

[Mr. Chairman.]

Ramaswamy, Shri K. S.  
 Rathnabai Sreenivasa Rao, Shrimati  
 Reddi, Shri Papi  
 Reddy, Shri Gaddam Narayana  
 Reddy, Shri Janardhana  
 Reddy, Shri K. V. Raghunatha  
 Reddy, Shri M. Srinivasa  
 Refaye, Shri A. K.  
 Roshan Lal, Shri  
 Roy, Shri Kalyan  
 Sangma, Shri E. M.  
 Sanyal, Shri Sasankasekhar  
 Saraswati Pradhan, Shrimati  
 Sardar Amjad Ali, Shri  
 Sardesai, Shri S. G.  
 Savita Behen, Shrimati  
 Sen Gupta, Shri Dwijendralal  
 Seyid Muhammad, Dr. V. A.  
 Shah, Shri Manubhai  
 Sharma, Shri Yogendra  
 Shastri, Shri Bhola Paswan  
 Shilla, Shri Showaless K.  
 Shukla, Shri M. P.  
 Singh, Shri Bhupinder  
 Singh, Shri Bindeshwari Prasad  
 Singh, Shri D. P.  
 Singh, Shri Mohan  
 Singh, Shri Rambar  
 Singh, Shri Sultan  
 Singh, Shri T. N.  
 Singh, Shri Triloki  
 Sinha, Shri Awadheshwar Prasad  
 Sinha, Shri Ganga Sharan  
 Sisodia, Shri Sawaisingh  
 Sita Devi, Shrimati  
 Sivaprakasam, Shri S.  
 Srinivasan, Shri T. K.  
 Sukhdev Prasad, Shri  
 Sumitra G. Kulkarni, Shrimati  
 Sushila Shankar Adivarekar, Shrimati  
 Thakur, Shri Gunanand  
 Tilak, Shri J. S.  
 Tiwari, Shri Shankarlal  
 Tiwary, Pt. Bhawaniprasad  
 Trivedi, Shri H. M.  
 Tyagi, Shri O. P.  
 Venigalla Satyanarayana, Shri  
 Vidyawati Chaturvedi, Shrimati  
 Vyas, Dr. M. R.  
 Wajid, Shri Sikandar Ali  
 Yadav, Shri Shyam Lal

NOES—Nil.

*The motion was carried by a majority of the total membership of the House and by a majority of not less*

*than two-thirds of the Members present and voting.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: The next Bill.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

THE NORTH-EASTERN HILL UNIVERSITY BILL, 1973

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE (PROF. S. NURUL HASAN): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill to establish and incorporate a teaching and affiliating University for the Hill areas of the North-Eastern region, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

This is the Bill for which our brethren from the North-Eastern region have been waiting for almost ten years. The House would recall that the State of Assam, before the bifurcation of Meghalaya and the establishment of the other States, had passed a resolution under Article 252 of the Constitution authorising this Parliament to enact legislation establishing a central university with headquarters at Shillong. But unfortunately, no other State passed this Resolution. Ultimately when the State of Meghalaya was established it passed this Resolution and, therefore, the Government of India introduced a Bill in November 1972 in the other House providing for the setting up of a Central University with headquarters at Shillong, with jurisdiction extending to Assam and Meghalaya and the Union Territories of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh, with the possibility of Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura joining it at some later date. But, Sir, at that time the Government of Assam as well as many hon. Members from Assam were of the view that it would not be proper to extend the jurisdiction of the Central University to the State of Assam. In the

meanwhile, the State Assembly of Nagaland passed the requisite resolution under article 252 and requested the Parliament to enact such a piece of legislation. Therefore, Sir, the Government brought before the other House which the other House is pleased to pass, a Bill which is now before the consideration of this hon. House.

In this Bill, Sir, the jurisdiction of the proposed University extends to the States of Meghalaya and Nagaland and to the Union Territories of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh. At the express request of the Government of Assam as well as of many hon. Members from Assam, Assam has been excluded. The former Government of Manipur wrote to the Government of India saying that Manipur did not wish to be brought within the jurisdiction of this University and, therefore, Manipur was excluded. And the same was the situation of Tripura. The jurisdiction, therefore, as it stands now is a jurisdiction which has the support of the people to whom it is going to extend, namely, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Mizoram—the Government of Mizoram also expressed its desire that it wants this University even though it was not a constitutional requirement nevertheless their wishes are that this University's jurisdiction should extend to them—and Arunachal. The people of Arunachal Pradesh, so far as we have been able to ascertain, are also in favour of this Bill.

Sir, the next important point apart from the jurisdiction, to which I would like to draw the attention, is that originally the Government on the basis of the express request of the Government of Meghalaya had proposed that this University be named after the Prime Minister. When the Nagaland Assembly passed a Resolution, it also wanted that the Bill be named after the Prime Minister. In view of the fact that these Governments did not belong to the ruling Party and in view of the strong feelings that had been expressed by these people, the Government had agreed and had decided

to introduce the Bill as 'the Indira Gandhi University Bill' but the Prime Minister took a very strong stand in the matter and she felt that it would be wrong as a matter of principle that her name should be associated with the University. Therefore, we approached the Chief Ministers of Meghalaya and Nagaland and they have agreed that this University may be called the 'North-Eastern Hill University'. Sir, the next point that merits your consideration and that of the hon. House is that this University will be rather a different type of University in so far as it will be both a teaching as well as an affiliating University and it will have not only a campus in Shillong but it shall have also campuses in Nagaland and possibly in other places also as and when there is need for such a campus. Then it does not have a compulsory jurisdiction. No college will be compulsorily affiliated to this University, the purpose being that if at any future date any State wishes to establish a University this University would not stand in the way of such a decision.

Sir, the interim Constitution of this University is on the lines of all the other Central Universities because in the initial phases when we have to decide where campuses have to be set up, the Faculty has to be recruited, academic planning has to be done, it had not been possible for the Government to spell out in detail as to what is going to be the constitution of the various University bodies. It has therefore been decided that for a period not exceeding three years the main bodies will be nominated bodies and within three years the Visitor will have the power to frame detailed statutes and place them before the Houses of Parliament. I have given the assurance in the other House which I should like to repeat on behalf of the Government in this House also that Government will move a motion that the statutes as they are spelt out in detail within the period of three years be taken into consideration so that this hon. House can make such observations, such changes, in these

[Prof. S. Nurul Hasan.]

statutes that it may think proper and fit. It was necessary for me to clarify this point lest some hon. Member may think that there was any intention to bypass this hon. House or not to benefit from the guidance which this hon. House could give in structuring the University.

Sir, some of the other features to which I should like to draw your attention is that among its objects it has been stated that it shall not only advance knowledge and provide instruction and research facilities in various branches of knowledge but it would pay special attention to the improvement of social and economic conditions and welfare of the people of the hill areas of the North-Eastern region and in particular for their intellectual and cultural advancement. That is to say, in addition to ordinary teaching and research this will also be taking up extension work and its Faculty and students will be involved in the various processes of that area. Furthermore, it would respect the intellectual and cultural traditions of the people of that area, help them to develop themselves and also help them to come nearer the rest of the country so that they may feel that they are as strong and as valuable members of the great comity of the Indian people as people living in any other part of the country.

Sir, another innovation in this Bill is that apart from the usual provision that the University shall be open to everyone irrespective of sex, creed, religion, class etc. etc. we have brought in article 48 of the Constitution relating to Directive Principles to the effect that nothing shall prevent the University from making a special provision for admission of students of the weaker sections of the people in the North-Eastern region and in particular of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. These are virtually the words taken from article 46 of the Constitution and it shows that this University

will be paying a great deal of attention to it. As in the case of all the other Central Universities, the President of the Republic shall be the Visitor of this Central University, but one new power is that till now the power of inspection has been given to the Visitor in the case of all other Central Universities and established institutions only, but here it has also been given to cause an inspection into the working of colleges. Since there is no compulsory affiliation, only those colleges which accept the Act, the statutes and Ordinances of this University can affiliate themselves to it. It was felt that this power would be worthwhile in any event. Then Sir,...

श्री नज़ल किशोर (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
क्या चीन आपके ग्रौर सेंट्रल विल्स है उनमे  
यह प्राविजन नहीं है । ज़ा नही ।

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN:

I have had the honour to come in this capacity before the House. I have brought one major Bill, i.e., the Aligarh Muslim University Bill. It does not affiliate any colleges, so that question did not arise. This is one of the recommendations of the Gajendra-gadkar Committee. The detailed recommendations will be coming up later, but I think it is a good provision. Some of the colleges become sick and for that the possibility of a visitorial enquiry must be there.

Then, Sir, since there is a possibility that there may be several campuses of the University, provision for more than one Pro-Vice-Chancellor and more than one Proctor and Dean of Students has been made. We have provided specially for a Planning Board. It is necessary in the initial stages of any University if careful planning has to be done so as to see that the needs of the area are given due emphasis. During the first six months the Planning Board will also act as the Academic Council of the University. As soon

as some faculty members are appointed I hope it will be possible for us to establish the various schools.

'So far as the other provisions are concerned, they are more or less on the same lines as the Aligarh Muslim University Bill. The teachers, the students and the non-teaching employees have the right to appeal to a tribunal for the purpose of arbitration, so that they do not have to go to a court of law. There is a right of appeal to the Executive Council of the University.

Then, provident fund and pension funds have been provided for in the usual manner as in the case of other Universities. I think, on the whole, it is a fairly simple Bill the principle of which has been accepted in most cases. I hope that this House will approve of it unanimously.

*The question was proposed.*

श्री ओइम् प्रकाश त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय, मैं इस बिल का हार्दिक स्वागत करता हूँ, क्योंकि भारतवर्ष का एक विस्फोटक क्षेत्र पूर्वोत्तर क्षेत्र है, जहाँ कि पच्चीस वर्षों से वहाँ की जनता की जिनमें बहुत बड़ी बेचैनी है, वहाँ की उन्नति के लिये विश्वविद्यालय का निर्माण किया यह एक प्रगतिशील कार्य है सरकार की ओर से। इस अवसर पर मैं जहाँ आने शिक्षा मंत्री महोदय को धन्यवाद देता हूँ, वहाँ माननीय बहन इन्दिरा गांधी जी को भी धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस अवसर पर एक बहुत बड़े त्याग का प्रदर्शन किया कि उन्होंने अपने नाम को वापस लिया और इस विश्वविद्यालय के नाम पर इस ढंग से अपना आचरण प्रकट किया जिसे कि देश में प्रत्येक दृष्टि से हर व्यक्ति, हर देशवासी स्वीकार कर सके। मैं इस त्याग के लिये उनको भी धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

श्रीमन् जहाँ तक कि इस बिल के उद्देश्य का सम्बन्ध है इसमें लिखा है

"विश्वविद्यालय के उद्देश्य विद्या की ऐसी शाखाओं में, जो वह ठीक समझे शिक्षा और अनुसंधान की सुविधा प्रदान करके ज्ञान का प्रसार और प्रगति करना, पूर्वोत्तर प्रदेश के पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों की जनता के सामाजिक और आर्थिक दशाओं और कल्याण की अभिवृद्धि की ओर विशेष ध्यान देना तथा विशिष्टतः उनकी बौद्धिक, शैक्षणिक और सांस्कृतिक प्रगति की ओर ध्यान देना होगा"।

तो यह उद्देश्य इसमें लिखा है। इसमें किसी विशेष क्षेत्र का वर्णन नहीं है, अपितु समूचे उत्तर पूर्वी पहाड़ी क्षेत्र की जनता के अन्दर आर्थिक और सांस्कृतिक दृष्टिकोण से उन्नति करने का इसमें विधान है। परन्तु जब इस विश्वविद्यालय के स्वरूप को आपने हमारे सामने उपस्थित किया, तो मुझे खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इसका क्षेत्र केवल मेघालय, नागालैण्ड, मिजोरम और अरुणाचल तक ही रखा और जहाँ बनावसी बहु लक्ष्य 40-42 लाख की संख्या में असम को सम्मिलित करते हुए वहाँ है, तो वहाँ केवल आपने 27 लाख की जनसंख्या को ही इस विश्वविद्यालय के प्रभाव क्षेत्र में लिया और जो उसमें इस समय सेकेंडरी स्कूल और शिक्षा संस्थाएँ हैं—नेका में केवल 44, नागालैण्ड में 196 और मिजोरम में 131 तथा खासी ज्यंतिया में 55—यदि उस क्षेत्र में असम और मणिपुर, त्रिपुरा आदि क्षेत्र भी सम्मिलित होते तो यह विश्वविद्यालय केन्द्रीय विश्वविद्यालय के रूप में बहुत ही सहायक सिद्ध होता और राष्ट्रीय धारा जो इस देश में हमारी सरकार बहाना चाहती है, उसके लिए एक बहुत बड़ी शक्ति केन्द्र बन कर रहता। परन्तु, उपसभापति महोदय, मुझे कुछ सन्देह है, और माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री जी मुझे क्षमा करेंगे एक बहुत बड़ी, कड़वी बात कहने के लिए। जो मेरा सन्देह है, ईश्वर से प्रार्थना है कि वह मेरा सन्देह गलत साबित हो जाये और वह यह कि जिन प्रान्तों को, जिन क्षेत्रों को, इस विश्वविद्यालय के

श्री ओइम प्रकाश त्यागी

क्षेत्र के अन्तर्गत लिया गया है, उनके निर्माण के पीछे एक बहुत बड़ा इतिहास है और वह यह कि नागालैंड, मेघालय और जोमिजोरम है—अरुणाचल को छोड़ दिजिए, वह यूनियन टेरिटरी है . . . . .

प्रो० एस० नूरुल हसन : मिजोरम भी यूनियन टेरिटरी है ।

श्री ओइम प्रकाश त्यागी : हाँ, क्षमा कीजिए, वह यूनियन टेरिटरी है । तो यह तीनों क्षेत्रों के पीछे, उनके निर्माण का जो इतिहास है, उसमें अकरीयन ट्रिस्ट मिशन का हाथ है और विंशत भावना को लेते हुए उन्होंने उन प्रान्तों की यूनियन टेरिटरी का निर्माण किया और वहाँ आजादी के तारे लगाए और आज भी अंडरग्राउन्ड नगा लोग हमारी सरकार के साथ 25 वर्षों से लगातार लड़ते चले जा रहे, हैं, अभी भी उन्होंने कोई समझौता नहीं किया : उन क्षेत्रों में, उन प्रान्तों में जो उनके पीछे भावना है, वह जो राष्ट्रीय, सांस्कृतिक और देशभक्ति की धारा है, उस धारा से कुछ भिन्न धारा अमरीकन राजनीतिक एजेंटों ने उन पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में उत्पन्न किया । उनका उद्देश्य शायद कम्युनिज्म का मुकाबला करने के लिए इस उत्तर पूर्वी सीमा पर इस प्रकार का प्रयत्न करना था । वह प्रयत्न उनका चालू है । कभी-कभी उद्देश्य अच्छा होता है, परन्तु परिणाम बहुत गला साबित हो जाता है । माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री शायद मुझ से समझत हों, उन्हें अनुभव भी होगा, जिस समय अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम युनिवर्सिटी की स्थापना हुई, उस समय स्वर्गीय सैय्यद अहमद खां का उद्देश्य कितना पवित्र और ऊंचा था, परन्तु अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय के अन्तर्गत इतिहास पर दृष्टिकोण डाला जाए तो मैं यह कहने में संकोच नहीं करूंगा कि जहाँ भारतवर्ष के विभाजन से और अन्य कारण हैं तथापि उनमें अलीगढ़ विश्वविद्यालय के विद्यार्थियों ने और वहाँ के अध्यापकों ने, प्रोफेसर्स ने भी एक बहुत बड़ा पार्ट अदा किया है और हिन्दु और मुसलमान के बीच

की खाई को जहाँ अंग्रेजों ने पैदा किया, वहाँ उसको चौड़ी करने में विश्वविद्यालय के विद्यार्थी और प्रोफेसर्स भी पीछे नहीं रहे और आज भी माननीय मंत्री महोदय के सम्बन्ध में वहाँ क्या विचार व्यक्त किए जा रहे हैं— अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम युनिवर्सिटी के सम्बन्ध में एक ऐक्ट आप लाए और उसके सम्बन्ध में भी बहुत बड़ा एजिटेशन और आंदोलन चल रहा है, आज इस देश में जो के.टी. विश्वविद्यालय हैं उनमें भी एक साम्प्रदायिक आधार पर, एक साम्प्रदायिक भावना को लेकर जो आंदोलन हो रहे हैं वह देश के हित की जगह अहित करेगा, तो यह जो उत्तर पूर्वी पहाड़ी क्षेत्र के लिए जो विश्वविद्यालय बन रहा है उसके अन्तर्गत जो क्षेत्र सम्मिलित हैं, वहाँ की भावना पर मुझे थोड़ा सन्देह लगता है . . . . .

और इस पर भी वहाँ उनकी अपनी भाषा तथा संस्कृति होते हुए भी, आज इन क्षेत्रों की स्थिति यह है कि वे उनके भाषा धर्म, और संस्कृति सभी को समान करके, मिशनरी लोग एक नया ढांचा स्थापित करना चाहते हैं । वहाँ की प्रांतीय भाषा अंग्रेजी घोषित कर दी गई जब की वहाँ के लोगों की अपनी भाषा है और उन भाषाओं को संरक्षण मिलना चाहिए । उन्होंने वह बात न करके विदेशी भाषा को लिया । और विदेशी संस्कृति का प्रभाव उत्पन्न किया, इस विश्व-विद्यालय का उद्देश्य यह है कि इस क्षेत्र के लोगों की संस्कृति का उत्थान किया जायेगा । इस तरह से तीनों क्षेत्रों में इस तरह की भावना की पूर्ति इन तीनों क्षेत्रों में हो सकेगी, इसमें मुझे संदेह लगता है ।

क्या ही अच्छा होता कि इस विश्वविद्यालय के अन्तर्गत आसाम, मणिपुर, त्रिपुरा आदि और क्षेत्र भी होते । मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से एक बात जानना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि पहाड़ी क्षेत्र में, आसाम का मैदानी क्षेत्र को छोड़ दिया जाये, तो आसाम में भी ऐसा कच्छार का क्षेत्र है, वहाँ पर आपके मिकरी हिल्स हैं, वहाँ पर पहाड़ी जातियों हैं उनकी भी भावनाएँ हैं, उनकी भावनाओं का भी

समादान करना चाहिए, इस दृष्टि से आसाम को भी साथ रहना चाहिए था। मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि राष्ट्रीय धारा को इस देश में बहाने में हमारे पहाड़ी क्षेत्र और मैदानी क्षेत्र के मध्य जो एक दीवार आपस में खड़ी हो गई है, जो भेदभाव पैदा हो गये हैं, वे भी समाप्त होने चाहियें। अगर इस विश्व-विद्यालय के अन्तर्गत समूचे क्षेत्र आते, तो यह ज्यादा हितकर हो सकता हमारे देश के लिए।

उपसभापति जी, पूर्वोत्तर पहाड़ी क्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय जो शिलांग में बन रहा है, यह एक केन्द्रीय विश्वविद्यालय है। मैं समझता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट विश्वविद्यालय का स्वरूप और उसका विधान किसी भी दृष्टिकोण से संकीर्ण नहीं होना चाहिए। उसका स्वरूप विशाल होना चाहिए ताकि उसमें प्रत्येक धर्म, जाति और क्षेत्र के लोग उसमें भाग ले सकें। होना यह चाहिए था कि भारतवर्ष में जितने भी विश्वविद्यालय हैं, उसका एक समान रूप से विधान हो ताकि किसी को भी किसी प्रकार से कोई आपत्ति न हो। जिस प्रकार से काशी विश्वविद्यालय और अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय के कानूनों में जब हम परिवर्तन करते हैं तो वहाँ पर आन्दोलन खड़े हो जाते हैं, इसलिए हम यह चाहते हैं कि सब विश्व-विद्यालयों के लिए समान विधान बनाया जाय ताकि उनमें परिवर्तन करने की गुंजायश ही न रहे। विश्वविद्यालय बनाने से पहले सरकार का बहुत बड़ा कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि जब वह केन्द्रीय विश्वविद्यालय बनाना चाहती है, आगे जो बनायेगी, उनका संविधान एक समान होना चाहिए समान रूप से उन सब पर केन्द्रीय प्रशासन लागू होना चाहिए और किसी को विशेष रियायत धर्म, जाति तथा किसी भी आधार पर कोई चीज नहीं मिलनी चाहिए, इस तरह का संविधान सबके लिए बनाया जाना चाहिए था।

एक बात मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो बनवासी और पहाड़ी क्षेत्र हैं, वहाँ

पर के लोगों की जनसंख्या करीब 11.7 लाख के हैं, परन्तु इस यूनिवर्सिटी के द्वारा केवल 22.9 लाख की संख्या के लोगों को लाभान्वित क्षेत्र बनाया है जब कि पूरे आसाम में पहाड़ी और बनवासियों की संख्या करीब 40 लाख से भी ऊपर है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, एक चीज पर मुझे और आपत्ति है, लेकिन माननीय मंत्री महोदय ने उसका स्पष्टीकरण कर दिया है, मैं उन्हें धन्यवाद देता हूँ। इस विधान में जो वर्तमान ढांचा है, वह ढांचा एक प्रकार से तानाशाही ढांचा है। तमाम पावर्स राष्ट्रपति के हाथ में दे दी गई हैं। जहाँ तक मैं अनुभव करता हूँ शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता होनी चाहिये, क्योंकि मानव समाज की उन्नति का आधार विचारों की स्वतंत्रता है। विचारों की स्वतंत्रता जहाँ समाप्त हो जाती है, शिक्षा का उद्देश्य समाप्त हो जाता है। इसलिए शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में हमें अधिक से अधिक स्वतंत्रता देनी चाहिए ताकि वह शिक्षा संस्था उस क्षेत्र के निवासियों की सांस्कृतिक भावनाओं का ध्यान रखते हुए उनके बौद्धिक विकास की आगे उन्नति कर सके। इसमें ऊपर से आपने केन्द्रीय प्रशासन को इतना खींचा है कि जो विश्वविद्यालय आप बनायेंगे, वह स्वतंत्रतापूर्वक अपनी भावनाओं को व्यक्त नहीं कर सकेगा। आप तीन वर्ष के अन्दर उसका संविधान बनाने का आशवासन दे रहे हैं, बहुत अच्छी बात है, वह शीघ्र से शीघ्र बन सके ताकि यह नया बच्चा जो पैदा किया है वह स्वतंत्रतापूर्वक उन्नति कर सके।

एक विशेष प्रार्थना मैं करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है। मुझे उस क्षेत्र में जाने और दौरा करने का मौका मिला है सामाजिक दृष्टि से। वहाँ बनवासी लोगों की स्कूलों और औपधायों द्वारा सेवा कार्य मैं कर रहा हूँ। नागालैण्ड में भी मुझे जाने का मौका मिला, मुझे एक बात वहाँ अनुभव हुई, वहाँ अन्य वर्ग के लोग भी रहते हैं, जैसे नागालैण्ड में बहुत बड़ी संख्या में नेपाली लोग भी रहते हैं, नेपाली लोगों से मैं मिला, उन्होंने कहा कि

[श्री ओइम प्रकाश त्यागी]

नागालैण्ड सरकार हमारी भाषा को संरक्षण देने के लिए तैयार नहीं, हमारी सांस्कृतिक भावनाओं का आदर करने के लिए तैयार नहीं। इसी प्रकार से अन्य प्रान्तों में भी और युनियन टेरिटरीज में भी जो अल्पसंख्यक वर्ग है उसकी भाषा और संस्कृति कहीं बहुसंख्यक वर्ग की तानाशाही के नीचे दब कर न रह जाय।

एक बात विशेष कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह कि उस क्षेत्र में जितने ट्राइब्स हैं, जितनी वनवासी जातियाँ हैं उनकी अपनी महत्वाकांक्षाएँ हैं, उनकी अपनी परम्पराएँ हैं, संस्कृति है उनको अगर उन सबका संरक्षण नहीं मिला इस विश्वविद्यालय में, उनको पनपने और बढ़ने का मौका नहीं मिला और उन पर कोई भाषा थोपी गई, लादी गई तो इन वनवासी जातियों के अन्दर एक बगावत और विरोध खड़ा हो जाएगा जिसको कल सम्भालना कठिन हो जाएगा। नागालैण्ड में भी वनवासी जातियों में आपस में टकराव है, एक जाति का प्रभुत्व हो गया, दूसरी जाति टकरा रही है। इसलिए इस विश्वविद्यालय को चलाने में आपको बहुत सावधानी बरतनी पड़ेगी ताकि वहाँ की तमाम वनवासी जातियों का समान रूप से सांस्कृतिक उत्थान हो सके, उनकी भाषाओं को संरक्षण मिल सके। साथ ही यह केन्द्रीय विश्वविद्यालय है और इस विश्वविद्यालय के द्वारा जो वहाँ सांस्कृतिक वायुमंडल पैदा हो वह राष्ट्रीय सांस्कृतिक धारा का अंग बन कर चले। वर्तमान समय में ट्राइबल क्षेत्र में जाये तो वहाँ यह भावना है, वे यह कहते हैं कि आसाम तो भारतवर्ष का अंग नहीं रहा, आसाम का इतिहास अलग है, हमारी संस्कृति अलग है, अंग्रेजी काल में जबरदस्ती हमको इसके अन्तर्गत लाया गया। वह भारतीय सांस्कृति को अपनी संस्कृति ही नहीं, भारतीय इतिहास को अपना इतिहास मानने को वहाँ के लोग तैयार नहीं। यदि वह भावना इस विश्वविद्यालय के द्वारा पनप गई तो यह देश भक्ति के स्थान पर

देशद्रोह को जन्म देगी और यह जो विघटनकारी प्रवृत्तियाँ हैं उनको वहाँ बल मिलेगा। इसलिए आप से विशेष रूप से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि इसका भी ध्यान रखें। मैं शिक्षा मंत्री महोदय को बहुत बड़ा देशभक्त मानता हूँ और आपकी क्षमता, आपकी योग्यता पर विश्वास करता हूँ। आपने शिक्षा मंत्री बनने के बाद से बहुत बड़ी दृढ़ता दिखलाई है। इस विश्वविद्यालय में भी आप अपने गत अनुभव के आधार पर इस विश्वविद्यालय में वही कमजोरियाँ, वही बीमारियाँ न पैदा हो जाएँ और समान रूप से सभी वर्गों की वहाँ पर उन्नति हो, इसका ध्यान रखेंगे, ऐसी मैं सरकार से आशा करता हूँ।

अन्त में एक प्रार्थना करके मैं समाप्त करता हूँ और वह यह है कि इस विश्वविद्यालय का जो स्वरूप है, जो ढाँचा है, इस स्वरूप और ढाँचे में जितना शीघ्र हो सके आप असम, मणिपुर और त्रिपुरा को भी आशवासन दे सकें क्योंकि आज उनको डर है, भय है, उनके दिल और दिमाग में नागालैण्ड, मेघालय के कारण से यहाँ पर आन्दोलनों की प्रवृत्ति हो रही है, उनका ध्यान करके उनको इसमें सम्मिलित करें। उनको यह भय है कि कहीं ये अपनी बात हम पर न थोप दें, अपनी संस्कृति और अपनी भाषा, अपनी विदेशी भाषा को और विशेष संस्कृति को न थोप डालें, इस भय से वह इस विश्वविद्यालय में शामिल नहीं हुए हैं। यह केन्द्रीय सरकार का कर्तव्य है कि वहाँ के लोगों के, वहाँ की सरकारों के दिल और दिमाग से उस भय को निकाल कर इस विश्वविद्यालय में उनको भी सम्मिलित करें ताकि प्रत्येक क्षेत्र के कालेज, प्रत्येक क्षेत्र की सांस्कृतिक संस्थाएँ, प्रत्येक क्षेत्र की जातियाँ और वर्ग इस विश्वविद्यालय से लाभ उठा सकें।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस विश्वविद्यालय विधेयक का स्वागत करता हूँ।

SHRI SHOWALESS K. SHILLA (Meghalaya): Mr Deputy Chairman, at the very outset I take this opportunity to congratulate the Government on bringing forward this Bill and on the sincerity that it has shown, especially when one remembers that just in the last Session the Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha but because of certain obstacles which the honourable Minister has already enumerated, it could not be pursued. I am happy that ways have been found and now Nagaland has come forward to fill in the gap by passing a Resolution. On behalf of Meghalaya and our people I welcome Nagaland and the other Union Territories of Mizoram and Arunachal to be with us in the University to travel hopefully together to the future.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU IN THE CHAIR)]

Mr Vice-Chairman our deep regret is that much as we would like it, we could not have the University named after the Prime Minister who has been held closely to the heart of the Tribal people. But as explained by the honourable Minister, it can be understood. But still the feeling and affection of the people is there and if we cannot find expression in giving the name, it can be found I hope, later in the deeds and words 4 P.M. that this University will bring.

I am grateful to my hon. friend who just spoke before me because he welcomed the University. But I am sorry to say that he has had a lot of misgivings, especially in the context of the history of two of the States and one Union Territory that he has mentioned. I would like to elucidate on this because I do not want such misgivings and fears to remain in his mind. What I mean by that, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is that probably he meant the fight of the Hill States, when he mentioned about the history. But may I remind the House that that fight was a peaceful one. It was like the peaceful fight organised by the Father of the Nation.

One day the facts will be out and nobody could prove to the contrary. I am sorry to say that perhaps there has been blood-shed in Nagaland and in Mizoram. I hope and pray that that will be over. But I am speaking of my State and in that context, you will be surprised to know that till 1960—that is about ten years ago—in the areas that now comprise Meghalaya, we did not have a single Government college. That should be enough to tell you how backward we were educationally and why we are still backward now. That is all the more reason, why I welcome the Bill. We do not want to remain backward. All the schools, most of the schools I should say, and I dare say all the good schools in Meghalaya or for that matter in the entire North Eastern India are run by Missionaries. Mr. Vice-Chairman, but for the Missionaries, I would not be standing here today as a Member of this House. I owe my education to them and even when later I had the opportunity to go for post-graduate studies outside our State, but for the Missionaries, I would have had to go back. You know how hard it is to get accommodation in the cities and but for them I would not have got accommodation. They housed me. I gave this personal illustration only to show that the Missionaries are there. I agree they have their own faith. They do not follow Hindu faith. I am a Hindu, Mr. Vice-Chairman. But this is a secular State. But without these Missionaries, probably now, I would say, not only Meghalaya, but even Nagaland and Mizoram, would have still been jungles in the context that there would have been no educational institutions. In fact, if we are now in a position to build up this university, it is because of them and because of the education they have already given. With this education, we will be able to develop the standard that we want. Left to the Government, I know where we will be now. Since independence, only two Government colleges have been established. You know that Shillong is the joint capital of Assam and Meghalaya and even



[Shri Showaless K. Shilla].

Arunachal has its headquarters in Shillong. Most of the Colleges are run by the Missionaries and most of the schools in the capital are run by them. I emphasise this so much because there seems to be a lot of misgivings. If at all the missionaries have said anything or done anything, it is only to look ahead and to try to go forward and not just as our friends have said here. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I will not dwell very much on this because it will be out of context. But I want to clear the misgivings which I often notice here in this House and for that matter elsewhere also and that is why I have emphasised it so much.

It is true, Sir, that we would have been very much happier if other areas also joined us. An honourable Member who just now spoke mentioned about Manipur, Tripura and Assam. It was delayed. Why? Precisely because they did not want to join. Otherwise, this Bill would have been passed in the last session itself and the question of bringing in this now would not have arisen. By now we would have got the University which would have started functioning. But, Sir, they did not want to do it. also welcomed them. But they did not join.

Now, Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, a university has got a big function and its ultimate function, as I see it, is the development of man. Sir, our North-Eastern Region is a land of paradoxes in the sense that it is rich with natural resources, but is industrially very backward. Although all the materials are found there, we do not have any industry at all. I am saying this because, if the man is developed properly, he will be in a position to take advantage not only of what nature has bestowed on us, but also to exploit them for his own life and prosperity. So, Sir, this University will fill in the gap, the gap that has been there so far, standing in the way of development that I have mentioned just now. We hope

that this gap will be filled in by this University, given the knowledge and backed by the willingness to work by the people, because these two are very necessary. Therefore, Sir, I hope that this will help the people of this Region and help in the not too distant future the tribals of the North-Eastern Region attain a position when they will not all the time be classified as backward people, but as equal partners in this great task of building a strong and emergent India.

Once again, Sir, I sincerely thank the Government for having brought forward this Bill and urge upon the other Members to come forward to support this Bill. With these words, Sir, I resume my seat. Thank you.

SHRI NABIN CHANDRA BURAGOHAIN (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the introduction of the North-Eastern Hill University Bill, 1973, is welcomed by me as a great memorial step taken by the Government of India for the welfare of the hill tribes of this region. The object of this Bill is to benefit the people of the hill areas of north eastern region and to develop their intellectual, academic and cultural background. The jurisdiction of the proposed University will extend to the States of Meghalaya and Nagaland and the Union territories of Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram.

I should like to draw the attention of the House to the areas where the proposed University will function. This includes the border territory, Arunachal Pradesh, just on the border between India and China. This area is inhabited by so many tribes like Adi, Mishmi, Khampto, Tangsa, Nakte, Yugli, Aka, Apatani, Nishi (Duffa), Tagin, Monpa, Serdupen, Kanba, etc. Each of these tribes has its traditional background and also cultural background.

The other area, Nagaland, is also predominantly inhabited by as many as 50 tribes, the predominant tribes being Aos Angami, Semus, Lothas, Konyak, Zeliang, Sukhesang, etc. Each of these tribes has got its own

particular tradition and also culture. In the same day the State of Meghalaya is inhabited mainly by Khasis, Garos and Janyanathias. The other area, Mizoram, is inhabited by mainly one major tribe, Mizos, and their dialect is Mizo. Also, it is heartening to note that the percentage of literacy in Mizoram is above 62 per cent. These tribal areas have got their own traditional background. Each of these tribes has its own language or dialect which is rich in Ballads, humours, folklore, folktale etc. They played an important part even in the days of the Mahabharatha. It is found but in the Mahabharatha that Rukmini, daughter of Raja Vishvak, resident of Kondil, (Lohit) was married by Lord Krishna. Also, Sir, another girl, Hirimba, a tribal girl living in Nagaland at a place called Hiramba was married by Bhima, the great Pandhava of the Mahabharatha. Ulupi, a Nakhanya, a Naga girl was married by Arjuna, the third Pandava. So, Sir, these tribes had played a very important role in the days of the Mahabharatha. It connotes what civilization and culture these people enjoyed even in those days.

These people are well-known for the spirit of independence. They have got better values. They have got comparatively better values than the other people in the rest of India. This is a very sensitive part of India. This is also regarded as a place where the people keep the spirit of independence uppermost in their minds. These people enjoy socialism which is so much talked of these days. I draw the attention of the House that this area has the most advanced land policy and the lands in the rural areas around the villages belong to the village as a whole. So, they enjoy complete socialism with regard to land policies. These areas were free from offences like outraging of modesty, kidnapping and other offences involving moral turpitude. During the British days, these people were kept away from the rest of the people of India. They were not allowed to come in touch with the hainstream of the

country. So, they lived separately. Even then, they displayed their feeling of independence. Most of the Members know that Rani Guidali a Naga girl of hardly 15 years of age then declared independence against the British. Our great leader, Pandit Nehru, came to know of their spirit of independence. He adopted policies for the development of these areas without destroying their culture and traditional background. Two States, Meghalaya and Nagaland, were formed from these areas. In spite of the fact that their population was a comparatively less, they were allowed statehood. Our great leader, Pandit Nehru, thought that these tribal people should develop themselves. They should feel that their cultures are not being trespassed by the cultures of other people of the rest of India. In this way, many administrative reforms are being carried out in Arunachal and Mizoram. So, these areas have been progressing independently. Therefore, the function of this university will be a special one. This university will have to cater to the needs and the aspirations of so many tribes speaking different languages and dialects and having their own traditional and cultural background. This university will have to start many study centres and research centres so that the cultures of these people are discovered and developed. This university should infuse such an idea into the minds of the tribal people so that they feel that they are part and parcel of the whole of India, so that they also feel that they also should contribute their mite to the welfare of the whole of India. This university should promote a sense of participation and belonging in them.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is known for her love to the tribal people. On occasions she has expressed that she has been having this love towards them probably due to the fact that her ancestors came from hill areas. So, Sir, I welcome this Bill and I hope that this proposed university would seriously work for the

[Shri Nabin Chandra Buragohain]

allround development of the tribal people so that they might come forward towards progress in all the intellectual academic and cultural fields, Mr. Tyagi has raised a point that the present system as offered by the Bill might create some disunity in the hill areas. He expressed some doubt that the provisions of the Bill might push away the people of these areas from the mainstream of the country. But, I think otherwise. When there is trespass of the culture of the majority on the culture of a minority, then rather disunity is created, but if the culture of a community or a tribe, however small it might be, is well nursed, then rather it will bring more unity among the Indians.

There is one provision in the Bill giving option to a college for affiliation to this university. So, some critics doubt whether this might stand as an obstacle in the successful functioning of the university, because this new university will be in a sensitive area and if freedom is given to a college for inclusion or exclusion with regard to affiliation of the college, then it might do more harm initially. I hope that the hon. Minister will think on this provision. If a college which falls within the jurisdiction of the university is compulsorily affiliated to the university, then it might do the welfare of the tribes of this North Eastern Hills region. Tahank you.

Sir, with these words I thank the Prime Minister as well as the Education Minister for taking this bold step in bringing this Bill for the establishment of this university specially for the welfare of the tribes of this North Eastern Hills region. Thank you.

**श्री नवल किशोर :** अधिष्ठाता महोदय, मैं इस विधयेक का स्वागत करता हूँ क्योंकि हमारे देश के ऐसे पिछड़े क्षेत्र में यह विश्वविद्यालय स्थापित किया जा रहा है जो राजनीतिक दृष्टि से, सार्वजनिक दृष्टि से, अधिक दृष्टि से और शिक्षा की दृष्टि

से काफी पिछड़ा हुआ है। इस क्षेत्र के लोगों की आज से नहीं 10 साल से इस बात की मांग थी कि इस तरह का विश्वविद्यालय उनके यहां स्थापित किया जाय। अगर मुझे को सही याद पड़ता है तो 63 में लोक सभा में इस क्षेत्र के चार संसद-सदस्यों ने यह मांग पंडित जी, जो उस समय प्रधान मंत्री थे, के सामने रखी थी। उन्होंने उसी वक्त उपाध्याय कमेटी नियुक्त की कि वह इस बात को देखे कि इस विश्वविद्यालय का क्या स्वरूप हो और मुझे खुशी है कि उस कमेटी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट 64 में दे दी। 1965 में आसाम की असेम्बली ने इस तरह का प्रस्ताव पास किया, लेकिन उसके बाद कुछ ऐसी राजनीतिक उथलपुथल इस देश में हुई कि उसकी वजह से दूसरी विधान सभा इसको पास नहीं कर पाई और विधान के अनुसार दो विधान सभाओं को इसे पास करना था। इसलिए बिल आगे नहीं बढ़ सका और इसमें देर लगी।

मुझे इसके साथ साथ एक शिकायत यह भी है कि जाने या अनजाने नूरुल हसन साहब जब कोई इस तरह का विधयेक लाते हैं तो जब सेशन समाप्त होने वाला होता है उसी समय बिल हमारे सामने प्रवेश किया जाता है और आर्गुमेंट यह दिया जाता है कि वहां के लोग चाहते हैं कि जल्दी इसको पास कर दिया जाय। श्रीमान, हमारी दककत यह है कि हमारे उनके सम्बन्ध ऐसे हैं निकट के और घनिष्ठ कि मैं बिना बहस किए उनकी बात को मान लेता हूँ हालांकि उसमें तत्त्व नहीं होता और तत्त्व इसलिए नहीं होता कि दिल्ली यूनीवर्सिटी कालेज कौंसिल के लिये वे एमंडमेंट लाए, हमने पास कर दिया, लेकिन आज तक कालेज कौंसिल बन नहीं पाई। अलीगढ़ विश्वविद्यालय बिल के लिए हमने मांग की कि इसको जोइन्ट सेलेक्ट कमेटी में भेज दीजिए। उन्होंने कहा कि बहुत दिनों से यह मामला पेन्डिंग है पास कर दीजिए, हमने पास कर दिया। वह बिल तो पास हो गया लेकिन हसन साहब बताएंगे कि

आज तक उसका इम्प्लोमेंटेशन कहां तक हुआ है। सो पी आई जो सबसे बड़ी सपोर्टर थी उस बिल को उन्होंने आज यह मांग की कि हसन साहब इस बात का आश्वासन दें कि इस बिल को इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं किया जायेगा। तो, श्रीमन्, इसके पास धरने का क्या शौक था। सो पी आई का मैं इसलिए नोटिस ले रहा हूं क्योंकि वह सत्तारूढ़ दल से ज्यादा इम्पारटेंट है क्योंकि वह सत्तारूढ़ दल को डिक्लेट करती है। इसको हम पास कर देते हैं लेकिन ऐसा न हो कि और विश्वविद्यालयों की तरह इसका फेट भी हो और इसको स्थापित करने में काफी लम्बा अर्सा आपको लग जाय।

मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने अपने नाम को इस विश्वविद्यालय के साथ जोड़ने की स्वीकृति नहीं दी श्रीमन्, उन्होंने ऐसा करके बड़ी स्वस्थ परम्परा स्थापित की है। अगर उन्होंने स्वीकृति दे दी होती तो एक बहुत ही अनहेल्दी प्रिंसिपलेंट, अनहेल्दी ट्रेडिशन कायम हो जाती, फिर इस देश के अन्दर होड़ लग जाती कि जितनी संस्थाएँ बनें वे प्राइम मिनिस्टर के नाम पर बनें और उसके बाद जब प्राइम मिनिस्टर बदले तो जैसा सोवियत रूस में होता है कि उस आदमी की फोटो 24 घंटे में हटा दी जाती है दूसरे प्राइम मिनिस्टर का नाम जोड़ दिया जाता है, वैसा ही यहां भी हो। तो मैं समझता हूं कि यह बड़ी अशोभनीय बात होती भारतीय संस्कृति और परम्पराओं के लिए। लिहाजा प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने स्वीकृति न देकर बहुत अच्छी बात की, इसके लिए मैं अपनी खुशी का इजहार करता हूं।

श्रीमन्, इस बिल के जो आबर्जेंटिवस हैं उन्हें मैं एक मिनट में पढ़ना चाहता हूं हालांकि हमन साहब ने उन्हें पढ़ा है—

"The objects of the University shall be to disseminate and advance knowledge by providing instructional and research facilities in such branches of learning as it may deem fit; to pay special attention to the improvement of the social and economic conditions and

welfare of the people of the hill areas of the North-Eastern region and, in particular, their intellectual, academic and cultural advancement."

श्रीमन् इंटेलेक्चुअल अकैडेमिक और कल्चरल कंडीशंस तो इंप्रूव करें लेकिन इसमें सोशल और इकानामिक कंडीशंस को इंप्रूव करें यूनिवर्सिटी यह तो श्रीमन् यह तो बड़ा व्यापक क्षेत्र है। एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में इंप्रूव करना होगा तो तभी इंप्रूवमेंट होगा जब शिक्षा के अन्दर सुधार हो। उस सेंस में अगर यह बात है तो ठीक है बरना जो सोशल इकानामिक वेलफेयर की जिम्मेदारी स्टेट की है उसको आप यूनिवर्सिटी के ऊपर डाल रहे हैं तो यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आई। हालांकि उन्होंने आर्टिकल 5(2) में एक्सप्लेन किया है।

"(2) to take such academic steps as would contribute to the improvement of the economic conditions and welfare of the people of the hill areas of the North-Eastern region;"

तो मैं यह नहीं समझ पाया कि यह चाहिए टेक्नीकल एजुकेशन होगी लोग उसमें इंजीनियर्स बनेंगे।

प्रो० एस० नूरुल हसन : ऐक्शटेन्शन।

श्री नवल किशोर : इसमें आपने ऐक्सटेन्शन की बात कही है —

(4) to organise and to undertake extra-mural studies and extension services."

उस सेंस में तो जो भी आपका एजुकेशन है वह बुनयाद बन जाती है। जिस सब्सिडी में आपने ऐक्सटेन्शन सब्सिडी की बात कही है उसको ज्यादा ऐड किया है उसमें मुझे कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। लेकिन जैसा मंत्री जी ने कहा उन इलाकों के जो लोकल कस्टम्स हैं, लोकल ट्रेडिन्स हैं, कल्चर है, उसको डेवलप किया जाये और साथ-साथ जो की सैसिटिविटी एरिया हैं उन में यह भी फीलिंग पैदा की जाए कि हमारे कंट्री की मेन स्कीम है उसमें वह हाथ बंटाये। हसन साहब इस बात से इतिफाक करेंगे कि आप कोई रिसर्च और

[श्री नवल किशोर]

स्टेडी के लिए स्पेशल डिपार्टमेंट खोल दें जो ट्राइबल कल्चर को दो सदियों से हमारे देश में रहा है उसका अध्ययन करें, उसके ऊपर कुछ साहित्य लिखा जाय और लिटरेचर बनाया जाय ताकि देश के और विदेश के लोग जिनको इंट्रेस्ट है इंडियन ट्राइबल कल्चर के अन्दर वह उनकी स्टेडी कर सके अनुसंधान कर सके तो श्रीमन् यह अच्छा सुझाव है।

आपने कम्पलसरी अफिलिएशन की बात नहीं रखी, मैं इस बात से इतिफाक करता हूँ। आगे चलकर आपत्ति बड़े यह हो सकता है क्योंकि अरुणाचल, मिजोरम और मेघालय और नागालैंड अभी तो चार के लिए यह आपने बनाया है लेकिन आगे चलकर हर एक स्टेट यह मांग करे कि हमको एक-एक विश्वविद्यालय दे दो। इस लिए आपने यह चीज रखी है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इसके अन्दर एक अच्छा फीचर है।

एक बात की इसमें बड़ी शिकायत की गई है कि इसमें आसाम, मणीपुर और त्रिपुरा को भी जोड़ दिया जाता। मगर श्रीमन् जब मणीपुर यह कहता है कि हमको अलग विश्वविद्यालय चाहिए, और हम डेमोक्रेसी की बात करते हैं, तो उसमें हम मणीपुर की इच्छा के खिलाफ कैसे जोर देते? जब वह चाहते ही नहीं तो कैसे जोड़ दें? असम की विधान सभा ने यह प्रस्ताव पास किया था मुझे पता नहीं वह प्रस्ताव वापस हुआ या नहीं, जब यह प्रस्ताव वापस नहीं हुआ तो मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि कांस्टीट्यूशनली और चीफ मिनिस्टर ने आपको एग्रीमेंट न भी दिया तो चीफ मिनिस्टर आबिट्रेरी नहीं हैं। असम की विधान सभा के पास उस प्रस्ताव को न मानने का कोई अख्तियार नहीं है। कांस्टीट्यूशनल पोजीशन यह होनी चाहिए थी कि यह प्रस्ताव वहां से विदड़ा होता, तब तो बात समझ में आती, हालांकि मैं जानता उसके पीछे पोलिटिक्स है। बात यह कि असम वाले कहते हैं कि हमारे पास

दो विश्वविद्यालय हैं। उन्होंने जब अपनी स्वीकृति दे दी, उस समय उनके पास दो विश्वविद्यालय थे। मगर उनको डर यह है कि चूँकि इसका इंगलिश मीडियम होगा, हो सकता है जहाँ लैंग्वेज के ऊपर यह झगडा हो, कुछ कालेज ऐसे हों जो असमीज को माध्यम न चाहते हों हालांकि अब तो डिबीजन हो गया है कि असमीज मीडियम दोनों में चलायेंगे। लेकिन यह डर उनको था हालांकि कांस्टीट्यूशनली मैं समझता हूँ कि चीफ मिनिस्टर को अधिकार नहीं है। लेकिन एक आर्गुमेंट है कि कोई आदमी नहीं चाहता तो हसन साहब के नाम कौन सी शक्ति है कि उसको थोपें।

इसमें लिखा हुआ है कि जो ऐडमिशन होंगे स्टूडेंट्स के उसमें एरिया का प्रश्न नहीं होगा। उसमें मजहब की बात नहीं होगी। कास्ट और क्रीड की बात नहीं होगी। इसमें आपने आर्टिकल 46 को इनकारपोरेट किया है। उसमें आपने कहा है :—

More admissions may be given to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक अच्छी चीज है और यह स्वागत करने वाली बात है।

एक बात आपने इसमें यह कही है कि कैम्पस एक से ज्यादा हो सकते हैं। एक शिलांग में, एक कोहिमा में और उससे भी ज्यादा हो सकते हैं। यह बात मेरी समझ में इस लिए नहीं आई कि ये छोटी सी स्टेट्स हैं जिनकी आबादी भी शायद 60 लाख के करीब है। क्या यह इतना बड़ा बर्डन यह युनिवर्सिटी उठा सकेगी। जब आप कई कैम्पस बनायेंगे तो आपके पास कई प्राक्टर्स होंगे, कई आप के डीन आफ स्टूडेंट्स होंगे तो यह जॉ एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव एक्सपेंडीचर बढ़ेगा, मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बात सोचने की है। फिर एक फीलिंग भी होगी कैम्पस बढ़ाने की। अभी तक आप दिल्ली में भी नहीं बढ़ा पाये हैं।

दिल्ली के अन्दर 48 या 50 कालेज है और उनके लिए मांग है कि कैम्पस बढ़ाये जाय। लेकिन उसको भी अभी तक आप नहीं कर पाये है।

एक बात जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ। डिक्टेटरशिप की बातें मैं कहूँगा नहीं क्योंकि वह बहुत स्ट्राग वर्ड है। मगर यह जो आपने बिल बनाया है, इफ यू एक्सक्यूज मी, मुझे पता नहीं कि आपके डिपार्टमेंट से कितना कंसल्टेशन हुआ। यह डिफेक्टिव इस माने में है कि इसमें मुझे दो आब्जर्क्शंस हैं, एक तो यह है कि मेमारेण्डम में यह बात करने के बावजूद : Delegation of the powers is in a normal way

मैं इसमें इतिफाक नहीं करता हूँ। आपने इसमें एक नया पैटर्न एडाप्ट किया। आप ऐसा कह सकते हैं कि जवाहर लाल युनिवर्सिटी का जो ऐक्ट था उसमें भी इस तरह की बात थी। अब इसमें जो इसके खुदा हैं वे विजिटर हैं। विजिटर साहब खुदा हो जाये तो उस पर मुझे कोई आपत्ति नहीं है, लेकिन घुमा कर के माने यह हुए कि जो एक्जिक्युटिव अथॉरिटी है, जो ला मेकिंग पावर आफ पार्लियामेंट है, उसको छीन कर आप एक्जिक्युटिव को देना चाहते हैं तीन साल के लिए। जो अप्वाइंटमेंट होगा वाइस चांसलर का वह किसी का पांच साल के लिए और किसी का तीन साल के लिए विजिटर करेगा। विजिटर की पावर्स विदवा भी हो जाय तो भी वह कांस्टिच्यू करेगा : उसका टर्म होगा पांच साल का।

दूसरी बात यह है कि सबस्टिट्यूट्स के सम्बन्ध में एक नया ट्रेन्ड डेवलप हुआ है गवर्नमेंटों का। वे युनिवर्सिटी की आटोनामी की बात तो करती हैं, मगर आटोनामी को इतना टवीस्ट करती चली जा रहीं हैं कि Autonomy has become a fare in the university तो ये जो पावर्स ली हैं, ये जो

अनलिमिटेड पावर्स आफ द विजिटर्स हैं, यह बात उचित और मुनासिब नहीं है।

एक बात मैं और भी कहना चाहता हूँ इसी सम्बन्ध में। एक पुराना ट्रेडीशन चला आ रहा है कि गवर्नर साहब जो हों वे चांसलर हो युनिवर्सिटी के। जब नये, नये विचार और नई, नई क्रान्ति हो रही है तो यह आउट-नोटेड और पिटा पिटाया आइडिया है कि गवर्नर साहब जी चांसलर बनेंगे इसके माने यह हुए कि वही पुरानी बात ही चलेगी तो मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि आप मेहरबानी करके नया एम्सपेरिमेंट भी कीजिए। हो सकता है कि उसमें कुछ त्रुटियाँ हो जाय, मगर हर जगह वाई वर्चू आफ द आफिस गवर्नर चांसलर बन जाय, यह उचित और मुनासिब नहीं है।

श्री बिपिनपाल दास (आसाम) : इसमें गवर्नर चांसलर नहीं है।

श्री नवल किशोर : यह नहीं है। मैंने पढ़ा है। I stand corrected अगर नूरुल हसन साहब कहते हैं कि नहीं है, तो मैं उसको सुधार लूँगा।

श्री बिपिनपाल दास : गवर्नर चीफ रेक्टर है, चांसलर नहीं है।

प्रो० एस० नूरुल हसन : पावर कुछ नहीं है।

श्री नवल किशोर : If there is no power, why should you make fun of the Governor as the Chief Rector without any power is simply making a mockery of that high office of the State.

श्रीमन, इस में कुछ नयी नयी बात है। एक तो आपने बताया कि विजिटर्स कभी कालेज इन्स्पेक्शन कर सकते हैं। एक आपने बताया कि इसमें प्लानिंग बोर्ड काम करेगा / एकेडेमिक कौंसिल 6 महीने काम करेगी। ठीक है और

[श्री नवल किशोर]

में कोई आपत्ति की बात नहीं है कि उसके बाद कांस्टीट्यूशन बनाया जाय लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि 6 महीने में कांस्टीट्यूशन बन नहीं पायेगा।

With all your best efforts and best wishes I do not think it will be possible for you to frame a Constitution within six months.

इस में आप ने एक आइडिया दिया है आर्बिट्रेशन का कि टीचिंग स्टाफ जो है और नान-टीचिंग स्टाफ जो है उन के झगड़ों के लिए आर्बिट्रेशन और ट्राइब्यूनल की बात कही गयी है। यह एक अच्छी चीज है। स्टूडेंट्स के बारे में आप ने कहा है कि अगर कोई डिसिप्लिन का झगडा हो या उन को एक साल से ज्यादा समय के लिए निकालना हो तो उस के लिए मामला ट्राइब्यूनल में भेजा जायेगा। यह आइडिया आप ने एजुकेशन कमीशन से लिया है। यह मैं समझता हूँ कि एक अच्छा आइडिया है।

एक चीज इसमें और थी। आप को याद होगा कि यू० जी० सी० की एक सिफारिश थी कि मल्टी मीडिया युनिवर्सिटी भी बनायी जाय। एक्सपेरिमेंट तो आप को कहीं न कहीं करना ही है, चाहे आप वह आसाम में करें या यहां। तो जब एक नयी युनिवर्सिटी बना रहे हैं तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस को आप मल्टी मीडिया यूनिवर्सिटी बनायें। यह मेरा एक सुझाव है। इस पर आप सोचें, यह न कह दें कि ऐसा होगा नहीं। यह कहना मैं समझता हूँ कि कुछ ज्यादा मुनासिब न होगा। इस बारे में आप सोचें।

श्रीमन्, इस में एक बात और है। स्टूडेंट्स के पार्टिसिपेशन के बारे में बहुत दिनों से बात चल रही है और आन प्रिंसिपल आप ने उसे एक्सेप्ट कर लिया है। गजेंद्रगडकर रिपोर्ट भी उस के लिए है और इस क्षेत्र में यह लास्ट वर्ड Gajendragadakar's Report is the last word in our University education.

लेकिन उस में भी यह था कि :

"One important term of reference of the Committee was about the question of participation of students in the administration of the University both in academic and non-academic matter. We have earlier stated that in our view participation of the students in the academic life and affairs of the University is essential part of the functioning of the University."

इस को मैं ने पढ़ा। मुमकिन है बाड़ी बनने के बाद वह चीज आये, मगर एज इट इज, क्योंकि आप ने इतनी पावर्स दे दी है और कोई गाइड लाइन्स भी नहीं हैं और मुझे याद है कि इस पर लोक सभा में मधु लिमये साहब ने एक कांस्टीट्यूशनल ईश्यू भी उठाया था। मैं ने उस को पढ़ा नहीं, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि गाइड लाइन्स के न होने के बाद इस में कोई चीज about the participation of the students or teachers. मुझे ऐसी नहीं मिली कि जो जिस को मैं उचित समझता और मैं समझता हूँ कि इसमें यह एक बड़ी कमी है।

इसमें टीचर्स के बारे में, उन की सर्विस कंडीशन के बारे में कुछ हिंटस आये हैं, लेकिन वह वेग हैं, डिटेल्ड नहीं हैं। हो सकता है कि उन को कहीं मैं ने मिस कर दिया हो, लेकिन इसमें सीनियोरिटी वगैरह के लिए कोई हल्स दिखायी नहीं दिये।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप अप्वाइंटमेंट्स करेगे। यह बात सही है कि अप्वाइंटमेंट करने में चूंकि वह बैकवर्ड एरिया है इस लिए अगर मैं यह कहूँ कि आप वहीं के आदमी लें तो शायद यह बात मुनासिब होगी। हो सकता है कि वहां आप को उतने क्वालिफाइड आदमी ही न मिलें। लेकिन आप को इस बात की कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि जब उन की कल्चर के लिए, उन की एजुकेशन के

लिए आप ने यह एक चीज बनायी है तो जहाँ तक मिल सकें तो वही के आदमियों को हम को लेना चाहिए। अगर हंड्रेड परसेंट न मिलें, 95 परसेंट भी मिलें, 90 परसेंट भी मिलें तो भी हम को लोकल टैलेंट्स को, लोकल इंटेलेजेंशिया को मौका देना चाहिए। आप ने देखा होगा कि नागाज़ैंड की मांग थी कि उन को सिसीड कर दिया जाय। हम ने इस लिए उन को अलग स्टेट बनाया कि वे ऐसा न समझें कि इतना बड़ा हिन्दुस्तान यह देश है, इसमें हम खो न जाय। तो उन को विश्वास होना चाहिए कि उन का मैनेजमेंट उन के हाथ में है। सेंस आफ इवाल्वमेंट और सेंस आफ पार्टिसिपेशन भी उन के दिमाग में होना चाहिए।

इसमें आगे चलकर के आप क्या करेंगे मैं जानता नहीं लेकिन एक बात मैं बता दू कि इसमें अमेंडमेंट बहुत जल्दी लाना पड़ेगा बड़ी दिक्कत है कि विधेयक ले आते हैं मगर फिर आपको अमेंडमेंट भी लाना पड़ता है क्योंकि इस कदर प्रेशर पड़ता है। इसमें शक नहीं कि कहीं कहीं आपने प्रेशर्स को बड़ी खूबी के साथ एडजस्ट किया है लेकिन कहां तक आप कर पायेंगे यह तो आगे मालूम होगा—आपने जो यहां किया है उसके लिए आपको क्रेडिट भी है—लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि इस सम्बन्ध में आपको अमेंडमेंट लाना पड़ेगा। तो यह बात देखने की है कि जो पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर्स वगैरह हैं उनका रिप्रेजेंटेशन रखें, उसकी भी इस बिल के अन्दर कोई गुंजाइश होगी या नहीं होगी यह भी देखने की बात है।

आखिर में मैं अपनी बात खत्म करता हूं इतना कह कर कि मुझे वाकई खुशी है कि इस तरह के विश्व विद्यालय का विधेयक आप लाये हैं, एक जमाने की मांग थी उसको आपने पूरा किया, वहां के लोगों का जो शिक्षा का स्तर है वह भी ऊंचा होगा, उनकी जो सांस्कृतिक परम्परायें हैं वे भी

अपनी जगह पर स्थापित रहेंगी, स्थापित ही नहीं रहेंगी बल्कि उनमें और बढ़ोत्तरी होगी, वह वहां एक साहित्य बनायेगे जिससे कि और लोग भी उन चीजों का अध्ययन कर सकें और उनमें एक फीलिंग पैदा होगा एक मातृभक्ति की, एक पैट्रियाटिज्म की—एक बार्डर स्टेट है और उनके अन्दर एक भावना पैदा होगी, वह महसूस करेंगे कि जो राष्ट्रीय जीवन है उसके हम महत्वपूर्ण अंग हैं जितना कि हिन्दुस्तान का कोई हिस्सा महत्वपूर्ण अंग है। तो उनके अन्दर एक भावात्मक और राष्ट्रीय एकता की भावना पैदा हो, इन उद्देश्यों को यह विधेयक पूरा कर सका तो इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि बहुत बड़ा काम होगा। लोगों की इच्छायें पूरी होंगी और प्रधान मंत्री पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरूजी की जो आकांक्षा थी वह भी पूरी होगी और मैं समझता हूं कि हसन साहब को भी यह देश बधाई देगा, मुबारकवाद देगा। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूं।

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Mr. V. ce-Chairman, Sir, I rise only to express my warm-hearted welcome to this proposal to establish a Central University at Shillong. The establishment of this university will fulfil a long-cherished desire of the people of the hill areas of that part of the country, and I am sure that with the establishment of this university, the people for whom this university is primarily meant, will be able to march forward towards higher and higher cultural achievement.

Sir, there is a little history behind this university, as most of the hon. Members may be aware. The idea of this university was born with the movement of a separate State of Meghalaya. Now, in the course of discussing this question or in some other reference, my friend, Shri Tyagi, said that during his visit to Nagaland and some other parts of that area he got the impression that in that part of the country, there is



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a feeling that it is not part of India, a kind of separatist feeling is there, and so on and so forth. Now friends like Tyagiji will not be able to understand this area, the feelings of the people of this area, by one or two visits. This is the mistake generally committed by many people, not only politicians but also officers who pay a flying visit to this area and come back with great ideas, sometimes with great books, new philosophies and what not. It is certainly a fact that this entire area to the east of Bangladesh was not part of India till 1826. It is a fact. You cannot deny it. But culturally—and that is the real thing—this whole country has been united for centuries and centuries. Culturally this part of the country also was united with the rest of the country. Please do not forget that. Please pay a visit to Manipur and have a deep study of the cultural and social life of Manipur. Then you will understand how in that area, which is completely isolated by the hill areas....

श्री ओम प्रकाश त्यागी : मैं आपकी सूचना के लिए बता देना चाहता हूँ कि यह सिर्फ एक फ्लाईंग विजिट की ही बात नहीं है, चाइना की ओर से भी बहुत बड़ा प्रोपेगण्डा है और वहाँ के लोग इसका समर्थन करते हैं कि मंगोल जाति के लोग यहाँ आए और वे यहाँ बस गये हैं, हम आर्य जाति के लोग नहीं हैं, मंगोल जाति के वंशज हैं। इस प्रकार की भावना है या नहीं? अहोम जाति के लोग वर्मा के साथ अपना संबंध जोड़ते हैं। क्या यह सच नहीं है कि गोहाटी युनिवर्सिटी की भाषा .....

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I have understood your question. That was why I was referring to Manipur..

DR. V. B. SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): On a point of order. His question is that this country consists of nothing but Aryan stock. I challenge it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): I think at this rate you will be entering into a controversy. Please sit down. Mr. Das, you please continue your speech.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Sir, he raised the controversy and I have to answer it. The entire population of Manipur are Mangolians. There is no doubt about it. But look at the culture and the society, their customs, their traditions, their social life. It is nothing but Indian. And this country consists of not only one particular class of Aryans to which Mr. Tyagi may claim to belong. This country consists of people coming from various stocks. And through generations, through centuries of a synthetic process we have built up something which we call Indian civilisation. That is one thing which my friends of Jan Sangh always forget and through only their own coloured spectacles they want to look at that area, and, therefore, Sir, I have taken this trouble of correcting him.

I said there is some history behind this University. It is true that when Nagaland was separated from Assam, we felt unhappy. It is also true that when Meghalaya was separated from Assam, we felt very unhappy. The people of Assam felt very unhappy because of various reasons. We had long links; deep feelings and deep sentiments grew in course of time. And therefore, we did not want to be separated. But ultimately we agreed to separation. Why? We agreed for two reasons: Firstly, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Arunachal, Mizoram, these areas never formed part of Assam politically before the British came. It has a history. Before the advent of the British, these areas newer were political parts of Assam. The Assam Kings never tried to subjugate these areas. Secondly, when the people of these areas are anxious to develop their own identity, when they are anxious to develop their own genius, and if they can do it by having

a separate State or a separate University, why should we resist it? We must give these facilities to these people. If by having a separate State or a separate University they can develop their genius, if they can develop their personality, if they can find their identity, I think we should allow them as democrats. It was therefore that in spite of our unhappiness we agreed to the separation. This must be understood. Why do I say this? Nawal Kishoreji also brought up some question. In the course of the debate on Andhra Pradesh people drew parallels and they said if Assam can be broken up into several pieces, why not Andhra Pradesh also? But the whole history is different. As I said, these areas which have been separated from Assam were never politically parts of Assam before the British came. Only the British kept them together. Otherwise, they have different languages, different customs, different traditions. But it is not the situation in Andhra Pradesh. There they have the same culture, same customs and they speak the same language. A very powerful movement was organised for the creation of Visalandhra at that time and as a result of it came Andhra Pradesh. Therefore, this parallel does not hold good. The case of Assam stands entirely on a different footing.

Now the point that I want to contest is, and to which my friend, Naval Kishoreji, also made an oblique reference that these separations were caused by controversies over language. I strongly controvert this theory. This has been said not only in this House, but this propaganda is being carried on by some people even outside, even by a section of the press. Now, Nagaland was separated in 1962. There was no quarrel between Assam and Nagaland over language. What is the language today in Nagaland? There are sixteen major tribes speaking sixteen different languages. A tribe of one language does not understand the language of another

tribe. What is the link language in Nagaland? The link language in Nagaland today is nothing but Assamese. The Assembly proceedings are conducted in Assamese. They call it Nagamese. In fact it is a variant of Assamese language. Only thing is that they speak it with their own accent and so on. But it is nothing but Assamese. Their Assembly proceedings are conducted in that language. Where is then the question of linguistic controversy between Nagaland and Assam?

With Meghalaya there was some trouble about the Official Languages Act. I still maintain that the Official Languages Act passed by the Assam Assembly is one of the most progressive language Acts passed in this country. What was that Act? Regional languages were allowed to be used by the respective regions and we allowed Bengali to be used in Cachar. The Hill areas like Khasi Hills, Mizo Hills, etc. were allowed to use the language of their own choice for their administrative purposes in the districts. Assamese was not imposed on their district administrations. Therefore, it is a wrong argument and unjust attack on the State of Assam to say that it was for these reasons that the State was divided. Separation of Nagaland and Meghalaya was basically political. I have no time to go into it. You know what kind of movement was built up in Nagaland. That was purely political. That was followed by another kind of movement in Meghalaya which was also political. Ultimately the separation of Meghalaya came and Mizoram and Arunachal followed as a consequence of this. This misunderstanding therefore, should be removed. Now that we have separated, we find that our relations are quite happy. At the time of separation or before separation, the people of Assam opposed the formation of Meghalaya. They were unhappy. Now that it has come into existence, both the people are having very good relations and

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there is no conflict. Minor conflicts may be here and there. But generally speaking today the people in Nagaland, Meghalaya, Assam and Arunachal are living a cordial life and there is no strained feeling. This question should not, therefore, be revived time and again.

Shri Nawal Kishore said that Assam did not join the university and he tried to give some explanation. The point is this. When Assam Legislature passed the resolution asking for a Central University in Shillong, Meghalaya and Assam were one. Meghalaya was not yet a separate State at that time. It was the united Assam legislature that passed the resolution. Shillong was part of Assam and Assam legislature had to pass the resolution. Once Shillong ceased to be part of Assam, that question did not arise any more. When Assam was included in the earlier Bill, we objected to it. Why? After four or five years of bitter relations over the issue of separate Meghalaya, now we have come to a stable and happy position. We have forgotten that phase of history. We have accepted Meghalaya as a sister State. Supposing the university of Meghalaya has jurisdiction over any part of Assam or the University of Assam has jurisdiction over any part of Meghalaya, this kind of overlapping of jurisdiction will create new areas of conflict between them. This is the basic reason why Assam did not want to be included within the jurisdiction of the new University. We did not want to create possibilities of scope for new areas of conflict between Meghalaya and Assam, Assam and Nagaland and Assam and Arunachal. This is the basic reason why we did not want to be included in that university.

Sir, these words I had to say to clarify the points raised

P.M. by some honourable Members

I am concluding by saying that although this University will

have no jurisdiction over Assam or the Assam Universities will have no jurisdiction over those areas, there

will certainly be an exchange of students and there should be such exchange of students. Students from the valley areas may go to the hill areas if they want to and students from the hill areas may go to the valley universities. This kind of exchange of students will still continue and it is very desirable also to have such exchanges and it should be encouraged. Universities on either side should not be closed for the students from the other side although the Universities have definite jurisdiction.

Now, Sir, my honourable friend, Mr. Shilla, made a very good point in reply to Tyagiji. Sir, I must say this, I must say in passing, that we must not forget one thing. Friends like Tyagiji, in their over-enthusiasm for creating what they call Indianism. Indianisation—I cannot just grasp these ideas and these slogans—have been saying something. He said something to which Mr. Shilla replied. I want to support Mr. Shilla by saying this: Let us not think in terms of religious differences in this country. This country belongs to everyone whatever his religion may be. It does not matter whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim or a Christian or a Buddhist. Only because these people in the hills are Christians should they remain suspect in our eyes? Let us not forget that we, the so-called Hindus, did nothing for them. What did we do for the hill area people? Did we go to the jungles? Did we start schools? Did we start any college? Did we start hospitals? Who did all these things? Sir, the truth is that the missionaries did it. The Christian missionaries did it. They went deep into the jungles, started the schools, started the hospitals, did public service, whatever their motive might be with which I am not concerned. I am not at all concerned with their motive. Gandhiji taught us: Do not try to examine the motives, but examine the action and the consequences of the action and the action here is the

upliftment of the people. Sir, I want to say here that in the entire area some of these colleges are excellent and some of the colleges situated in Shillong are perhaps the best in the area, in the North-Eastern Region. They are all excellent colleges, with excellent staff, excellent libraries, very good laboratories and very fine results every year. And, Sir, these colleges have been the product of the missionaries and let us not forget this fact. Therefore, Sir, when these people have contributed so much towards the development of these backward people, educationally and culturally, they should not be suspected in our eyes only because they have some other religion. If they do anything anti-national, the laws are there and the Government is there which will take care of them. But in the name of Indianism, Indianisation and so on and so forth, please do not preach ideas which will lead to the disintegration of the country.

Now, Sir, I want to say only one more word. I do not want to discuss the Bill as it is today, because if I want to discuss it and criticise it, frankly speaking, I will have to criticise many features of this Bill. But I do not want to do that, because I do not want to delay the passing of this Bill. The Bill should be passed as early as possible and the University should come into existence as early as possible. It has already been held up on account of Assam's objection. I do not want any further delay in this. But, Sir, I expected our Education Minister to present before us a new type of University, in this area, some new innovations, some new ideas, because there was a possibility. I am only throwing this idea to him to see if it is possible to incorporate these ideas later on. I do not know. I am a little disappointed because, in this Bill, we have the same old type, same old University. We do not care to make new experiments in university education as they are doing in the

U.K. A whole set-up of new universities is coming up in the U.K., absolutely new ones. I have seen some of them; of course, not all. Now this was the time for us to start something new because there was and there is the possibility. Possibility is there and the atmosphere is there. Very good colleges are there and the people are willing people. There was, therefore, a possibility of starting something new. But I must say that it has not been done. Whatever may be the type of the University that is going to be started there, whatever may be its structure, whatever courses of instruction may be there, one fact must not be forgotten. This University is going to cater to the needs of Meghalaya, one State, Nagaland, another State, Arunachal Pradesh, one Union territory, and Mizoram, another Union territory. Ultimately, therefore, we will have to have four different campuses for this University, please keep this in mind. Today we are thinking of a separate campus only for Nagaland. But ultimately we will have to have four different campuses of this University for these four different areas. There is no way out of it. This has to grow as a new type of Federal University. And I hope the Education Minister will kindly take steps to remedy whatever defects there are even now in this Bill and to bring in some new ideas as early as possible.

I do not want to detain, the Bill now, because the University must come into existence as early as possible. But he should apply his mind and try to develop an entirely new type of University which will not only cater to the needs of this area fully, not only contribute to the development of these areas not only help in further national integration, but also help us to evolve new ideas about higher education.

Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Mr. Chandrasekharan.

**SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN** (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is good that the north-eastern area is getting a Central University. Sir, the success of the Central University will to a large extent depend upon the establishment and maintenance of colleges affiliated in the Central University. The mere establishment of headquarters at Shillong and the Department of Research and other departments at the headquarters of the University may not be of much help and assistance. The people are living in difficult terrains in various remote parts of the north-eastern region. I would, therefore, submit to Government that not only the existing colleges be affiliated to this University but also a larger number of institutions for higher education which would be purposeful for the area and the people there be established.

Sir, the hon. Minister, in the course of his introductory remarks, dwelt upon two points. And I propose to refer shortly only to those aspects at this stage.

Sir, it is absolutely established that in India the Legislature cannot delegate powers of subordinate legislation in an unlimited manner. I am aware of the fact that even though the decision of the Supreme Court in this regard was otherwise earlier, the Supreme Court itself has made a review in what is known as the decision on the All-India Services Act. The All India Services Act is just an enactment with four sections. So far as the Central and the all-India Services are concerned, the entire service rules are delegated to a subordinate executive authority and rule-making power is really the essence and content of that enactment. I 1959, the Supreme Court had gone into it and held that the provisions of that enactment and the delegated power contained in that enactment as valid. However, in 1967, in a reported decision, the Supreme Court made a departure from the observations it made. The decision is reported in AIR 1967,

Supreme Court. The Supreme Court held that that subordinate legislation cannot go to the extent of the power of legislation by Parliament or the Legislature itself. Even though I have referred to it at this stage I am not going into the question of legality of the provisions contained in this Bill because the Supreme Court has been changing its views in different cases and we do not know what exactly would be the view of the Supreme Court in a particular case. Even with regard to legality, I would like to stress one aspect, i.e. in every legislation that Parliament has passed, the power of scrutiny of that subordinate legislation and the power to make amendments to the rules is reserved and it is subject to that power only that subordinate legislation can be made. Here that power is there, but it is limited to such subordinate legislation that the Central Government may make in this regard. I am not talking on the question of such rules that the Central Government may make on the basis of the provisions of this Act because those rules are laid before Parliament for a period of time and Parliament has got the power of scrutiny of those rules. But what about the statutes and the ordinances? Sections 19, 20, 21, 25 and 26 contain powers of an unlimited nature being vested on subordinate executive authorities and when that power is exercised, there is no control by Parliament. Probably that is the reason why the hon. Minister was pleased to refer to this aspect and recall the assurance that he appears to have given in the other House that all these would be made available for discussion in Parliament. Sir, the power of Parliament to generally discuss the provisions of these statutes and ordinances is a power now being conferred on the basis of the assurance of the hon. Minister. There is no such power in the Bill. It is something gratuitous on the part of the hon. Minister. I have no doubt that the hon. Minister means what he says. And I have absolutely no doubt regarding the sincerity with which the

hon. Minister has made the statement but has the hon. Minister any control over his successor at any stage?

SHRI NURUL HASAN: It is an assurance of Government, it is not an assurance of an individual.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN: Sir, it is worse, if I may respectfully say so. This assurance being made by Government, which is extra legal, not covered by the provisions of this enactment which Parliament passes with open eyes, cannot bind the successor Government. If it cannot bind a successor Minister, how can it bind the successor Government? We had complications of that nature, Sir. In a discussion that we had regarding the shifting of the Sapru Library, certain assurances that had been given by the hon. Mr. V. K. R. V. Rao, when he was the Education Minister, were referred to on the floor of this House and on the floor of the other House, and the Government was at pains to tell us that there was really no assurance. Therefore, there is no binding effect on the Education Minister who has succeeded him or the Government that is in office today.

SHRI NURUL HASAN: I am sorry to interrupt, I have no intention of interrupting the hon. Member. He referred to an assurance which it was alleged had been given. The Government contested the fact that an assurance had not been given. So, there is a lot of difference between the two positions. Had the contention been accepted that an assurance was given, it would certainly bind the successor of the then Minister.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN: Sir, I repeat, even in this case, where there is clearly an assurance, no successor Government or successor Education Minister can say, turning to the pages of the Rajya Sabha debates or the Lok Sabha debates, that there was no assurance. But then what is the assurance for? Sir, We all, the entire Parliament of both the Houses consisting of members who are competent, entitled to pass a legislation with open eyes, must know what

they are doing. In spite of that assurance, that assurance is not translated into action, if I may say so, by making an amendment to the provisions of this Bill and that assurance is not followed up by an action by an amendment to the provisions of this Bill. I would respectfully tell the hon. Minister and the Government with all the humility at my command that that assurance has no legal force, has no value at all and will not bind any successor, Education Minister or any successor Government and cannot be quoted with authority before any Parliament hereafter. It may be possible on the basis of moral considerations, on the basis of propriety but many times, Sir, that considerations of mortality and propriety do not prevail with Government or do not stand the stress of policies.

Therefore, the assurance that the hon. Minister has given, I take it; particularly, on the basis of his intervention, really it means that there is no doubt about it. I would, therefore, request the hon. Minister to allow this House to send back this Bill to the Lok Sabha so that the Lok Sabha may go into it and the hon. Minister may make legal provisions on the basis of this assurance in the provisions of this Bill, in which case alone, Sir, the question of subordinate legislation being directly scrutinised by Parliament would arise.

I take it, Sir, that the very fact that the hon. Minister has been pleased to give that assurance to the other House and repeat that assurance in the course of the introductory remarks to this House, would show that there is an element of truth and correctness in the statement that power of subordinate legislation, much in excess than what is generally done, has been given by the provisions of this Bill. The second aspect that I would like to refer is again a matter as I submitted which has already been referred to by the hon. Minister in the course of his introductory

[Shri Chandra Sekharan]

remarks. The hon. Minister was at pains to tell us that the pattern of the provisions in regard to the powers of the Visitor in this Central University is largely the same pattern as has been observed for other Central Universities, but the hon. Minister added stating that the power of inspection of colleges has also been given as an additional power to the Visitor in this Central University which power is not there in the other Central Universities. As the hon. Minister put it there will be Visitorial Inquiry in regard to sick colleges. I do not know why the Visitor who is none else than the President of India should hold an inquiry at this level with regard to sick colleges. I submit, Sir, that the powers granted to the Visitor by the provisions of this Bill, including the power of Visitorial Inquiry into sick colleges are powers which are wholly undemocratic, which are really violative of the powers that ought to go to the various academic bodies of this University, the domestic bodies within this University. Those powers are being arrogated to the Central Government because the Visitor cannot act himself; the President has got to act on the basis of the aid and advice of the Central Government. It cannot be that he will be doing it himself. I submit, Sir, that the powers of interference and intervention by the Central Government in a body like this University are too large and that is not good for the North-Eastern area itself.

**SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY** (Andhra Pradesh): Vice-Chairman, Sir, along with the other hon. Members I welcome this North-Eastern Hill University Bill. When I heard the speeches, particularly of the Members who belong to that area, the enthusiasm they displayed is really noteworthy and I hope that the people of that area would also be very happy and grateful to the hon. Minister who has taken this bold step to introduce this Bill and set up a University there. I hope he will also be con-

gratulated very soon in Pondicherry where he is going to set up a new University. There is a long standing request from our State also that a Central University should be located in Hyderabad where huge buildings are ready there, buildings which were build for the Police Academy and the co-operation of the State Government is also there fully. Though the hon. Minister has refused to accept this proposal so many times, I hope he will reconsider and do something in this regard because that will help a lot to solve the problems—Mulki and whatever other problems there may be—that are there now. I quite agree with our hon. Member, Shri Bipinpal Das, and request the Minister to take this opportunity to build up this University as a model university in our country. The other day he was telling us in the Consultative Committee that he was against starting new universities. Yet this is a University which is going to be a unique one. It is in an area where the people are good and the location is such that he can build up a new model university. We need not necessarily follow the foreign pattern, we can have our type university in our own country. I think this Bill has gone through the hands of eminent persons and eminent educationists. There will be guidance from Professor Nurul Hasan, our Minister and an eminent educationist. I see a bright future for this University. I feel it is not out of place to mention certain disparities between State Universities and Central Universities. This I have been mentioning to our hon. Minister. There are so many disparities amongst Universities. For a student to get the first degree in certain States they have to pass through a fifteen-year course, whereas in certain States like Bihar it takes only fourteen years. This is a disparity which even the Inter-University Board is unable to help. I think the Government of India in the Ministry of Education should take it up and do something in this regard. There are so many disparities like this.

The other day I was mentioning, when the University Grants Commission Bill was introduced in this House, the disparities in the financing of State Universities and Central Universities. I understand from the minister's statement the other day given in the consultative Committee meeting that the Central Universities are being paid even the maintenance grant by the UGC, whereas the State Universities are not being paid this. It is only the development grant which they are paid. Yet I find that sixty per cent of the money that is given to the University Grants Commission has gone to only five Central Universities, whereas hundreds of other universities are there standing for the 35 per cent grant that is given by the UGC. There is this disparity. Our Minister being a Professor from a Central University should not get a name that he is sponsoring only Central Universities. He should give encouragement to the State Universities also. There are State Universities where they are unable to pay even the salaries of their teachers. Here in the Central Universities—I do not say they are dumped with money—anyway they are being treated well. We have to encourage them, but let us also encourage the State Universities. The States are unable to finance their Universities. At times they are interfering with the autonomy of the Universities. The University Grants Commission is often making the Universities a kind of subordinate bodies of the State Governments by asking them to get clearance from the State Governments for their grants. The moment they get the advice of the University Grants Commission, they are running to the State Governments and the State Governments thrust certain ideas on them. Thus they are tampering with the autonomy of the Universities. The University Grants Commission is only helping them in tampering with their autonomy instead of helping them to preserve their autonomy. That is why I request the hon. Minister to intervene in the matter and do something so

that the State Universities are helped properly and sponsored properly by the University Grants Commission.

My colleague, hon. Nawal Kishoreji, was just mentioning student participation. It is a long pending desire in all the universities. Student participation should be there in the administrative bodies. It should be so, but before taking a decision in the Central Universities, let us discuss the matter threadbare with all the Universities. Make it a kind of policy and advise the Universities to have student participation. As a member of the syndicate of the Venkateshwara University, every time the Senate and the Academic Council meet, we used to discuss student participation, but the question arose in what will happen in the other Universities. We want co-operation from the other Universities in this kind of policy, so that the students' agitation may not be there in other Universities. When I mention about student agitation and student unrest, I do not think it is out of place to say that there is political interference with the students and the universities, and we have to accept that the politicians are interfering with the universities and the students and are creating a kind of student unrest. Student unrest is there on account of their own internal problems but it is being encouraged and is given a kind of exaggerated colour due to political interference in the universities and in the affairs of students. That is why we the politicians, I say, have to make up our minds and keep away from the universities and the students. In the name of building up leadership amongst the youth, certain political parties are interfering in the universities ....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): It is a bit out of the Bill. You are going into a wider aspect.

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY: Sir. These disparities between the State and the Central universities should be taken away. I will give a specific example, I think, which the Minister perhaps has not noticed so far. One



[Shri Janardhana Reddy].

of our universities in my State had planned to start a new department by name Human Genetics—perhaps nowhere it is in this country—with foreign help. A university in West Germany came forward to help that project and a plan has been drafted and the University Grants Commission also, I think, has approved it.

DR. V. B. SINGH: Scrapped

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY: That is my information. But later, the Government of India has turned it down saying that it has got the lowest priority. I do not know if a particular science subject, a new subject, for which no foreign exchange is involved, can be of lowest priority. This I think, the Minister has to reconsider, and do something about, because this is a new department that is coming up in our State. I do not think that Prof. Nurul Hasan is going to allow this kind of disparity in this matter, and I hope he will do something in this regard.

This university which is going to come up soon, let us hope twinkle as a star, as a seat of learning, in the northeast frontier, to build up the culture and the tradition of that area and also serve the nation, to build it up as a new nation with new ideas and policies. I hope that Prof. Nurul Hasan will definitely make this university which has been started during his time as a kind of a model university in the nation.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: Sir, I am extremely grateful to the hon. Members who have welcomed and supported this Bill and who have been good enough to use kind words about myself. With the exception of my distinguished and esteemed friend, the hon. Shri Chandrasekharan, everyone has extended his support to this Bill.

I feel that a new lamp is being lit in the east and that the rays from

this lamp will reach all sections of the country. It is an affirmation of the faith which the Indian people have in themselves that whenever any section of our great nation feels that it wants to come up or that it has been denied the opportunities in the past, the rest of the country comes forward with a helping hand, with the assurance that the unity and strength of the country lies in the concern which each section has for every other section of the people. Ours, Sir, is unity in diversity. That is the beauty of our culture, that is born out of its long historical tradition. Unity is the strongest when each element of the composite culture of India feels that it is safe. And, therefore, I have no hesitation in giving this assurance to my hon'ble friends that this University will contribute its might to the maintenance and further development according to the genius of the peoples concerned of the cultural heritage of each section of the people inhabiting the North Eastern region.

Sir, I would like to state, not that it needs to be stated, but lest there might have been some misunderstanding caused as a result of the remarks made by some hon'ble friends here, that we who represent our people here do not suspect the patriotic motives of any section of our people. And, therefore, when we say that we are trying to be of service to some of our brethren we are thereby asserting our right as well as our duty that the health of the nation depends upon the health of each and every section of our people. Therefore, Sir, I consider it to be a matter of privilege and pride that I have to come before this House with this Bill which has brought joy and excitement to our brothers in the North Eastern hill region where they may feel that they can contribute directly not only to their own development but to the overall development of the country and of the nation. I have great faith in our brothers and sisters living in that part of our country, in their inherent genius, in their capacity for dedication, and

I have no doubt that their genius will find its reflection in the functioning of this University that it will be a new type of University, not because any Education Minister wishes to give it a new shape but because the people of that area are determined to make their own contribution so that it leads to the development howsoever indirectly, but nevertheless it utilises knowledge, it brings knowledge and the temple of knowledge closer to the life of the common man and that it becomes an instrument of social change. And in that sense, I hope, Sir, it will be a new and a unique University. I can assure my hon'ble friends that the Government will, as a matter of policy, respect freedom of thought and academic autonomy.

Knowledge cannot grow except in an atmosphere of freedom and in an atmosphere of autonomy in academic life. This Parliament had every right to impose rigid restrictions and controls over seats of learning but it has, in its own wisdom, chosen to give them autonomy, freedom of thought and freedom of research and of study. Therefore, Sir, it is in this light that I beg to draw the attention of my hon'ble friend Shri Chandrasekharan, regarding the point he has raised. It is not merely a legal matter of delegated legislation, it is much more than that. The question is: Is the structure of the University going to be so tightly laid down by Parliament that any change that is sought to be introduced in the composition and function of any University by it must be brought before Parliament or is the University and its duly constituted bodies, are they going to be authorised to bring about changes in their membership, in their composition in accordance with the changing academic needs and requirements of a University. Sir, in none of the Central Universities are Ordinances required to be placed before Parliament, nor do the Ordinances which control the academic life of a university depend on the

previous approval of the Visitor for coming into force. The academic and coming into force. The academic and frame the Ordinances and it is through the Ordinances that the academic life of a university is controlled. Parliament in its wisdom in several cases has given, since freedom, the right to every university to frame its own Ordinances, to amend them, to add to them and to delete from them, provided, of course, there is that extraordinary right of the Visitor that he may disallow if any very serious reason is there. Therefore, it is not a legalistic question of delegated legislation, but it is a question of what are the items that are to be put in the body of the Act, what are the items that are to be put in the statutes and what are the items that are to be put in the Ordinances. In that sense, this piece of legislation before this House is entirely on the same lines as the legislation which this House has been pleased to accept in respect of all the other Central Universities.

Sir, the point that I had raised was a limited one, that is to say, whenever the Government came before the House, the first statutes were spelt out in some detail. Then all subsequent changes could have been made in the statutes by the academic authorities of the university with the previous approval of the Visitor, without the changes in the statutes being placed on the Table of the House. But because of the peculiar circumstances of this university where we have to ensure that the needs of each of the areas over which its jurisdiction is going to extend, are going to be taken into account fully, we could not foresee what are going to be the full requirements of the university. Therefore, we said—and this is the new thing—that the Visitor, on the expiry of the said period of three years, shall make the detailed statutes and these shall be laid before both the Houses of Parliament. The assurance of the Government is rather a limited one, that we

[Prof. S. Nurrul Hasan.]

shall ourselves move a motion that this be taken into consideration. Any Member of the House, under the normal rules of Parliament, could have moved this because laying of these statutes on the Table of the House is already provided in the Bill itself. Therefore, Sir, there is no ground, in my humble opinion, for any misapprehension to be entertained on this account.

Sir, the time is very short and I would not like to take much of your time. I would briefly mention a few points. I would like to assure my hon. friend, Shri O. P. Tyagi, that, as I have already stated, we will do our best to help every tribe to develop its own culture and, at the same time, as he rightly pointed out, strengthen the fabric of Indian unity as a whole. Sir, this point has been raised by other hon. Members and I am grateful to them for having raised this point and answered some of the other points. I would like to assure Shri Nawal Kishore that this university will certainly have a special department or maybe even a school—I do not know what the academies would ultimately decide—which would make a careful study of the tribal customs and culture, without which, I quite agree, further progress may not be possible.

Sir, I cannot resist referring to one point mentioned by my friend, Shri Nawal Kishore; he has always been such a kind friend that I cannot resist this temptation. He said, *Visitor ho gaye ki khuda ho gaye*. Sir, the powers given to the Visitor are exercised on the advice of a Minister who is responsible to this House. This is a very important matter. This House can haul up the Minister, can question every single action, any piece of advice that the Minister gives to the Visitor. It is not an arbitrary power. It is a power which is entirely subject to parliamentary control. Sir, the concept of "*khuda*" which I used to hear once upon a time is that there is no control over the powers of God.

Sir, it was said that the UGC has made a suggestion for the establishment of multi-media universities. It has not formally come to the Government yet. When it comes, the Government will certainly take this matter into consideration. I would like to assure my friend, the honourable Shri Bipinpal Das, that the doors of this University will not be closed to the people of other regions and new ideas would be presented in the way this University is organised. Regarding the question of inspection of colleges, our unfortunate experience in some of the colleges has been such that the University has found it impossible to intervene. A very serious case has occurred and I do not want to digress, I am deliberately avoiding making a reference to any other University. So, I would have liked the University to do something in the matter. The University itself wanted to do something but the legislative competence was lacking. It is for this reason that this rather extraordinary measure has been introduced. Lastly, I would again submit for your consideration that lucky is the University which begins with such profound goodwill from all sections of our people as represented through the will of their sovereign Parliament.

Sir, I commend this legislation for acceptance of the House.

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

"That the Bill to establish and incorporate a teaching and affiliating University for the Hill areas of the North-Eastern region, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

*Classes 2 to 42 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.*

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

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed."

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): The House stands adjourned till 11 A. M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at forty-nine minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 16th May, 1973.