

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Let the Prime Minister meet them. But with regard to the Constitutional (Amendment) Bills, are we going to pass them during this session . . . (Interruptions) . . . before any adjournment comes?

SHRI OM MEHTA : Yes, we will discuss it at 4.30.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, I hope Mr. Om Mehta and Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray also share the same view. We are trying to accommodate; in national interests we must do so. But at the same time the Government must also meet our desire since the two Bills are of a fundamental nature. They should not be left in the cold storage.

SHRI OM MEHTA : No, no.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Do we understand that the Prime Minister will come at 4.30 or, in any case, before this House adjourns today?

SHRI OM MEHTA : An important statement is also to be made.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Before the House adjourns today.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : The House should be taken into confidence.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) : Whatever be the outcome of it, is the House being assured that these two Bills will be passed by this House before the adjournment, if any?

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY) : Sir, may I say a word? I think it is clear that we are not meeting tomorrow. That is one.

Then about the Bills. I think I have no doubt in my mind that these Bills are going to be passed before we adjourn, I think we are meeting the Prime Minister in the evening and we will discuss with her also about the programme. Let it be understood by all of us that these Bills—Constitution Amendment Bills—are going to be passed before we adjourn, in any case.

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra) : I have a submission. Taking into consideration the concern this House feels about the developments in the eastern and western sectors, will you please ask the Government to make a statement everyday, at some time suitable to them, so that we shall be up to date in our information?

SHRI OM MEHTA : I think it may not be possible everyday but we will try to keep the House informed regarding the developments in the eastern sector and the western sector.

THE VISVA-BHARATI (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1971—contd.

श्री नवल किशोर : उपसभापति जी, शिक्षा मंत्री जी ने विश्व भारती (संशोधन) विधेयक, 1971 पेश किया है। उसको पेश करते समय उन्होंने उन बङ्गहात पर कोई रोशनी नहीं डाली कि किन बङ्गहात में आर्डिनेन्स के ज़रिए विश्व भारती का जो ऐक्ट था उसमें तरफ़ीमें की गई . . .

प्रोफ़ेसर एस० नूरुल हसन : स्टेटमेन्ट तकसीम हो गया।

श्री नवल किशोर : मैं उसी पर आ रहा हूँ जो स्टेटमेन्ट आफ़ आबजेक्ट्स एन्ड रिज़न्स है, उसमें कुछ कारण दिए हुए हैं। मान्यवर, साधारण तौर पर, साधारण स्थिति में,

शायद मैं इस संशोधन विधेयक का समर्थन नहीं करता, परन्तु आज की जो गम्भीर स्थिति है, पिछले कुछ सालों में जो पश्चिमी बंगाल की स्थिति रही है, उसको देखते हुए मैं इस विधेयक को अपना समर्थन देता हूँ।

श्रीमन्, मैं उन लोगों में से हूँ जिनका यह विचार है, जिनका यह कांक्षित है कि गवर्नमेन्ट को युनिवर्सिटीज की जो प्राटोनामी है, उनकी जो स्वतंत्रता है, उसमें दखलअंदाजी नहीं करनी चाहिए। जहाँ तक हो सके युनिवर्सिटी के अंदर जो उसके अन्दरूनी मामलात हैं, उनमें सरकार दखल न दे तो उससे अच्छा वातावरण, अच्छी परम्पराएँ बनती हैं। हम यह भी जानते हैं, श्रीमन्, कि ऐसा भी वक्त आता है कि जब स्वाहिश न होते हुए भी उसमें दखलअंदाजी करनी पड़ती है। मेरा अपना भी तजुर्बा है—मेरे पास होम का पोर्टफोलियो भी और एजुकेशन का पोर्टफोलियो भी रहा—जबकि दोनों में बड़ी भिन्नता तथा बड़ा अंतर है। मैं इस मत का था और आज भी हूँ कि सरकार को अपनी पुलिस किसी भी शकल में शिक्षा संस्थाओं के अन्दर नहीं भेजना चाहिए। लेकिन हमको भेजना पड़ा था। श्री नूरुल हसन जी अलीगढ़ यूनीवर्सिटी की एग्जीक्यूटिव कौंसिल में थे और उन्हें मालूम होगा कि वहाँ के वाइस-चांसलर के ऊपर हमला हुआ, जिसकी वजह से पुलिस को वहाँ पर भेजना पड़ा था। तो कभी-कभी ऐसी बात करनी पड़ती है और मुझे इस बात का यकीन है कि श्री नूरुल हसन साहब इस बात से इत्तिफाक करेंगे कि पुलिस को साधारण-तया इस तरह से यूनीवर्सिटी केम्पस में नहीं जाना चाहिये।

एक बात का मुझे और भी एतराज है। आप सुधार करें, लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना

चाहता हूँ कि बनारस हिन्दू यूनीवर्सिटी का जो ऐक्ट है, उसका भी तस्मीम किया गया है। उत्तर प्रदेश के सम्बन्ध में भी मैं यह जानता हूँ कि लखनऊ, इलाहाबाद और आगरा की जो यूनीवर्सिटीज हैं, जिनमें भी वहाँ पर विश्वविद्यालय थे, सबका कानून और विधान बदल दिया गया है, लेकिन ग्रांटेन्स के जरिये किसी शिक्षा संस्था का ऐक्ट या विधान बदला जाय, मैं इसको शोभनीय नहीं मानता हूँ।

इसके गेम्स एन्ड आब्जेक्ट में लिखा गया है कि कुछ दिनों में, नवम्बर, 1970 में, कुछ इस प्रकार की सनसनीखेज और चिन्ता-जनक खबरें आ रही थीं कि विश्व भारती के अन्दर, उसके होस्टल में, उसके कैम्पस में हिंसात्मक कार्यवाहियाँ चल रही हैं। वहाँ के आफिस म्युनिस्ट्रियन्ट का कत्ल हो गया, कुछ और कत्ल हुए, स्टूडेंट भी मारे गये, जो वहाँ की प्रापर्टी है उसको नुकसान हुआ और फरनीचर को नुकसान हुआ। इस काम में वहाँ के विद्यार्थी भी शामिल थे और वहाँ के टीचर भी इन चीजों में मदद देने थे और शामिल थे, जिसकी वजह से जो वहाँ पर शासन था, जो संचालन व्यवस्था थी, उसमें काफी गड़बड़ी आई, जो वहाँ के एकेडेमिक स्टैन्डर्ड्स थे उनका स्तर गिरा और जो एकेडेमिक फंक्शनस थे, उनमें काफी नुकसान हुआ। यह हम सबके लिए खेद और चिन्ता की बात है; क्योंकि विश्व भारती कोई मामूली विश्वविद्यालय नहीं है।

मान्यवर, कहा है कवि महर्षि रवीन्द्र नाथ ठाकुर ने अपने जीवन में कुछ कल्पनाएँ की थीं, कुछ स्वप्न देखे थे, उनके कुछ मूल आदर्श थे और उनका एक ध्येय एक नये मानव समाज की स्थापना करने की थी। उनके इन्हीं आदर्शों, विचारों एवं मूल्यों का विश्व भारती एक प्रतीक है। और अब जब

[श्री नवल किशोर]

हम देखते हैं कि इनने ऊँचे आदर्श को लेकर, इतनी ऊँची भावनाओं को लेकर जिस महान् कवि ने उस विश्व भारती की स्थापना की थी, जब उसके अन्दर तोड़-फोड़, कल्ल, आगजनी हो, तो यह सबके लिए एक खेद की बात है। लेकिन इस आधार पर ऐक्ट को बदलना, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है। चाहे यह सेन्टर का काम हो, चाहे पश्चिमी बंगाल की सरकार का काम हो, उनको चाहिये था कि इन हरकतों को रोकते और शान्ति व्यवस्था बनाये रखते; क्योंकि वहाँ पर लॉ एंड आर्डर कायम करना उनका फर्ज था। इसमें जो ये लिखा है कि उन वजूहातों की वजह से यह आर्डिनेन्स लाया गया है सो यह अपनी कमजोरी छिपाने की बात है और एक बहाना है।

मान्यवर, मेरी मालूमना है कि वहाँ पर इस तरह की हरकतें नवम्बर से ही शुरू नहीं हुईं, बल्कि कई साल पहिले से इस तरह की स्थिति वहाँ पर बनी हुई थी और वह दिन प्रति दिन बिगड़ती ही चली जा रही थी। वहाँ की जो एकेडेमिक लाइफ थी, उस का स्टैण्ड भी गिरना शुरू हो गया था। स्टूडेंट्स में आन्दोलन होता था, टीचर्स में आन्दोलन होता था और वहाँ पर जिसको चाहे प्रमोशन दे दिया जाता था, टीचर्स की नियुक्ति शायद कुछ केसज में मेरिट के आधार पर होती हो, अधिकतर मनमाने ढंग से की जाती थी। तो एक तरह से वहाँ पर स्थिति काफी गड़बड़ थी। केन्द्रीय सरकार इस विश्वविद्यालय को 70—80 लाख रुपये सालाना देती है, लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी उसकी अपनी भी कुछ आमदनी होती है, जिसका एकाउन्ट वह कभी नहीं देती है। इस तरह की शिकायतें कई दफा आईं। 20 लाख रुपये का जो सुद मिलता है,

उसका भी हिसाब नहीं रक्खा जाता है।

मान्यवर, इस तरह की हरकतें जो वहाँ पर चल रही थीं, उनका बक्तन फक्तन लोक सभा और राज्य सभा में जिक्र हुआ करता था। वहाँ से भी और यहाँ पर भी कई बार ऐसी मांग आई कि सरकार वहाँ की स्थिति के सम्बन्ध में जांच करे, लेकिन सरकार ने कोई जांच नहीं की। मेरी सूचना है, सही है या गलत है, मैं नहीं कह सकता हूँ कि कैबिनेट ने भी यह फैसला किया था कि शिक्षा मंत्री जी को वहाँ स्वयं जाकर हालत को देखना चाहिये और रिपोर्ट देनी चाहिये। मुझे मालूम नहीं है कि शिक्षा मंत्री जी वहाँ गये या नहीं गये या उन्होंने कोई रिपोर्ट दी है या नहीं दी है। मुझे यह भी मालूम नहीं है कि इस संशोधन विधेयक को लाने से पहले विश्व भारती की जो एग्जीक्यूटिव कौन्सिल है उसको भी कॉन्फिडेंस में लिया गया है या नहीं लिया गया है? मुझे पता नहीं कि वहाँ की स्थिति क्या है और क्या स्थिति वहाँ पर इस समय चल रही है। श्रीमन् गजेन्द्रगडकर साहब की अध्यक्षता में एक कमेटी बैठी थी, शायद यू० जी० सी० ने बैठाया थी, उन्होंने जो सेंट्रली एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव यूनिवर्सिटीज हैं उनके बारे में कुछ अपनी सिफारिशें की थीं। मुझे तकलीफ है और मैं समझता हूँ कि मेरी तकलीफ में कम से कम नूरुल हसन साहब जरूर शरीक होंगे कि वह सिफारिशें आज तक सेंट्रल यूनिवर्सिटीज पर लागू नहीं की गयी हैं। सरकार ने वायदा किया कई दफा कि हम एक कॉन्ग्रिहेंसिव बिल लायेंगे, लेकिन वह कॉन्ग्रिहेंसिव बिल किसी एक विश्वविद्यालय के लिए नहीं होगा, गजेन्द्रगडकर साहब की सिफारिशों के आधार पर जितनी भी केन्द्र के अधीन या उसके द्वारा संचालित यूनिवर्सिटीज हैं, उन सब पर वह लागू होगा, मिसाल के

तौर पर अलीगढ़ है, देहली है, बनारस है या विश्व भारती है, उन सब पर वह लागू होगा; लेकिन आज तक कोई कॉन्ग्रिसेसिव बिल नहीं आया और इसमें भी लिखा है कि चूंकि इस कॉन्ग्रिसेसिव बिल के लाने में काफी वक्त लगेगा, इसलिए यह मुनासिब समझा गया कि ट्रांजिटरी तौर पर जो वहां की अथॉरिटीज हैं, जो वहां की बाडीज हैं, उनके कंपोजीशन को, उनके ढांचे को बदल दिया जाय ताकि जब कॉन्ग्रिसेसिव बिल आये तो यह ट्रांजीशन जो है उसमें स्थिति कुछ वहां स्मूथेन हो जाय और यह भी आइडिया था कि जो हालात इस समय बिगड़ते जा रहे हैं, उनको हम रोक सकें और वहां की जो इंटेलिक्चुअल, जो बौद्धिक वातावरण है, उसको हम बचा सकें और ऊंचा उठा सकें। तो जहां तक ध्येय का सवाल है, आम्बेड्जिस्म का सवाल है उन पर मैं पूर्णतया आपके साथ हूं और मैं पूर्णतया उसका समर्थन करता हूं। मगर जैसा मैंने कहा और लोक सभा में आपने भी कहा कि यूनिवर्सिटी के मामले में आम तौर से दखल नहीं देना चाहिए। यह ठीक है और यह भी ठीक है कि इस बीच नक्सलाइट शब्द अगर किसी को ज्यादा परेशान न करे तो नक्सलाइट्स या एक्सट्रीमिस्ट्स एक्टिविटीज यूनिवर्सिटीज में ज्यादा बढ़ गयी थीं और जहाँ वे एक्टिविटीज इतनी बढ़ जायें कि जिनके कारण वहाँ महाकवि रवीन्द्रनाथ टैगोर का नाम लेना भी गुनाह हो जाय तो सरकार का दखल देना मुनासिब है, लेकिन यह तो बहुत काफी देर के बाद, काफी लापरवाही के बाद, काफी नेग्लिजेंस के बाद और अगर मैं कह सकूँ तो कैलस नेग्लिजेंस के बाद सरकार ने एक कदम उठाया है। बहरहाल, देर आयद दुस्त आयद। जहाँ तक इस कदम का ताल्लुक है, उसमें मैं आप के साथ हूँ।

श्रीमन्, मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा और सिर्फ दो तीन बातें कह कर अपनी बात समाप्त करूंगा। इस बिल में जो खास बात कही गयी है, उसमें से एक तो यह कि कोर्ट को छोटा बना दिया गया है। बजाय 60 के 30 मेम्बर उसके होंगे। एकेडेमिक कौंसिल में बजाय 4 के 21 की तादाद रख दी गयी है, एग्जीक्यूटिव कौंसिल को 15 के बजाय 9 का कर दिया गया है। एक स्टैंडिंग फाइनेंस कमेटी का भी इसमें प्राविजन है और बोर्ड आफ स्टडीज का जो कौन्सिलियर था, विधान था उसमें भी थोड़ी तरमीम की गयी है और चूंकि स्टेट्यूट्स को बनाने की कोई दूसरी बाडी नहीं है, इसलिए उसका भी प्राविजन इसमें कर दिया गया है। जहाँ तक इन तरमीमों की बात है, वह बात अपनी जगह पर ठीक है और अपनी जगह पर मुनासिब है, लेकिन एक बात का मुझे व लोगों का डर है कि इनमें जो नामिनेशन्स होंगे, वह किन लोगों के होंगे; क्योंकि चुनाव एक दम तो नहीं होते, जब शुरू में बाडीज बनती हैं तो सही बात है कि ट्रांजिटरी पीरियड में नामिनेशन्स होंगे। मैं यह उम्मीद करूंगा कि सरकार उसमें होशियारी से, सतकता से काम लेगी। जो लिस्ट मैंने देखी है वह तो अच्छी है, उसमें मुझे कोई खास शिकायत नहीं, लेकिन मुझे शक है कि कहीं ऐसा न हो कि सरकार अपनी पार्टी के कुछ लोगों को या अपने यस-मैन को वहाँ नामजद कर दे और उनके द्वारा वहाँ अपना आधिपत्य जमाने की कोशिश करे। मैं इस विषय में उस स्टेज पर सरकार की नीयत पर शक करने का तैयार नहीं, लेकिन ऐसा होता है और हमन साहब मुझ से इतिफाक करेंगे; क्योंकि उनको भी एग्जीक्यूटिव कौंसिल का एक्सपीरियेंस है कि कभी-कभी सरकार और शिक्षा मंत्री के प्रति उनके रवैये से यह शक पैदा हो जाता है; क्योंकि

[श्री नवल किशोर]

कहीं-कहीं वह अपने यमर्शन को रख कर न चाहते हुये भी इनडाइरेक्ट तरीके से यूनिवर्सिटी में अपना कोई न कोई प्रभाव या दबाव रखने की चेष्टा करने हैं। मुझे आशा है कि ऐसी बात नहीं होगी। सबको मैं जानता नहीं हूँ लेकिन उनमें से जो दो, चार नाम मैंने देखे वे सब आउटस्टैंडिंग, एड्-केशनलिस्ट और एकेडेमिशियन्स और अपने-अपने क्षेत्र में आगे बढ़े हुये लोग हैं। फिर भी मैं चाहूँगा कि जो लोगों को इसके बारे में डर है उसके लिये आप कोशिश करेंगे कि उनका जो शक है या उनका जो डर है वह अपनी जगह पर समाप्त हो जाय।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You please conclude.

श्री नवल किशोर : अब मैं खतम करता हूँ इसमें एक चीज और है और वह यह कि जो संसद् है, उसके लिये आपने कहा है कि वह एडवाइजरी बाडी होगी। इसके पहले जो एक्ट था, उनमें संसद् तथा कम समिति को पावर थी कि वह वाइस चान्सेलर की नियुक्ति करे अब इसको आपने एडवाइजरी बाडी बना दिया है तो मुझे डर है कि कहीं वाइस चान्सेलर का स्टेटस घट कर एक सबोर्डिनेट आफिसर का स्टेटस न बन जाय, अगर ऐसा बन गया तो जो उसका एक महत्वपूर्ण पद है वह नीचे गिर जायगा।

आखीर में एक बात कह कर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ और वह यह कि केवल आर्डिनेंस से और इस कानून के बनाने से विश्व-भारती की स्थिति में सुधार नहीं होगा। शिक्षा मंत्री से मैं अर्ज कर रहा हूँ कि वह कृपया सुनें कि केवल इस विधेयक के लाने से ही विश्व-भारती का सुधार होने वाला नहीं है, आपने विधान बदला है यह ठीक है, मगर जब तक कि आपकी जो

एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव मशीनरी है, पश्चिमी बंगाल की जो सरकारी मशीनरी है, वह पूरी मजदूरी के साथ इस तरफ काम नहीं करेगी, उसको आपको थोड़ा सा इस्तेमाल करना पड़ेगा, वहाँ की शान्ति व्यवस्था कायम करने के लिये। साथ ही जब तक आप वहाँ के स्टैंडर्ड को ऊँचा नहीं करेंगे, जब तक कि स्टूडेंट्स की जो शिकायतें हैं, जेनरिन शिकायतें हैं, उनको दूर नहीं करेंगे, जब तक कि सविस क्ल्स को टोक से नहीं बनायेंगे कि किस क्वालिफिकेशन के व्यक्ति हों, उनका प्रमोशन किस तरह से हो, जब तक यह नहीं होगा तब तक जो विश्व-भारती की बीमारी है वह समाप्त नहीं होगी। इन कुछ सुझावों के साथ मैं इसका समर्थन करना हूँ।

श्री भान सिंह वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उप-सभापति महोदय, मैं प्रस्तुत विधेयक का विरोध करने के लिए खड़ा हूँ। इसलिए विरोध कर रहा हूँ कि जिस प्रकार से यह विधेयक लाया गया है, उसको मैंने उसी प्रकार से देखने का प्रयत्न किया है और मुझे नहीं लगता है कि विधेयक के कारण से वहाँ पर कोई सुधार हो सकेगा।

आज विश्व-भारती का नाम जब सामने आता है, तो उस महापुरुष की याद आ जाती है कि जिसने इसकी स्थापना की, इसका नाम विश्व-भारती रखा। उसकी अपनी कल्पनाएँ थीं, उसके अपने सपने थे, वह अपने जीवन में ही कुछ साकार रूप दे सका और उनकी इच्छा थी कि मेरे मरने के बाद भी मेरा लगाया हुआ पौधा उन उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति करेगा, जिनके लिये इसकी स्थापना की गई है।

श्रीमन्, विश्व-भारती का सबसे बड़ा उद्देश्य यह था कि विश्व भर में भारत की

महानता, परम्पराओं की महानता, संस्कृति की महानता, भारत का जो एक खजाना है, वह सारे संसार में पहुंच सके ऐसा कोई केन्द्र बनाया जाय और इस प्रकार का उन्होंने केन्द्र स्थापित किया। आज जो इसकी दुंदंशा हो रही है और जो आज उसकी स्थिति आ गई है, उससे वह विश्व-भारती न रह कर के विश्व-भारती हो गया है और उस महापुरुष की आत्मा यदि कहीं सुन रही होगी तो रो उठी होगी इस बात को देख कर के कि स्वतंत्रता के चौबीस वर्ष के पश्चात् भी इतनी अन्धश्रुति संस्था जो श्री आज उनकी यह दुंदंशा हो रही है।

श्रीमन्, आज आप इस विधेयक के द्वारा वहां पर सुधार लाना चाहते हैं। मुझे यह कहने में संकोच नहीं कि यह विधेयक इस विश्व-भारती को ठीक नहीं कर सकेगा। परन्तु किस-किस युनिवर्सिटी को, किस-किस विश्वविद्यालय को ठीक करेगा? आज तो हमें यह देखने में आ रहा है कि हमारे देश के सम्भवतः कोई विद्यालय ऐसे बचे होंगे कि जिसके अंदर ऐसी स्थिति न आ गई हो। आपने हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय में पूरा कन्ट्रोल करने की कोशिश की परन्तु उसका परिणाम क्या हुआ? आज हम देख रहे हैं कि वहां की स्थिति जो है वह दिन प्रति दिन बिगड़ती जा रही है। प्रति दिन हमें यह पढ़ने को मिलता है कि आज अमुक विश्वविद्यालय बन्द कर दिया। सारे देश में विश्वविद्यालय बन्द होते रहते हैं। श्रीमन्, यह विधेयक क्या उसमें सुधार ला सकेगा? मैं तो समझता हूं और मैं चाहता था कि नूरुल हसन जैसे शिक्षा शास्त्री के रहते हुए इस प्रकार का बिल आ सकेगा, इस प्रकार की बातें आ सकेंगी, जिसके द्वारा हम यह सोच सकें कि वास्तव में हमारी शिक्षा किधर जा रही है। इस प्रकार जो हमारे विश्व-विद्यालय विषाक्त होते चले जा रहे हैं।

उनमें किसी प्रकार का सुधार हो सकता है, उसके लिए इस प्रकार का मेजर, इस प्रकार का विधेयक ला सकें कि जिससे उसका सामूहिक उपचार हो सके . . .

श्री अकबर अली खान (भांध्र प्रदेश):
आपकी क्या राय है?

श्री मान सिंह वर्मा: जरा शांति से सुनेंगे तो बताऊंगा। मैं उस पर आ रहा हूं। इस प्रकार से समय-समय पर थोड़ी-थोड़ी बातें करके कुछ होने वाला नहीं है, हमें देखना यह है कि आखिर को इस प्रकार के डिस्टर्बेंसेज, इस प्रकार की परिस्थितियां क्यों उत्पन्न हो रही हैं? उसका सबसे बड़ा कारण यह है कि हमने अपनी शिक्षा को वह रूप नहीं दिया है जो शिक्षा का रूप होना चाहिए था। हमने इसकी तरफ बहुत कम ध्यान दिया है। श्रीमन्, हमने बड़े-बड़े कारखाने बनाने की कोशिश की है, हमने बड़ी-बड़ी हैवी इन्डस्ट्रीज कायम की हैं। हमने बड़े-बड़े सुधार करने की कोशिश की है, लेकिन मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में हमने कहां तक प्रगति की है। मैं तो यह कहते हुए भी संकोच नहीं करूंगा कि अगर सबसे ज्यादा अवहेलना किसी सक्जेट की हुई है तो वह शिक्षा की हुई है। आज तक हम यह बैठ कर सोच नहीं सके कि हमारी राष्ट्रीयता क्या है, राष्ट्रीयता की भावना क्या है और वह किसके द्वारा आ सकती है? वह शिक्षा के द्वारा आ सकती है। हमने शिक्षा को बिलकुल नेगलेक्ट किया है, उसकी अवहेलना की है और उसका परिणाम आज हमारे सामने है जो मैंने बताया है। इस प्रकार के विधेयक से ही सुधार होने वाला नहीं है। हमारी शिक्षा होनी चाहिए कि आज जो हमारा छात्र है, वह राष्ट्रीयता में आत्मीयता का

[श्री मान सिंह वर्मा]

अनुभव करें, वह यह समझे कि मैं यहाँ का नेशनल हूँ, यहाँ का नागरिक हूँ, मेरा क्या कर्तव्य है, मुझे मानव बनना है, मनुष्य बनना है।

शुरू से आपने ढोल पीटा है धर्म-निरपेक्षता का। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, आप विश्व-विद्यालय में धर्म-निरपेक्षता की भावना की बजाए सर्व-धर्म-समभाव की भावना क्यों नहीं पैदा करते हैं। सर्व-धर्म-समभाव — यह हमारी परम्परा रही है। हम सब धर्मों को समभाव से देखते हैं, आदर देते हैं। धर्म-निरपेक्षता का मतलब होता है — रिलिजन इज नाट रिक्वायर्ड। अगर आप जानते हैं, श्रीमान्, तो धर्म-निरपेक्षता उसको कहते हैं जहाँ पर धर्म की अपेक्षा नहीं...

श्री एन० जी० गोरे (महाराष्ट्र) : धर्म-निरपेक्ष समाज नहीं, धर्म-निरपेक्ष शासन दोनों में फर्क करना चाहिए।

श्री मान सिंह वर्मा : शासन और समाज को अलग कर देंगे? वही विडम्बना हो रही है। समाज को शासन से अलग कर रखा है — दैट इज दि ओर्गनी टू जेडी। समाज के द्वारा शासन बनता है, वह शासन करता है। जब समाज में गड़बड़ होगी तो शासन किस प्रकार से अच्छा चल सकता है। हमको धर्म-निरपेक्ष समाज आप बनाना चाहते हैं, उसका मतलब है — रिलिजन इज नाट रिक्वायर्ड। रिलिजन का अर्थ होता है ड्यूटी। मुझे पहले भी कहने का अवसर मिला था इसी बात पर कि अगर ड्यूटी की आवश्यकता नहीं है तो क्या बनेगा हमारा बच्चा। आज हमारे विश्वविद्यालय क्या पैदा कर रहे हैं? इस प्रकार की भावनाएं उनके अन्दर पैदा नहीं की जातीं, तभी आज इस प्रकार की बातें हो रही हैं। दूसरी बात मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा

आर्थिक प्रोग्राम क्या है? बहुत से आर्थिक ढाँचों को लेकर यह सरकार चल रही है, समाजवाद का ढाँचा हमारे सामने है और हमने बहुत कुछ इसके विषय में कहा है, लेकिन आज का जो हमारा यंगमैन है, जो आज का यूथ है, उसकी इस बात का संतोष नहीं है कि यहाँ से पढ़ने के पश्चात् मुझे कुछ मिल सकेगा, मुझे कोई नौकरी प्राप्त हो सकेगी और मुझे इस समाज के द्वारा कुछ प्राप्त हो सकेगा? आज इस तरह से हमारे नौजवान वैक्यूम में पड़े हुए हैं, अंधेरे में पड़े हुए हैं कि यहाँ से निकलने के पश्चात्, यूनी-वर्सिटी से निकलने के बाद कहाँ जायेंगे। उन्हें इस बात का डर रहता है कि कोई नौकरी मिलेगी या नहीं, कोई काम मिलेगा या नहीं मिलेगा, हमारा कोई मूल्य होगा मार्केट में जाकर? आज इसके बारे में स्थिति यह हो रही है कि हमारा आर्थिक ढाँचा इस प्रकार का नहीं बना है कि आज हमारे बच्चे आश्वस्त हो सकें कि हाँ, जो कुछ मैं बन रहा हूँ, वह राष्ट्र के लिए बन रहा हूँ, राष्ट्र के हित के लिए काम कर रहा हूँ और जो मेरा हित है वह राष्ट्र के लिए होगा। यही कारण है जिसके कारण से आज यह स्थिति हमारे प्रायः सभी विश्व-विद्यालयों में पैदा हो रही है।

जो कोर्ट बन रहा है उसको भी मैंने देखा है, उसका कांस्टीट्यूशन मैंने देखा है कि किस तरह से आपने निर्माण किया है। उससे तो लगता है आप विश्वविद्यालयों को सम्पूर्ण रूप से अपने कब्जे में ले लेना चाहते हैं। पं० नेहरू ने एक समय यह कहा था कि विश्वविद्यालयों के मामले में बिल्कुल हस्तक्षेप नहीं होना चाहिये शासन द्वारा आज उन्हीं की सुपुत्री द्वारा धीरे-धीरे, शनैः-शनैः विश्वविद्यालयों को लिया जा रहा है।

मैं यह भी जानता हूँ कि विश्व भारती में श्रीमती गांधी छात्रा के रूप में रह चुकी हैं। यद्यपि वे उससे अधिक लाभ नहीं उठा सकी, आज उन्हीं के द्वारा उसमें इस प्रकार का हस्तक्षेप किया जा रहा है और सम्पूर्ण रूप से कंट्रोल किया जा रहा है। आज पाँच वर्षों से हमारी प्रधान मंत्री इसकी प्रो-वाइस चान्सलर के रूप में रही हैं, तो मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इन पाँच वर्षों तक क्या सुधार हुआ? और मैंने इस तरह की कोई बात नहीं देखी।

जहाँ तक कोर्ट का सम्बन्ध है, उसमें नामिनेटेड ज्यादा हैं, नामिनेटेड बाई विजिटर्स यानि विजिटर्स के द्वारा नामिनेशन होगा। विश्वविद्यालय के जो प्राध्यापक हैं, उनका इसमें कोई प्रतिनिधित्व नहीं है और उन्हें स्वयं अपना एक प्रतिनिधि भेजना चाहिए और इसके लिए आप उनका नामिनेशन करें। इसमें विद्यार्थियों का भी कोई प्रतिनिधि नहीं दिखलाई देता है। आप कारखानों के सम्बन्ध में तो होड़ लगा रहे हैं कि जब तक कारखानों में मजदूरों को साक्षीदार नहीं बनाया जाएगा, तब तक कारखाने ठीक तरह से नहीं चल सकेंगे। लेकिन मुझे खेद होता है कि मनुष्य और मानव को बनाने वाले जो कारखाने हैं, उसमें विद्यार्थियों का कोई योगदान नहीं है, विद्यार्थियों का कोई प्रतिनिधि नहीं है और विद्यार्थी कुछ नहीं कर सकते हैं। ये कारखाने जो शिक्षा को बनाने वाले हैं, मानव को बनाने वाले हैं, जो विश्वविद्यालय के रूप में हैं, वे ठीक रूप से उस समय तक नहीं चल पाएँगे, जब तक आप विद्यार्थियों का इसमें सहयोग प्राप्त नहीं करेंगे। आप इस बात को नहीं करते हैं और न ही इस बात की ओर ध्यान ही देते हैं। हम तो यह देख रहे हैं कि धीरे-धीरे सरकार की यह

परम्परा हो रही है कि सरकार पहिले किसी चीज पर हस्तक्षेप करती है और हस्तक्षेप करते-करते ऐसी स्थिति पैदा कर देती है कि उस पर फुल कंट्रोल अपना हो जाए। टोटे-लिटरेरिज्म की भावना आपकी है और धीरे-धीरे आप इस तरह से सब चीजों को अपने हाथ में ले लेना चाहते हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप लेना चाहते हैं तो बहादुरी के साथ एक्सेशन को नेशनलाइज कर दीजिए, आप उसको समाप्त कर दीजिये ताकि किसी को कोई हक नहीं रहे किसी संस्था को बनाने का और किसी संस्था को रखन का। इस चीज को आप नहीं करना चाहते हैं। आपने धीरे-धीरे हाथ दबाया, उसको बर्दाश्त किया, फिर पाँचा पकड़ा, उसको भी बर्दाश्त किया। फिर ज्यादा हमला किया, उसको भी बर्दाश्त किया और धीरे-धीरे, जनै-जनै सब पर कब्जा कर लिया। आज वही स्थिति हो रही है। आज जिन चीजों पर अपना कंट्रोल किया है, वहाँ पर आज तक कुछ सुधार नजर नहीं आया है। यदि ऐसा होता तो मैं मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ जो यहाँ पर उपस्थित हैं कि आप बतलाइये कि आपके शासन के पहिले भी तो यूनिवर्सिटी चलती थीं, पहले यूनिवर्सिटियों में इस प्रकार की बातें क्यों नहीं हुआ करती थीं, पहले इस प्रकार के झगड़े क्यों नहीं होते थे, पहले इस प्रकार की हत्याएं क्यों नहीं हुआ करती थीं। आज शर्म के मारे हमारा सिर झुक जाता है कि विश्व-विद्यालयों के अन्दर हत्याएं होती हैं, विद्या मंदिरों के अन्दर हत्याएं होती हैं। शिक्षा संस्थाएं हमारे विद्या मंदिर हैं, पवित्र स्थान हैं, पूजा के स्थान और विद्या के मंदिर, ये ऐसे मंदिर होते हैं जिन के प्रति सब श्रद्धा-नत होते हैं। पर आज वहाँ हत्याएँ होती हैं। क्यों हो रही हैं? मैं तो यह मानता

[श्री मान सिंह वर्मा]

हैं कि इसके क्रियेटर भी आप हैं। यह दशा आप ने ही पैदा की है। आपके शासन से पहले इस प्रकार की बातें नहीं थीं। आप हर चीज में पालिटिक्स पैदा करते हैं, हर एक चीज में राजनीति पैदा करते हैं और उसके कारण आपकी राजनीति यह हो गई है कि आप धीरे-धीरे वहाँ पर दबुल पैदा करें, आप वहाँ संघर्ष पैदा करें, उसमें इंटरवीन करें, उसमें इंटरफियर करें, दखलअंदाजी करें और धीरे-धीरे से सब को ले लें। तो श्रीमन्, मुझे यह निवेदन करना है कि इस प्रकार के विधेयकों से विश्वविद्यालयों का कल्याण होने वाला नहीं है। विश्वविद्यालयों का कल्याण किस प्रकार होगा, हमारे विश्वविद्यालय किस प्रकार सुचारु रूप से चल सकेंगे, किस प्रकार राष्ट्र के लिए हितकर साबित हो सकते हैं इसके लिए बड़ी गंभीरता से विचार करना होगा, सोचना होगा। हम नहीं चाहते थे कि आज इस इमरजेंसी के समय में आप ऐसा बिल लायें और इतनी शीघ्रता से आप इसको पास करा लें। मैंने कहा कि शिक्षा की तरफ आप कोई ध्यान नहीं देते। आप चाहते हैं कि हरीडली इसको किसी प्रकार से पास करा लें और ऐसा ही आप आज तक करते रहे हैं और इसी का नतीजा है कि आज तक यह मर्ज बढ़ता ही चला जा रहा है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं यह निवेदन करूंगा कि वास्तव में यदि शिक्षा मंत्री चाहते हैं कि विश्वविद्यालयों में सुधार हो तो उन्हें इस प्रकार का विधेयक लाना चाहिए जिसमें सचमुच ही सभी विश्वविद्यालयों पर वह लागू हो सके और उससे सभी विश्वविद्यालय सुधार की तरफ अग्रसर हो सकें। इसके लिए आपको चाहिए कि जो शिक्षा शास्त्री हैं, उनको किसी पार्टी का भेदभाव न रखते

हुए, इर्रेस्पेक्टिव आफ पार्टी पालिटिक्स, सभी शिक्षा शास्त्रियों को बैठाकर विचार कर कि हम विश्वविद्यालय की जो शिक्षा है उसे किस प्रकार आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं, जो मर्ज उसमें बढ़ रहा है उसे किस प्रकार रोक सकते हैं, तभी उसमें कुछ कल्याण हो सकता है वरना इस प्रकार के विधेयकों से कोई लाभ होने वाला नहीं है। इतना ही मुझे निवेदन करना है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal):

Sir, we are now faced suddenly with a Bill of this kind which is, we are told, as a result of an investigation by the Education Minister into the affairs of the Visva-Bharati. In 1969 and 1970 and even earlier, many of us were demanding a thorough probe into the affairs of the Visva-Bharati. Somehow or other, our request was ignored: for what reason, we do not know. As far as I know, the professors and teachers of the Visva-Bharati submitted memoranda to the Prime Minister earlier and requested that intervention of the right type should take place in order to locate the real causes of the ills of the Visva-Bharati and remove them. And Shri

I Siddhartha Shankar Ray was asked to j investigate. Anyhow, an investigation took place. But it seemed that there was a lot of misgiving in the Visva-Bharati about the investigation, and the manner in which it was conducted, if at all there was any investigation. Even after the Ordinance was promulgated, I tried to find from the teachers as to what were their views. It seems that they are not satisfied with the j approach of the Government in this matter. I cannot say exactly what kind of things they would like to have. Sir, I wish there | were better consultations between the Government and the teachers there, and students also, in order to work out a common, acceptable approach because we need the cooperation, of the teachers and the students in order to set things right I in the Visva-Bharati.

Sir, the Visva-Bharati has been a seat of the finest traditions, cultural traditions, of the people of Bengal, and it has been a symbol in some ways of cultural renaissance and patriotism in the cultural sphere at least in our country. It invited the attention of the whole world; it received affection from Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahar-lal Nehru and other leaders and thinkers of our nation.

It has an excellent tradition. After the death of Gurudev, unfortunately, step by step the tradition was defied by certain vested interests, and ultimately it became a great scandal. Whereas these teachers and students wanted to uphold the lofty tradition of the heritage of Poet Tagore, the others conspired in order to seek their own personal gains even at the cost of so noble an institution as Visva-Bharati.

Sir, we thought that the high ideals of Poet Tagore would live in Visva-Bharati and shine always brilliantly. Unfortunately, the clouds gathered over this institution; not because some people from outside came to destroy them, not because there were violence and other disruptive activities by some students and others. It could be wrong to say that Visva-Bharati is in this state because some sections of students and other have now resorted to certain violent activities. There were no such activities in May 1950. There were no such activities in the beginning of 1960. Then why suddenly we should think that the activities of the students are responsible for what happens to Visva-Bharati? This is a wrong assessment of the entire situation. Sir, actually it is some others who came to dominate Visva-Bharati and I do not know as to why the guilty persons are not named. They had their supporters in a well-known paper in Calcutta. In fact, they were in league with that paper, called the Ananda Bazaar Patrika, a widely circulated paper in the country. It is well known that the Visva-Bharati group and the Anand Bazaar Patrika group were in liaison in order to capture the institution

not for the sake of the advancement of learning or uphold the traditions of Poet Rabindranath Tagore but for personal sectarian and factional aggrandisement. That is the root of the trouble.

Against this liaison the teachers as well as the students rebelled time and again. Probably the manner of their opposition and protest had not been to the liking of the Government. None the less they tried to fight against this kind of people who wanted to make Visva-Bharati a kind of zamindari of their own instead of keeping it an educational and cultural institution. That is the real problem, and that remains the problem. I do not know how the Government is going to tackle with it by just setting up a Committee.

I think many people know it in Bengal that actually all the institutions there were in disarray. Some of them were in decline and there was lot of trouble at the management level and the relation between the teaching authorities, the management and the teachers and students became rather strained. In fact, it became bitter at one stage. Such is the position even now. Since it is a Central University, the Government should have taken action against these people.

Sir, the former Chief Justice, Mr. S. R. Das, was sent, I believe, as the Vice-Chancellor of the University. I must say that he personally invited me to go to the University and live in the Guest House for some time . . .

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION
AND SOCIAL WELFARE AND MINIS-
TER-IN-CHARGE OF DEPARTMENT OF
CULTURE/ffr Hmg, ^^

n^X mtfz fiwm *?srt (SHRI SIDD-
HARTHA SHANKAR RAY): Because you
are both Bengal Vaidya.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not
know. But we are both from Bengal. We

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] are proud that we are from Bengal. We hail from Bangla Desh which is in limelight and is making history.

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY : What about the Vaidyas' part ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Your father came from the same Bengali stock and you should be proud of it; and we share the same stock, the stock which is now engaged in the mighty struggle in Bangla Desh, storming the armed forces, the occupationist forces of Yahya Khan. Sir, he says we are both Vaidyas. Do you believe in castes and so on ? And he is a Brahmo also. That way I am an atheist, and I do not believe in castes. If my father was a Vaidya or a Brahmo, it was his business and the business of his father. It is none of my fault.

So, Sir, this coterie rule was responsible for all the trouble. This should have been disbanded much earlier and they should have been thrown out of this institution much earlier. Unfortunately that was not done. Our Government has a knack of partly recognising a thing and partly not recognising a thing. Our Government has got a knack of going one step forward and then stopping, if not going backward again. And in the case of Visva-Bharati, despite its being a Central University, this kind of indecision characterised the Government policy, although the Prime Minister happened to be the supreme head or the titular head, or whatever you call it, of the University. Well, she had been there. Jawaharlal Nehru had been there. All our Prime Ministers, living and dead, have visited Visva-Bharati. But Visva-Bharati affairs were not tidied because there was no policy to set things right. Well, visits do not improve things. So, Sir, this is the main reason, as I said, and I do not know how Mr. Siddharatha Shankar Ray or Prof. Nurul Hassan, an eminent educationist, is going to handle it. We have got a lawyer and an educationist together as a team to handle

Visva-Bharati affairs. When law comes, education departs. When education advances, law shies away. That is what we find except for the so-called legal learning. Now I do not know how they are going to handle it. But I think this should be kept in mind.

Now, Sir, the Bill provides for a very small committee, and they think that the small committee, can deliver the goods and can do some magic in Visva-Bharati. I have my doubts. Sir, the approach has been characterised by my colleague in the other House, Prof. Hiren Mukherjee, an eminent educationist himself, as authoritarian. I trunk-called in order to find out the reactions of the teachers there. It seems the teachers also think that the action has been authoritarian, though they agree that there is much to be done in Visva-Bharati to improve things including, and perhaps above all, administration. But they should have consulted these professors and teachers. Mr. Siddharatha Shankar Ray surely knows of them. That was not done, perhaps constructive suggestions would have come from them. There is no point in consulting them after you have promulgated the Ordinance. There should have been consultation before the Ordinance was issued; not consultations with the politicians here, but surely Prof. Nurul Hasan could have himself gone there and invited these professors to talk to him. I do not know whether he did so was very necessary. Not that I would expect him to accept everything that they would say, but it is necessary to get their points of view in this matter. That was evidently not done, which is why there is the discount in the University among the teachers and so on. In this Board which is going to be formed, the professors and teachers do not have their say. Now this again is most objectionable. Am I to understand that they were not in a position to bring sufficient number of people from among the teaching staff and the students, if I may say so, in order to man the posts in this Board by enlarging the Board if necessary? It should have been enlarged.

Now, they are not. You have got Members of Parliament. You have got nominated people. You have got others also. But these people, professors, teachers and students, have been given a back seat in the entire scheme, in the Board. There are some names there, I know. But that is not enough. They should be dominant. I am not saying the wrong ones should be dominant. The initiative should be left, with Government's guidance and direction, in the hands of the teachers there. And the basis of the reconstruction and reorganisation of the institution should be the willing cooperation and understanding on the part of the teachers and students. I am afraid this is not only not ensured by this provision, on the contrary, this might create—indeed it has created—certain misgivings and introduce an element of mistrust even later on as the Act is implemented. This is my fear. I do not wish to take much of your time. Now that you have done it, you will not change it, I know. An Ordinance was promulgated, well, in a particular manner which smacks of authoritarianism in some way. Now, after passing it I do not know how you are going to handle it. But I would still request the Government to seek their cooperation and talk to them. Whether they will accept this kind of an arrangement that you are making, I do not know. There will be reluctance to get easily associated with an imposition from above. Yet it was necessary to make this arrangement in cooperation with them on the basis of their experience and suggestion. That aspect seems to have been lost sight of when the Government handled this matter. I do not know how they are going now to remedy the situation created by this Ordinance. But one thing is quite clear. Visva-Bharati must be cleansed. These opportunist, careerist, factional, elements for whom Visva-Bharati is a paradise for nepotism, malpractice, corruption and personal aggrandisement—that is the first thing for them to do—should not be brought anywhere near the institution. If they are there, they should be

asked to leave. In fact, the institution should be made—to use a military expression now that we are passing under the Defence of India Rules—out of bounds for these careerist, opportunist, elements who do not have the interests of the institution, Visva-Bharati, at heart. That would be my first suggestion. Secondly, cooperation can still be invited from those teachers and students who have always fought for setting things right who have always fought not only for the educational, academic, right, but also for defending the high tradition of the Visva-Bharati. Their cooperation should be invited. If necessary, in the light of their suggestions and criticisms the Bill should be amended by the Government so that really it meets some of their legitimate complaints and grievances. There should not be any difficulty in amending a measure of this kind since it has been passed in a hurried manner. Finally before I sit down once again I express our anguish and concern at the manner in which the Visva-Bharati has been run in the recent years. We have got, as I said before, an emotional attachment with the Visva-Bharati. Many of us have not seen Visva-Bharati. I have seen it myself, but many other have not seen, but yet from a distant land, from all over the country, we have some emotional attachment to the institution not only because of the great name of its founder, but because of the high ideals it proclaimed to the world and maintained through the critical days of the British rule. The objectives of the Visva-Bharati are undying, unfailing, objectives. We should cherish them, we should uphold them. We should take constitutional guarantees for these objectives so that these high ideals are not tarnished by some conspiring and evil people masquerading as professors, as rectors, as managers, or whatever you call them. The institution should be placed in the hands of those who are truly dedicated to the heritage of Poet Rabindranath Tagore.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Sir, I share with those who have preceded me

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan] that the drastic power that the government has taken regarding the Visva-Bharati is not at all a matter about which anyone of us could be happy. But, Sir, I feel in the circumstances and what we have learnt about this institution which we all respect and honour, probably there was no other alternative to the government except to come forward with this measure. I feel it more because at the behest of Gurudev, I had the honour and privilege of visiting this institution and spending some time there. I feel the atmosphere and the high standards that this university maintained are a matter of proud privilege for every Indian. I know that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used to take pride in his close association with this university. If I may say so, he had two Gurus. His political Guru was Gandhiji and his cultural Guru was Gurudev...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If I may add, his daughter was a student of Visva-Bharati for a while.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : I am speaking not of the living people. Certain matters were referred to by my friend Shri Niranjan Varma. These have to be dealt with in two aspects. One is long-range remedy regarding improvement of education. The other is regarding frustration of students. These will have to be dealt with at different levels. I have no doubt that the present Education Minister, supported by other educationists, will give some thought to this long range policy as to how to improve our educational standards and how to remove the frustration that we find in our young students. These are the matters which have to be taken very seriously and without loss of time. But so far as this measure is concerned, I have only one thing to say and that is why I took this opportunity to speak.

Wherever and in whichever university these powers have been taken, they have continued for unlimited time. I know of

Aligarh. This Ordinance was brought in right circumstances. The enactment was brought and it was absolutely justifiable. But years have gone on and still it is under the administrative control of the Government of India. That is not in the interests of any university. So, I would urge upon the hon. Education Minister to keep this in mind. I am sure he must have felt very much hurt because he is very much associated with it that he should sponsor this Bill to have these drastic powers regarding the administration and management of this university. I quite realise that. But I would like him to give an assurance to us that at the earliest period you will make alterations after effecting some improvement and removing the unsocial elements and after really creating good academic and cultural atmosphere which was prevailing in the time of Gurudev. That is the only request I have to make. I am sure that this arrangement will not be for an unlimited time and the democratic set up in this university will be introduced as early as possible. With these words, I give my best wishes for the progress of this university.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Sir I have a few observations to make regarding the provisions of this Bill. But before doing that, I would like to point out that this was hardly the time when such a measure should have been placed before us for consideration.

3 P. M.

Sir, we are all worried about the situation in the country now and the mature thought that is really sought to bear upon this Bill will not be possible. I, therefore, thought that it would have been better if the Education Minister had chosen some other time when we would have been able to look at this Bill in a calm atmosphere and give to it our maturer thought.

Sir, if I may say so, education has been the Cinderella of our plans. Ever since

we became independent, there has been hardly a Minister who could give his undivided attention to Education. Sir, I consider this Bill so important that I think that the whole future of this country depends on how we bring up our younger generation. Therefore, Sir, you can very well imagine my anguish when I read the lines in the Statement explaining the circumstances which necessitated legislation, this Visva-Bharati (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971. Sir, the Minister has stated that from November 1970 onwards there have been several cases of arson, stabbing, indiscipline, etc. resulting in heavy damage to the equipment, property, fittings and furniture, etc. Sir, these are the activities we usually associate with the underworld or the locality of the down-trodden people or the slums. But, unfortunately, these have become the common features of our university campuses. Sir, I regret to say that there is hardly any university left in India where the students have not indulged in this sort of activities. Only the other day, Sir, such a distinguished educationist as Prof. John was hurt when a group of students attacked him. Sir, these things are going on and I would have really liked the Education Minister to go deeper into these things and to come out with a comprehensive analysis as to why such things are happening, especially in a country like India which has the highest tradition of respect for education.

Sir, I remember—and I hope you will also remember—that in the famous play by Kalidasa, in his *Shakuntala*, the King gets down from his chariot, keeps away his weapons and says that :-

विवर्जितं वेदेन प्रवेष्टव्यानि तपोवनानि नाम ।

Whenever one goes to the seats of learning, one has to be very modest. Even the King has to get down from the chariot and enter the seat of learning. That was the tradition we maintained in these seats of learning. But, Sir, what has happened? Is it because of the generation gap? So many

times we are being told that the younger generation is drifting away. They do not understand our values and we do not understand their aspirations. Sir, certainly the time has come when I would like our educationists to give a serious thought to these things. Why is it that we are losing our younger generation altogether? If this is the conclusion, then, Sir, we may as well write off our future. There is no future at all when the younger generation does not inherit some of our values and cherish some of our dreams.

Sir, sometimes I wonder why it is that the words of Tagore which inspire us all even today do not inspire the students who are learning in such a centre like the Visva-Bharati? Why is it that the great work of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is not appreciated by the students of the Banaras Hindu University? Sir, only a few days back I received a pamphlet from the Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University and I was astounded to find the revelations he has made. Sir, what sort of demands have the students made? There is one demand, "koU bharti" as they call it, and that is that there should be no screening at all, no tests, nothing of that sort. Anybody who wants to enter the university should be allowed and that is what they want. And, Sir, the other demand is that the boys should be promoted to higher classes without examinations!

What is the University education coming to? Sir. ..

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh).
This is a new theory.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : I would like to know the justification for this new theory. If we accept this new theory, then we have to revise the entire curricula and the entire administrative set-up in Universities . . .

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY: Why do you ask me? Ask Mr. Rajnarain . . .

SHRI N. G. GORAY : I am the last person to . . .

(Interruptions).

So far as the Banaras Hindu University is concerned, two prominent political parties are associated with the Union . . .

AN HON. MEMBER : One of them is your party.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : One of them is my party. It is not a question of my party, your party or his party. The question is what happens in our educational institutions. Therefore, I would like to say that I am really waiting, eagerly waiting, for a comprehensive sort of Bill that the Education Minister has promised us in his statement. That is number one.

Secondly, my only objection to this Bill is: does it really serve the purpose that we have envisaged? I would like to be very frank on this point, because, Sir, I find that some sort of readjustment will have to be made. Do they feel that it may be possible to put the Visva-Bharati University on the right track? Because, Sir, as I find they have given extraordinary powers to the Visitor. Who is this great Visitor? So far as my knowledge goes, Sir, Universities have become nightmares to our educationists. You approach anybody and ask him to become the Vice-Chancellor of a University, and he will say, "You ask from me anything else but don't ask me to be a Vice-Chancellor". Here I am reminded of a story of Stalin. One day he told a young officer that he was being promoted to the rank of a General. That man said, "Sir, I am so young". Whenever an officer was made a General, within a year or two he was sent to the gallows. Therefore, Sir, what is happening is that the careers of many respectable people have shipwrecked on the rock of these Universities. Therefore, my point is that a few adjustments here and there which are being done, are nothing more than tinkering with the problems of Universities. Does the hon. Minister

think that the position in the Visva-Bharati University will improve by this? Sir, if at all, what Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has said is the measure of what is going to come by this Bill nothing would be achieved. He said that the teachers are not going to accept this thing there; their reactions are entirely hostile. Now, if this is so, this Bill might as well not be placed before us. Therefore, I would like to know when this general survey of the Universities is going to be when a comprehensive Bill give us better education, which will bring up our younger generation in a better atmosphere, is likely to be placed before the House? That is number one.

No. 2 is : Is the Bill in its present form really going to improve matters in Visva-Bharati University? If that assurance is given, I shall be very happy to support the Bill.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Pranab Kumar Mukherjee.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I welcome the provisions of the Bill and I think the Bill should have been brought much earlier. In 1970 in a meeting of the Educational Consultative Committee, when it was pointed out to the then Education Minister that something is going wrong with the Visva-Bharati University and some measures should be taken by the Government of India, as it is a Central Government University, then he assured us that he will try to rectify the defects and bring a Bill.

However, one year has been taken by the Government to bring an enactment first in the form of an Ordinance and then in the form of a Bill. I fail to understand from the provisions of this existing Bill how far it is going to meet the situation existing in the University at present.

In the Press Note which was issued from Rashtrapati Bhavan after the promulgation of the Ordinance it was pointed

out and I quote : "Apart from the incidents of violence, the University also faced serious difficulties in its day-to-day working on account of the negative attitude adopted by certain persons." Who are these persons whose negative attitude had created a situation in which the Government had to do away with the *Samsad*, the *Kar-ma-Samiti* and the Academic Council and to create nominated bodies to replace them ? Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, if you go through the various provisions of the act of 1951, you will find that 95% of the members of these bodies—*Samsad*, *Karma-Samiti* and Academic Council—were the nominees either of the *Paridasaka*—the visitor of the University—or the *Acharyaoi* the University; certain officers of the University, by virtue of their offices, are also coming into these bodies. May I know from the hon. Minister who these persons are that have created a situation in which the Government had to nullify all the nominated bodies nominated by themselves?

I have no faith, no belief in a nominated body. Whatever be the assurances that Government may give and whatever be the amount of integrity and honesty the individual Minister may have once the question of nomination comes, various considerations arise. Even in this University, you will be astonished to know, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I can mention a dozen names— they were members either in the *Samsad* or in the *Karma-Samiti* who did not attend a single meeting of the *Samsad* or the *Karma-Samiti*. It was entirely left to those few persons, I think, who utilised their officers, who misused the fund of the University, patronised the University officers and manipulated everywhere and created a situation in which the Government had to bring such a bill.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, you will be astonished to know, one big Congress boss of the undivided Congress—Mr. Atulya Ghosh—was in the *Samsad* for twelve long years, and if you go through the proceedings from 1954 to 1966 he did not attend

even three meetings. Not only he himself. When he was the Congress President he had a Chartered Accountant who used to look after his accounts. Even that Chartered Accountant was taken into the *Karma-Samiti* of the Visva-Bharati. Imagine a situation when a Chartered Accountant, Auditor of the ruling party is taken into a University managed by the Government of India in which the *per capita* expenditure on a student is the highest in the country. If you go through the grants given by the University Grants Commission and spent from the Government exchequer, you will find that the *per capita* expenditure in the University of Visva-Bharati is the maximum, the highest compared to all other Universities in India. There they nominated a Chartered Accountant, Auditor of the undivided Congress Party in West Bengal. That is the situation. Therefore, I would ask the hon. Minister to take a note of it. They are going to nominate somebody on the *Samsad*; they are going to nominate certain person on the *Karma Samiti*; they are going to nominate certain other persons on the Academic Council apart from certain *ex-officio* members. Will he assure this House that this time only those persons who have time to devote for the work of Visva-Bharati will be nominated? Will he assure the House that only those persons who have academic interests and who have integrity will be nominated on the *Karma-Samiti* or on the *Samsad*!

Will he assure that the political and other considerations will not come into picture?

Secondly, Sir, it has been pointed out by the hon. Minister himself on the floor of this House in reply to a question that by and large they have accepted the recommendations of Gajendragadkar Committee so far as the participation of students in the management of University is concerned. I am talking about the answer of the hon. Minister himself in reply to question No. 369 of the 1st December, 1971, in which it has been pointed out that the Report of the

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee] Gajendragadkar Committee is under consideration of the Education Ministry. They have sent it for observations to various other authorities, but at the same time they have said that by and large they have accepted the Principle of students' participation in the management of the universities. If it had been so, why did the Government of India not take the earliest opportunity to nominate certain student representatives in Samsad? I am not talking of an election at this juncture, in the present circumstances. I know in the present situation, it will not be possible to get an elected member of the students on the management of the Visva-Bharati.

My contention is this as he is going to nominate 9 persons in the Karma-Samiti and 21 on the Samsad then two or three students could have been nominated. But unfortunately, these things did not come in the mind of the Education Minister from whom we expected more in the field of university education, particularly of those universities which are directly under the control of the Government of India.

So far as the administration of the academic institutions in the Visva-Bharati is concerned, as the other speakers have also pointed out, there were three organisations—one formed by the employees of the Visva-Bharati, the other formed by the teachers of the Visva-Bharati and the third formed by the students of the University and all these organisations had their own representatives in the management of the Visva-Bharati. This practice continued since the days of the Poet. Everything was undone under the Visva-Bharati Act, 1951. Now the Government is thinking of bringing forward a comprehensive legislation. May I know from the hon. Minister whether he will assure the House that the patterns which were evolved by Shri Rabindra Nath himself will be taken into consideration and whether those patterns will be re-established and suitable provisions will be made in the comprehensive legislation? You are aware what

is happening in the Visva-Bharati even after the enactment of the Act, 1951. There were no service rules for the employees. There were no service rules for the teachers. I understand from the note given by the Education Minister that in 1970 they had formed a Committee to prepare service rules of the employees. In the absence of these service rules, I fail to understand how the University can function and how the university authorities can get confidence of the employees who are working under them.

Coming to the provisions of this Bill, I find there is some omission in the 'Executive Council' which the Government of India should take note of. Nowadays, in the functioning of a university, we know that there are some important agencies which play effective roles. The Vice-Chancellor plays an important role, but the chief executive of every university is the Registrar. In Visva-Bharati he is called 'Karma-Sachiva' and in the Executive Council I do not find any place given to the 'Karma-Sachiva'. If I understand correctly, Sir, the 'Karma-Samiti' consists of the Vice-Chancellor as *ex-officio* member; seven persons of whom not more than four shall be Professors of the University to be nominated by the Paridarsaka (Visitor); and one person to be nominated by the Pradhana (Rector) of the University. Such things do not happen in other universities. Even in a Seminar conducted by the University Grants Commission in which all the Registrars of different universities were called, it was pointed out that the Registrars have to play a very important role in the management of the university. Practically they are the chief executive officers of the university. But here I do not know whether the Government has forgotten to nominate the Registrars; otherwise how can it function if the chief executive officer has no say in the policy making of the University? I fail to understand how the Karma-Samiti can even function. If you have no confidence in a person, you can

replace him. You can bring another person, but there should not be serious lacuna that the chief executive officer will not have any say in the highest policy-making Body.

I fail to understand how these things can so side by side. I would like to draw the attention of the Minister to clause 7(3) in which it has been pointed out that the Karma-Samiti has the power, subject to the approval of the Visitor, to curtail the influence and power of other organisations. In a University there is usually a three-tier system. There is the general body, the academic body and the executive body which is often called the Syndicate. Here the Syndicate is provided with the power to curtail the powers of the two other organisations. I fail to understand the purpose of it. It says: 'If the Visitor agrees' but naturally he will agree because he is the President of India and he has no time for these things and whatever the Executive Committee says, he will agree to it. The Executive Committee is provided with the power to curtail the powers of the other committees which have important roles to play in the functioning of the University. The Minister has already stated that these are temporary provisions and I shall be glad if he brings forward a comprehensive legislation bearing in mind these things. Lastly, without bringing in piece-meal legislations, one for the B. H. U., one for the Aligarh University and one for the Delhi University the Government should bring in a comprehensive legislation for all the universities under the Government of India. If they do not do so, it would be very difficult to distinguish between universities managed by the Central Government and others. So a comprehensive legislation should be brought.

PROF. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN
(Nominated) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, one would like to imagine that it is a measure of our deep concern for education as the basis of our national strength as well

as our confidence in the parliamentary system that after approving the Proclamation of Emergency in this House this morning in this special session the very first Bill that we have taken up for consideration deals with the reform of one of our major centres of national education, the Visva-Bharati. I would like us to thrive in this ethos of parliamentary society so that in hailstorm or wind, in sunshine or shadow, we should carry on our national work. I must compliment the Education Minister and the Minister of State for Education for having the courage to come before this House and to make us involved as a Parliament—as the sovereign national body—to deal with one of the most fundamental aspects of our national life, that is Education. Although the occasion does not permit it, because the time is not enough and also because the clouds of war are on the horizons, but let me add here that as an educationist I feel somewhat unhappy that education has gone by default in the larger scheme of national development. If education is considered as the bedrock of a modernised polity, if it is recognised as the solid basis of authority and power for the regeneration of our polity, I would appeal, let us now, even at this hour of crisis, apply our minds in a cohesive manner to the restructuring of the entire educational policy and the educational edifice of this country. One looks with some despair at the unhappy educational situation in the country. Scant attention has been paid, if I can say so, for the improvement of either educational standards or for the attunement of the educational systems with basic national purposes. Most thoughtful reports on education have been relegated, with respectful indifference to the limbo of history. Most considered recommendations of educationists and experts have never been implemented in their entirety and certainly never at the proper time.

The vagaries of politics and the whims of politicians no less than political factions-

[Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan] lism have vitiated the academic atmosphere. Our entire approach has to be changed. Taking into account the need of the hour we should do a comprehensive and more purposeful reorganisation of the educational structure in order to harmonise it with the targets of national growth. This amending Bill which seeks to introduce certain changes in the structure of Visva Bharati, one of our national centres of education, a centre which is imbued with the vision of Gurudev, is evidently a transitional measure. We have been assured that after a thorough examination of the Gajendragadkar Commission Report we will again have an opportunity to look into the organisation of the University education in India. Therefore, in so far as this Bill is concerned, I would accept the Government's apology at its face value but would urge that the concern for University autonomy which has been articulated by all sections of the House, the concern for the working of the educational institution without extraneous interference and the concern for the restoration of national purpose to these fountains of national education should receive their urgent consideration. Because piecemeal, *ad hoc* and expedient measures will normally result in piecemeal, *ad hoc* and expedient results. Education is a permanent substratum of the national polity and I would appeal and urge the Education Ministry and the Parliament of India that they should give to the problems of education the highest national priority. All our efforts for strengthening our people, all our efforts for developing our society, will falter if the educational structure is not improved drastically. Therefore, with my reservations on the autonomy aspect of the Bill and with my expectation that concerted attempt will be made to improve the quality of education I stand to support this Visva-Bharati (Amendment) Bill, 1971.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I think we have shown the world today by these

deliberations the great maturity of our democracy. Amidst the clash of arms the only voice that is heard in India is the voice of democracy and democratic processes are at work. In fact the democratic discussion which we have just had has been very helpful. Many of my hon. friends have made quite a number of valid points and, if I may say with respect, some invalid points but the valid points will certainly be taken note of by the Government. Sir, I can assure this House that it is certainly not a happy moment for me to move a Bill of this nature with regard to Shantiniketan. Visva Bharati is popularly known in Bengal as Shantiniketan. We had as students some connection with Shantiniketan. Not that I was a student there, but there was a continuous exchange of views between the students of Visva-Bharati and students of the Calcutta University. I do not know if my hon. friend, Dr. Bhupesh Gupta, remembers, . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of personal explanation. I do not believe in being a Doctor (*honoris causa*). It is my friend on whom a Doctorate may be conferred at Shantiniketan.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY: That is his humility. He is a PhD. of the London University.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, no, you are fully confused. I am an LL. B. of the London University.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : However, my hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, knows the delegations that had gone from the Calcutta University and the Calcutta University Institute of which we were members, eight of us, to Visva-Bharati, or Shantiniketan, as we call it, for the purpose of honouring from time to time the great people who lived with the students there. I remember particularly Pramatha Chowdhury, I remember Abanindranath Tagore, I remember Nandalal

Bose, the artist, people whom we as students respected, admired and looked upon for leadership, not only in the cultural field but in various other fields as well. Unfortunately, with regard to that Shantiniketan, today we are having to pass a Bill whereby nominated bodies have to be set up. It is not for the pleasure of the moment. It is not something to be desired but, I regret to say, it is something which has become absolutely essential. Our Shantiniketan, unfortunately, had become Ashantiniketan. I had been personally to Birbhum, to Bolpur, in fact. My hon friend, Mr. Goray, said that like the king of Kalidasa, one should get down from his chariot and leave his arms when he goes before a seat of learning. I did that. I tried to do it in the simplest manner possible. The result was that the poor policeman coming in a police van some distance away from me were bombed. Things became serious I don't blame these young people there. There are various reasons for their frustration. I am not going into the political thing. I am not making any political speech. But the situation certainly required some effective handling. My hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, said that the teachers or some section of the teachers have not approved of this measure. I do not like contradicting Mr. Gupta, But I have . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What I said was that they had some misgivings, specially with regard to the Board that you are now going to have there.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : Obviously I was misunderstood because I could not see how Mr. Bhupesh Gupta was saying that the teachers did not approve of this measure. And Mr. Gupta was also perhaps misled. Actually, the teachers have approved of this Bill. But they have misgivings as I have, as every hon. Member must have when an

university has to be dealt with in this summary fashion, because this is not the manner in which an university administration has to be run. But what can we do ? The position in Bengal, as Mr. Gupta knows, and those who come from Bengal know, and even those who do not come from Bengal know, was rather serious and abnormal, and certain measures had to be taken.

They are not dictatorial measures, but measures after consulting some people. In point of fact we took great care in this respect. Both I and my colleague, the Minister of State for Education, when we were in Calcutta, had detailed and deep discussions with the some intellectuals, some educationists and ascertained their views and it was not before we did that did we think of this particular measure. We have to certainly take the views of intellectuals, of educationists, before any such measure is introduced in this House or in the other House and this we have done. Some hon. Members referred to a report which came out, I do admit, in some newspapers that the Cabinet was supposed to have authorised me or directed me to go Calcutta or Bengal and hold investigations with regard to the affairs of Shantiniketan. That was an incorrect report. No such direction was given by the Cabinet and I did not carry on any investigation with regard to Shantiniketan or Viswa-Bharati. All that I did and all that my colleague did was to discuss this matter with some eminent educationists and well-known intellectuals. Some have said and rightly that having regard to the powers given the nominated bodies would be such as to make either the Government all-powerful or to put back the coterie which ruled Shantiniketan in full authority. I shall admit that things have not been properly managed in Shantiniketan or Viswa-Bharati. I hope the House will pardon me if I refer to Visva-Bharati as Shantiniketan from time to time. It is a force of habit.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sometimes Mr. Jyoti Basu refers to you as Manu.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : Insofar as Visva-Bharati is concerned, there certainly was about mismanagement. There was certainly a case about coterie rule some years back. I am not blaming anybody. I am not accusing anybody. I had that in view and for that purpose I shall announce before this House not only the members who are going to form the Karma Samiti or the Executive Council or the members who are going to form the Court and the members who are going to form the Academic Council. I am also going to give you the names of the members who are going to be the members of the Artha Samiti or the Standing Finance Committee. The President, I have it from his office, has approved of these names. Our main intention has been not to bring in anybody who was there already and secondly, not to bring anybody who had the remotest connection with politics whatsoever. I have repeatedly said, as Minister of Education in Bengal that we must free our universities from politics. We cannot have politicians in universities. And I shall take full responsibility if Mr. Bhupesh Gupta makes that charge. It was the old Congress which used to do it and that was wrong.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I can understand you are receptive, but how can you say that a politician will have no connection with a university ? Many of our professors are Members here.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : Kindly sit down. If Mr. Bhupesh Gupta will kindly bear with me for a second, insofar as the nominations by the Visitor are concerned, we are not having any politician whatsoever, but we have provided for nominations by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, so that

they may nominate some members who are obviously politicians who are interested in education. Insofar as the Visitor's powers are concerned, we thought that it would be better not to bring in politicians, although he certainly has the power to do so.

Now, I may, with your leave, read out the names, and I would certainly like to be told if we have committed a mistake anywhere in choosing the names. Sir, insofar as the Executive Council, the Karma-Samiti, is concerned, the members are:—

1. Vice-Chancellor (*ex-officio*). And the nominees of the Visitor are :—

2. Prof. A. K. De, Professor of Chemistry, Visva-Bharati.

3. Prof. R. S. Tomar, Professor of Hindi, Visva-Bharati.

4. Prof. Dinkar B. Kaushik, Professor of Painting, Visva-Bharati.

5. Prof. Biswanath Banerji, Professor of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, Visva-Bharati.

6. Dr. S. Gopal, Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University.

7. Justice S. A. Masud, Judge, Calcutta High Court.

(Interruptions)

He is the only one who has been kept because he is a High Court Judge and a very respected person in Bengal.

8. Dr. Barun De, Professor, Indian Institute of Management. To this, one more nomination will be made by the Governor of West Bengal. And my Colleague reminds me that it has already been made, and he is :—

9. Dr. Surajit Sinha, Joint Director, Anthropological Survey of India.

My hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, knows him very well. We shall all

approve of him. He is an outstanding man, internationally known as an occultist.

Now, with regard to the Court, we have

1. The Chancellor (*ex-officio*);

2. The Vice-Chancellor and other members of the Karma-Samiti (*ex-officio*);

3. Treasurer, *ex-officio*.

And the Treasurer is going to be Justice S. A. Masud, so that no allegations can be made of whatsoever nature.

4. Two persons, being Professors of the University, to be nominated by the Visitor. They are :

(i) Prof. Sudhakar Chatterjee, and

(2) Prof. K. Venkata Ramanan.

5. Two persons from among the teachers, other than the Professors, to be nominated by the Visitor. They are :

(a) Dr. Bhudeb Chaudhuri-reader, and

(b) Shri Mohan Lai Bajpai-reader.

Hon. Members will note that we are trying to take in persons from every part of India because that was Guru Dev's idea.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : Will they be able to work together ?

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : We hope so. This is an experiment. We shall be very sorry if this experiment fails.

6. Three representatives of Parliament, of which two to be nominated by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha from among the members thereof and one to be nominated by the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha from among the members thereof.

Of course, we have not got the names here.

7. Ten persons to be nominated by the Visitor from among persons who, in the opinion of the Visitor, are men of standing in public life or have special knowledge or practical experience in education or have rendered eminent services in the cause of education.

We have restricted our nominees to educationists, men of arts, men of culture and people well known in cultural and educational life.

(a) Dr. Satyen Sen, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.

(b) Shri G. Parthasaralhi, Vice-Chancellor, Jawaharlal Nehru University.

(c) Prof. S. Maqbool Ahmed, Aligarh Muslim University.

(d) Prof. Satiah Chandra, Jawaharlal Nehru University.

(e) Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar, Former Vice-Chancellor, Poona University.

(f) Shri Sankho Chaudhury, Sculptor.

(g) Shri Satyajit Ray, Film Producer.

(h) Shri Paritosh Sen, Painter.

(i) Shri Subhash Mukhopadhyaya, Poet.

(i) Mrs. Mrinalini Sarabhai, Dancer. Then,

8. Two members of the Alumni Association to be nominated by the Visitor, and they are :

(a) Smt. Jayashree Sen.

(b) Shri Amitabha Choudhury, well-known, journalist.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Which 'Sen'?

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : She is an ex-student of Visva-Bharati. She is the daughter of Mrs. Chanda, Member of Parliament and the wife of Mr. Samarin Sen, whom you know very well.

[Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray]
Then, the Siksha Samiti
(Academic Council):

- (a) The Upacharya (Vice-Chancellor),
ex-officio ;
- (b) Chatra-Parichalaka (Proctor),
ex-officio ;
- (c) Granthagarika (Librarian), *ex-officio* ;
- (d) Head of the Palli-Samgathan
Vibhaga, *ex-officio* ;
- (e) Fifteen teachers of the University
to be nominated by the Paridarsaka
(Visitor); and
 - (1) Prof. Upendra Kumar Das—
Professor
 - (2) Shri Bimal Kumar Sarkar
—Reader
 - (3) Shri Lalit Kumar Majumdar
—Lecturer
 - (4) Dr. C. R. Luna — Reader
 - (5) Shri B. B. Karmakar—
Lecturer
 - (6) Shri Debidas Ray—Reader
 - (7) Dr. Tarasankar Banerji—
Lecturer
 - (8) Prof. B. G. Ray—Professor
 - (9) Shri Asim Ranjan Sen—
Reader
 - (10) Dr. Dipenkar Chatterjee—
Reader
 - (11) Dr. H. L. Sarkar—Reader
 - (12) Shri Suren De — Lecturer
 - (13) Prof. D. T. Joshi—Professor
 - (14) Dr. V. Lakshinarayan—
Lecturer
 - (15) Dr. S. K. Pain—Reader

They are either Professors, Readers or
Lecturers of the University itself.

- (f) Two persons, not being employees
of the University, to be nominated by

the Paridarsaka (Visitor) for their
specialised knowledge t

(1) Prof. R. C. Mehrotra, Prof. of
Chemistry, University of Rajasthan.

(2) Prof. A. R. Kulkarni, Prof. of
History, University of Poona.

*Artha Samiti (Standing Finance
Committee)*

It is only here that the two persons
nominated are officials because of this
reason that we want money also to come to
Santiniketan or Visva-Bharati.

- (a) The Upacharya (Vice-Chancellor),
ex-officio ;

- (b) Two persons to be nominated by
the Paridarsaka (Visitor):

(1) Shri R. S. Chitkara, Deputy
Educational Adviser, Ministry of
Education & Social Welfare, New
Delhi.

(2) Shri O. P. Mohla, Deputy.
Financial Adviser, Ministry of Fin
ance, Department of Expenditure,
New Delhi.

- (c) One Professor of the University
to be nominated by the Karma-Samiti
(Executive Council) ; and

(d) The Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer),
who shall be the Secretary thereof. That
is Justice Masood of the Calcutta High
Court.

So I have no doubt whatsoever that
hon'ble Members will agree that in selecting
persons to all these Boards, the Government
has given the most anxious consideration to
the fact that people who form the coterie are
not the people who will take political
advantage of any position of authority in
Visva-Bharati. Such people have not been
put in any of these bodies.

An hon'ble Member has asked, and quite
rightly, whether this will work. We

hope and trust that this will work. It has to work because Visva-Bharati is in such a state that it has to work. We are bringing a comprehensive Bill. This is not a permanent measure. We will bring a comprehensive Bill as soon as sanity returns to the campus.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : It is a vicious circle.

SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM (Uttar Pradesh) : May I know, Sir, if it is advisable for the Government to nominate High Court Judges as Treasurer ? Suppose by the mischief of some of the lower staff some defalcation in the accounts is made, then to prosecute a High Court Judge is something absurd. Therefore, I would request the Government to reconsider that a High Court Judge sitting on the Bench may not be appointed in charge of the finances.

श्री सीताराम सिंह (बिहार) : पौइन्ट ऑफ ऑर्डर। माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री ने बताया कि विश्वभारती में राजनीतिक लोग नहीं रहेंगे। तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री राजनीतिक हैं या नहीं ? दूसरी बात यह कि फिर शिक्षा के संबंध में नीति-निर्धारण कहाँ से होगा ? मेरा कहना यह है कि जैसा एक कहावत है कि गुड़ खाओ और गुलगुले से परहेज करो—यह स्थिति है।

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : In so far as the question of formation of committees is concerned, the policy of the Government of India will certainly not be for the purpose of benefiting one section and depriving another section. When I mean politics I mean politics in a different sense, that is to say, politicking in a University, that is to say, trying to gain undue advantage, undue privilege at the expense of education and the people who come to the University. I did not mean politics in any other way.

My hon'ble friend need not be afraid. He is perhaps under this wrong impression that because he happens to be a Member of this Honourable House, he may be regarded as a politician and excluded from everything.

I do not have that kind of politics in mind. I am sure my hon. friend has understood the sort of politics that I had in view when I referred to politicking in the University.

Now, Sir, my hon. friend here raised the question whether it is advisable, to have a judge as the treasurer, of Visva-Bharati. Now it so happens that so far as Mr. Justice Masud is concerned, he has already acted as treasurer for a number of years, and it is nothing new in that sense that we are doing. And secondly, I hope a day will not come in our country when the treasurer of a university will be taken to court on charges of misappropriation. We have had many bad experiences, but I do not think we have yet come to that stage. I have no doubt whatsoever that we shall never come to that stage, particularly because when we have people like Mr. Justice Masud as treasurer, there will be no chance whatsoever of such allegations being made. People who come, from Bengal know the respect he commands...

SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM : I said about the clerks and the smaller people.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : Mr. Nawal Kishore rightly pointed out that the Government should not interfere with the autonomy of any educational institution. With that proposition put broadly, no one can quarrel. It certainly should be one of the main principles on which any educational policy is formulated by any democratic government. But when that Government or the country which that Government administers is faced with an extraordinary situation, an abnormal

[Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray.] situation, abnormal measures have to be taken and one has to see that while sticking resolutely to certain very high principles, one does not really let down the cause of the university. Here it was necessary to take this action for reasons which are well known to this House and to the country and I do not want to repeat them because it would only be boring the House.

Mr. Nawal Kishore made another valid point that the police should not be sent to the universities or educational institutions. I agree. I have repeatedly said that as a matter of principle, the police should not go to universities or educational institutions. Why ? Because the sanctity of the university must be maintained. I remember the resolutions that we had adopted in 1942 in practically every college in Calcutta protesting against police interference. We said that sanctity of the university must not be interfered with. Therefore, the main thing is the sanctity of the university or the educational institution. But unfortunately, nowadays sometimes the police has to go to the university or the educational institution for the purpose of preserving its sanctity. When a person goes into the university and starts throwing bombs at the chemical laboratory or starts pulling down the national flag or starts breaking the statue of Ashutosh Mukherjee or some such thing, something has to be done. If the temple of learning is under attack by hooligans for a particular purpose, it is necessary that the temple of learning has to be cleared of the hooligans. It is unfortunate, but it has sometimes to be resorted to. This is not a peculiar feature for India only. I was reading the other day a number of articles on student violence all over the world. I find that so far as youth are concerned, sometimes for reasons which I can understand and which I am sure every hon. Member can understand, they get infuriated and they start doing things which they should not do. But everywhere it is the police who

ultimately has to intervene. We should try and keep this to the minimum extent possible. Of that I have no doubt whatsoever . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : As less as possible.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : Yes. Now, some objection has been taken as to why this measure came by way of an Ordinance and not a Bill. "This is a valid point. And I have to explain as to why this was done because it is my duty to do so. It became necessary because the situation became so bad that the Vice-Chancellor sent us a report saying that administration can no longer be run, about four or five officials had left, nobody was willing to come, some professors were not willing to address the students, hold classes ; and the situation was so serious that unless something was done immediately, things would not improve. And this House perhaps will be happy to know that as soon as the Ordinance was passed and before it was implemented, the situation changed. Anybody, any honourable Member, may go to Dholpur and find out whether it is not a fact that immediately after the news of the Ordinance came in the press and was announced over the radio, the situation suddenly changed and improved for the better. I am not saying that the situation is absolutely perfect. Far from it. In Bengal also the situation is not perfect. But it has improved. And we have high hopes although we keep our fingers crossed all the time.

Now, with regard to a comprehensive Bill, I have already said that we will have to bring a comprehensive Bill, but it would be with regard to each University. It is not possible, as Mr. Pranab Kumar Mukherjee has suggested, to have a comprehensive Bill with regard to all Universities, a model Bill for all Central Universities. It will not be possible to have it because every Central University has a past, has a heritage . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : ... has a special feature.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY: ... has a special feature, and, therefore, that past, that heritage and these special features has to be taken into account while formulating this comprehensive Bill. Some honourable Members have said this step should have been taken by the Government long ago and why we have been so late. It is true, but can any man take such a step in a hurry ? After I became Education Minister, and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta rightly said that I know nothing about education . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, I never said you know nothing about education. Why do you put this in my mouth ?

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : You said I was a lawyer and . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I never said that. I said when education approaches, law shies away . . .

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : . . . and when law comes, education vanishes. You said that too. Therefore, Sir, he is right, I was not an educationist. I have nothing to do with education. He is absolutely right and I said so immediately after my appointment that I go to this department with an absolutely open mind. Correct. Now after having come to the department with an absolutely open mind, I could not close it with regard to the sanctity of a University and interfere with the affairs of the University and take a measure of this kind straightway as one of the first steps. I have to watch the situation. I have to watch not only the situation in this University but the situation in Birbhum in West Bengal, and the reaction of the people of Bengal. Had this measure been taken earlier than the time when it was taken, I do not think we would have received such support as we have received today. Today honourable Mem-

bers must have noticed that in Bengal there is absolutely no voice of dissent insofar as this measure is concerned. But if this measure had been adopted three months ago, I do not know what the situation would have been. After all, a democratically formed Government must take certain measures which they think absolutely necessary, but at the same time they should also keep in view the public opinion as to how people will take it because we want this measure to succeed. This measure is not being adopted just for the sake of having a measure. This measure has been taken to put Visva-Bharati back on its own old pedestal, to make Visva-Bharati the seat of culture, the seat of learning, that it was even five years ago.

Now, an honourable Member has suggested—I think it was Mr. Nawa! Kishore—that Samsad was merely an advisory body. With regard to this, I am sure, the honourable Member knows that the Radhakrishnan Commission had said that the court should not elect

a Vice-Chancellor. In fact, since 4 p. M. the report of the Radhakrishnan

Commission, no court has elected any Vice-Chancellor in Central University. In so far as the Gajendra-gadkar Commission is concerned, it has also said that an hierarchical structure of authority is not desirable for the university and therefore courts should not be supreme governing authorities; but they should be deliberative bodies.

Shri Man Singh Varma suggested about student representation. I think I have made our position clear on this issue. We are alive to the problem and we are taking appropriate steps for that purpose.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta referred to vested interests and coterie rule. After I have read out the names of the various bodies, I hope that he will not have any fear on that. He also said that professors have no

[Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray] say in the board. He did not know whom we appointed. I have given the names and we have taken numerous lecturers and readers.

Shri Akbar Ali Khan feared that there may be full administrative control of the Government of India. I hope that Shri Khan, reasonable as he is always, will agree with me that having regard to the composition of the various authorities, Government of India will neither have full or indeed any effective control over the various bodies which have been nominated. He wanted an assurance in this regard. I do not think any assurance is really necessary ...

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : When will the democratic set up come back ?

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : He wants to know when this structure will go. I will only tell him : "Please wait and see". The situation is very flexible in that part of the country.

I think I have already replied to the point raised by Shri Goray. One of the points mentioned by Shri Pranab Mukherjee has been answered. He also said that the Registrar is not made a member of the Executive Council. In fact on this we cannot agree with him because no Registrar in a Central University is allowed to be a member of any of the bodies. That is the general rule and there cannot be any departure from this. But under statute 6 (2) (b) the Registrar is the Secretary of the court, Executive Council and the Academic Council. He is, however not a member of these bodies and this is the position that exists in all the universities.

Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan mentioned a very important point and that is about structuring our educational system. That is a matter which is receiving our most urgent consideration. Something obviously has to be done with regard to that.

I have no doubt that it will be done. With these words; I commend this Bill for the consideration of the house.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA BILL, 1971.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before we proceed further, there is a message to be reported by the Secretary.

SECRETARY : Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha :

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Defence of India Bill, 1971, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 4th December, 1971."

Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table.

THE VISVA BHARATI (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1971-contd.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is :

"That the Bill further to amend the Visva-Bharati Act, 1971, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now, we should take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Claim 2 was added to the Bill.