरुल हसन साहब आज इस सदन पर ऐलान करें कि विश्वविद्यालय के जितने एफिलिएटेड कालेज हैं उनकी गर्वनिंग बाडी किसी भी अध्यापक को इस तरह से नहीं निकाल सकती...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now please finish.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, अभी एक मिनट बाकी है विद्यार्थियों की पढ़ने की सिक्योरिटी हानी चाहिए। उसी तरह से श्रीमन्, अगर हम नेशनल फिटनेस कोर के बारे में कुछ कहे नहीं, तो हम अपने कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं करेंगे।

प्रो० एस० नूरुल हसन : यह ज्यादाती होगी।

श्री राजनारायण : अगर नूरुल हसन साहब कहते हैं कि इस नेशनल फिटनेस कोर में जितने अध्यापक लगे हैं उनकी ठीक तरह से व्यवस्था करेंगे तो हम उस पर बोलना नहीं चाहेंगे। हम चाहते हैं यह विश्वविद्यालय हमारे देश के विद्यार्थियों को शिक्षा का जो उद्देश्य है वह दे। शिक्षा वही है जो व्यक्ति के व्यक्तिगत विकास को समष्टि में मिला दे। वह शिक्षा है, नहीं तो नहीं।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now please take your seat.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 176 RE. NEW WHEAT PROCUREMENT POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

श्री भैरों सिंह शेखावत (मध्य प्रदेश) : उप-महापति महोदय गेहूं की नयी नीति के संबंध में कई प्रकार की चर्चाएं चल रही हैं...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Shekhawat, I think you will take 15—20 minutes so that other hon'ble Members can also be...

श्री भैरों सिंह शेखावत : 25 मिनट लूंगा।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: ... accommodated because you would like a good discussion. Others also will take some time.

श्री भैरों सिंह शेखावत : मैं चाहता हूं जितना शार्ट हो सकता हूं उतना ही बोलूं। उपमहापति महोदय, मार्च, सन् 1973 का वह दिन देश के लिए दुर्भाग्य का दिन था जिस दिन सरकार ने गेहूं के व्यापार का सरकारीकरण करने की नीति की घोषणा की थी। आप सब जानते हैं, जिस दिन से यह घोषणा की गई उस समय से लेकर आज तक हमारा देश ऐसे आर्थिक संकट में फंस गया कि उसमें से निकलना न सरकार के लिए संभव हो रहा है और न जनता ही अपने प्रयास से उससे निकल पा रही है। 1973 की यह नीति सरकार ने प्रगतिशील नारों के दबाव में आकर ग्रहण की थी और 1974 में जब सरकार ने इस नीति की असफलता को स्वीकार कर लिया तो नयी नीति व्यापारियों से मिल कर बनाई गई। पहली नीति जो 1973 में बनाई गई थी उसमें सरकार ने अपना मुख्य लक्ष्य रखा था—

"to help in the acquisition by the public agencies of a major portion of its marketed surplus of this commodity."

और दूसरी जो नई नीति बनाई उसमें भी सरकार ने यह घोषणा की थी कि—

"main thrust of the policy is to have bulk procurement."