

श्री राजनारायण : (उत्तर प्रदेश) मैडम, कुछ समय और बढ़ा दीजिये ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have spoken enough

## PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

I. ANNUAL REPORT (1967) OF THE COUNCIL OF SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH AND RELATED PAPERS

II ANNUAL REPORT (1968) OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH AND RELATED PAPERS

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND YOUTH SERVICES (PROF V. K. R. V RAO) : Madam, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers :—

(i) Annual Report of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research for the year 1967, together with the Audited Statement of Accounts for the year 1966-67 (in English and Hindi),

(ii) Annual Report of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research for the year 1968, together with the Audited Statement of Accounts for the year 1967-68

(iii) Statement giving reasons for the delay in laying the Reports mentioned at (i) and (ii) above on the Table of the House.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-1773/69 for (i) to (iii)]

ANNUAL REPORT (1967-68) AND ACCOUNTS OF THE INDIA TOURISM DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION LIMITED, NEW DELHI AND RELATED PAPERS

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND YOUTH SERVICES (SHRIMATI JAHANARA JAIPAL SINGH) : Madam, on behalf of Dr. Karan Singh, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956, a copy each of the following papers:—

(i) Third Annual Report and Accounts of the Indian Tourism Development Corporation Limited, New Delhi, for the year 1967-68, together with the Auditors Report on the Accounts.

(ii) Review by Government on the working of the Corporation.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-1774/69 for (i) and (ii)]

ANNUAL REPORT (1966-67) AND ACCOUNTS OF THE SHIPPING DEVELOPMENT FUND COMMITTEE AND AUDIT REPORT THEREON

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, AND IN THE MINISTRY OF SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SARDAR IQBAL SINGH): Madam, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (6) of section 16 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1968, a copy of the Report and Accounts of the Shipping Development Fund Committee for the period ended the 31st March, 1967, together with the Audit Report on the Accounts. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-1886/69]

FINANCIAL ACCOUNTS (1967-68) OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA) : Madam, I beg to lay on the Table, under clause (1) of article 151 of the Constitution, a copy of the Finance Accounts of the Central Government for the year 1967-68.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-1718/69.]

I. RESOLUTION SEEKING DISAPPROVAL OF THE BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY (AMENDMENT) ORDINANCE 1969 (NO. 7 OF 1969)

II THE BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY (AMENDMENT) BILL 1959. —*contd*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now we go on to the next item. Mr Mulka Govinda Reddy.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैडम, तेलगाना के बारे में आपने क्या कहा ?

SHIR MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) : Madam Deputy Chairman, at the outset I must oppose the Ordinance that was issued on 17th July. It looks as though this Government wants to run this country by Ordinances. It is an affront to Parliament. Parliament was scheduled to meet on the 21st July and on the 17th July this Ordinance was

issued by the Government. It is very unfortunate that this Government should take Parliament for granted. Just before Parliament meets they are in the habit of issuing Ordinances and thereby make it a *fait accompli*. We must strongly protest against this. I have gone through the provisions of the Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Bill, 1969. It is a very retrograde step that the Education Minister has taken. As Mr. Rajnarain put it the other day, it would have been better if we had discussed the Banaras Hindu University Inquiry Committee's Report. We had plenty of time. Before this Bill was brought before this House, we could have discussed this Report and Members could have expressed their views and in the light of the discussion if the Minister had brought forward a Bill, it would have been better. Unfortunately, the Minister did not provide an opportunity to Members to express their views on the recommendations of the Banaras Hindu University Inquiry Committee. This Bill gives a go by to university autonomy. It looks as through the present Minister, who was once a Vice-Chancellor, wants to put the clock back. On the other hand, we expected that more radical reforms would be introduced. He knows about education. He was a professor. He was the Vice-Chancellor of a University. We all expected that he would have taken into consideration world trends in university reforms. Students should participate in the activities of the university. Students should participate in prescribing the syllabi for the different courses of study. Students should also have an opportunity for the management of the affairs of the university. Throughout we have been seeing movements taking place. Students in Paris were almost in a position to pull down the De Gaulle Government in May, 1968. Similar movements have taken place in Japan, in the U.S.A. and in many other universities. Students want proper involvement in education. Unfortunately this retrograde Bill has been introduced by the Minister. All the elected bodies have been done away with and only nominated bodies are going to run this University. Instead of giving it the name of Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Bill, 1969, he should have said that a department of the Government of India and the Government of India in the Education Ministry will run the Banaras Hindu University. This is a very un-

fortunate situation. It is true that there was unrest, that there was agitation in the Banaras Hindu University. It may be unprecedented in the history of any university. But this is not peculiar to the Banaras Hindu University. It happened in Aligarh. It is happening in other universities. For the last eight months the university at Hyderabad, the Osmania University, has closed down, may be for a different reason. But the student unrest is there, student agitation is there. Some of the Members have said that the students should not take part in politics. The entire fabric of society is involved. Whether we like it or not, whatever the Government does will have far-reaching effects, and therefore to say that the students should not take part in politics will not be accepted by any section of the student community. The very Government that says that students should not take part in politics encouraged the students to take part in politics. Whatever Government is in power, it always says that students should not take part in politics. But when they are once in opposition, they get the students to take part in politics. It is their birthright as it is the birthright of any other section of the Community to take part in politics, but in agitations they may not. But if it concerns their vital interest, if the university increases its fees, if the university imposes certain conditions, then the students have a right to agitate for a reduction of the fees. If the university does not provide proper hostel accommodation, if the university does not provide proper scholarships for the deserving students, then the students will have to agitate. It is within everybody's knowledge and every body knows that unless and until you agitate, however righteous your cause may be, this wooden Government will never yield and they have yielded whenever there is agitation. Unless there is agitation it is not possible to bring wisdom to this Government. It is not possible to solve what you want to be solved. Therefore, Madam, I plead that this Bill does not indicate any scope for students' involvement and students participation in the affairs of the university.

Madam Deputy Chairman. there are five Central Universities now in this country. Banaras Hindu University, Aligarh University, two universities in Delhi, and Visva-Bharati. These are all situated in places where the Governments concerned themselves give support

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy]

to run more universities. We have been pressing that in order that there is proper integration and in order that no discrimination is meant against the people in the South, at least one or two Central universities should be opened in the South, particularly at Bangalore. But that has not caught the imagination of the Minister. He is feeling shy because he is coming from Mysore and if he advises the Central Government to open a Central university in Bangalore, he may be misunderstood. Madam Deputy Chairman, education is in the State List, and it is the primary responsibility of any State Government worth the name to give university education as well as primary education to its subjects. So, it is the bounden duty of the State concerned to start more universities, but the character of the Central universities that are run by the Central Government, for which enormous funds are provided through the University Grants Commission, should change. I entirely agree with the recommendation made by this Banaras Hindu University Enquiry Committee that post-graduate courses should only be allowed to be taught and professional and technological courses should be allowed to be taught in the Central university. For courses like B.A., B.Sc. and B.Com. it should be the responsibility of the State concerned to start that university.

Madam Deputy Chairman, this temporary measure, as expected, is not going to solve the problem unless this salient recommendation that has been made by the Committee is implemented.

The Minister while moving the Bill said that the Committee had made two sets of recommendations, one short-term and the other long-term. By the short term ones I do not understand how he is going to set right the things that are so bad in the Banaras Hindu University. By merely removing the elected element and by appointing his own henchmen to the different university bodies and by running it as a department of the Government of India I am sure he will not be in a position to improve the condition that are existing in the Banaras Hindu University. More radical measures should have been thought of but not in the way he has done in the reverse direction. Madam Deputy Chairman, we know, for instance, that we all believe

in democratic methods, that we all have faith in parliamentary institutions, and when we accept parliamentary democracy, it means rule of the party which has the majority, which has the confidence of the House. Today because of the Presidential election the Congress Party which has the majority in Parliament is divided, and the Congress President is dismissing the Prime Minister and her trusted colleagues. Similarly the Prime Minister claims the right of the American President to dismiss the party President and his colleagues. Does it mean that just because the Congress Party is today in such a rotten condition and today it is divided and because it cannot govern the country properly according to law the Prime Minister should advise Gen. Manekshaw to take over the powers of the Government and dissolve Parliament?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : Madam, is he discussing the Bill?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : What is he discussing?

श्री राजनारायण : अगर यह हो जायेगा तो यह बिल कहाँ रहेगा ? यह बिल्कुल प्रासंगिक है ।

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Please listen. So, nobody will ever suggest such a method. Nobody would want that Ayub Khan or Yahya Khan should come and dissolve Parliament. If the present Congress Party because of its inherent weakness cannot rule this country, the other parties will take over through democratic methods. Similarly if the present administration in the Banaras Hindu University has failed to discharge its functions properly, to govern the university properly and to create a good atmosphere for the university students there, the method that the Minister has suggested is not the proper method. We should have faith in human beings. We should have faith in human rightness and we should have faith in our own people that if they are elected, they will control the university and manage the affairs, and not because they are nominated by the Government of India. Therefore, Madam Deputy Chairman, I do not approve of the Bill that is now placed before us.

The Committee has made very salient recommendations. In Chapter IV on page 83, they say—

“It is the function of the Central Universities to take effective measures to raise the level and quality of teaching, learning and research, and general upgrading of academic standards.”

If this is adhered to, if this is implemented, in an earnest way, much of the trouble that is there in the Banaras Hindu University would not have been there.

Madam Deputy Chairman, for these Central Universities we are spending crores of rupees. The Central Universities should have an all-India character and they should benefit all students coming from all quarters of India. But because of the situation, because of the location of these universities, they have mostly benefited the students coming from those areas. Therefore, to call them Central Universities and to spend Central Government funds on them is not proper and they should be handed over to the States concerned and they should see that only post-graduate studies should be taught in these Central Universities. And while making admissions, it is found that proper encouragement has not been given to the students coming from other parts of India. In their Report they have stated that some steps should be taken to secure a more equitable distribution of seats at the university in respect of different regions of the country. And they have also stated :

“To attract more students from States other than UP, the University must consider the possibility of providing some scholarships for such students and also travel grants.”

If these salient recommendations are accepted, the universal character of a Central University will be established. Otherwise, it will be a university of Uttar Pradesh.

The other aspect which this Committee has dealt with is student participation. But they have not made any recommendations with regard to this, in what way or in what manner the students should participate in the affairs of the University ; they have asked us to wait till the Committee which has been appointed by the University Grants Commission to go into this question gives its report with regard to student participation in the universities.

Madam Deputy Chairman, the present Bill as it is, though a temporary measure . . .

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated) : It is not temporary, it is permanent.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : I agree with Mr. Kaul . . .

SHRI M. N. KAUL : There is no limit.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : The Inquiry Committee has made it abundantly clear that the term of this measure should not exceed three years. But, unfortunately, the Minister has not put any such clause in this Bill. It may be three years. It may be more. But if some restriction was introduced in this Bill that the life of this measure will not be more than three years, then it would have meant something, that at least within three years another comprehensive Bill incorporating the recommendations of the Committee that was appointed by the UGC with regard to student participation in university life will also be there.

Some of the recommendations of this Committee should be implemented and the Central Government should come forward with a Bill which should be a copy and model to all universities in India.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2.00 P.M.

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

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The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhandari.

SHRI RIZAQ RAM (Haryana) : Madam, I also wanted to speak.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No more.

SHRI RIZAQ RAM : Madam, I have been waiting for three days.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No.

SHRI RIZAQ RAM : I have been waiting to be called.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** On the Congress side I have asked the Whip.

**SHRI RIZAQ RAM :** You have called others. There is no justification to leave me alone.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** There are a number of names. I am not calling any of them.

**SHRI RIZAQ RAM :** You called out certain persons. They were not present. Then why are you not calling me? What is the justification ?

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** There must be some order in this House ; otherwise it cannot run. All right. Mr. Rizaq Ram. Five minutes.

**श्री रिज़कराम :** डिप्टी चयरमैन साहिब, गजेन्द्रगडकर जांच कमेटी की रिपोर्ट के आधार पर जो बिल अब सदन के सामने है उस पर तीसरे रोज़ आज बहस चल रही है। जो सुझाव जांच कमेटी ने दिये उसके आधार पर यह बिल सदन के सामने आया है और गवर्नमेंट का अपना विचार है कि इन संशोधनों से जो कि बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी ऐक्ट में किये जा रहे हैं वहाँ के वातावरण में, विश्वविद्यालय के वातावरण में, काफी सुधार हो जायेगा और जो आन्दोलन, दंगे और फ़साद हो रहे थे, जिनकी बिना पर यह जांच कमेटी मुकर्रर की गई, वह दुबारा दुहराये नहीं जायेंगे। ऐसा अनुमान और विश्वास हमारे मंत्रालय को है मगर मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ, जहाँ मैं इस बिल का समर्थन करता हूँ वहाँ यह महसूस भी करता हूँ कि जो बिल इस वक्त हाऊस के सामने है उससे जो नुक़्स वहाँ के विश्वविद्यालय में है, जो गड़बड़ी वहाँ हुई, जो दंगे हुये, जो फ़साद हुये, उनका पूर्णतया हल निकालना मुश्किल है और मुझे इस बारे में पूरी शंका है।

डिप्टी चयरमैन साहिब, इस बात को हम नज़रअंदाज़ नहीं कर सकते कि बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी में जो दंगे-फ़साद हुये वह कोई एकमात्र उसी विश्वविद्यालय में नहीं थे, बल्कि यू० पी० में ही क्या, दूसरे प्रान्तों में ही क्या, जहाँ जहाँ विश्वविद्यालय और कालेज ह, उन पर हम

नज़र दौड़ाते हैं तो आज अनुशासनहीनता के प्रदर्शन जगह जगह देखते हैं और उसका एक यही कारण नहीं कि किसी विशेष व्यक्ति से नाराज़गी हो कर कोई आन्दोलन चलता हो, यह बात भी नहीं कि एग्ज़ीक्यूटिव कौंसिल या एकेडेमिक कौंसिल से नाराज़गी हो कर ही सब जगह यह आन्दोलन चलता हो और दंगे-फ़साद होते हों, उनके मूल कारण और भी हैं। इस बिल के ज़रिये वहाँ के वाइस-चांसलर को वहाँ से हटा दिया गया, वह चले गये, इस्तीफ़ा दे गये, और उससे मुम्किन है कि वहाँ के वातावरण में कुछ शान्ति पैदा हो क्योंकि जो रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने गजेन्द्रगडकर कमेटी की आई है उससे पता चलता है कि वह वाइस-चांसलर कुछ स्टूडेंट्स के साथ, यूनिवर्स के साथ, टीचर्स के साथ, एक फ़िरके के साथ हिस्सा लेने में बंधे हुये थे, जुटे हुये थे और उससे दूसरे फ़रीक को नाराज़गी थी। तो इनके चले जाने से कुछ सद्भावना पैदा हो सकती है।

इसके अलावा कुछ कमेटीज़ को हटा कर उनकी जगह नामिनेटेड कमेटीज़ को लाने की तज़वीज़ है। मैं समझता हूँ कि चुनी हुई कमेटीज़ के बजाये नामिनेटेड कमेटीज़ आने से वहाँ का वातावरण ठीक हो जाये ऐसी सम्भावना कम है। डिप्टी चयरमैन साहिब, आपका भी तज़ुर्बा है और हमने भी देखा है कि निर्वाचित कमेटी के बजाये नामिनेटेड कमेटीज़ जो गवर्नमेंट मुकर्रर करती है वह हमेशा अच्छी हो ऐसी बात नहीं। यू० पी० में हमने देखा कि कुछ अर्सा हुआ वहाँ के चांसलर ने कमेटीज़ नियुक्त कीं, कानपुर में, इलाहाबाद में नियुक्त कीं और इलाहाबाद के कमिश्नर को यूनिवर्सिटी की कमेटी में नियुक्त किया और इसी तरह कानपुर के डिस्ट्रिक्ट मजिस्ट्रेट को नियुक्त किया। तो मैं यह समझता हूँ कि जहाँ ऐसे नामिनेशंस होते हैं वहाँ भी ऐसे आदमी आ जाते हैं जो कि न तो शिक्षा प्रणाली को समझते हैं और न उस वातावरण में बिल्कुल फिट-इन कर सकते हैं। आप अंदाज़ा लगा सकती हैं कि एक डिवीज़न के डिप्टी कमिश्नर या कमिश्नर को या एक

डिस्ट्रिक्ट मजिस्ट्रेट को शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में कोई वास्ता नहीं है बल्कि वह कानून और अमन को रखने के अधिकारी हैं, यह उनकी जिम्मेवारी है, तो जब ऐसे अफसरान को भी नियुक्त करने वाले अधिकारी नामिनेट करते हैं तब यह बिल्कुल आशंका होती है कि नामिनेशन में गलतियाँ हो सकती हैं। मैं मिनिस्टर महोदय के अपने जजमेंट में पूरा विश्वास रखता हूँ और उनको सुझाव देता हूँ कि नामिनेशन करते वक्त यह ध्यान रखा जाये कि शिक्षा में जो ज्यादा से ज्यादा दिलचस्पी रखने वाले हों, जिनका तजुर्बा हो, जो सहानुभूति के साथ वहाँ के छात्रों के साथ बर्ताव कर सकें, उनकी समस्याओं को समझ सकें, उनको ही नामिनेट करना चाहिये। मैं यह भी कहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक नामिनेशन का ताल्लुक है इसके अलावा हमें यह बात भी नहीं भूलनी चाहिये कि बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी में महज कुछ व्यक्तियों की वजह से या इन समितियों की वजह से सारी खराबी हुई, दगा-फसाद हुआ, लेकिन उसका मूल कारण और है और हम यह महसूस करते हैं कि जो बिल हमारे सामने है उसमें अनेकानेक जो मूल कारण हैं जिनकी वजह से आज विश्वविद्यालयों में, कानेजो में, युवकों और छात्रों में बहुत भारी अशांति और बेचैनी है उनका हल सोचा नहीं गया है, उनकी तरफ जरा सा ध्यान भी, नहीं दिया गया है और उनको नजरअंदाज कर दिया गया है, इस वजह से मुझे ज्यादा शका है कि इस बिल के लागू किये जाने के बावजूद भी जो वातावरण हम विश्वविद्यालय में पैदा करना चाहते हैं उसमें शायद हम सफल नहीं होंगे। जो हमारा उद्देश्य है इस बिल के जरिये से उसको प्राप्त करने में शायद हम कामयाब नहीं हो सके, यह मेरी आशंका है।

आज हम देखते हैं कि विद्यार्थियों की तरफ से बड़ी भारी मांग है और युवक इस बात को महसूस करते हैं कि जो शिक्षा प्रणाली आज देश में प्रचलित है वह उसमें सतुष्ट नहीं है, आज युवक इस बात को महसूस करते हैं कि आज जो शिक्षा उनको दी जा रही है वह उनकी

आज की आवश्यकताओं के अनुसार, उसके अनुष्प नहीं है। हम देखते हैं कि उपाधि दीक्षात के समारोहों के मौके पर स्टूडेंट्स हड़ताल करते हैं, प्रदर्शन करते हैं। कन्वोकेशन के मौके पर डिग्री लेने में, उपाधि लेने में, वह बायकाट करते हैं। आखिर आप अदाजा लगाएँ, जब डिग्रियाँ इतनी मेहनत और खर्च करने के बाद हासिल की गईं, उसको लेने में भी वह उत्साहित नहीं तो उसका मूल कारण क्या है? कोई न कोई निराशा की वजह है, कोई असंतोष उनके दिल में बैठा है जिसको अगर हम दूर नहीं करेंगे तो हम आज सारे देश में जो हलचल है, अशांति और दगा-फसाद यूनिवर्सिटी और कालेजों में है उसको हल नहीं कर पाएँगे। इसलिये आज का छात्र यह अनुभव करता है कि जो भी शिक्षा प्रणाली को चलाने के अधिकारी हैं वे उनकी समस्याओं को समझे वगैर ऐसा सिलेक्स उनके सामन लाते हैं, ऐसी शिक्षा उनको दे रहे हैं, जिसमें उनकी आवश्यकताएँ पूरी नहीं होतीं जिसमें, अपना कोर्स पास करने के बाद उनको परेशानी और बेचैनी का सामना करना पड़ता है। इसलिये आज छात्रों की और युवकों की यह मांग है कि जो भी अधिकारी हों, शिक्षा प्रणाली को निश्चित करने वाले, उसको चलाने वाले, उसमें उनका भी हिस्सा हो, जैसे 2 वर्ष पहले एजुकेशन कमीशन की रिपोर्ट आई, उसने इस बात की सिफारिश की कि विश्वविद्यालयों के प्रबन्ध में छात्रों का, युवकों का भी, हिस्सा हो मगर 2 साल इस बात को हुए गुजर गये आज तक हम फैसला नहीं कर पाये, इस बिल में भी उसकी तरफ हमने ध्यान नहीं दिया। वाइस-चान्सलर्स की इसी साल कान्फरेस हुई 2 साल बाद वह कान्फरेन्स होने चली थी, मगर उस कान्फरेन्स में भी वाइस-चान्सलर साहबान इस बारे में कोई फैसला नहीं कर सके, उनकी राय मुस्तलिफ हुई, कुछ वाइस-चान्सलर्स ने ऐसे विचार प्रकट किये कि स्टूडेंट्स को अगर ऐसे प्रबन्ध में हिस्सा दिया जायेगा तो जो नान-करिकुलर इयटीज हैं, जैसे स्पोर्ट के बारे में या यूनियन के बारे में, उनमें अधिकार दे दिया जाये, उनमें उनको कुछ हिस्सा लेने की

[श्री रिजकराम]

इजाजत दे दी जाये। मगर यूनिवर्सिटी के इतजाम में, वया सिलेबस हो, किस तरह से अनुशासन हो, इसके बारे में उनको कोई अधिकार न हो, मैं समझता हूँ ऐसी बातें उन्होंने की। लेकिन असलियत यह है कि वास्तव में आज तक हमारे ग्राइस-चान्सलर्स, एजुकेशन मंत्रालय और दूसरे अधिकारी जो शिक्षा के इन्चार्ज हैं देश में, वह इस बारे में कोई फैसला नहीं कर सके। अभी हाल में एक कान्फरेन्स बुलाई जिसमें छात्रों के लीडर्स को भी शामिल किया, उनकी कान्फरेन्स बुलाई उन्होंने भी कुछ सुझाव दिया, लेकिन उन पर भी कुछ गौर नहीं किया गया इसलिए मैं मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस तरफ ध्यान दें। इस बात को हम बहुत अर्से तक स्थगित नहीं कर सकते। हम अदाजा लगाये कि जो मूल कारण है अनेकानेक, जिनकी वजह से आज हमारे छात्र और युवक बेचैन हैं, उन कारणों को हमने मिटाने की कोशिश नहीं की और फिर से लीपापोती करके की, सरकार ने कोशिश की (*Time bell rings.*) इसलिये जो वातावरण हम विश्वविद्यालयों में पैदा करना चाहते हैं वह वातावरण पैदा नहीं हो सका।

एक बात और कह कर मैडम डिप्टी चैयरमैन, मैं खत्म करना चाहता हूँ। रिपोर्ट में भी इस बात के संकेत आये हैं कि छात्रों के ऊपर विश्वविद्यालय में कुछ राजनैतिक दलों का असर है। आज इस बात से हम इंकार नहीं कर सकते कि अगर हम सारी पृष्ठभूमि को देखें, तो देश में आजादी की लड़ाई में हमने खुद हिस्सा लिया और विद्यार्थियों को भी उसमें शामिल किया। महात्मा गांधी और दूसरे नेताओं ने उनको निमन्त्रण दिया, उनको इस बात की अपील की कि छात्र भी कालेज और स्कूल बंद करके देश की आजादी की लड़ाई में हिस्सा लें। उन्होंने हिस्सा भी लिया। आज हम देखते हैं कि बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी में वहाँ के इलेक्शन में दो यूनियन्स हैं। एक यूनियन सी० पी० आई० और एस० एस० पी० के असर

में, दूसरा जनसंघ या आर० एस० एस० के असर में। उनका आपस में राजनैतिक दलों की विचार-धारा के आधार पर प्रचार शुरू हुआ। यह कुछ अच्छी बात नहीं है। इस हद तक राजनीति का असर वहाँ चला जाये अच्छी बात नहीं है और भी दूसरे बातें हैं, जैसे आर० एस० एस० की शाखाएँ लगती हैं, अंग्रेजी के खिलाफ आंदोलन हुआ जिसमें वहाँ की राजनैतिक पार्टियाँ ने स्टूडेंट्स का आसरा लिया, उनको इस बात के लिये उकसाया कि वह उन आंदोलनों में हिस्सा लें। एक बात और नहीं भूलनी चाहिये चाहें हम इसको अच्छा समझें या बुरा समझें, युवकों या छात्रों से हम यह समझें कि वह बिल्कुल राजनैतिक असर के प्रभाव से वंचित हो जायें, यह आज की दुनिया में मुम्किन नहीं। अगर इसको आधार बना कर हम कोई बिल या कोई तजवीज या कोई प्रस्ताव लाते हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ उसमें ज्यादा बुनियाद नहीं है चूँकि हम देखते हैं, आज का युवक देखता है कि देश में हर एक कदम में विषमता, असंतुलन, इत्यादि चीजों का सामना करना पड़ता है। एक लड़का कितना ही परिश्रम करता है, लेकिन उसी का साथी अगर वह पहुँच वाला है, वह कुछ का कुछ पा जाता है और वह अपने जायज अधिकार में भी महसूस रह जाता है। आखिर उसके दिल में भी ठेस लगती है और वह अपने लिये इन्साफ हासिल करने के लिये किसी राजनैतिक नेता के सहारे आता है, राजनैतिक पार्टी का सहारा लेता है। (*Time bell rings.*) मैं खत्म कर रहा हूँ। आज की समाज की जो व्यवस्था है, जो परिस्थिति है उसमें हम देखते हैं जातिवाद है, भाईभतीजावाद है, रिश्तेदारों के लिये कितने ही फेवर्स लोग करते कराते हैं और वह युवक यूनिवर्सिटी में ओर घर की हालात में और अपने इलाके की परिस्थिति में देखते हैं कि आज मिफारिशों और पहुँच की वजह से उसके आदमियों को न्याय नहीं मिलता इसलिये वह राजनीति से बिल्कुल दूर रह जायेंगे यह संभव नहीं है। इन सारे हालात में जो हमारे विद्यार्थी गुजर रहे हैं उस पर हमें विचार करना चाहिये।

मुझे विश्वास है कि मंत्री महोदय दिल से चाहते हैं कि यूनिवर्सिटी एजुकेशन में ही नहीं, बल्कि सारी शिक्षा प्रणाली में सुधार हो, इसके बारे में वह ज्यादा से ज्यादा उत्सुक है। तो वह कदम उठाये जाये कि जो मूल कारण है जो युवकों में अशांति और अस्तोष है उनकी तरफ हम पूरा ध्यान देकर एक काम्प्रिहेंसिव वे से इसको डील नहीं करेंगे तो में यह समझता हूँ कि यह मेजर काफी नहीं होगा जिससे हम विश्वविद्यालय में या दूसरी जगहों में शांति स्थापित कर सकें।

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** Mr. Mitra Ten minutes only.

**SHRI P C MITRA (Bihar)** Madam Deputy Chairman, I am very sorry that the state of affairs in the Banaras Hindu University has rotted so much that within two or three years we have had to come before the House to amend the Act. Actually if we go through the Report of the Inquiry Committee, we will find that even during the regime of Dr Triguna Sen, he took certain steps to get the support of the students and this action has not been supported by the Committee. I would like to draw your attention to page 27 of the Report in which the Committee has clearly, in so many words, criticised the action of Dr Triguna Sen in allowing the admission of Mr Mazumdar who had already failed three times in the examination and who had been debarred from re-admission. Dr Sen in order to get the support of that turbulent section of students, in spite of the protest from the Principal and other persons in the college, ordered the admission of that student. At the end of page 27, paragraph 3.42 it is stated:—

“These facts indicate that Dr Sen virtually asked the heads of the departments concerned to re-admit Mr Mazumdar first to the third year Mining and then to extend the benefit given to the wards of the employees of the University by granting his request to be transferred to third year Metallurgy. We cannot help feeling that a departure from the rules, however well-intentioned, is likely to sow the seeds of dissatisfaction in the minds not only of the students but also of the teachers.”

In this way the whole atmosphere of the University is vitiated by the attempts of the Vice-Chancellors to get support of

certain sections of the students, even going beyond the scope of the rules, giving the students admission to certain classes and again transferring them from Mining to Metallurgy and so on and so forth. Then I will quote another thing regarding Mr Pandey.

“When this decision was communicated to the Registry, the Deputy Registrar (Academic) made a note in which he suggested that Mr Pandey's case may be treated as the case of a repeater or a student who has been detained and his case should be considered in the light of the rules prevailing in 1965-66.”

It appears that the Deputy Registrar was a very powerful man and in spite of the objections of the institution, the Deputy Registrar repeatedly sent notes to the Vice-Chancellor so that this admission could also be made and ultimately Dr Triguna Sen conceded this unjust demand also. Later on Dr Joshi came and he also leaned towards Mr Mazumdar who is openly known as a worker of the S S P and also towards Mr Ravi Shankar Singh of the C P (I). But later on when he found that Mr Mazumdar and Mr Singh are exploiting the situation due to their strength, he decided to lean towards another student. Though it is not clearly stated that this student is an R S S man, it appears that he is not an active member of the R S S, but he has full faith in the R S S. As a result of this the balance of power was tilting one way or the other. Dr Triguna Sen who is a very good person, was ultimately forced to take this course and in the same way Dr Joshi also leaned towards another Mr Singh who was an R S S man. This indicates that whoever is placed in that position, the situation in the Banaras Hindu University is such that he has somehow or the other to pull on either with this turbulent element or with that. Madam, this state of affairs is really very deplorable and we have to find out the root cause. The root cause is not only in the admission of students, but also in the appointment of teachers and professors where partiality and nepotism are at work. And this causes heartburning among the students and thus all sorts of troubles arise.

Madam, I am afraid the nomination of this body also will not in any way remove the present evils. In the nomination also, I do not think an educationist will be very successful in that position.



[Shri P.C. Mitra]

I suggest that a judicial person should be appointed as the Vice-Chancellor. The Government also should be very vigilant to see that the rules that are framed are implemented and observed properly and that no exception is made at any time. It is only this sort of making exceptions which gives rise to the troubles.

Mr Rajnarain has tried to point out that all these troubles are due to the R S S. But on the other hand I find from this report that whatever may be the reasons for these troubles, the contribution of his partymen has been great in creating these troubles and he himself took part in these troubles and that is evident from this report. Even the Prime Minister should not be allowed to inaugurate any functions here.

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्री सम्पूर्णानन्द जी एक एज्यूकेशनलिस्ट थे और उन्होंने कहा था कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर को जिन लोगों ने साइस कांग्रेस में जाने की सलाह दी थी वह गलत दी थी। प्राइम मिनिस्टर को वहाँ नहीं जाना चाहिये था।

**SHRI P. C. MITRA :** Whatever it may be. We are, of course, dead against the R S S and the Jan Sangh as political parties. But the bosses who condemn them should themselves show it by their actions and their behaviour. Even in this report ultimately they have justified the expulsion of Mr Mazumdar and Mr Singh. Therefore, I would like Rajnarainji not to find fault with others. He should do some heart-searching himself. He is a resident of Banaras and he is very much interested in the good name of the Banaras Hindu University. He should also try to see that the students there take education more seriously and in a better way and not indulge in violence and arson.

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान) :** महोदया, दो दिन से इस विषय पर विवाद हो रहा है। मैं उन सभी सदस्यों का आभारी हूँ जिन्होंने मेरे इस सकल्प पर जिसमें मैंने इस अध्यादेश के निरन्तरोदन करने का प्रस्ताव किया है, अपने विचार रखे।

महोदया, आपको स्मरण होगा कि जब यह कमेटी बनने की बात चली थी उस समय

मेरे मित्र श्री राजनारायण जी ने और दूसरे सदस्यों ने इस विश्वविद्यालय की चर्चा करत हुए दो बातों पर मुख्य तौर से जोर दिया था। उन में सारा केन्द्रीयकरण वहाँ के वाइस-चान्सलर, डा० जोशी पर था। उन्होंने वहाँ पर काम करने के लिये सघियों की मदद ली, सघ वालों की मदद ली और इस कारण से डा० जोशी भी सघी है, इसी एक सवाल को ले कर यहाँ पर बड़ा हल्ला-गुल्ला मचा था और उसी में से एक जाच कमेटी बनने की बात आई। जाच कमेटी बनने की बात जब डा० त्रिगुण सेन ने कही तो मैंने उनके सामने इसीलिये यह सवाल पूछा था कि बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी की समस्याओं पर विचार करने के लिये आप कमेटी बैठा रहे हैं या डा० जोशी के ऊपर कमेटी बैठा रहे हैं, यह साफ बता दीजिये। उस पर उन्होंने कहा कि नहीं, डा० जोशी के ऊपर कमेटी नहीं बैठा रहे हैं। मैंने बिल लाते समय भी यहाँ पर यह आपत्ति की थी। बाद में भी श्री गजेन्द्र-गडकर और डा० सेन के बीच में पत्र-व्यवहार हुआ और डा० सेन ने जवाब में यह कहा था कि :

"It was in this context that I stated that the Committee was not sitting in judgment over the activities of the Vice-Chancellor. I first read out in reply to the question the terms of reference of the Enquiry Committee. It is unfortunate that any impression should have been created by my answer that the conduct of the Vice-Chancellor would be irrelevant even though it may be related to the subject matter of the enquiry."

तो जो एम्फेसिस है वह सब्जेक्ट मैटर आफ इक्वायरी है और डा० जोशी का काडक्ट अगर उसमें रेलीवेट बनता है तो डा० जोशी के काडक्ट पर भी विचार किया जायेगा। यह इतनी मोटी पुस्तक रिपोर्ट की हमारे सामने है। मैं समझता हूँ कि शायद ही इसमें ऐसा कोई पृष्ठ छूटा हो कि जिसमें वाइस-चान्सलर के नाते डा० जोशी का काडक्ट अछूता रह गया हो, हालांकि स्वयं इस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट के पृष्ठ 12 पर यह लिखा है :

"In our opinion section 5(3) deals with cases of appointment of enquiry

committee by the Visitor when normally the University administration as such would not be assailed and the task of the Committee would be to finding out solutions for problems entrusted to it by its terms of reference”

उन्होंने खुद ने इस कानून की व्याख्या करते समय यह बात इसमें कही है और इसीलिये यह लिखा है :

“But whereas in the present case it appears that for the recent unrest the real causes which are the subject-matter of the present enquiry a large number of witnesses make allegations, against the University Administration the position is altered and compliance with the provisions of section 5(3) of the Act does give rise to a legitimate grievance such as was made before us by some witnesses during the course of our enquiry”

मेरा शुरु से यह निवेदन था कि इस बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी ऐक्ट के अनुसार बैठाई गई कमेटी, जिसका स्पष्टीकरण मैंने साफ तौर पर मांगा, डा० जोशी के लिये नहीं थी। डा० जोशी के लिये बैठती, कह कर बैठती, तो फिर मैं समझता हूँ कि उसमें से यह चीजें नहीं होती जो कि इस रिपोर्ट में स्वयं कही गई हैं। पृष्ठ 6 पर पैरा 2.5 में :

“Preparation of the summaries however took some time and we were unable to supply them to the Vice-Chancellor before our enquiry actually began in Varanasi”

अर्थात् यह कमेटी की रिपोर्ट सारी डा० जोशी के ऊपर आई है, परन्तु डा० जोशी को उसकी समीक्षा भी प्राप्त नहीं हुई जो उनके बारे में कहा गया। अल्टीमेटली डा० जोशी अपियर हुये उस कमेटी के सामने। फिर उस कमेटी ने उनसे यह कहा है कि हमने इस बात की उनको इजाजत दी कि जो कुछ भी वे अपनी तरफ से कमेटी के सामने रखना चाहते हैं वह रखें। इसमें हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं थी, लेकिन डा० जोशी को पता नहीं था कि कमेटी के सामने उनके खिलाफ क्या आया है। उन चार्जें

के बारे में जो कमेटी के सामने थे डा० जोशी को अपनी सफाई देने का पूरा मौका नहीं मिला। अगर कमीशन आफ इक्वायरी होता तो मैं समझता हूँ मंत्री महोदय भी अनुभव करते हैं कि कमीशन आफ इक्वायरी का जो प्रोसीजर है उसमें जिनके ऊपर आरोप है उनको अपना बचाव करने की गुंजाइश मिलती है। इस सारे के बावजूद इस कमेटी ने एक और बात अपनी सफाई में कही है। पृष्ठ 13 पर उन्होंने यह कहा है

“In this part of our enquiry we are really not concerned to finding out who the offender is because our concern is to find out the causes of unrest”.

फिर इसके आगे यह कहा है

“It is in the light of this approach that we have made out findings in regard to the incidents which in our opinion, contributed to the recent unrest without recording definite positive, affirmative conclusions in regard to the identity of the persons or parties who might be concerned with them”

परन्तु जहां तक डा० जोशी का सवाल है डा० जोशी के बारे में इन्होंने साफ तौर पर मंडेट दे दिया है कि डा० जोशी ने लोगो का काफिडेंस खो दिया है। पेज 81, पैरा 3 221 पर उन्होंने यह कहा है

“On that view we are clearly of the opinion that his continuance as Vice-Chancellor will not be in the interest of the University and would not help to introduce normalcy on the University campus without which university life in the ordinary sense would not be possible”

मैंने ये उद्धरण अपनी तरफ से बिना कुछ जोड़ते हुये आपके सपक्ष रखे हैं। शुरु से मेरी यह शिकायत रही है कि इसमें जांच करने का अधिकार गवर्नमेंट को होते हुये भी गवर्नमेंट ने ईमानदारी से इसमें आगे बढ़ने की कोशिश नहीं की। इसमें एक फतवा दे दिया गया है इतना क्लियरली कि जिसके बारे में मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर डा० जोशी को यह भ्रज हो कि उनके प्रति गैरइसाफी हुई है, तो उसमें कोई गलत बात नहीं होगी।

[श्री सुंदर सिंह भंडारी]

मैं यहाँ पर डा० जोशी के पक्ष में नहीं बोल रहा हूँ। लेकिन इस तरह से अगर हिन्दुस्तान के किसी नागरिक या किसी यूनिवर्सिटी के वाइस-चांसलर को कठघरे में खड़ा कर दिया जाये और उसके खिलाफ जो कहा जा रहा है उसकी सफाई देने की गुंजाइश दिये बिना उसके लिये अगर कोई फतवा दे दिया जाये तो हिन्दुस्तान के किसी भी इज्जतवाले नागरिक के लिये कभी भी ऐसी जिम्मेदारी को निभाना संभव नहीं होगा।

दूसरा आरोप डा० जोशी पर यह था कि वे सच्ची हो गये, वे आर० एस० एस० के आदमी हैं और आर० एस० एस० इज्म उन्होंने बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी में फैला दो और उसी ने सारी बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी की हवा को बरबाद किया है, वही एक मुख्य कारण रहा जिसकी वजह से डा० जोशी वहाँ की सारी व्यवस्था को नहीं संभाल पाये। इस रिपोर्ट में बहुत कम बातें साफ कही हुई हैं। परन्तु एक बात इस सम्बन्ध में भी साफ कही गई है। पृष्ठ 76 पर पैरा 3.195 में यह कहा गया है

"Let us then begin by stating clearly that the allegation made against the Vice-Chancellor that he belongs to the RSS Group is not established by any evidence before us"

यह इसी में लिखा है।

**श्री महाबीर प्रसाद शुक्ल (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** लेकिन आप एविडेन्स इस्टेब्लिश कर रहे हैं कि इस हाऊस में आप अकेले जनसंघ ही बी०सी० को सपोर्ट कर रहे हैं।

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** वह मैं जानता हूँ कि आपकी क्या मशा है। मेरा यहाँ रहना भी बहुतों को अखरता है। माफ करियेगा अगर मैं यह कहूँ कि खुदा गजे को नाखून नहीं देता है। मैं आर० एस० एस० का व्यक्ति हूँ, मैं हिन्दू भी हूँ और दोनों पर मुझे शर्म नहीं है। जिसको शर्म आए वह अपनी शर्म नकाब के पीछे ढकने की कोशिश करता फिरे। मैं संघ में विश्वास करता हूँ, मैं संघ का स्वयंसेवक हूँ और आज

मैं जो कुछ हूँ—मेरे सम्बन्ध में जो भी व्यक्तिगत धारणाएँ बना रखी हों—आर० एस० एस० या जनसंघ को माइनस करके मैं जोरों हूँ, मेरी कोई वकअत नहीं। जो इन्सान अपने पर पड़े हुए संस्कारों और विचारों के प्रति इतनी भी मान्यता प्रगट करने के लिए तैयार नहीं, हिम्मत के साथ बोलने के लिए तैयार नहीं उसको मनुष्य गिनना कैसे चाहिए ?

दूसरे जो आरोप लगाए गए हैं उनमें आर० एस० एस० के बारे में कहते समय दो बातें कही गईं कि वहाँ आर० एस० एस० इज्म भी है और सिंहइज्म भी है। सिंहइज्म की शुरुआत हुई श्री दामोदर सिंह के चुनाव में खड़े होने से। अब इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि दामोदर सिंह को चुनाव में खड़ा होना यूनिवर्सिटी के अध्याप में एक नई चीज़ थी। पिछले कई वर्षों से विद्यार्थियों का जो समूह लगभग एकाधिकार प्राप्त करता रहा है यूनिवर्सिटी के सारे वातावरण में उसके सामने एक सामूहिक चुनौती थी। अब दामोदर सिंह राजपूत हैं। महज दामोदर सिंह राजपूत हैं इस बात से वहाँ पर दो घड़े बन गए। मुझे माफ करेगी मैडम, यह उसी तरह की बात हुई जैसे आज सजीव रेड्डी और श्री गिरि के बीच चुनाव खड़ा हो गया और महज इस वजह से कि सजीव रेड्डी के पक्ष में हमने सेकंड प्रिफरेंस का वोट देने की घोषणा की, तृफान खड़ा करने के लिए कहा गया कि जनसंघ वालों ने रेड्डी के पक्ष में दूसरे प्रिफरेंस का निर्णय बयों कर डाला और इसीलिए रेड्डी जनसंघ सपोर्टेड और स्वतंत्र सपोर्टेड कैंडिडेट हो गए। जिनको अपनी संस्था के एक लात मारन की ताक थी, जैसे बिल्ली के भाग से छीका टूट गया आज उसी का नाम लेकर सारे देश में तूमार फैलाने की कोशिश की है।

दामोदर सिंह वहाँ पर हैं इसलिए क्षत्रियइज्म या राजपूतइज्म इसमें लाया गया। श्री पांडे जी ने श्री राजदेव सिंह के पैम्फलेट का उल्लेख किया। श्री राजदेव सिंह लोक सभा के सदस्य

हैं, बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी के पुराने विद्यार्थी हैं ।  
(*Interruption.*) मैं आपके दर्द को बखूबी समझता हूँ । उसमें उन्होंने कुछ आंकड़े बताए हैं और कास्ट-वाइज़ चार्ट दिया है । मैं चाहूंगा कि अगर यह गलत है तो इसको रिजेक्ट कर दिया जाये । हालांकि यह कंट्रोवर्सी अच्छी नहीं, परन्तु, महोदया, मुझे खेद है कि इस तरह की बातों को जब इस प्रकार के तर्क देकर लोग पुष्ट करने की कोशिश करते हैं तो उसका जवाब इसके अतिरिक्त दूसरा नहीं हो सकता । वहां प्रोफेसर, रीडर्स मिला कर 364 हैं, इनमें कायस्थ 105 हैं, इनमें राजपूत 39 हैं । मैं नहीं जानता 39 ठाकुर होने पर उनके कारण सिंहइज्म चल रहा था या महज इस वजह से कि दामोदर सिंह चुनाव में खड़े हो गए इस वजह से सिंहइज्म चल गया या कोई भी आदमी विरोध में कहीं पर खड़ा हो गया और वह आदमी जिस जाति को बिलांग करता है . . .

**श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** एक निवेदन है । क्या ये वही दामोदर सिंह हैं जो श्री चन्द्र शेखर सिंह, जो संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के उम्मीदवार थे उनके एजेंट थे, जिन पर मुकद्दमा चल रहा है ।

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** उनके नाते-रिश्तेदारों को आप जानते होंगे । मैंने रिपोर्ट में दामोदर सिंह का नाम पढ़ा है ।

**श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे :** आपने कहा है ।

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** मैं उन्हें शकल से भी नहीं जानता ।

**श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे :** तो आप जान लीजिए, वे एजेंट थे, वह सिंह हैं और वे भी सिंह हैं ।

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** मैं भी सिंह हूँ, मेरा नाम है सुन्दर सिंह, मैं ठाकुर नहीं, इसलिए 'सिंह' से ही मैं किसी को ठाकुर मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ ।

**श्री अकबर अली खान :** ठाकुर होना कोई गुनाह है ?

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** इनकी दृष्टि में गुनाह है, मेरी दृष्टि में गुनाह नहीं, मैं हिन्दू होने में भी गुनाह नहीं मानता । पर जिसको ठाकुर होने में गुनाह नहीं है, वह हिन्दू होने में गुनाह मानता है । इस तरह से कोई भी व्यक्ति चुनाव में खड़ा हो जायेगा, वह जिस जाति का होगा, जिस विरादरी का होगा उसी के नाम पर अगर हम कोई वाद खड़ा करना चाहते हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हम हिन्दुस्तान में कभी भी किसी समस्या को किसी कसौटी पर हल करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हो सकेंगे ।

*Interruptions.*

कल मेरे मित्र डा० भाई महावीर ने कई नामों का उल्लेख किया जिनका वहां की यूनिवर्सिटी की राजनीति में प्रमुख हाथ दिखाई देता है । डा० गोपाल त्रिपाठी का नाम उन्होंने लिया, शायद वे ब्राह्मण हैं, मैं नहीं कह सकता कि वे अपने आपको मानते हैं या नहीं, श्री के० एन० लाल वहां हैं, शायद वे कायस्थ हैं और श्री ज्योति भूषण गुप्ता हैं, शायद वे वैश्य हैं ।  
(*Interruption*) इन्हीं लोगों का प्रभाव वहां ज्यादा दिखाई देता है । तो दामोदर सिंह चुनाव में खड़े हो गए, उसी के कारण अगर सिंहइज्म लागू हो गया तो फिर बाफी जातियों के जो अध्यापक वहां लगे हैं उनसे क्या शुरू हो जायेगा ? यह चीज़ हमको कहा ले जायेगी । हम किस तरह से इस समस्या का हल करेंगे ? मैं यही कहता हूँ कि मजूमदार और उनके साथियों का विरोध हुआ है और विरोध हुआ तो कुछ लोग इधर हुए और कुछ लोग उधर । इसी में से आर०एस०एस० इज्म और सिंहइज्म निकालने की कोशिश की गई । मुझे दुःख है कि गजेन्द्रगड़कर जैसे न्यायपीठ पर बैठे हुए व्यक्तियों ने इस तरह के तर्कों को मान्यता दी है ।

दूसरे जो आरोप लगे, जिनका हमारे मित्र श्री चन्द्र शेखर जी ने भी उल्लेख किया, उनमें यह भी था कि जिस वाइस-चांसलर ने विद्यार्थियों को बांटा, अध्यापकों को बांटा, वह आखिर किस तरह से यूनिवर्सिटी का

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

काम चला सकता है। अनफार्चूनेटली विद्यार्थियों में दो घड़े बन गए, स्वयं इस रिपोर्ट में पृष्ठ 57 पर 3.132 में यह कहा है :

“One group of students, it may be, was known on bringing about the closure of the University and with that aim they were indulging in acts of violence in order to provoke the police to take a certain action, which might have led to the closure of the University. The other group of students, on the other hand, wanted the University to continue and intended, to offer resistance to the commission of acts of violence”.

इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि दो ग्रुप हैं। अगर हम इसी तरह आगे के लिए इस तरह के दोनों घड़ों को नहीं मानना चाहते हैं तो पहले हम फैसला कर लें कि क्या हम एक्ट्स आफ वायलेंस में इंडलज करने वाले और किसी भी तरह से ऐसी परिस्थिति पैदा करने वाले तत्वों को सहन करेंगे क्योंकि हमको मालूम है कि वहां की लेबोरेटरी में, वहां की लाइब्रेरी में, वहां की और जगहों पर आग लगा कर वहां विभिन्न प्रकार की स्थितियां पैदा की गई कि किसी तरह से पुलिस को आना पड़े। पुलिस आती है यूनिवर्सिटी में तो वह किसी को पसन्द नहीं, पुलिस न आवे क्योंकि यूनिवर्सिटी में पुलिस को नहीं आना चाहिए। फिर विद्यार्थी अगर ऐसे तत्वों को जो यूनिवर्सिटी को बन्द करने का फैसला करके काम कर रहे हों उनके खिलाफ खड़े हों तो दो घड़े तो बन गए। मैं केवल शिक्षा मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या यह केवल बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी का ही मामला है? ये दो घड़े आगे भी बन सकते हैं। ऐसे कुछ लोग इरादतन हुलियननिज्म के आधार पर, आग लगा कर इस प्रकार की परिस्थिति पैदा कर सकते हैं और डिटरमिंड एफर्ट से यूनिवर्सिटी को बंद कराने का काम कर सकते हैं और दूसरे विद्यार्थी यूनिवर्सिटी बंद न हो इसके लिए कोशिश करना चाहेंगे। इस हालत में एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव स्टाफ को वाइस-चांसलर को और प्रोफेसर्स को क्या करना चाहिए, किस प्रकार का रोल उनको प्ले करना

चाहिए वह निष्क्रिय बैठे रहें हाथ पर हाथ रख कर बैठे रहें या यूनिवर्सिटी खुली रहे इस के लिए कोशिश करें या न करें, लेकिन जो कुछ उन्होंने किया उससे यह अंदाजा लगाना कि उन्होंने दो घड़ों में उस को बांटा और इस कारण से वह किसी प्रकार वहां काम करने में समर्थ नहीं हैं, यह नतीजा निकालना मैं समझता हूं कि उचित न होगा।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have taken over twenty minutes.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : मैडम, मैं रिप्लाय कर रहा हूं। इसमें जो उन्होंने नतीजा निकाला पेज 81 पर, 3.222 में वह इस प्रकार है :

“The result is that the student community is divided, the teacher community is divided and even the Class IV employees are divided because two Unions of the Class IV employees are now in existence on the University campus.”

अब इन सारी बातों पर आप गंभीरता से विचार करें, मेरा केवल यही कहना है।

जहां तक डिसिप्लिन मेंटेन करने का सवाल है, मुदालियर कमेटी ने भी इस संबंध में एक रेकमेंडेशन की है जो इसके पेज 52 पर पैरा 59 में दी गई है। वह इस प्रकार है :

“We do not feel that it is necessary to invest the Vice-Chancellor with more powers than he has. There is one direction, however, where the Vice-Chancellor's power should not be curtailed and that is in the matter of discipline of the students”.

Just a reminder of this remark made by the Mudaliar Committee, if it can help you. इसीलिए मेरा यह कहना है कि वहां पर दूसरे जो सारे झगड़े हुए या जो परिस्थितियां बनीं और जिस पर श्री राजनारायण जी ने और श्री चन्द्रशेखर जी ने मांग की स्पेसिफिक रूप से कि यह जो कानून बन रहा है आडिनेन्स जारी करने के बाद, इसके बाद एज्यूकेशन मिनिस्टर को दूसरा कदम उठाना चाहिए। क्योंकि पहले कदम में तो उनको सफलता मिल गई। बेचारे जोशी साहब तो इस्तीफा दे कर वहां से चले गये, अब दूसरी सफलता उनको यह चाहिए

कि जिन विद्यार्थियों को वहां से निकाला गया था उनके लिए अपील की जा रही है कि उन को फिर से भर्ती कर लिया जाये। मैं समझता हूं कि अगर वे विद्यार्थी वहां पर फिर भर्ती हो गये तो राजनारायण जी द्वारा उठाये गये दोनों मुद्दों में उनको शत-प्रति-शत सफलता मिल जायेगी। इसके लिए मैं उनको धन्यवाद दूंगा। न केवल उनको बल्कि इस सरकार को और श्री गजेन्द्रगडकर सहब को भी कि जिस मतलब के लिए वह कमेटी बैठायी गई थी उसको उन्होंने बिल्कुल पूरा किया है। लेकिन इसका विचार करते समय आप देखें कि उन्हीं के रेफरेंसेज में एक रेफरेंस श्री मजूमदार के एडमिशन के बारे में कर दिया गया है और मुझे दुख है कि डा० सेन का नाम उसमें शामिल हुआ है। डा० सेन को भी इन सब बातों पर विचार करना चाहिए कि उन्होंने जो बातें वहां की थीं उनके बारे में क्या हुआ। मैं केवल यह कोट कर देना चाहता हूं जो कि पेज 31 के पैरा 3 के सब-पैरा 51 में दिया गया है :

“In conclusion, we would like to state that whatever may be said about the other admissions ordered by Dr. Sen on which the University's statement relies, Mr. Mazumdar's admission, and particularly his transfer from Mining to Metallurgy course which also Dr. Sen directed, was, in our opinion, not justified”.

यह इसने ड्रा किया है। अब इसके बावजूद भी आपके हाथ में है। यूनिवर्सिटी इज रन बाई एन आर्डिनेंस। अब उनको वहां भर्ती करावें, उन को वहां का प्रोफेसर बनावें, उनको कोई और सम्मानित पद दें। नामिनेशन का अधिकार आप के हाथ में है, उसके बल पर आप जैसा भी यूनिवर्सिटी का भविष्य बनाना चाहते हैं बना सकते हैं और मुझे उसके बारे में अपनी तरफ से कुछ कहना नहीं है। इतना जरूर है कि इसी रिपोर्ट में पेज 79 पर पैरा 3.2.12 में यह कहा गया है :

“In a sense, the expulsion orders though they might have been justified on the merits, can be said to be indirectly responsible for the acts of violence which disturbed the University on December 6 and 7, 1968”.

और क्योंकि डिस्टर्बेंसेज हुए, इसलिए Although the orders for expulsion were justified आप उनको अनजस्टीफाई घोषित करना चाह तो वह आप के हाथ की बात है। मुझे अपनी तरफ से उसके लिए कुछ नहीं कहना। पेज 77 पर एडमिशन है इस कमेटी का :

“Mr. Mazumdar is a member of the SYS whereas Mr. Sinha is a member of the CPI. These two students made no secret of the fact that they are active members of their respective organisations.”

I think that will do for this argument and the rest I will leave to your good faith.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** You must now wind up, Mr. Bhandari. It is half an hour. Just two or three minutes only you have.

**SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI:** I am just concluding, Madam.

डीन्स के बारे में एक वक्तव्य का उल्लेख हुआ और श्री चन्द्रशेखर जी ने कहा कि अब वह छुट्टी पा रहे हैं। पता नहीं सरकार की भी छुट्टी हो रही हो, अगर इसी में से कंकलुजन्स निकालने हैं तो मैं नहीं कह सकता। लेकिन उस डीन्स के लेटर में जो विजिटर को भेजा गया है—मैं नहीं जानता कि यहां उस की कापी आई है या नहीं, लेकिन उसमें एक एलीगेशन है कि :

“There is, however, an apprehension in the mind of the academic community that it may be bypassed in the implementation of the recommendation. Evidence of this has unfortunately been proved by the fact that the University has already been restrained by telephonic instructions from the Ministry of Education from holding meetings of its statutory bodies even though they have not yet been dissolved.”

मैं एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर को अपने कंडक्ट को इस बात के लिए एक्सप्लेन करने के लिए जरूर कहूंगा। मैं जानता हूं कि आर्डिनेंस के द्वारा उन्होंने विजिटर को अधिकार दिया है यूनिवर्सिटी को बंद रखने के लिए, लेकिन एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री डाइरेक्टली यूनिवर्सिटी के मामले में हस्तक्षेप करे, कहे कि तुम इस की मीटिंग

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

बुलाओ, इस की मोटिंग मत बुलाओ, यह उचित नहीं था। मैं चाहता था कि पहले वह सारी पावर्स ले लेती और पावर्स लेने के बाद उन को रिस्ट्रेन करती। अब यह तो संकेत है। The shadows are casting their reflections on how you are going to act. और इसलिए मेरा आपसे यही निवेदन है कि आपका यह तरीका शोभाजनक प्रतीत नहीं होता। आप वहां पर कमेटियों का गठन करेंगे, किस तरह करेंगे यह आप देखें।

आर०एस०एस० की एक बिल्डिंग के बारे में वहां उल्लेख हुआ है और वह उल्लेख यहां पेज 99 पर एक हेडिंग दे कर किया गया है। इसमें यह माना गया है कि "This is a two room building" और अब क्योंकि ला फैंकल्टी की बिल्डिंग बन गई है "it looks entirely out of place" इस लिए उन्होंने कहा कि "this building needs to be demolished." अब दूसरा तर्क है, जिसको उन्होंने माना कि अगर इस बिल्डिंग को यूनिवर्सिटी कैम्पस में रहने की इजाजत दी तो "a similar claim made by other cultural associations cannot be resisted." मैं इनके आबजर्वेशन्स को मानता हूं, यह डिसेज़न लेने का काम है कि अगर इस तरह की बिल्डिंग वहां पर एलाऊ की गई तो दूसरे कल्चरल एसोसियेशन्स को वहां बिल्डिंग बनाने दिया जायेगा या नहीं दिया जायेगा। मैं यह मानता हूं यह बिल्डिंग मालवीय जी के समय से वहां पर चली आ रही है परन्तु अगर श्री राजनारायण जी या और कोई इस ख्याल में हों कि सारा आर०एस०एस० का काम इस बिल्डिंग के कारण चलता है और वह दो कमरे की बिल्डिंग अगर वहां से हटा दी गई तो हिन्दुस्तान भर में राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ का काम बन्द हो जायेगा, तो ठीक है, अगर मुझे अब बाडीली थ्रो आउट करें तो बात अलग है, मैं यहां बैठा हूं, उनके पड़ोस में बैठता हूं, पता नहीं कितना कंटीजन उनको लग चुका है, परन्तु मैं ऐसा समझता हूं कि इस बिल्डिंग मात्र से, इन मिट्टी और पत्थर की ईंटों से कोई चीजें नहीं बना करतीं।

शाखायें तो खुले मैदान में लगती हैं, सारे देश में लगती हैं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You must please wind up, Mr. Bhandari.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : I am trying to finish. I have never tried to introduce any new points in the debate. Because so many points have been raised. I will have to reply to them. मेरी यही कहना है कि संघ का काम कइयों को नहीं पसन्द आता, राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ का काम रात-दिन आलोचना का विषय बनता है, आज भी प्रश्नोत्तर काल में यह प्रश्न रहा एक विचार नहीं आता पसन्द। हमको भी कई काम पसन्द नहीं आते, लेकिन काम पसन्द न आये यह एक बात हो सकती है। आप किसी को राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ का स्वयंसेवक बनने से रोकने का कोई आर्डिनेन्स जारी करने वाले हों तो उसका विचार कर लें लेकिन इस बीटिंग एबाउट दि बुश से कोई चीज निकलेगी नहीं। मैंने कहा कि मैं और मेरे साथी करोड़ों लोग हैं जो कि इस तरह के विचार में श्रद्धा रखते हैं, काम करते हैं, अपने समाज की भलाई सोचते हैं, हमें किसी दूसरे से मतलब नहीं। हां, इतना जरूर है कि हम किसी दूसरे के ज़ोर से, अपने विचारों को ज़बरदस्ती कोई ज़ामा पहिनाना पसन्द नहीं करते। जो दिल से सच्चा अनुभव करते हैं वह मुंह से प्रकट करते हैं। श्री चन्द्रशेखर को कल लाठियों पर, खाकी नेकर और सफेद कमीज पर आपत्ति हुई। मैं नहीं जानता कि खाकी नेकर और सफेद कमीज पहिनने में क्या आपत्ति है, अगर उसी में से बहुत बड़ी बातों का निर्माण हो जाता है तो। लाठी हाथ में पकड़ने की क्या है, आज तो रिवाल्वरों का युग है, पता नहीं कितने लोग जेब में रिवाल्वर ले कर चलते होंगे। अगर इसी में से कई चीजों का इंटरप्रिटेशन उनको करना है तो वह कर सकते हैं, यह उनके अधिकार की बात है। संघ का काम समाज की चुनौतियों पर खड़ा है, सारे हिन्दू समाज के लोगों की कसौटी पर है लोग उसको चाहेंगे तो चलेगा, उनको पसन्द

नहीं है तो वह उसका विरोध करने के लिये स्वतंत्र है, वह हर तरह से उसमें रुकावट डालने के लिये स्वतंत्र है और अगर आपको भी ऐसा लगता है कि यूनिवर्सिटी की उस बिल्डिंग से ऐसा कुछ कर के आप उसके काम में रुकावट डाल देंगे तो वह भी कर देखिये, उसमें हमको कोई आपत्ति नहीं है।

(Time bell rings.)

फिर आर्डिनेंस लागू करते समय श्री राव ने यह तर्क दिया कि आर्डिनेन्स हम लागू न करते और यूनिवर्सिटी खुल जाती तो बड़ी गम्भीर गड़बड़ी हो जाती। मैं उनको स्मरण दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि गजेन्द्रगडकर कमेटी की नियुक्ति के बाद भी फरवरी से लेकर जून तक यूनिवर्सिटी चली है, यूनिवर्सिटी में इम्तिहान हुये हैं, यहां तक कि यूनिवर्सिटी में जो लोग नकल करते पकड़े गये उनके ऊपर डिसिप्लिनरी एक्शन भी हुये, यूनिवर्सिटी का काम चल रहा था। आपने अपने आर्डिनेन्स के द्वारा यूनिवर्सिटी को बन्द रखवा कर उन ताकतों को बल प्रदान किया है जो शुरू से ही इस बात की कोशिश में लगे थे कि यूनिवर्सिटी बन्द होनी चाहिये। वह यूनिवर्सिटी अब बन्द हो गई है। मुझे अफसोस है कि आपका यह काम उन ताकतों को मदद देगा जो कि इसी इरादे से काम कर रहे थे कि वहां पर यूनिवर्सिटी बन्द होनी चाहिये। इसीलिये मैंने इस आर्डिनेन्स के जारी करने का विरोध किया है। मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि वैसे भी आर्डिनेन्स के रेटिफिकेशन के लिये आपने प्रस्ताव नहीं रखा, आर्डिनेन्स अपनी मौत मर रहा है, उसका कोई बड़ा मिगनिफिकेन्स नहीं, परन्तु आपने इस आर्डिनेन्स को जारी करके उन ताकतों के हाथ जरूर मजबूत बनाये हैं जो कि इरादतन यूनिवर्सिटी को बन्द करने पर तुले हुये थे, जो कि इरादतन डा० ए० सी० जोशी के एम्पाइटमेंट पर उनकी फर्स्ट विजिट टु दि यूनिवर्सिटी पर उसी दिन उनके खिलाफ प्रदर्शन लेकर खड़े हो गये, झंडे दिखाने के लिये खड़े हो गये। तब तक तो यूनिवर्सिटी के किताबें विद्यार्थी से शायद वह सम्पर्क में भी नहीं आये थे। मगर एप्रैल एमैन डा० जोशी का विरोध करने के लिये वह तैयार हो गये,

चाहे बाद में जो भी कारण उनके लिये इकट्ठे कर दिये हों। तो मैं चाहता था कि डा० राव इस आर्डिनेन्स के जस्टीफिकेशन के लिये इस स्थिति में होते कि एक सम्सीट्यूट वाइस-चांसलर की यहां पर घोषणा कर पाते, तो मैं उनको बधाई दे सकता था। एक वाइस-चांसलर ने इस्तीफा दे दिया था और दूसरा वाइस-चांसलर मिला नहीं था इसलिये हमने यूनिवर्सिटी बन्द कर के रखी नहीं तो मैं समझता हूँ, मुझे अफसोस है, कि श्री गजेन्द्रगडकर ने स्वयं अपने एप्रेहेन्स बताते हुये कमिशन आफ इन्क्वायरी ऐक्ट के अन्तर्गत एकपक्षीय बात कह कर अपनी रिपोर्ट पूरी की है और आर्डिनेन्स जारी कर के आपने उन ताकतों को बल प्रदान किया है जो कि यूनिवर्सिटी को बन्द करने के लिये तुले थे। वहां जो ग्रुप पालिटिक्स है, वहां के जो लोग हैं, वहां के जो पुराने खवाइची बनारस में चल रहे हैं वह तो यूनिवर्सिटी को अपने ही लिये चाहते हैं, डा० गोपाल त्रिपाठी खुद चाहते हैं कि कोई दूसरा क्यों आये बनारस में, वह तो है वहां पर, शायद ज्योति भूषण गुप्ता चाहते होंगे कि नामिनेटेड कमेटी में तो हमारी ही सब चलेगी। आप उनके ही प्रेशंस के सामने सम्भव करना चाहते हैं। तो यह बिल उसके लिये असोमित अधिकार देता है। इस बिल के आधार पर आपकी एज्यूकेशन मिनिस्ट्री का क्या काडकट रहेगा वह प्रकट होगा, आपके इरादे भी इसी से प्रकट होंगे, उस पर कभी आगे विवाद करेंगे। मैं इसीलिये फिर चाहूंगा कि मेरे इन तर्कों के आधार पर सदन मेरे प्रस्ताव पर विचार करे।

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND YOUTH SERVICES (PROF. V. K.R. V. RAO) : Madam, I must say just one word about the motion of the hon Member disapproving the Ordinance before I go on to the substance of the debate

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.]

Quite apart from the reasoning that the University was in a perfectly normal peaceful and satisfactory state between February and June—I do not want to go into that—I should like responsible Members like the hon. Member, who has given



[Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao]

notice of the motion, to take into account a very simple fact. It is not a question of the Vice-Chancellor being there or not being there. There was the Gajendragadkar Committee's Report which had been received, which had stated it in categorical terms. Right or wrong they had given their analysis, their assessment. They were appointed for the purpose. It is no good throwing mud on the fair name of the ex-Chief Justice of India. It means throwing mud on all of us...

**SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI:** He is the sitting Vice-Chancellor of a University sitting in judgment over another Vice-Chancellor.

**PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO :** Never mind, but he was the ex-Chief Justice of India. I hope Mr. Bhandari will kindly stop interrupting me. I did not say a word when he was speaking. When we got this Report, the Committee was headed by an ex-Chief Justice of India and on top of that he is a very distinguished Vice-Chancellor. Also, there were other distinguished members on the Committee. When we got the Report, it stated in categorical, unqualified and unambiguous terms, according to their analysis of the situation, that the Vice-Chancellor, the Executive Council and the Administration of the University had lost overwhelmingly the confidence of the University students and teachers. They said for the restoration of normalcy the present Executive Council, the Court and the Standing Committee of the Academic Council should be dissolved and the Executive Council and the Court should be replaced by nominated bodies and that there should be a new Vice-Chancellor.

This was the recommendation of the Committee. Now I should like to ask my hon. friend: with that recommendation of the Committee before us on which the Government through the Visitor has to take a decision fairly quickly—the Visitor takes a decision but the Visitor functions constitutionally—what would have been the position if the Banaras Hindu University had been kept open when the decision was taken and when legislation to implement the decision was under discussion in this House? I think, Sir, it is not necessary for me to elaborate this point. There would have been victory processions, there would have been protest processions, there would have been scuffles, there would have been rioting; I do not know

what would have happened to the university. It is simply in order to prevent the emergence of violence in the university following the implementation or acceptance of the recommendations of the Committee that Government took powers for the Visitor through an Ordinance only to postpone the reopening of the university. Sir, we did not take power, at least I did not advise Government to take power to enact this Bill in the form of an Ordinance because I felt that the recommendations which had been made by the Committee required to be considered by Parliament, and therefore all that I did was to advise the Visitor to take the power to postpone the reopening of the university during which period I hoped that this legislation would come before the House, would be discussed by the House and would then be enacted into law so that when the university reopened, at least as far as the structure of the university is concerned the decision would have been taken and would have been implemented and there would be no cause for the kind of violence that I expected and which I am sure, all people knowing the Banaras Hindu University would agree, might have taken place if the university had been opened. I think it was expected to open on the 28th of July. If it had opened on the 28th of July and if the report had been placed on the Table and Government had taken any decision, if the Vice-Chancellor had resigned and all this discussion went on, we all know what would have happened. It is not a question of political party or anything else. I do not think anyone of us would have relished a recrudescence of the kind of violence which unfortunately the Banaras Hindu University had been subjected to in recent times. That, Sir, was the only reason for the enactment of the Ordinance. I also told the House that day that we are not proposing to make it permanent. I would have thought therefore that though Sri Bhandari had moved a statutory resolution disapproving the Ordinance, because he was a fair-minded person in most cases, he would have said that as far as that is concerned there is no reason for insisting on that resolution. Of course he is opposed to the Bill. He has made many observations on the Committee report. I did not expect he would still insist that his resolution should be voted upon. That is his privilege, I cannot say anything about it. I hope I have given sufficient reasoning to the House to indicate why that Ordinance had to be promulgated.

Now, Sir, I come to the substance of the debate. I find myself in a rather sorry position not because I am Minister of Education but because I have been a Vice-Chancellor myself. May be I was a Vice-Chancellor during less troublous times, probably it was so. I do not want to become autobiographical and talk about myself, but I have spent

**SHRI PITAMBER DAS** (Uttar Pradesh): May be a Vice-Chancellor working under a congenial Minister of Education.

**PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO**: I do not want to go into all those personalities and so on but I should like to tell the hon. Member that during the entire period of my Vice-Chancellorship of the Delhi University I called on the then Minister of Education only once, and that was when he invited me for a cup of tea to discuss the future of the Indian School of International Studies, where I did not agree with the request he made. That was the only occasion during the period when I was Vice-Chancellor. Before that I met the Minister of Education, his predecessor, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, once after I had been appointed to thank him and for showing so much of his confidence in me. I never met him afterwards. I met Dr. Shrimati only once. I think the hon. Member should know that there are Vice-Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors.

**SHRI PITAMBER DAS**: That speaks of the fair-mindedness of the Education Minister.

**PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO**: Not at all. That also shows, if I may say so I do not want to beat my own drum—what kind of person a Vice-Chancellor can be if he does not have any chinks in his armour. Excuse me, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to tell the hon. senior Member that throughout the entire history when I was Vice-Chancellor I had not fined a single student, I did not call at any time policemen in the campus, even when the Duke of Edinburgh came. I said that the police must come in mufti, when even there was a little demonstration by class IV employees in my house, a torchlight procession, I never called the police. I have not dismissed a single teacher, a single clerk or fined a single student or expelled a student. I hope my hon. friend will not say that this was also due to the greatness of the then Education Minister under whom I functioned. I am sorry I did not expect such a senior Member like him to draw me out. I do not want to talk about myself.

**श्री राजनारायण** : मालवीय जी के समय में भी ऐसा नहीं हुआ ।

**PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO** : Rajnarainji please

**श्री राजनारायण** : हम तो आपकी तारीफ ही कर रहे हैं ।

**PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO** : All that I wanted to say was, I feel very unhappy because I want the discussion to be serious. I have spent my time with students during all the 21 years when I was in the Delhi University. I came to this august House in the visitors' gallery only four times during all that period. I was essentially a university man, one concerned with students and academic activities, and nothing has given me greater distress than to read the report of the Gajendra-gadkar Committee. A lot of things have been said here which I think need not have been said. But I would like to appeal to this House to take this question as a question of very great import not only for the Banaras Hindu University but, in the troublous times in which we are living today, for the future of all universities in this country. If there is going to be violence in the university campus—one of my friends talked in some mystical terms that these are young people, floods will come, new things will come, and so on. Unfortunately the friend who said this is not here. Fortunately his party is also in administration in one of the States of India, and the floods have come there in the form of policemen entering the Assembly, if not in the form of students gheraoing the Vice-Chancellor. After all I think we have got to be very careful because all of us at some time or other are going to be in authority, we are in authority, we might have been in authority, we might come in authority. But the foundations of society, Sir, have got to be firm, and unless the foundations are firm I would like to tell my dear friend, Shri Rajnarain for whom I have got a lot of affection because I know something about him, if tomorrow his party comes into power, he will find that if law and authority are broken, if the foundations of society are disturbed, it would be very difficult to maintain any kind of order, any kind of administration, whether in a university or in any other body.

**श्री राजनारायण** : प्राइम मिनिस्टर को बताइये, प्राइम मिनिस्टर को ।

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : I was a little surprised, Mr Vice-Chairman, that so many of the Members who spoke, excepting one or two Members, did not refer to student violence—they all thought it all appeared to be simply a question of Dr. Joshi, R.S.S., Sanghism, Communism, or something else. I just want only to draw your attention to two things. I am talking of paragraph 3.123 of the report, page 55, where they talk about what happened on 6-12-68.

“Now we come to three days which are of crucial significance to our inquiry. On December 6, 1968, the students clashed with the police and stoned the Central Office of the University. The students had given a call for general strike at that time. Earlier, a mob of about 100 persons had set on fire the postal van, a Teachers' Training College bus and a jeep of the Indology College, in the campus.”

“They also set fire to a counter of the Central Library of the University. It appears that they were determined to set on fire the University Post Office and the gas plant near the Department of Botany, but the arrival of the police foiled their attempt. The students also burnt furniture and sports material which had been kept in a pavilion on the grounds of the College of Mining and Metallurgy.”

“3.124 On December 7, further acts of violence were witnessed on the University campus. On this day, the students indulged in the looting of a shop named Akashdeep and the Students' Cooperative Store, during which radio-sets, typewriters, wall-clocks were taken away. They also burnt the offices of the Dean of Students and Delegation.”

On the 8th December came that fantastic police onslaught on the Ramakrishna Students Hostel inmates about which a number of Members spoke, which has also been described in this Report.

I think Sir, people may have their views about the University. You can say about the Vice-Chancellors, you can make any charges about them. You can take it under police administration. You can take it under Governor's administration or under direct Parliamentary administration. But we cannot have this resort to violence within a university campus. I want through you to place before my friends in this House and through you also before my larger circle

of friends at large in the country that we have to face this dilemma. And I appeal to my political friends irrespective of the political party to which they belong, because every political party today or tomorrow is going to have some share in the administration of some part of the country or other. Even otherwise, I take them all, without exception, as patriotic people who are interested in the welfare and development of this country. How do we solve this dilemma? We do not want the police to come into the campus. The point is, the police are not the type of people who should be allowed to handle the students. And yet if we have violence in the campus, if the life of a professor is threatened, if the professors are beaten, if property is burnt, if a large number of students who want to carry on with their studies are prevented from doing so, what do we do? I would very much like—if I had been a private Member I would have given notice of a motion on this matter. What do we do? That is the guideline that I get?

Therefore, Sir, I want to begin by appealing to my friends. I am not bothered whether they call themselves CPI (Marxist) or Jana Sanghites or Congress or PSP or SSP. I proceed on this assumption—it is my basic assumption—that every Indian is a patriotic person and is interested in the welfare of this country and if he is a patriotic person, he is interested in seeing that the young people of our country get the opportunity to train themselves, to become skilled, to get disciplined, to become capable of building up the country of which they are all young citizens. Therefore, I want to make this appeal. I have just got information that even though the University is closed, there are threats and counter-threats. The number of policemen which was 50 in the campus during the summer vacation has now been increased to 150. I got the information only a few minutes ago. I wanted to find out what the position was because some students are holding out threats and saying, we will not allow the University to re-open; some other people are saying, we want something else. Dr Joshi has been badly treated; some other people saying, the expelled students must be readmitted; some others saying that something else must be done, hold meetings and resort to force.

It seems to me, Sir, that all the political parties should exert their influence, their moral influence—I know

all of them—All the political parties in the country must exert their influence not only with their own party members but the public at large and make an appeal and say, let us not have violence in the university, whatever may be the justification, whatever may be the grievances, and I am prepared as Education Minister to tell the country

**SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA** (West Bengal) : You say that there should not be violence in the campus of the university. Why don't you say that there should not be violence in the country? Why emphasise on the words 'university campus'?

**PROF V K R V RAO** : I am sorry. That is not right because we are no longer students and I am afraid my hon. friend is still young enough not to have a son or daughter as a student to go to a college or university.

(Interruptions)

Anyway, I think it is very important. I am prepared to say this. We must have a proper machinery for the articulation of students' grievances. We must take steps to see as my friend, Prof Nurul Hasan said—he is not here just now—that proper conditions are there. All the conditions are not all right in the Banaras Hindu University. There are hostels there which are not perfect. They do not have all the conveniences. I am afraid, the other conveniences which are required are not properly to be found in the Banaras Hindu University. I am quite prepared to request my friend, the Chairman of the University Grants Commission, to send somebody there to look into the physical facilities needed in the University and to find out to what extent the physical deficiencies can be remedied so that the students will not have the ground of grievances that arise because of overcrowding, because of lack of sufficient sanitary facilities, because of lack of canteen facilities and so on and so forth, and for all the grievances. I am absolutely convinced in my mind that there should be some machinery, some joint teacher-student council, so that whenever there is any problem the problem must be brought up before the University body and any Vice-Chancellor or University administration which is not accessible to the students will find it very difficult, however eminent that person may be, to maintain discipline in the University. Accessibility, readiness to listen to grievances, then quickness in investigating

those grievances, quickness in taking action on those grievances, all these have become a part, an essential part, of good administration in the universities. As far as I am concerned though I have no direct control over the Universities, I am prepared, as an educationist, to offer my suggestions. And as hon. Members know, very often I am trying to create public opinion by making speeches—I have no power otherwise, it is the only power of tongue and power of faith. And I am trying to create an atmosphere. Therefore, I have been talking all over the country about the need for student participation. I am prepared to throw all my weight on seeing that a proper machinery is created for the ventilation, articulation, discussion and dialogue of student grievances, and I hope the administration also will take quick action to settle those grievances. But for heavens' sake, let all of us agree that we will not only not encourage violence, we will throw all our weight positively to see that violence does not prevail on the university campus because I am afraid, if once violence starts, it spreads, because we are all divided, we are not a monolithic country, we are divided in Parliament, we are divided on the streets, we are divided on the universities. We cannot keep the students away from the general atmosphere in the country. We cannot say, "Oh! You are college students. Therefore, have no political views, have no political prejudices, have no political affiliations." We may say, "Please do not take active part in political disturbances." That we can and we should say. But we cannot say, do not have any political thinking. Are they politically blank? They are bound to talk politically, they are bound to think politically, they are bound to have political associations and discuss political matters and so on.

**SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN** : Not active

**PROF V. K. R. V. RAO** : That is the point. You can tell them, do not take active part in politics, do not go in for disturbances. But we cannot prevent their politically thinking. In fact, I should like...

**SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN** : Do not introduce politics in the university life.

**PROF V. K. R. V. RAO** : I should like to encourage political thinking among the student community. I underline the word 'thinking', not slogan-mongering.

[Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao]

They should not accept anything that is told, not become tools of this or that political party. But I very much like to encourage political thinking among the student community. Unfortunately, the student community also have got their political affiliations and sympathies and therefore, once violence starts, it does not stop as between one student and another student. The students may happen to be attached to one political party or the other. Then immediately it is taken up by another political party. Then their friends outside the university come into the picture. Then their friends, Members of Parliament, raise questions in the House, and the whole thing gets out of hand. Sir, I am sorry to have taken up so much time over a simple point. But I think this is the basic criterion, the basic essential, the *sine qua non*, the essential condition, for the purpose of really making the Banaras Hindu University work. If all my political friends, irrespective of the parties to which they belong, will say, no violence in the university campus under any circumstances, and if there is this guarantee, I am pretty certain that we will be able to tackle it.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : This is the least that should be guaranteed.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : I can tell my friend—he comes from Hyderabad—he knows what happened in his own university at Hyderabad.

— شری اکبر علی خان : یونیورسٹی میں

† [श्री अकबर अली खान : यूनिवर्सिटी में]

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : Yes, yes, in the University. I know what has happened in the Osmania University. I can give many facts. Do not say that it is free from violence. Do not tell me that. They have not been free from violence.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : We must have discouraged violence. We must give directions.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : Please do not disturb me. That is what I am saying to my friend, Mr. Sundar Singh Bhandari—I am glad the word “Singh” does not mean lion and that he is a Rajput—my friend, Mr. Chatterjee, my friend, Mr. Gupta...

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Mr. Rajnarain.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : Mr. Rajnarain, of course, I find it difficult to talk to him. Though he is a very good man he is very elusive.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : You can appeal to him too.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : I know this much that Shri Rajnarain has got a heart and if I was able to approach the heart of my friend, late Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, in the Lok Sabha—that is on record—I am sure I will be able to get at the heart of Mr. Rajnarain. All of us appeal... (Interruption by Shri Akbar Ali Khan) Please do not interrupt. You are disturbing the trend of my speech. If, therefore, the Members of the political parties will all agree on this, then I should say, the first essential condition for the restoration and maintenance of normalcy in the University would have been achieved.

Now, Sir, I will go on to my other points which are strictly arising out of this debate. This is a temporary measure. I have said clearly that this is only a temporary measure. I am only dealing with the short-term recommendations of the Committee. A number of Members have made observations about long-term recommendations. I said before and I say again, as far as long-term recommendations are concerned, they will be discussed with the academic community, with the Deans of the Academic Council in the Banaras Hindu University, they will be discussed also with the academic people in other Central Universities and with the University Grants Commission. I do not propose to take a hasty decision on this, and certainly, I will not take a decision on my own.

SHRI T. N. SINGH (Uttar Pradesh) : And also Members of the Legislature.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : Of course, Members of the Legislature also. They are very much concerned in this. They have given lot of promises that violence will go out of the University. I will certainly see that when discussion takes place it takes place in detail before any action is taken on even more drastic recommendations which have been made regarding the long-term period...

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : You wanted to say something about long-term recommendations. I want to get a categorical reply that whether

† [Hindi transliteration.

it is the question of the reconstitution of the Court, reconstitution of the Executive Council or the method of selection of the Vice-Chancellor, these methods that have been analysed here in this Bill are also temporary.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : Absolutely. Everything in this Bill is temporary. I can give you the categorical assurance that this entire Bill will be replaced. This Bill is an amendment of the existing Act. The existing Act, as amended by this Bill, will be replaced by a comprehensive Banaras Hindu University Act—I will come to Kashi Vishwavidyalaya. At least this is my hope. Along with that, a comprehensive legislation will be brought forward for both the Aligarh Muslim and the Banaras Hindu Universities as early as possible. Therefore, this is a temporary measure.

Sir, Members have asked me that if it is a temporary measure, why we should not put down a limit. My friend, Mr. Bhandari, asked that if it was a question of three years, why it should not be put in the Bill and then he would take a much more liberal view of what I am doing. Even I have been called some names, not many names, I must say. I must tell the House that I am very responsive to all that has been suggested in this House. Every suggestion that comes from this House I treat it with respect. I examine it, and if I can accept it I do so, and if I cannot I tell why I am unable to do so.

Immediately on enquiries I found that it will be very difficult under the law to do this. I had informal discussions with the law people and I was told that it will not be possible to incorporate on such a provision in the amending Act limiting its operation for a specified period since once the amending Act comes into force it loses its separate identity and gets itself woven into the parent Act. Therefore, it will not be possible to separate the amended provisions from the existing provisions of the parent Act. It is not possible for me, therefore, to put down a time limit. But I can give you a categorical assurance from Government of India, not only on my behalf and I am entitled to speak in the name of the Government of India since I am a member of the Cabinet in charge of Education—but also on behalf of the Government of India that within a period of three years we shall see that the Banaras

Hindu University Act, as amended by this Bill, is replaced by a more comprehensive measure which will take into account all the requirements of the University reconstructed . . .

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Please excuse me for the interruption. As far as I remember even in regard to other measures such as the Preventive Detention Act, which was not a permanent measure on the Statute Book, it was possible to put a time limit. I think legal opinion has to be consulted further in the matter. In the amending portions you can always say that such and such clauses will be operative for such and such period only. Therefore, a time limit is possible.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : I am sorry Shri T. N. Singh attaches so little importance to an assurance given by the Government of India. He has been a member of the Government of India. I have given a categorical assurance which has gone on record. I have not spoken in the name of Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao. I have given a categorical assurance in the name of the Government of India that within a period of three years—there is no ambiguity about it—the Banaras Hindu University Act, as amended by this Bill, will be replaced by a comprehensive legislation which will take into account all the requirements for the reconstruction of the University. I hope that will satisfy the hon'ble Member.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : And if that is not done, this will lapse.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : I can understand your attitude to me. But I do not understand the attitude of Mr. T. N. Singh. You have to doubt me; otherwise you cannot sit on that particular side of the House.

श्री राजनारायण : लेकिन जैसी स्थिति है . . .

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : If you start then I am finished. Let me finish my speech.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं इसलिये नहीं बोल रहा हूँ क्योंकि मेरा अमेडमेन्ट है ।

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : I am not accepting any amendment.

[Prof. V. K. R. V. RAO]

Then the question : Why this step ? Is this going to solve all the problems ? That is the question put to me by a number of friends. Of course, it is not going to solve all problems. Merely by having a nominated court, a nominated Executive Council and a new Vice-Chancellor, I do not know whether the heavens are going to re-emerge.

As a result of the investigations which have been made, it has been found that somehow or the other there is a great deal of suspicion, grouping, factionalism, lack of trust and so on. So we want to create a machinery which will be free from all these justified or unjustified suspicions. We want to create a machinery which will be able to function in a neutral and objective kind of way. The Committee have recommended that the Executive Council, which will be very small, in principle should be drawn on an all-India basis. One of my friends said that we must have people from the Eastern U.P. and Bihar. Well, I must tell him that the Banaras Hindu University is a Central University. It belongs to the whole of India and not only to Uttar Pradesh or to Bihar. That is the reason why Pandit Malaviya brought that University into existence. That is why it is a Central University. But if the U.P. Government wants to make it a State University, it is entirely open to the U.P. Government to approach the Government of India and request that the Banaras Hindu University be made a State University so that large numbers from the eastern U.P. and Bihar can be on the Executive Council, Court and so on. If such a proposal comes from the Government of Uttar Pradesh, I have no doubt, the Government of India will give it a serious consideration. But as far as I am concerned, it is a Central University, it is a national University. If you do not mind, I cannot resist the temptation of reading out to this House what was said on the first convocation in 1919. I would like to remind the House of what was said when the Banaras Hindu University was incorporated and came into existence as a result of the Government of India Act (XVI of 1915). The all-India character of the University was eloquently described in the first Convocation Address delivered on January 19, 1919, thus :

"It is my earnest hope—a hope which I know will be echoed by millions

of my countrymen—that the Banaras University may not only be an object of special veneration and solicitude to the Hindus, but may also attract by the quality of its secular education young of all religious persuasions in India. The Institution should be Indian first and Hindu afterwards."

I want to underline this—"the institution should be Indian first and Hindu afterwards".

SHRI T. N. SINGH : It is so.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : I am sorry to tell Mr. T. N. Singh that it is so in spirit, but if we examine the composition of the students of the university, we will find that the proportion of non-Hindu students is much smaller than the proportion of non-Hindus in the whole of India. We should face facts. We have to make deliberate attempts to make it an Indian institution. It should be Indian first and Hindu afterwards.

"The graduates who receive their degrees to-day are a handful, but their number is destined to grow".

This was in 1919; this has come true.

"I look forward to the day when young men from all parts of India will fill these lecture halls and after completing their education will go out skilled and capable and equipped both mentally, morally, and physically to fight life's battles as citizens of this great country. If wisely guided, the University should in due course become a truly national institution of which every Indian, whatever his race or creed, might be justly proud."

That, Sir, is the dream that possesses when I come to this subject of the Banaras Hindu University. Therefore, this Executive Council will consist of the best people we can get. But as the Gajendra-gadkar Committee has pointed out, we must get people who attend the meetings, not people who do not attend meetings but who will just be eminent men. I do not say that there will be nobody from U.P. or Bihar. I do not say that there will be nobody from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and so on. We shall try and accommodate the best people there. But I must emphasise this, that if we want to take the view that the long-term recommendations of the Gajendra-gadkar Committee have to be treated in a way which will satisfy

public opinion, right from the start we have to re-emphasise and restore the image of the Banaras Hindu University as a national university. If anybody doubts what I am saying, I am prepared to give a challenge here. Let us take the student composition of the university from 1919, draw up a statistical table and find out what alternations have taken place in the student composition of the Banaras Hindu University State-wise, region-wise and language-wise over the last 30 or 40 years. Now we want to restore to the Banaras University its primacy of national purpose. Therefore, so far as this Executive Council, a small nominated body of all India people, is concerned, we shall try our best to see that it is an impartial, non-involved body, which can restore a sense of neutrality, remove all suspicions and so on, and what they say will be believed. It is a question of belief. Even if I do the right thing or say the right thing, if somebody does not believe it, then it has no effect at all. It is a question of creating a sense of *bona fides* and that is what has to be done by the new Vice-Chancellor. It is not that I want my henchmen there, Sir, I think one of the hon. Members, whom I know very well, referred to Minister's henchmen. They are not going to be my henchmen. Sir, never in my life I have wanted henchmen. Certainly in academic affairs, I did not have henchmen. The people who will be appointed will be people who will be able to function in an impartial, judicious and expert manner in the university with a view to producing a sense of objectivity and so on.

Then, I also want to point out that the entire re-construction of the university has been done practically on the same lines as the Aligarh Muslim University. The Aligarh Muslim University is under "nominated" rule just now and exactly the same thing has been done here—9 members in the Executive Council and I think 40 or 50 members in the Court and so on. We shall certainly consult as many wise people as possible. I shall certainly try my best to recommend to the Visitor names which I hope will command approval and I agree with the suggestion made by a number of friends that as far as possible party politics should be avoided and as far as possible, we should avoid people who might have some special connections and so on. Not that they will not be able to exercise their judgement properly, but the whole

idea is that we want to give them not only in reality but also the appearance of complete impartiality and neutrality so that the requisite atmosphere can be restored.

Then, Sir, one or two questions were asked about academic freedom, guidelines and so on. As far as academic freedom is concerned—Mr. Chagla raised it and Prof. Nurul Hasan also referred to it—I think we must be very clear in our minds that once nominations take place, the university is exactly like any other Central university. There is no question of any further control of the Visitor. The Visitor's control begins and ends, as far as the affairs of the institution are concerned, with the nomination that he makes to the various bodies. Once these bodies are nominated, they will have the same freedom, the same authority to function, as the elected bodies in the past. Therefore, I have no hesitation at all in giving the assurance that academic freedom will not be violated and we will try our best to see that academic freedom is respected in the university.

Regarding the point that I should give guidelines, I do not know whether it is proper on my part to give guidelines to the new university authorities. But what I will do is this. I do not know whether it has been done in the past, but what I will do is, taking advantage of the fact that I am an educationist, in my individual capacity—because as a Minister I do not even correspond with these universities; as Minister I have very little to do with the universities, I take the line that I only act as adviser to the Visitor and the Visitor comes in only when something goes wrong; I am prepared as an educationist, in my individual capacity, if the university authorities are willing to talk to me, to discuss with them as to what the problems are. I have no doubt in my mind, Sir, that given non-violence in the university campus, we will not have any difficulty with regard to the students. I have complete faith in them. They may belong to this political wing or that political wing—and why not? But once there is no question of violence, I think you will find no difficulty at all as far as the students are concerned. It is only a question of giving them an opportunity to get a sense of involvement. All these matters can be considered. Then, my hon. friend, Mr. Bhandari, said that ten Deans had sent a representation to the Visitor. They had also sent me a copy of that representation.



[Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao]

I could not take action on that part of the representation which deals with the existing Bill or with Dr. A. C. Joshi. But I have written to them already. I think they are nervous that a number of other recommendations might be implemented without their being taken into confidence. On the question of politicalisation of student power and so on also I have written to them and requested all the Deans and the Rector to come and meet me in Delhi on the 30th, by which time I hope this Bill would have been enacted, so that I can have a long discussion with them on the conditions in the university and get their ideas as to what would have to be done. One of the first things that I would request the Vice-Chancellor and the Executive Council to do is not just to run a routine administration of the university but to go into the problems in depth, to enquire into this matter, to go into the heart of the disease and try to see in what way we can promote student involvement, in what way we can promote teacher participation and student participation, in what way we can depoliticalise the aggressive aspect of the political power in the university and in what way we can see that academic atmosphere is restored in the university. I expect the new Executive Council and the new Vice-Chancellor to make studies in depth in regard to these matters and whatever assistance or moral support they require from me, from the Ministry, we are prepared to give. I would also like to appeal to my friend, Mr. Rajnarain, who comes from the holy city of Kashi, and other friends, to see that proper moral support is given to the Vice-Chancellor. If there is any difficulty or any trouble, let them not go to the press; let them not hold public meetings; let them not even—if I am not committing contempt of Parliament—ask questions here. Let them write to me; let them meet the Vice-Chancellor. I am prepared to spend some time with them. If any trouble arises, before the trouble develops, we shall try and see what can be done. But all of us are anxious to see that the new administration works.

Then, I have already agreed that one of the problems which have caused a lot of trouble or unrest in the university is appointments. I want this thing to be gone into in great depth. Lots of complaints have come about the rules and regulations, about the selection committees, etc., etc. Though there are rules, some-

how all these rules do not seem to have been observed. One of the first things that I will request the Vice-Chancellor and the Executive Council to do is to go through all these, examine all previous cases, not to disturb anybody in position, but in order to regularise and have a completely conspicuous and feasible code so that everybody knows that the procedures followed in these matters are.

Regarding discipline, I have no doubt in my mind that discipline is essential. But discipline does not mean force. Of course, force is always behind discipline. When I was Vice-Chancellor, I used to tell my Registrar and my people in the Delhi University "You cannot run the university on the basis of police rule. The moment we do that, it means we have failed". And many universities are being run on the basis of police rule. We cannot do it. It means that you are failing. Discipline means, as I have said so many times, that the sword must be there. Everybody must know that you have the sword. But the sword should never be drawn out of its sheath. The moment the sword is drawn out of its sheath, it becomes a tinsel. As long as it remains inside the sheath, it is a sword. So, it very much depends upon the personality and personal equation of the Vice-Chancellor. I certainly agree that the disciplinary power must be there and nothing can be done to disturb the power of discipline that is wielded. But I would like to suggest that it would be worthwhile for the Vice-Chancellor to decentralise his power of discipline as has been suggested by this Committee. Decentralise it with respect to the Proctors, with respect to the Rector and also have a body where the students will feel that no injustice is done to them. Whenever disciplinary cases are taken up, there must be clearly established procedures. The procedures are found to be extremely important. Although I never believe in procedures, I found that procedures settle a great deal of misunderstanding and insinuations. The procedures must be followed and the students must be given a feeling that they are getting justice. I think Dr. Triguna Sen when he was the Vice-Chancellor, instituted some kind of a Student-Order Court. I do not know the details of it. But some machinery like that has to be created by which the students must feel that they are having a say there, that nobody is doing anything against them. Discipline is important and discipline must be maintained.

Then I come to the question of the re-admission of the expelled students. One or two of my honourable friends were saying, "Readmit the expelled students". I must tell them that they should please read the Committee's report. I think the Committee's report does not recommend the readmission of those students. Not only that. The Committee's report makes it very clear that there is a great deal of student violence within the Campus. Before the new Vice-Chancellor comes and takes charge and sets up the administration, it is not for us to say, "Readmit those people". You please read that report. My friend was reading out from the report about the admission of students and about the causes of the student unrest that has been created there. In fact, I do not like any student to be expelled. I certainly do not want that a student should be made to suffer in his career. Even if a student creates troubles I do not want him to suffer in his career. But I do not know what can be done about these students here. And I do not think it will be possible for me to give any assurance that the students who have been expelled should all be readmitted. I know it is not going to be so easy. I know how Mr. Rajnarain has sentimentally and emotionally committed himself to certain things. He is not a man who lets down the people for whom he has committed himself. I would like to appeal to him in the name of the University and in the name of restoring normalcy in the University that these are matters where sometimes sacrifice has to be made. The Vice-Chancellor has sacrificed himself. I have no power to send him out. I have no power to terminate his appointment. The Vice-Chancellor has resigned as a result of all this. He had free discussions with me in my house. I was extremely sorry to see that he resigned. But he resigned and sacrificed himself, and why? He said, "If my departure from the University is going to help in the restoration of normalcy in the University, I do not want to stand in the way of the restoration of that normalcy even though I do not agree with the analyses and the conclusions of the Gajendragadkar Committee". Therefore I suggest, Sir, that a similar spirit of sacrifice must be shown all round. And unless there is some sacrifice all round, we are not going to be in a position really to restore normalcy which that University requires for its re-establishment.

I would like to thank you, Sir, and all honourable Members for the patience with which they have heard the long rigmarole of mine. I should like to conclude by asking the House to cooperate with me in getting this Bill enacted, and in not pressing the amendments or making speeches on the amendments. Of course, every Member has a right to do so. But I think we are all anxious that normalcy should be restored. We are all anxious to see that we do not use words which may further affect the situation there. I very much regret some of the things which were said yesterday and the day before yesterday in this House. Honourable Members have got the right to say what in their opinion is a thing that deserves to be said. But as a person who is very much interested in the University I do not want to go into what words they have used and what words they have not used. I do not believe in censuring the people in the University. I only want that normalcy should be restored in the University. I want a good chance to be given. I want the University to be reopened without any clash, without any clamour, without any meetings or slogans or shoutings. I want all the political parties to see that the University is reopened and that the University is re-established. In due course we will take up all these problems one by one—the improvement of student amenities, the betterment of student-teacher relations, the improvement of the Campus in different kinds of ways, the student participation, the teacher grievances, the teacher participation, all one by one. Every problem will be taken up and we shall have a comprehensive legislation which will give the University a first class structure and we will try and see that its original prestige and image is restored. I want the cooperation of all of you in this great task of reviving, rejuvenating and re-establishing the Banaras Hindu University. Whether we call it a Hindu University or a Kashi Vidyalaya, I do not want to go into that. That is a different matter. I shall take an opportunity to do so when the legislation for its permanent structure comes up. Now in re-establishing, rejuvenating and reviving the Banaras Hindu University founded by the late respected leader, Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia, I seek, Sir, the cooperation and sympathy of this entire House and subsequently its cooperation and sympathy with the new

administration which will be brought into existence for running this University.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : I shall first put the Resolution to vote.

The question is :

"That this House disapproves the Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Ordinance, 1969 (No. 7 of 1969) promulgated by the Vice-President acting as President on the 17th July, 1969"

*The motion was negatived.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : There is an amendment in the name of Shri M. P. Shukla. Are you moving it, Mr. Shukla?

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA : No, Sir. I want to withdraw it.

\**Motion for reference of the Bill to Select Committee was, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : The question is :

"That the Bill further to amend the Banaras Hindu University Act, 1915, be taken into consideration".

*The motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

*Clauses 2 to 4 were added to the Bill.*

*Clause 5—Substitution of new section for sections 9 and 9A*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : There are two amendments to this clause. One is in the name of Mr. Niranjana Varma. He is not here. The other amendment is No. 23 in the name of Mr. Rajnarain. Mr. Rajnarain, it is a negative amendment. You can speak on the clause. Please be brief.

4 P.M.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, एक निवेदन मैं आपसे यह करना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो हमारा अमेन्डमेंट संक्षिप्त नाम और प्रारंभ के बारे में था, उसका क्या हुआ ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : वह बाद में आयेगा। आप तो बड़े ज्ञाता हैं।

\*For text of the motion vide col. 4409 of Debate dated 18th August 1969.

श्री राजनारायण : क्लॉज 1 के (1) और (2) में भी मेरा संशोधन था कि उसको हटा कर उसके स्थान पर "तुरन्त" रख दिया जाये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : उस पर फिर बोलियेगा। वह क्लॉज 2 में नहीं है। इस समय आप क्लॉज 5 पर बोलिये।

श्री राजनारायण : जिन्होंने आपको यह बना कर दिया है उन्होंने इसका हिन्दी से गलत अनुवाद कर के दिया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : वह क्लॉज 1 में है, क्लॉज 2 में नहीं है। आप तो संसदीय प्रथा के बड़े ज्ञाता हैं, आपको तो मालूम होना चाहिए।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : यह घबड़ा जाते हैं जल्दी।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, तो इस समय कोर्ट से सम्बन्धित जो संशोधन है उस पर मैं आ रहा हूँ। हमारा निवेदन है कि हम श्री सुन्दर सिंह जी भंडारी और विशेषतः शिक्षा मंत्री जी के भाव का बहुत ही स्वागत कर रहे हैं और मैं शिक्षा मंत्री जी से केवल इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि जैसे वह अपने भाव को देखते हैं वैसे ही दूसरे के भाव को भी देखने की कृपा करें। वह यह देखें कि काशी विश्वविद्यालय निश्चित रूप से राष्ट्रीय विश्वविद्यालय है। काशी विश्वविद्यालय निश्चय ही संकुचित शब्दों का प्रयोग करना नहीं चाहता, इसीलिये प्रथम जो कंवोकेशन एड्रेस हुआ था जिसके बारे में राव साहब ने कहा उसमें स्पष्ट किया गया कि हम भारतीय प्रथम हैं, हिन्दू बाद में और सेकुलरिज्म की भी उसमें चर्चा है कि यह गैर-सम्प्रदायवादी संस्था है।

तो मैं फिर आगे कह दूँ कि मैं हिंसा को कतई पसन्द नहीं करता, जो कोई हिंसा करता है उसको बुरा मानता हूँ, इसीलिये हमने जब अंग्रेजी राज टूटा तो यह प्रतिज्ञा की डा० लोहिया के दबाव में, उनकी कृपा से कि अब हम हथियार नहीं उठायेंगे, चूँकि विदेशी राज खत्म हो गया

अपने देश का राज आया इसलिये खराब है तो झेल कर के और जनतंत्री पद्धति से इसको हटावो । तब से हथियार न उठाने की प्रतिज्ञा ले ली और इसीलिये नहीं उठाया अब तक । हमने अपना नारा बदल दिया, वह क्या है ? “मानेंगे नहीं मारेंगे नहीं” जो सही बात होगी उसको जब तक पूरा नहीं कर लेंगे मानेंगे नहीं मगर किसी को मारेंगे नहीं ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :** आप कोर्ट के बारे में बोलिये, उसके बारे में जो कुछ कहना है वह कहिये ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा कि राव साहब जरा कोर्ट की प्रोसीडिंग्स को देखें । हम तो विश्वविद्यालय के कोर्ट में केवल दो बार गये हैं । मैं इस सदन के सभी सम्मानित सदस्यों से निवेदन करूंगा कि कोर्ट की कार्यवाही को देखें । कोर्ट का रहना कितना जरूरी है । कोर्ट जिस ढंग से व्यवस्थित है उस व्यवस्था का अगर इस समय खंडन किया जाता है और जो व्यवस्था इस विधेयक में है वह व्यवस्था उसके लिए रखी जा रही है तो निश्चित रूप से जो काश और जो मौलिक काम कोर्ट ने किया, वह काम हो नहीं पाता । इसको मैं बहुत ही सफाई के साथ कहना चाहता हूं । कोर्ट ने क्या किया, कोर्ट ने क्या गलती की, जिस ढंग की कोर्ट की व्यवस्था पहले थी उसमें क्या बुराई थी ? हमको इसमें डोड़ी-सी परेशानी है । मैं राव साहब को बता दूँ कि श्री गजेन्द्रगडकर की बीबी इज्जत करता हूं, उनके सम्मान के विरुद्ध कुछ कहना पसन्द नहीं करता, मगर जो कोर्ट है वह आज तक विश्वविद्यालय की पार्लियामेंट था, कोर्ट को कौंसिल के कार्यों को रिव्यू करने का अधिकार था और कोर्ट फंडामेंटल्स पर, मौलिक शिक्षा के स्वरूप पर अपनी सम्मति कट करने का अधिकार रखता था । कोर्ट अब क्या बना दिया जा रहा है ? कोर्ट केवल एक सलाहकार बाड़ी होगी । जैसे कि कार्यकारिणी है, सरकार है और संसद् है और संसद् सरकार की गतिविधियों का विवेचन करने की संसद् है उसी रूप में कब तक वहां का कोर्ट था, कोर्ट कार्यकारिणी

के कामों को रिव्यू करता था और वह शिक्षा के मूल स्वरूप को की निर्धारित करने के लिये अधिकृत था । अब हम राव साहब से पूछना चाहेंगे कि जो कोर्ट वह बनायेंगे उस कोर्ट का क्या काम होगा ? कोर्ट रहे ही क्यों ? जिस ढंग से राव साहब अब कोर्ट को रखना चाहते हैं, मेरा कहना है कि उस ढंग से कोर्ट के रहने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है । क्यों उसकी बैठक कराई जाये ? क्यों अनावश्यक ढंग पर समय को बर्बाद किया जाये ? जब कि उसको कोई अधिकार ही नहीं है । जब कि वह कोई विवेचना नहीं कर सकता, किसी काम की देख-रेख नहीं कर सकता, केवल सलाह दे सकता है, तो राव साहब का शिक्षा मंत्रालय बहुत ही अच्छी तरह से सब विश्वविद्यालयों को दे दिया करें सलाह । क्योंकि कोर्ट अब बनेगा कैसे ? यह विजिटर साहब के ऊपर निर्भर करेगा । मैं अफसोस के साथ कहना चाहता हूं और मैं चाहता हूं कि राव साहब की जनतंत्री बुद्धि को कुरेदूँ कि क्या उनकी जनतंत्री बुद्धि इस कोर्ट को कभी मान्यता प्रदान करेगी जिस तरह से कि इस विधेयक के द्वारा कोर्ट की प्रक्रिया चलाये जाने की बात है । मैं हर जनतंत्र के पुजारी को कहना चाहूंगा कि कोई भी इस व्यवस्था को नहीं मान सकता ।

आपने कहा कि इसमें ज्यादा समय नहीं लिया जाये, तो मैं बहुत ही सफाई से कहना चाहूंगा कि हम ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहते मगर राव साहब की कुछ बातों को सुन कर हमें थोड़ा-सा कहना था और उसी को मैं फिर दुहरा देना चाहूंगा । इसमें कोर्ट के लिये एक ही वर्णन है, जिस वर्णन में वाइस-चांसलर की सांकेतिक निन्दा है कि वाइस-चांसलर ने उन विद्यार्थियों को उभारा, इसका सबूत हमें मिला है, वहीं इसकी भी बात है और इसकी वजह से कोर्ट को भंग किया जाये कि कोर्ट में कुछ पुराने लोग रहते थे और उन लोगों को हटाना है इसलिये पुराने कोर्ट को खत्म करना जरूरी है । जहां तक हमारा सवाल है हम आज ही अपना इस्तीफा दे दें, बनारस के विश्वविद्यालय के कोर्ट में मैं रहूँ या न रहूँ हमारे लिये उसका कोई महत्व नहीं है, हम विश्वविद्यालय और शिक्षा संस्थाओं में कभी

[श्री राजनारायण]

हस्तक्षेप करना नहीं चाहते, कभी उनकी बातों में पड़ना नहीं चाहते, मगर जब मैं दिल्ली रहूंगा और यहां आ कर लोग बतायेंगे कि यह हुआ, वह हुआ तो मैं क्या करूंगा, मैं राव साहब से कहूंगा या नहीं कहूंगा। हमारे पास कल ही चिट्ठी आई और उसको हमने राव साहब के पास भेजा या नहीं। भेज दिया उनके पास और वह उसे देखेंगे। हम चाहते हैं कि वह उस चिट्ठी को सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी को भी भेज दें। तो हमको अफसोस हुआ कि किसको हटाने के लिये कोर्ट हटाया जा रहा है। क्या हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी को? असल में मैं अपने मित्र डा० भाई महावीर की बड़ी इज्जत करता हूं, उससे हमारा इतना ही निवेदन है कि भविष्य में हम लोग प्रतिज्ञा करें कि हमारी जो भी बात हो हम सत्य को विकृत न करें और किसी बात को सिद्ध करने के लिये इधर से उधर के ईंट पत्थर और रोड़े न जुटायें।

*(Time bell rings.)*

देखिये जो कोर्ट के मेम्बरान हैं वे ये हैं : श्री हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी, रामजस राय, रामदेव मिश्र, अक्षयवर लाल, राम व्यास पांडे और डा० जी० पी० सिंह। मैं कुछ छिपाऊंगा नहीं। डा० गनेश प्रसाद सिंह हमारे निकटतम हैं, यह हमारे एक प्रकार से खानदानी हैं, हमारी इनकी बड़ी दोस्ती है, बड़ी घनिष्ठता है। श्री रामजस राय, जब मैं वहां पढ़ता तब इनके यहां कभी कभी जा कर खाता पीता था; क्योंकि यह हमारे दूर के सम्बन्धी हैं, मगर यह डा० जी० पी० सिंह और श्री रामजस राय दोनों इस समय जोशी जी के भक्त थे, दोनों हमारे पास आये कि जोशी जी के ऊपर कोई आंच नहीं आनी चाहिये, हमने कहा हमारा जोशी जी से कोई मतलब नहीं, हमारा मतलब है विश्वविद्यालय से, अगर जोशी जी व्यवस्था को ठीक करते हैं तो जोशी जी सर-माथे और अगर जोशी जी व्यवस्था को ठीक नहीं करते तो जोशी जी को जाने दीजिये। राव साहब की इस बात से मैं कतई सहमत हूं

कि व्यक्ति के व्यक्तित्व और व्यक्ति की कार्य पद्धति और कार्य प्रणाली पर सारी बातें आश्रित हैं।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :** राजनारायण जी, आप अमेंडमेंट पर बोल रहे हैं और केवल यह अमेंडमेंट है कि कोर्ट आपकी राय में होना चाहिये या नहीं।

**श्री राजनारायण :** इसीलिये बता रहा हूं। इसको हटाने के लिये कोर्ट हटाया जा रहा है। एक काम करिये, मैं आपके द्वारा तिरछी आंखों से राव साहब को देखता हूं। मैं पार्लियामेंटरी पद्धति का पालन करूंगा और अपने स्वार्थ का पालन करूंगा और पार्लियामेंटरी पद्धति में चेयर को बराबर देखूंगा।

तो मैं आपके द्वारा, श्रीमन्, अपने भाई डा० महावीर जी को बताना चाहता हूं कि मुदालियर कमेटी की रपट पढ़ लें। मुदालियर कमेटी की रपट में उन सब को निकाला। हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी यह कौन है जो मुदालियर कमेटी की रपट से सम्मानित नहीं हुए, उस रपट के मुताबिक वहां से हटे और ये लोग सुप्रीम कोर्ट से जीते हैं, उसमें हजारी प्रसाद भी हैं, अक्षयवर लाल भी हैं, रामजस राय भी हैं और उसमें जो हमारे श्री गोपाल त्रिपाठी हैं, वह भी हैं। तो इतनी बातें उन्होंने कह दीं कोर्ट के मेम्बर गोपाल त्रिपाठी के बारे में, मैं नहीं समझता कहां से ला के कह दीं कि गोपाल त्रिपाठी ऐसे हैं, ऐसे हैं। बिल्कुल गलत है। अगर गोपाल त्रिपाठी खराब तो हजारी प्रसाद कैसे अच्छे हो गये, अगर गोपाल त्रिपाठी खराब तो रामजस राय कैसे अच्छे हो गये? अगर गोपाल त्रिपाठी खराब तो डा० गनेश कैसे अच्छे हो गये। यह सब उस मुदालियर कमेटी की रपट में है और ये सभी सुप्रीम कोर्ट में गये और श्रीमन्, आप भी जानते होंगे प्रोफेसर राघवेश्याम शर्मा सन् 1942 के मूवमेंट में हमारे साथ विश्वविद्यालय छोड़ कर आए थे। इसलिये मुदालियर कमेटी की रपट के आधार पर गोपाल त्रिपाठी के बारे में जो बातें उन्होंने कहीं, मैं समझता हूं वह बिल्कुल तर्कसंगत नहीं। ठीक है ज्योति भूषण गुप्त

को हटाने के लिये कोर्ट भंग हो रहा है। ज्योति भूषण गुप्त पर इतना बरस पड़े। सही बात यह है कि ज्योति भूषण गुप्त एक राष्ट्रीय व्यक्ति हैं, राष्ट्र की आजादी में उन्होंने काम किया है, इसलिये अगर ज्योति भूषण गुप्त के ऊपर हमारे जनसंघ के लोग बरसें तो मैं समझता हूं उचित नहीं है। गोपाल त्रिपाठी मालवीय जी के भक्त रहे हैं, सही है। श्री ज्योति भूषण गुप्त मालवीय जी के भक्त रहे हैं, सही है। इसलिये उन लोगों के ऊपर हमारे मित्र जनसंघ के बरस जायें उचित नहीं है। मैं एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूं...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :** यह स्पष्ट है कि आप कोर्ट नहीं चाहते।

**श्रम तथा पुनर्वास मंत्री (श्री जयसुख लाल हाथी) :** आप अमेंडमेंट पर बोलिये।

**श्री राजनारायण :** मैं राव साहब से यह जानना चाहता हूं कि आखिर यह कोर्ट भंग क्यों हो? इस कोर्ट को भंग करके एक नवीन प्रणाली चला दी जाये और वाइस-चान्सलर के द्वारा कोर्ट के तमाम मेम्बरों को नामिनेट कराया जाये और उनकी सलाहकार बाड़ी बनाई जाये, मैं इस व्यवस्था का घोर विरोधी हूं इसलिये मैं आपके द्वारा राव साहब से निवेदन करूंगा कि हे राव साहब, आप अपनी जनतंत्रीय प्रतिभा को इस समय विकसित कीजिए और जनतंत्री प्रतिभा को विकसित करके आप सारी समस्याओं का समाधान कीजिए। हमको कोई प्रसन्नता नहीं होती अगर विश्वविद्यालय में कोई गड़बड़ी होती है। अगर वहां कोई गड़बड़ी होती है तो हम उससे दुःखी होंगे, अगर वहां कोई हिंसा होती है, तो हम उससे दुःखी होंगे, अगर विश्व-विद्यालय में रेप होता है, अग्निकांड होता है तो हम दुःखी होते हैं। हम जो कुछ भी करेंगे वह डिफेंस में करेंगे, आफेंस में कभी नहीं करेंगे। यदि कोई हमारी साधुता को कमजोरी समझे तो मैं उनसे निवेदन करूंगा कि साधुता को कमजोरी समझने की शलतफहमी को दूर करो। इसीलिये मैं राव साहब से निवेदन

कर रहा हूं कि कोर्ट को जिस ढंग से इस विधेयक के द्वारा करप्ट किया जा रहा है वह ढंग ठीक नहीं है, उसको अलग रखें।

**SHRI T. N. SINGH :** Sir, Clause 5 is under consideration and there the Section 9 as proposed to be amended lays down the functions of the Court and it says that it shall be completely an advisory body. Now this Court also will consist of nine members, who are members of Executive Council, nominated by the Government thirty members again will be nominated by the Government plus some professors of that institution. Now, such a heavily Government nominated body, if you want to benefit by it, if you want to give some importance to those whom you think are good enough people to be nominated to that body, then don't degrade them to the position of mere advisers, whose advice may be rejected by the Government Secretariat whenever it deems it fit to do so. All I am saying is this. You want a particular change. You have it. I have my own points of difference in regard to such a change and yet I have not tried to say a word about it. But my only fear is, now that you are going to give something as a substitute, that this substitute arrangement may be prolonged for a period of three years, or even more, depending upon when the elections are held. What will happen thereafter? What will happen if a new Government, came to power? How long will this thing continue, no one can say.

Then my regret is that the Court, which is predominantly nominated by the Government, would be merely an advisory body, its advice being sought only on matters that may be referred to it. It cannot even give any advice on its own. The advice to be given will be mostly on references made by the Government. I would say this. If I were there, I should think it degrading to be the member of a Court which is so much at the mercy of the Government. I should think that all those who are going to be associated with this great university should be given some position, some dignity or some prestige and not be mere nominated people as used to be the case in the old District Boards and Municipal Boards in the days of the *Sahebs*. That should not be so. I really do not want to join issue over this any more. I have had many good friendly words with Dr. Rao. I know he can also change his temper and quarrel. So I do not want to say any word other than friendly words. But I have to repeat that

whatever may be the complexion of the Court or the names of the persons who may be nominated to the various bodies of the University, whatever may be the complexion in terms of numbers and proportions and percentages, in terms of communities etc., Kashi Vishwa Vidyalyaya is a national institution and it shall remain a national institution whatever you may say to besmirch its name or whatever you may try to say to make it appear communal. I strongly repudiate any such suggestion in its application to that great institution.

PROF. V.K.R.V. RAO : Sir, I am sorry I find myself reluctantly compelled to stick to the original position, and I am not able to accept Shri Rajnarain's amendment. He has made an appeal to my democratic conscience. I am glad he has not made any appeal to any other conscience I may have. But I can tell him that in many universities that in my own university in Delhi for example, all of us, we originally used to have the members elected to the Executive Council from among the professors, from among the Deans to the Executive Council, and so on. Then we found that, when this principle of election came within the university, it created an aspect of teacher politics. Thereupon all of us unanimously agreed that it should go by rotation rather than by election. He talked about my democratic conscience. Now, democratic procedures which are followed in one context are not necessarily followed in the literal sense of the term in another context.

As far as the Court is concerned, the whole idea is, I say again—I very much sympathise with what my friend, Mr. Singh, has said; he said that it is only an advisory body—I repeat that it is intended to be temporary, that this is an emergency measure, because somehow we want to create a situation where there will not be any more conflicts or any more difficulties arising from factions and things of that kind.

I do not agree with him that if a body is an advisory body it is not a respectable body. I think it very much depends on the composition of the body and on the manner in which it sets about its work. I can assure him that the Ministry does not come into this matter. The advice that it will give is for the Executive Council. Matters will be referred to it by the Executive Council. We do not want two authorities for the time being. Let me repeat again and again that this is not a permanent measure

at all. I can tell him that I will not have this even for three years. I have already drafted in my mind a letter to my friend, Dr. Kothari, requesting him that the Committee's Report on university governance be got as early as possible. My personal ambition is to bring forward this comprehensive legislation next winter, not this winter but the winter of 1970. I or whoever is in my place will bring it. We do not want to wait for three years. This is a temporary measure. We do not want any possible emergence of forces of the kind that had emerged in the past and that is why I would request the House to accept the clause as it stands.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : The question is :

"That clause 5 stand part of the Bill".

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clause 5 was added to the Bill.*

*Clauses 6 to 11 were added to the Bill.*

*Clause 12 (Amendment of Statutes)*

SHRI GANESHI LAL CHAUDHARY : Sir, I move :

7. "That at page 4, after line 17, the following proviso be inserted, namely :

"Provided that out of thirty persons six persons shall belong to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes".

9. "That at page 4, after line 26, the following proviso be inserted, namely :

"Provided that out of eight persons two persons shall belong to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes".

12. "That at page 5, after line 35, the following proviso be inserted, namely :—

"Provided that out of three persons one person shall belong either to the Scheduled Castes or to the Scheduled Tribes".

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MOKHERJEE (West Bengal) : Sir, I move :

16. "That at page 3, lines 22 to 24, for the words only so long as the Vice-Chancellor on whose recommendation he was appointed holds office, the words 'four years' be substituted".

17. "That at page 4, after line 17, the following be inserted, namely :

"(h) five students, elected by th students from among themselves"

18. "That at page 4, for line 26, the following be substituted, namely :

'(b) eight persons, four of whom shall be from the members of the teaching staff of the Banaras Hindu University, to be nominated by the Visitor' "

19 "That at page 4, line 30, for the words 'three years' the words 'four years' be substituted"

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Sir, I move :

29 "That at page 4 for lines 19-20, the following be substituted, namely .

(3) This arrangement shall continue only for a period of six months"

30 "That at page 4, for lines 29-30, the following be substituted, namely :

"(3) This arrangement shall continue only for a period of six months"

31 "That at pages 4 and 5, lines 33 to 42 and 1 to 28, respectively be deleted"

*The questions were proposed.*

श्री गनेशी लाल चौधरी : उपासभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं मंत्री जी को बधाई देता हूँ कि उन्होंने जनरल डिस्कशन के मौके पर सदन को इस बात का यकीन दिलाया है कि हरिजन और गिरिजन के भी आदमियों का मौका पड़ने पर लिया जायेगा। मैं मंत्री जी से कैटेगोरिकल एश्योरेस चाहता हूँ और वह इसलिए चाहता हूँ कि जब कभी भी इस तरह का मौका आता है, कहीं किसी को नामिनेशन करने का मौका आता है, किसी स्थान पर रखने का मौका आता है, तो उस समय सारे हिन्दुस्तान में शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोगों की ढुंढाई होती है और फिर दिमाग में आता है कि 10 करोड़ की जनता में कोई भी ऐसा योग्य व्यक्ति उनमें से नहीं है जो इस स्थान पर रखा जा सके।

अभी पिछले दिनों की बात है, जब बैंक नेशनलाइजेशन बिल को हमने यहाँ पर पास किया था, उस समय भी मैंने एक सशोधन के द्वारा सरकार का ध्यान इस बात की ओर आकर्षित किया था कि आप जब बोर्ड आफ डायरेक्टर्स का नामिनेशन करेंगे, तो उसमें

हरिजन और गिरिजन को भी प्रतिनिधित्व देने की कृपा करेंगे। मैं इस बात को जानता हूँ कि उस समय मंत्री जी ने यह विश्वास दिलाया था कि वह हरिजन और गिरिजन के आदमियों को भी लेंगे। लेकिन मैं यह भी जानता हूँ कि जब इस बारे में ढुंढाई होगी तो उनके दिमाग में कोई भी आदमी नहीं आयेगा। 10 करोड़ हरिजन और गिरिजन में से कोई भी आदमी उनकी नजरों में ऐसा नहीं आयेगा जो कि इन जगहों पर रखा जा सके। यह बात मैं इसलिए कह रहा हूँ क्योंकि इस सदन में माननीय मंत्री जी की तरफ से हर तरह के एश्योरेसेज हो जाते हैं तब भी उनके आदमियों को नहीं लिया जाता है।

मैंने देखा है कि हमारे देश को स्वतंत्र हुए करीब 20 साल हो गये हैं, लेकिन सरकारी सर्विस में, सरकारी नौकरियों में हरिजन और गिरिजन के बहुत ही कम लोगों को लिया गया है। उनका जो रिजर्वेशन का कोटा था उसको भी नहीं भरा गया है। मेरा खयाल है कि इन 20 सालों में इन लोगों का नौकरियों में परसेंट करीब  $\frac{1}{4}$  परसेंट या, एक परसेंट या दो परसेंट होगा। इसलिए मेरा यह खयाल है कि इन लोगों के लिए सर्विस में जो रिजर्वेशन की सुविधा दी गई है वह भी नहीं भरी गई है। उनके आदमियों को एक ही शर्त पर नौकरी में नहीं लिया जाता है कि वह सर्विस के योग्य नहीं हैं। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ भी नामिनेशन का मौका आये, वहाँ पर सरकार का यह कर्त्तव्य हो जाना चाहिये कि वह हरिजन और गिरिजन के आदमियों को भी मौका दे, उन जगहों पर बिठलाये। अगर आप उनको काम करने का मौका ही नहीं देंगे तो उनमें योग्यता कहा से आयेगी। योग्यता कोई भी पैदा होते ही नहीं सीख लेता है और न योग्य होकर पैदा होता है। योग्यता तो सीखने से आती है। जब आप किसी आदमी को किसी काम के करने का मौका देंगे तभी वह धीरे धीरे उस काम को सीखेगा। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप हरिजन और गिरिजन के आदमियों को काम सीखने का मौका दें और सदन में जो एश्योरेस आपने दिया है



[श्री गनेशी लाल चौधरी]

उसको पूरा करें। जब आप इस तरह की बात करेंगे तब ही आपके एश्योरेस और आपके ऊपर इन लोगों का विश्वास पैदा होगा।

मंत्री जी मेरे किसी भी संशोधन को मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं है और मुझे अपने संशोधन वापस लेने पड़ेगे। लेकिन मैं टेस्ट के तौर पर मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपको जिस समय भी मौका मिले, हरिजन और गिरिजन के आदमियों को रखने की पूरी कोशिश करें। यह न हो कि जो आपने एश्योरेसेज रखे हैं वे कोरे के कोरे ही रह जायें और हरिजन तथा गिरिजन के आदमियों को काम करने का मौका ही न मिले और वे इन स्थानों में न आ सकें।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं मंत्री से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वे मेरे संशोधन को मान लें।

**SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MOKHERJEE :** Sir, in moving my amendments I should like to say that I do not find any reason for any of the officers appointed to be linked up with the Vice-Chancellor. So far as the functioning of the University is concerned, we know the Rector also holds a high office. The Rector serves a very useful purpose in the University and if he is compelled to leave with the departure of the Vice-Chancellor I do not think he would serve any useful purpose.

My another contention is this. So far as the Banaras Hindu University is concerned we all know that unless and until the active co-operation of the students is obtained it is not possible for any Vice-Chancellor, for any Executive Council, for any Court, to run the University properly and fairly. Therefore if some members of the student community are taken into the Court I think it would be much better. If the students are asked to share the responsibility of running the University properly and fairly I think the purpose of the Bill would be served in a better way.

My last contention is this. We are going to have an Executive Council which will be responsible for the management of the entire University even for a limited period; as the Minister categorically assured us this Bill is purely a temporary measure. But even for that limited period an Executive Council responsible for

running the University is going to be constituted, where there is no representation of the University itself except through the Vice-Chancellor. The eight persons will be nominated by the Visitor. I would therefore request the Minister to accept my amendment because at least four of them should come from the teaching community. I do not know of any University where the Executive Council is absolutely without any representation of the teaching community. Until the teachers and students of the Banaras Hindu University are taken into confidence no person, however best and choicest he may be, will be able to run the University properly and fairly.

With these words I request the hon. Minister to accept my amendments.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :** श्री राजनारायण जी, आपके 3 अमेन्डमेंट हैं। 29 से लेकर 31 तक और आप तीनों ही अमेन्डमेंट पर बोलिये। आप अपने संशोधन द्वारा 3 साल के बजाये 6 महीना चाहते हैं।

**श्री राजनारायण :** अगर आप यह चाहते हैं कि हम न बोले तो ठीक है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :** मैंने तो आपके संशोधनों का सारांश बतला दिया है।

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, जब हमने श्री राव साहब को सुना तो हम यह नहीं कह सकते हैं कि उनके ऊपर यकीन नहीं है। राव साहब के ऊपर हमारा पूरा विश्वास है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :** वे भी तो ऐसा ही कहते हैं।

**PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO :** In his heart.

**श्री राजनारायण :** मंत्री की पवित्र भावना को यदि कानूनी रूप नहीं दिया जायेगा तो उस पवित्र भावना की कौन कद्र करेगा। हमारे जैसा कोई आदमी होगा वही करेगा। यह सरकार तो करेगी नहीं। आज देखिये श्रीमन्, आप यहां की अवस्था से हमसे ज्यादा अवगत हैं क्योंकि आपके पास बराबर रपट आती रहती है। (Interruption) यानी

यहां पर कई लोग हैं जो कानून का उल्लंघन खुद करवा रहे हैं। खैर, इसको मद्दे-नज़र रखते हुये आज कौन-सी सरकार रहेगी, कौन-सी सरकार नहीं रहेगी, राव साहब कब तक इस पद पर रहेंगे, कब इस पद पर नहीं रहेंगे, इस सब की बहुत ही अनिश्चित स्थिति है। अगर राव साहब हम को यह गारंटी दें कि उनकी इतनी प्रतिभा और शान है कि वे जब तक इस विश्वविद्यालय का वैसा कानून बनवा नहीं लेंगे जैसा कि उन्होंने यहां पर अपना भाव दर्शाया है, तब तक वे शिक्षा मंत्री के पद पर रहेंगे और शिक्षा मंत्री के पद पर रह कर मंत्रिपरिषद् को अपने मन के मुताबिक प्रभावित करने की शक्ति भी रखेंगे, तो मैं उनकी बात को मान जाऊंगा। माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री के प्रति हमारे मन में बड़ा आदर है, मगर उस आदर का हम कैसे प्रयोग करें? अब त्रिगुण सेन जी को ही देख लीजिये। जितने शिक्षाविद् हैं वे परेशान हैं कि त्रिगुण सेन जी को किस तरीके से कहां से उठा कर कहा फेंक दिया। वह भी काशी विश्वविद्यालय के वाइस-चांसलर थे। यह मैं जानता हूं कि यह शिक्षा मंत्री जी स्पष्ट रहेंगे। यह लाईलूई करने वाले होंगे नहीं। यह किचेन कैबिनेट के मेम्बर होंगे नहीं, किचेन कैबिनेट के यह मेम्बर बनेंगे नहीं। यह तो मैं इनकी गारंटी ले लेता हूं। लेकिन इनकी ज़िदगी कितने दिन की है। इसलिये मैं बहुत ही मज़बूती के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि राव साहब सुझाव दे तो मैं मान लूंगा . . .

**श्री महाबीर प्रसाद शुक्ल :** एक्स्ट्रानियस कासिड्रेशन आप कर रहे हैं। बिल पर बोलिये।

**श्री राजनारायण :** आपके दांत टूटे हुये हैं, इसलिये आवाज़ नहीं आती है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :** आप अपनी बात कहिये।

**श्री राजनारायण :** मैं यह कह रहा था कि 6 महीने की जो अवधि हमने रखी है उसमे हमने राव साहब की इच्छा को मूर्तिमान स्वरूप दिया है। राव साहब बराबर यह कहते हैं कि

हम यह टेम्पोरेरी मेज़र ला रहे हैं, यह संक्रमणकालीन व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं, अस्थायी व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं। राव साहब के कथनानुसार भी यह तीन साल तक जायेगा। मैं यह चाहता हूं कि छह महीने की अवधि इस कानून के अन्दर रख दी जाये ताकि अगर राव साहब यहां न भी रहें और कोई दूसरा अ, ब, स आ जाये तो उसको हम पकड़ सकें कि कानून में यह लिखा हुआ है, छह महीने के अन्दर आपको कानून लाना ही पड़ेगा, नहीं लाओगे तो मामला बिगड़ जायेगा।

रेक्टर के बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि रेक्टर का पद हटा दिया जाये। मुझको रेक्टर शब्द से ही नफरत हो गई है। हमारे विश्वविद्यालय में वाइस-चांसलर और प्रो-वाइस-चांसलर रहा करते थे। जैसे हमारे सर ज्वाला प्रसाद जी थे। प्रो-वाइस-चांसलर के हाथों दूसरे ढंग की व्यवस्था होती थी। आज रेक्टर शब्द से हमको इतनी नफरत हो गई है कि इस काशी विश्वविद्यालय के रेक्टर को देख कर के एकदम हमारा मन भर गया है। मैं आपके द्वारा शिक्षा मंत्री जी से फिर निवेदन करूंगा कि यह जो एक अच्छी रपट आई है जिसके श्री गजेन्द्रगडकर साहब सदर थे इसको ठीक तरह से पढ़ा जाये और रेक्टर के बारे में जो इसमें आक्षेप है उसको भी ठीक तरह से देख लिया जाये और रेक्टर ने किस तरह से अपने पद का दुरुपयोग किया उसको भी ज़रा ठीक तरह से देख लिया जाय। उनका कहा हुआ एक वाक्य मैं यहां पर भी कहना चाहता हूं। ऐसे व्यक्ति को मैं क्या कहूं जो कि कहता है कि विश्वविद्यालय में बिल्कुल हिंसा का वातावरण व्याप्त है, ऐ विद्यार्थियो, तुम मे सदबुद्धि आये, इसलिये मैं इस काम के लिये अन्न त्याग करता हूं और जब उनको कोर्ट में बुलाया तो बोले कि मैं दूध और फल खा कर के गया था। हमने उनसे कहा कि यह आपका भाषण है, यह आपका लिखा हुआ है, यह आपका हस्ताक्षर है, यह आपका बयान है। तो वह रेक्टर जिसके बारे में . . .

**श्री तारकेश्वर पाडे :** रेक्टर साहब का नाम बता दीजिये कि वे कौन हैं?

**श्री राजनारायण :** पंडित हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी। जब जोशी जी चंडीगढ़ में थे तो चंडीगढ़ में यह उनके रेक्टर थे और जब जोशी जी यहां आये तो उनको भी यहां लाकर के रेक्टर बना दिया। रेक्टर की नियुक्ति को भी उन्होंने क्वेश्चन किया है। जिस ढंग से श्री हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी रेक्टर बनाये गये वह बिल्कुल अशोभनीय है। मैं यहां पर कहना चाहूंगा कि इस स्पट के 51 पेज को जरा मंत्री जी पढ़ें। नरेन्द्र सिन्हा पर जो अनुशासन की कार्रवाई हुई उसके सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने यह कहा है कि नरेन्द्र सिन्हा के ऊपर अनुशासन की कार्रवाई इसलिये हुई कि श्री दामोदर सिंह जो दूसरे नम्बर पर थे उनको नरेन्द्र सिन्हा की जगह यूनियन का अध्यक्ष बना दिया जाये। मैं चाहूंगा कि यह जो 3.110 है इसको सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य अच्छी तरह से पढ़ें। इसमें गजेन्द्रगड र कमीशन ने जो लिखा है वह इस प्रकार है

“A meeting of the Standing Committee be called on September 27, 1968 at 11 A M to consider the question of working of the Students' Union”

स्टूडेंट्स यूनियन की वर्किंग कैसे हो इसके लिये रेक्टर साहब स्टैंडिंग कमेटी की मीटिंग 27 सितम्बर को बुलवा लिये। (Interruption) उन्होंने कहा कि केजुअल वेकेंसी नहीं है। मगर हमने उनमें कहा कि क्या कर रहे हो। आपके द्वारा राव साहब से मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हू कि कोई भी ऐसी बात हमने इस सदन में नहीं उठाई जिसके बारे में पहले हमने वाइस-चांसलर से निवेदन न किया हो, पहले हमने रेक्टर से निवेदन न किया हो। हमने उनको चिट्ठी लिखी, बनारस में उनको टेलीफोन किया, फिर उनके कमरे में जा कर के उनसे बात की कि यह सब काम गलत हो रहा है। चिट्ठी लिखते लिखते हमारा हाथ थक गया है। तो फिर रेक्टर का पद यहां पर क्यों रखा जाये? जब शिक्षा मंत्री जी कहते

हैं कि गजेन्द्रगडकर कमीशन ने कोई रिक्मेडेशन नहीं की है, तो मैं श्रीमन्, चाहूंगा कि मैं आपकी आज्ञा में इस को पढ़ दू।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :** पढ़ने के चक्कर में मत पड़िये।

**श्री राजनारायण** आप इस को समझ लीजिये। बहुत जल्दी पढ़ दूंगा। थोड़ा ही है। इसमें यह दिया है

“The order of expulsion passed against Mr Sinha the next day has another intriguing aspect”

गजेन्द्रगडकर कमीशन ने इसमें लिखा है कि जिस ढंग से नरेन्द्र सिन्हा को एक्सपेल किया गया, यह दूसरा षड्यंत्र का विषय है। फिर आगे चल कर के यह लिखा है

“Some witnesses suggested to us that it was not unlikely that the object of passing an order of expulsion against Mr Sinha was to enable Mr Damodar Singh to step into the position of the President of the Students Union. Before we develop this point, we ought to add that after the election of the office-bearers of the Students' Union took place, in one of the meetings the Vice-Chancellor in his address to the students said that Mr Sinha had secured about 2,400 votes, Mr Damodar Singh had also secured about 1 900 votes and Mr Kapuria about 1,100 votes. The announcement of these figures, we were told, was intended to show that Mr Sinha did not represent the whole of the student community and that Mr Damodar Singh came next to him in the matter of his representative capacity”

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :** आपके जो अमेडमेंट्स हैं उनमें से इसका किससे सम्बन्ध है?

**श्री राजनारायण** इसमें रेक्टर, वाइस-चांसलर, स्टैंडिंग कमेटी, सब के बारे में है। सभी के बारे में हमने 6 महीने रखा है। (Time bell rings) हम पांच मिनट में खत्म कर देंगे।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :** एक अमेडमेंट पर आप ने 15 मिनट ले लिये हैं। दो तीन मिनट में खत्म कर दीजिये।

**श्री राजनारायण :** तो मैं राव साहब से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इससे ज्यादा श्री गजेन्द्रगडकर, जो उच्च न्यायालय के सर्व-प्रमुख जज रहा चुके हैं, और क्या कहेंगे ? आगे भी देखिये . . .

**SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI :** Thank you.

**श्री राजनारायण :** हाथी जी, मजाक मत कीजिये । वहाँ पर तो हम लोगो पर बीतेगी । आप क्या तमाशा कर रहे हैं ? इस समय तो हाथी साहब इसमें इट्रेस्टेड हैं कि कौन जीतता है, लेकिन हमारे लिये इसमें कोई इट्रेस्ट नहीं है, चाहे रेड्डी साहब जीते, चाहे गिरि साहब जीते । इस समय दिमाग को आप उस मैटर में न जाने दें ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :**  
अमेडमेट पर बोलिये ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** बोलता हूँ । हमारे साथ कोई अगुल भर शराफत करे, तो हम डेढ़ हाथ शरीफ होते हैं लेकिन अगर कोई बदमाशी करता है तो हम उसके आगे से जा नहीं सकते ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :**  
आप फिर व्याख्या करने लगे ।

**श्री राजनारायण :**

“Those witnesses who did not approve of the Vice-Chancellor's order expelling Mr. Sinha urged that in passing the order of expulsion the Vice-Chancellor presumably intended to invoke the provision of clause IV(8) of the Constitution of the BHU Students' Union. This clause provides that a casual vacancy in the office of the President and General Secretary shall be filled in by the person who obtained the next higher number of votes, provided he is not holding any other elective office of the Students' Union. The argument is that it was thought that if Mr. Sinha was expelled, his expulsion would cause a casual vacancy in the office of the President of the Students' Union and Mr. Damodar Singh, who had secured the next highest number of votes would be installed. A witness who gave this explanation definitely stated . . .”

राव साहब इसको भी पढ़ लें । हम इसको भी जोड़ देना चाहते हैं अपने समर्थन में ।

**PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO :** I have read the whole report.

**श्री राजनारायण :**

“That in his opinion, Mr. Sinha was expelled knowing fully well that his expulsion would lead to the appointment of Mr. Damodar Singh as the President of the Students' Union. We ought to add that the witness who gave this evidence struck us as a very responsible, reliable and independent person. At this stage it may incidentally be pointed out that while passing the order of expulsion against Mr. Sinha, the Vice-Chancellor had also passed another order on the same day”.

The order is that a meeting of the Standing Committee should be called. दोनो आर्डर साथ साथ । इससे ज्यादा कोई जज क्या कहेगा ? जज ने कहा कि एक ही साथ सिन्हा के ऊपर आर्डर पास हुआ है और स्टैंडिंग कमेटी बुलाने का भी आर्डर पास हुआ यूनिवर्सिटी यूनियन की एक्टिविटी चलाने के बारे में विचार करने के लिए । क्या कोई जनतंत्रीय और सुबद्धि वाला आदमी कोई दूसरा नतीजा निकाल सकता है ? श्रीमन्, मैं आपके हाथ में सारा मामला सिपुर्द करने को तैयार हूँ । इस ढंग से विद्यार्थी को विश्वविद्यालय से निकाला जाये और उसके बारे में मंत्री जी कहें कि राजनारायण हम पर दबाव न डालें, हम जानते हैं कि राजनारायण के कमिटमेट हैं । मैं ईमानदारी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा कमिटमेट यह है कि काशी विश्वविद्यालय, जो पूज्य महामना के कर-कमलो द्वारा बना हुआ है वह अबाध गति में, सौम्य अवस्था में चले, वहाँ कोई गड़बड़ न हो, हुडगड़ न हो । इसलिए मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ जो विद्यार्थियों को ऐसे निकाला गया उस पर शिक्षा मंत्री ध्यान दें और इसी के सम्बन्ध में मैं एक वाक्य और पढ़ना चाहूँगा ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :**  
बस । आपका कमिटमेट है कि आप समाप्त करें ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** अगर मैं आगे जाऊं तो आप रोक दीजिएगा, मैं बैठ जाऊंगा। मैं मजूमदार के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। मजूमदार के बारे में हमारे मंत्री जी उस पेज को पढ़ लेगे . . .

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :**  
उनको पेज मालूम है।

**श्री राजनारायण :** मजूमदार को किस तरह से पीटा गया, किस तरह से बेहोश कर दिया गया, वाइस-चांसलर के बंगले पर ले जाया गया। पुलिस कप्तान ने बयान में कहा है कि मुझे डर था कि अगर वह काशी विश्व-विद्यालय के अस्पताल में भेजा गया तो जिन लोगों ने उसे पीटा है वह फिर पीटेंगे, इसलिए मैंने अपनी पुलिस के साथ उसको बाहर अस्पताल में भेजा और वहां से जेल गया। भगवान स्वरूप ने उस विद्यार्थी को बन्द करके पीटा है। प्रोक्टर ने गवाही क्या दी है, भीतर से कमरा बन्द कर दिया गया था, बाहर से ताला लगा दिया गया था। यह सारा का सारा बयान गजेन्द्रगडकर कमेटी ने गलत माना है। आपके द्वारा दसो नह जोड़ कर विद फोल्डेड हैड्स राव साहब से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि राव साहब कोई भी अच्छी व्यवस्था तिकड़म और बेईमानी की बुनियाद पर नहीं चल सकती, कोई भी मुल्क तिकड़म और बदमाशी के आधार पर आगे नहीं जा सकता।

शिक्षा मंत्री ने कहा कि उनके सामने कोई बात आती थी तो वे खुद चले जाते थे, उन्होंने एक विद्यार्थी को निष्कासित नहीं किया उसके लिए उनको साधुवाद। हमने मालवीय जी का जमाना देखा है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :**  
बस, राजनारायण जी . . .

**श्री राजनारायण :** आप विद्यार्थियों को एड्रेस करके देखें कि वहां क्या सत्य है, क्या असत्य है। श्रीमन्, आप चले जायें, कोई भी चला जायें, वहां के विद्यार्थियों को देखें कि कहां न्याय है, कहां अन्याय है। अगर राव साहब यह कहें कि राजनारायण तुम कितना

भी अन्याय हो, इस वक्त अन्याय को बर्दाश्त करो तो मैं ममता के साथ, हाथ जोड़कर गांधी जी का वाक्य कहूंगा कि गुडागर्डी, बदमाशी, जुल्म वही पर होता है जहां बुजदिल और कायर होते हैं, अगर अन्याय को सहने वाले न रहे तो अन्यायी अपने आप समाप्त हो जायेंगे। इसलिए अन्याय को समाप्त करने के लिए मैं अन्याय सहने से इन्कार करूंगा और जो हमारी राय मानेंगे उनसे भी निवेदन करूंगा कि अन्याय को बर्दाश्त मत करना, चाहे मर मिटना क्योंकि अन्याय को बर्दाश्त करोगे तो अन्याय बढ़ेगा।

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** इस क्लॉज 12 के बारे में मुझे केवल कुछ ही बातें निवेदन करनी हैं। मैं नहीं जानता कि कोई पद किसी व्यक्ति-विशेष पर सीमित करके उसके सम्बन्ध में टीका करनी चाहिये। मैं श्री हजारी प्रसाद जी को नहीं जानता, उनके बारे में कुछ कह नहीं सकता। हजारी प्रसाद जी ने ठीक प्रकार से काम किया है या नहीं किया है, रेक्टर के पद की आवश्यकता या अनावश्यकता केवल उनके व्यक्तिगत कारणों को लेकर सिद्ध नहीं होनी चाहिए। मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि रेक्टर के पद की आज बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी में आवश्यकता है। महज इस वजह से कि किसी व्यक्ति-विशेष के सम्बन्ध में किसी को आपत्ति हो तो राव साहब उसके लिए कोई दूसरा प्रबन्ध करे और उनके भी हटाने की कोई गुंजाइश न हो तो और आर्बिनेन्स निकाल दे, लेकिन महज एक व्यक्ति को हटाने के लिए पद ही समाप्त कर दिया जाये, मैं इस बात का समर्थन नहीं कर सकता।

इन बाडीज में हैड्स आफ डिपार्टमेंट्स और प्रोफेसर्स आफ डिपार्टमेंट्स के नामिनेशन का सवाल है विजिटर के द्वारा। वैसे तो विजिटर समझ कर सब बातों की सावधानी रखेंगे लेकिन अगर इस नामिनेशन में कोई मिस्टम इन्ट्रोड्यूस कर दिया जाये या कोई सीनियोरिटी जैसी चीज का विचार

हो जाये तो बिना किसी प्रकार की शंकाएं या आरोप लगे लोगों को नामिनेट करने की गुंजाइश हो जायेगी और वहां पर नामिनेट किए गए व्यक्तियों को निर्विवाद रूप से, बिना किसी टीका के काम करना सम्भव होगा।

जो 30 आदमी नामिनेट होने वाले हैं विज्रिटर के द्वारा, उनके सम्बन्ध में मेरा निवेदन है इनमें एक तो रजिस्टर्ड ग्रेजुएट्स आफ दि यूनिवर्सिटी का रिप्रेजेंटेशन हो, यूनिवर्सिटी को बनाने में डोनर्स का एक स्थान रहा है उनकी तरफ का रिप्रेजेंटेशन हो, सेण्ट्रल यूनिवर्सिटी होते हुए भी उत्तर प्रदेश में स्थित है इसलिए उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार का प्रतिनिधि या उससे सम्बन्धित व्यक्ति हो और बनारस शहर में है इसलिए लोकल अथारिटी का रिप्रेजेंटेटिव भी हो। अगर इस तरह से कुछ इसका वर्गीकरण हो जाय तो वास्तव में जिन्होंने यूनिवर्सिटी को ऊंचे आदर्शों से बनाने के लिए अपना पैसा दिया है, समय दिया है, सर्वस्व दिया है या जो यूनिवर्सिटी से पढ़कर निकले हैं और जो एहसान मानते हैं कि हम इस यूनिवर्सिटी के स्नातक रहे उन्हीं को लिया जाये तो अनावश्यक रूप से विवादास्पद व्यक्ति इस नामिनेशन से अलग रखे जा सकेंगे। इस बात का आप प्रबन्ध करें।

जो एग्जीक्यूटिव कौंसिल में "8 पर्सन्स नामिनेटेड बाई दि विज्रिटर" आपने रखा है, मैं चाहता हूं कि उसमें यूनिवर्सिटी के डीन और हैड्स आफ डिपार्टमेंट्स के लिए कुछ स्थान निश्चित होना चाहिए, उनके प्रतिनिधियों को भी इसमें रखने की गुंजाइश हमको बनानी चाहिए।

मैं ऐसा समझता हूं कि अगर नामजदगी करते समय इन चीजों का ध्यान रखा गया तो जो लोग वास्तव में यूनिवर्सिटी के काम में मदद दे सकते हैं, सहयोगी हो सकते हैं उनको उचित प्रतिनिधित्व मिलेगा और उनके सहयोग से यूनिवर्सिटी के इन दोनों इंस्टीट्यूशन्स को चलाने में सफलता प्राप्त होगी।

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : Sir, I shall first deal with the amendment moved by my hon. friend. Mr. Ganeshi Lal Chaudhary. As he anticipated, I do not find it possible to accept the amendment. But I must tell him that it is not because I do not appreciate the importance of our doing something special to see that our brothers who belong to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes get extra special opportunities to come up in life because of the grave handicaps that they have suffered over the centuries. There is no question about it. I completely accept the principle. If he is so minded and if he looks up the Planning Commission documents, a seminar was specially organised to go into the whole subject of employment of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I had ordered a special inquiry through the employment exchanges and got the reports and held a seminar. At that time, Mr. Jagjivan Ram—he was not a member of the Government then—was one of the Members who took part in that seminar. And following that, I went myself to Panditji, drafted a letter, got his signature and got it sent to the Chief Ministers of all the States for the implementation of that recommendation.

Mr. Ganeshi Lal Chaudhary said that the Minister can give ten thousand assurances. (Interruptions) I am talking of the period when I was in the Planning Commission because I was dealing with that subject then. I had to say this because he said that I will find ten thousand names but I will not find anyone of them who is suitable. That was not the case. I would like to tell you that the membership of the Court and the Executive Council on the basis of special representation for castes, even when they are backward castes and tribes, is not a very appropriate way of bringing up these particular classes. If the hon. Member had said that something should be done with regard to their appointment—and I believe that something has been done with regard to their appointments—and if he had said that something should be done about their employment, it would be proper. But I do not think it proper to bring the principle of caste even if they are the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, in the matter of the composition either of the Executive Council or the Court. I hope the hon. Member will accept my view.

Then, Sir, regarding the amendments which have been moved by Mr. Pranab Kumar Mokherjee from the other side

[Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao]

he asked why the tenure of the Rector should be linked up with that of the Vice-Chancellor. It is because the Rector in effect is the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor always comes with the Vice-Chancellor because they function as a team. The Vice-Chancellor has to delegate some of his powers to the Rector in the case of the Banaras Hindu University and to the Pro-Vice-Chancellor in the case of the other universities. Here, I am afraid not much delegation was done, which was a mistake. Actually, there should be delegation of power from the Vice-Chancellor to the Rector on a number of specified matters, and he has to enjoy the complete confidence of the Vice-Chancellor. And if a new Vice-Chancellor comes and the old Rector does not enjoy his confidence, it will be very difficult for him to administer the university. But there is no prohibition against the reappointment of the Rector. The provisions always permit the reappointment of the Rector. In case the new Vice-Chancellor wants him for certain purposes.

Incidentally, I can also answer the point of Mr. Rajnarain that there should be no Rector, and I think...

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Pro-Vice-Chancellor.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : That is what he is saying. Some name like the Rector was liked simply because some one gentleman was a Rector. I would like to tell you. I did not want any names to be brought in. But as far as Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedy is concerned, he probably is a rather kind-hearted person—if you like, he is perhaps a soft-hearted person. And I am sure Mr. Rajnarain, even though he sometimes sounds violent, will not get angry with people ever with soft-hearts.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं उनकी बड़ी इज्जत करता हूँ।

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : Dr. Dwivedy is a very respected member, a very respected author and litterateur. He had resigned but on my request, he has not pressed his resignation. He is carrying on the functions, and he has said that he will carry on the functions till the new Vice-Chancellor is appointed. And he is not interested in staying as Rector. If the new Vice-Chancellor wants him to stay, it is a different matter. But he himself is not interested.

I think the Rector's position should be there and it should be co-terminous with that of the Vice-Chancellor.

Then the suggestion was made by my friend: Why can't some student members be taken in to the Court, into the nominated Court? Quite honestly, I would love to do it. But my difficulty would be this. Unfortunately, the students have also got party labels. And I am very anxious to see that the first Court does not lead to any kind of controversy. I have already assured the hon. Member and the House that we are going into the whole subject of the governance of universities and we have to find out some procedure, some method, for student participation without involving and bringing into university affairs political considerations which may be relevant outside the House but which would not be relevant within the university. And on this matter, that Committee is working. So, when that Committee's Report comes and when we reorganise the universities, at least I am hoping that there will be some provision made for student participation in some of these bodies. Which bodies I cannot say just now. But it would be difficult for me to accept at this moment having two or three students in this nominated Court. If I nominate students who are unknown, well it will not work. If I nominate students who are prominent, they may be either of Jana Sangh or SSP or CPI or may be Congress, I do not know. And the moment you do it, it becomes very difficult for these things to function. While I sympathise with the principle behind my friends' observation I would request him to understand and appreciate my inability to accept it as far as the present Court is concerned.

Regarding the third suggestion about the Executive Council, I do not know if the hon. Member had seen this or not. On page 85 of the Gajendragadkar Committee's Report, they themselves have said, "We would also recommend that teachers of repute working in the Banaras Hindu University should find a place in these bodies. They have themselves made that recommendation. This was not the case when the Aligarh University was reorganised. This is a specific recommendation made by the Gajendragadkar Committee. I propose to accept the recommendation. How many it should be out of eight—whether it should be two or three—it is for the Visitor to decide. One has to go into that carefully.

I will also bear in mind the suggestion of Mr. Bhandari that the University people should be there. It is not a question of representation only, they will be selected from there. But some people from the university will be on the Executive Council so that the Executive Council will be a body of persons completely cut off and having no knowledge of what is happening in the university.

About the amendments of my friend, Mr. Rajnarain, he asked me whether I can give him an assurance that I will continue to be Education Minister till the Bill is passed. I do not know, Sir. Who can give such an assurance?

**श्री राजनारायण :** अगर आप दे भी तो मैं मानू क्यों ?

**PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO :** I am not sure if any insurance company will be prepared to take out a policy. In political life nobody can give a guarantee as to how long he will continue to be in what post. That is the reason why, when I spoke, I specially said that speak in the name of the Government of India, that I am making a formal commitment. Whoever is my successor—because Government is a continuous body—has to take the responsibility. As you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, knows in regard to some matters which happened earlier, I cannot say that things happened earlier and therefore I cannot take the responsibility. Government is continuous. I can assure him that he would be in a position to do this. Mr. Rajnarain is a formidable person. Whoever succeeds me will not be such a formidable person like him and he will certainly get hold of him if he fails in three years to bring forward comprehensive legislation.

Regarding the question of students, I do not want to go into the details of the report and so on because I am very anxious that a good atmosphere is maintained. But I do not want any misunderstanding to be created. From the Gajendragadkar Committee's report there is no doubt that perhaps the procedure was not followed and perhaps Mr. Sinha should have continued as the President of the Union. But that does not mean that they are entitled to re-admission. Mr. Rajnarain has made a very good study of the report because he was asking me to refer to this page or that page. I would refer him to paragraph 3.211 at page 78 which says :

“At this stage we would like to make it clear that though we have commented on the procedure followed by the Vice-Chancellor in passing orders of expulsion against Mr. Majumdar, Mr. Ravi Shankar Singh and Mr. Sinha, we do not at all approve of their conduct in surrounding the Vice-Chancellor's car, delivering several violent speeches and instigating the commission of violent acts on the University campus during the period that they were leading the agitation against the Vice-Chancellor. A large body of evidence given before us by witnesses whom we see no reason to disbelieve referred to these activities of these three student leaders. From this evidence we are satisfied that they became power conscious and did try to throw their weight about. This, in our view, is not at all conducive to the maintenance of discipline on the University campus and the steady pursuit of academic work.”

**श्री राजनारायण :** मैं एक ही निवेदन करूंगा, जरा हमें सुन लें। जब आपने यह पढ़ा तो मैं आपसे निवेदन करूंगा कि वह भी आप पढ़ दें इसी के साथ साथ जो कि मारने की बात कही गई है। हजारी प्रसाद ने कहा कि कभी हम लोगो ने नहीं कहा कि मजूमदार और सिंह ने हमको मारा। देखिये, निष्पक्षता हो। अगर उस लडके को वहां रखेंगे और उनको नहीं रखेंगे तो आप खुद ही समझ ले कि क्या स्थिति है।

**PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO :** I know all that. I think Mr. Rajnarain should know . . .

**श्री राजनारायण :** तो आप इस पर कुछ कहिये नहीं।

**PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO :** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, Mr. Rajnarain should give me the credit of my having made a fairly thorough study of the report. The Vice-Chancellor has now resigned. There were differences in the version on that incident. I know that between the version of the Vice-Chancellor and the version of the Rector there have been differences. Anyway, the Vice-Chancellor has now resigned. He has made a sacrifice. He has sacrificed on this question. That is why I said : let there be some more sacrifice because we want to restore normalcy in the campus, and this is what the Committee has definitely stated.



[Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao]

I was glad to hear from Mr. Rajnarain agreeing with the recommendation of the Committee that there should be no violence in the University campus and that no disturbance and goondaism should take place in the University campus.

श्री राजनारायण : मगर यह श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी को ज्यादा कहिये । हमने तो चिट्ठी आपको भेज दी ।

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : That I will pass on to Mr. Bhandari, as I said.

As regards the Executive Council, I have already mentioned it. I think I have finished. All the amendments I suggest, should either be withdrawn or thrown out. If they are withdrawn, nothing better than that. Nothing will please me more if Mr. Rajnarain withdraws them.

श्री गनेशी लाल चौधरी : माननीय मंत्री जी ने जो सदन में कहा है उसका आदर करते हुये मैं अपने संशोधनों को वापस लेता हूँ ।

\*Amendment Nos. 7, 9 and 12 were, by leave withdrawn.

\*SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MOKHERJEE : In view of the assurance of the Minister I withdraw my amendments.

Amendment Nos. 16, 17, 18 and 19 were by leave withdrawn.

श्री राजनारायण : हमको तो हारने दीजिये ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : The question is :

29. "That at page 4, for lines 19-20, the following be substituted, namely:—

"(3) This arrangement shall continue only for a period of six months".

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : The question is :

30. "That at page 4, for lines 29-30, the following be substituted, namely:—

"(3) This arrangement shall continue only for a period of six months".

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : The question is :

31. That at pages 4 and 5, lines 33 to 42 and 1 to 28, respectively, be deleted."

\*For texts of amendments, vide col. 4912 *supra*.

†For texts of amendments vide cols. 4912-4913 *supra*.

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : The question is :

"That clause 12 stand part of the Bill"

The motion was adopted.

Clause 12 was added to the Bill.

Clause 13 was added to the Bill.

Clause 1—Short Title and Commencement

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Sir, I move :

20. "That at page 1, lines 3-4, for the words 'Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Act', the words 'Kashi Vishwavidyalaya (Amendment) Act', be substituted".

21. "That at page 1, lines 5-6, for the words 'on such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint' the words 'at once' be substituted".

22. "That at page 1, for lines 5 and 6, the following be substituted, namely:—

(2) It shall remain in force for a period of six months only.

The questions were proposed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Your amendments deal with change in name and commencement.

श्री राजनारायण : हम पहले पर आते हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भागवत) :

सब को एक साथ ही लीजिये । जो तीन अमेंड-मेंट्स हैं उन पर, सब पर, बोलिये । आपका अमेंडमेंट नं० 20, 21 और 22 है, तो नाम के बारे में कहिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं नाम पर ही बोल रहा हूँ । श्रीमन्, मैं आज आपके द्वारा पुनः इस आदरणीय सदन से और विशेष रूप से शिक्षा मंत्री जी से और नेता सदन से यह निवेदन करूँगा कि पूज्य महामना मालवीय का नाम या तो हम न लें और यदि नाम लें तो उनके साथ न्याय करें । भारतीय संस्कृति और भारतीय परम्परा को या तो हृदयंगम न करें, उसका उच्चारण न करें और यदि उच्चारण करें तो उसके प्रति वफादार हों । श्रीमन्, मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया की

किसी संस्कृति में शिलालेख, नींव के पत्थर पर जो नाम खुदा हुआ हो उस नाम तो बदल कर अगर कोई ताकत दूसरा नाम रख दे तो उस ताकत को क्या कहा जायेगा। वह शक्ति साधु शक्ति है या वह शक्ति असाधु शक्ति है। तो मैं इस समय अपने मित्र, अपने बुजुर्ग मित्र, श्री वी० के० आर० वी० राव साहब से कहूंगा—बल विवेक दम परिहृत घोरे, क्षमा दया समता रजु जोरे। राम के चार घोड़े थे, बल था विवेक था, करने की हिम्मत थी और परहित था, और क्षमा थी, दया थी और समता थी, राम के रथ से जो घोड़े लगे थे उनको बांधने की ये रस्सियां थीं, अगर आज वह शिक्षा मंत्री न होते, पुलिस मंत्री होते तो मैं उनको यह शब्द नहीं कहता, तो क्या मैं शिक्षा मंत्री से यह अपील कर सकता हूं, उनसे भारतीय संस्कृति की बात कर सकता हूं, तो श्रीमन्, मैं राव साहब से निवेदन करूंगा . . .

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : I know all the arguments. Therefore, if you could close your speech I would be pleased.

श्री राजनारायण : हम दूसरा आर्गुमेंट दे रहे हैं। श्रीमन्, यह क्या काउंटिंग यहां चल रही है, बार बार काउंटिंग को उनके पास भिजवाते हैं, यह संविधान और रिप्रेजेंटेशन आफ पीपुल्स ऐक्ट का उल्लंघन हो रहा है। मैं यहां सुबह से सदन में बैठा हूं और सब लोग उसका उल्लंघन कर रहे हैं, हां हमारे पास कोई काउंटिंग इनके जरिये से आ जाये तो वह अलग बात है।

तो, श्रीमन्, मेरा निवेदन है कि यह किताब हमारे पास है, यह 1916 से 1921 तक का कैलेंडर है, इसमें संस्कृत के श्लोक हैं। जो स्वायंस, जो सिक्के नींव की फाउंडेशन में रखे गये हैं उसको भी देखा जाये। इसमें कहा गया है:

"In a cavity, under the marble stone, is a copper box, containing current coins of the British Government and of various Indian States, copies of the reports of the H.U.S., that day's issue of *The Leader* and *The Pioneer*, and a large copper-plate with the following inscription :—"

क्या फालोइंग इंस्क्रिप्शन है राव साहब . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Which section of the rules are you looking into Mr. Vice-Chairman?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : I am looking into my notes about you.

प्रो० वी० के० आर० वी० राव : जवाब तो 2 मिनट में देने को तैयार हूं।

श्री राजनारायण : तो उसमें लिखा क्या है जो कि फालोइंग इंस्क्रिप्शन है। वह क्या है? "काशी विश्वविद्यालयः ताम्रपत्रलेखः . . ."

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : I would suggest, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that about the very strong and massive argument he is putting forward for the acceptance of the name of "Kashi Vishwavidyalaya" instead of "Banaras Hindu University", he can kindly supply me with a full note on this. As far as this matter is concerned, he knows very well that some years ago, the Rajya Sabha . . .

श्री राजनारायण : ठीक है हम समझ गये, बैठ जाइये। हम वापस ले लेंगे।

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : I do not want the same thing to happen again. Let me get all the arguments that you have. I do not want to be defeated.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, राव साहब के इस आश्वासन पर कि वह इसको ठीक तरीके से देखेंगे, मैं उनको पूरी प्रतिष्ठा दे रहा हूं। ठीक है, वह इस पर विचार करेंगे और इसको देखेंगे कि महामना मालवीय जी ने जो नाम रखा है . . .

प्रो० वी० के० आर० वी० राव : देखूंगा कहा है। कलंगा नहीं कहा है।

श्री राजनारायण : नहीं आप बोलते हैं पूज्य महामना द्वारा जो नाम रखा गया है वही रहेगा तो ठीक है मैं वापस ले लेता हूं।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : मेरा केवल एक निवेदन है। इस समय हमारे सामने बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी अमेरिंडिंग बिल है तो इस अमेरिंडिंग बिल में ओरिजिनल ऐक्ट का अमेण्डमेंट जो इस समय सरकार ने मूव नहीं किया

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

है क्या उसके संबंध में कोई अमेंडमेंट जो इस अमेंडिंग बिल के बाहर की चीज है, वह आपने अलाऊ किया है।

मेरा यह निवेदन है कि बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी ऐक्ट अलग बना हुआ है। यह उस बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी ऐक्ट के अंतर्गत एक अमेंडिंग बिल है। मैं इसके मेरिट्स पर नहीं जा रहा, परन्तु जैसा कि कहा गया कि उसकी जगह यह यहां कर दिया जाये कि यह अमेंडिंग ऐक्ट . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : नहीं कर रहे हैं। He is not pressing it.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : आई वाण्ट टु नो, क्या इस अमेंडिंग बिल के समय ओरिजिनल ऐक्ट में किये जाने वाले संशोधन की बात, जो यहां पर स्कोप आफ दि अमेंडिंग बिल में नहीं आता, उसके बारे में अमेंडमेंट यहां पर लाया जा सकता है क्या ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : निगेटिव अमेण्डमेंट पर भी लोग बोल सकते हैं। Technically it is out of jurisdiction of the amending Bill.

श्री राजनारायण : देखिये, ओरिजिनल ऐक्ट को अमेण्ड करने के लिये ही अमेंडिंग बिल आता है। तो ओरिजिनल ऐक्ट को अमेण्ड करने के लिये . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : After your agreement with the Minister, we need not go into this. Now you are not pressing any of the three amendments ?

श्री राजनारायण : नो। इस आश्वासन पर, चूंकि शिक्षा मंत्री ने कहा कि महामना मालवीय जी ने जो नाम रखा है वही रखा जायेगा, मैं अमेण्डमेंट वापस ले रहा हूं।

\*Amendment Nos. 20, 21 and 22 were by leave withdrawn.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Shri M. P. BHARGAVA) : The question is :

\*For texts of amendments, vide cols. 4932 supra.

That Clause I stand part of the Bill"

The motion was adopted.

Clause 1 was added to the Bill.

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

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : Sir, I move :

"That the Bill be passed".

The question was proposed.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very sorry that though this measure is temporary, the University of Banaras is going to be departmentalised. I am sure the Education Minister will see that this temporary arrangement is removed and a democratic set-up is constituted at the earliest possible time. Academic interest and academic freedom have been the objective of the present Education Minister. He had been a Vice-Chancellor himself and I am sure he will maintain that high tradition of his and that of this country in the case of this university also.

I was possibly misunderstood when I interrupted him. I did not mean any disrespect. The Education Minister was saying that there should be no violence at least in the university. When he said "at least in the university", I objected to that because from the Education Minister we all expect that he will condemn violence in any part of the country.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : Quite right.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : When he said "at least in the university", I pointedly asked him whether he implied that somewhere else it is permissible.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : That is not the intention.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : That is what I wanted to explain I did not mean anything else. I only meant that the Education Minister should say that violence is condemnable everywhere. (Time-bell rings) I will finish. You have shown indulgence to so many.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Now it is third reading.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : I know. I am very, very pointed in my remarks, you know.

Now, why does violence take place? As a method or as a technique, violence is there. And violence can be eliminated by a clear and democratic approach. I am very grateful to the Education Minister when he says that exchange of ideas between the teachers and the students should be there. Their problems should be solved amicably. But that is an ideal thing which is lacking. That is lacking everywhere. Whoever be the persons in authority, they only understand the language of violence and nothing else. This is what is wrong with the administration. There is no use blaming the students. The most important and fundamental thing that I would like to emphasise here is that education should have a meaning and purpose. The question is not whether a particular committee should be elected or nominated. We should go into the root of the problem. We must give a meaning and purpose to education. But we are miles away from that objective. We have failed there. I do not blame the present Education Minister. I blame the 20 years of Congress rule at the Centre. We have failed; we have not given any ideal or expectation or hope to the students. Now, about politics, the Minister has said "I do not mind political thinking, but they should not actively take part". When there is political thinking, that must take its own shape. In a free country, I submit, politics is in the blood of young men. It should not be discouraged; it should be encouraged. The question is, it should be properly directed. For that I shall hold the leadership responsible. We have shown enough of our conscience. But why should we refuse to these students that element of conscience, the other name of which is revolt? So what I want to say is that we cannot shut our eyes to the real question, i.e. the question of education and the national task before us. The universities are going to dogs. It is not a question of X or Y or Z being the Vice-Chancellor. I am sorry that Dr. Rao was being made a scapegoat. We have a duty to show due respect to the Vice-Chancellor, whoever he might be. We must not impute motives. These Vice-Chancellors are respected people of this country. They are educationists primarily and that is why they are chosen. Now the time has come when not only educationists but educationists plus something should be there who can handle the human problem, mainly the student problem. That is necessary. Before I sit down I appeal to the socialist friends and the Jan Sangh friends who have

unfortunately become the main factors there, who are putting the blame on each other, that they should sit together and see how this institution can thrive.

My last suggestion to the Education Minister is that it is not so important to have students in the committee, in the interior committee of the administration of the University, but he should have an exterior committee of those political parties who will really help him in solving the problems. The time is ripe enough now when all the political parties should sit together and apply their mind and see in solving the Education Minister's problem and join in his appeal for giving their hearty cooperation in the improvement of this institution.

**SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN :** Sir, so far as the Banaras Hindu University is concerned, it is a national institution. It had been founded by the esteemed leader of India, Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia. It is the sacred duty of every Indian to see that it prospers and progresses, and I do hope that Dr. Rao will take all those measures which will guarantee its progress and prosperity. One thing I may remind you, Dr. Rao, and I am glad that your predecessor, Mr. Chagla, is also here. As you have promised that this nomination will end within a short period, so my esteemed friend, Mr. Chagla, had promised in regard to the Aligarh Muslim University that this nomination business would end soon and that a proper statute would be brought on record. . .

**SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI :** These promises seem to be a risky job.

**SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN :** Yes, it is a risky job. I hope, Dr. Rao, you will not see that the Banaras Hindu University Act has the same fate as that of the Aligarh Muslim University. . .

**PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO :** No, it will not have.

**SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN :** That it why I want to tell you to be very alert and see that it is brought.

One suggestion I want to make. It being a national university, I think it should be the effort of the Government of India, because it is financed by the Government of India, to see that in the Aligarh Muslim University at least 25 per cent of students are encouraged to join from other denominations, from the Hindu denomination and other denominations.

[SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN]

Similarly—I know there is no restriction in any way—all efforts should be made to encourage the students of other denominations, the Christians, the Muslims and others, to join the Banaras Hindu University. I Sir, as a member of the Education Committee had visited Banaras, and I assure you that the love and affection I received, when I went through from boarding to boarding, from the students of the Banaras Hindu University was not at all less than what I got in the Aligarh Muslim University although I was an old boy of that. So, this encourages the students. This should be reflected in the students' sports teams, administrative bodies, executive councils, and so on. You should see that you give it a real national touch. That is my only request. I do hope when you bring the final Bill you will have this in your consideration. I wish you the every best. Thank you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr Vice-Chairman, this, I believe, brings to a close a heartening chapter in this House of a thoughtful discussion on matters connected with our education and the administration of our universities.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN in the Chair).]

It is because of the intervention of this House, from both sides of the House, that the Government of India was obliged to bring forward certain measures, notably the appointment of the Gajendragadkar Committee. The Bill is the result, I believe, of the findings of that particular Committee which had to work under very difficult conditions on account of the fact that those who were guilty were still in control of the affairs of the University and when representatives of such people sat on the Committee, not as members but as observers or in some other capacity, obviously it was difficult for members of the staff of the University to come and give evidence. I did receive some letters saying that it was not possible in the conditions prevailing at that time of intimidation and terror and blackmail and all kinds of threats, for many people to come forward and say what they would have normally liked to say before a Committee of this kind. Even so the Committee did good work in the sense that it probed into certain very serious allegations and into the affairs mismanaged under Dr Joshi, the Vice-Chancellor. Now, this is the end of the debate and I am making only some general observations.

First of all, the concept of denominational universities should go. I think we should not use and we should not have used the word "Hindu". And that point has been debated here and many have expressed in favour of the change but it could not be made because of the pressure of Hindu communalists. That is so and for no other reason. After all, when we have to respect religion as we must, those people who believe in religion, certainly have other ways of doing so. We have declared ourselves to be a secular State. The universities run by the State, by the secular State, should not be given this kind of a description—a Muslim University, a Buddhist University, a Hindu University, a Christian University, and so on. That militates against the very concept of secularism. I think we are giving an ideological and cultural disorientation from the standpoint of modern ideas. That we must realise. But then, we live in conditions when a Presidential candidate in order to win the election prays to God. We read it in the newspapers that he is praying to God. This is the condition in which we live. Even to win the election we do not rely on the democratic process and we rely on our prayers to God. And that will be seen now whether God is propitious or not. But this is the position.

SHRI M. N. KAUL : May God bless you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : "May God bless you" he says. Whom?

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : You

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Well, the Jan Sanghis have already blessed a particular candidate. There is no doubt about it. But God seems to have taken a different view in matters relating to Uttar Pradesh because in UP the counting is over and a person who did not pray to God, Mr Giri, has a lead over a person who was praying to God.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Irrelevant

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Anyway, Mr. Vice-Chairman, leave that aside.

The first thing that we should do is this. We must free our universities from the influences and the hang-over of colonialism or the British past. We must give education a forceful anti-imperialist character and that is very very important because modern India has grown in the image of anti-imperialist struggle, in the

image of struggle for freedom, for independence, and hence it is of absolute necessity that we free our minds from the meshes of whatever is left over in the ideological sphere handed down to us by the British rule. This is very very important.

Our education and the students should be given such moulding of minds that they develop strong sentiments of political and economic freedom, sentiments against imperialism, sentiments for those who are fighting against imperialism in order to relieve mankind of the threat of war that imperialism causes. Secondly, we must free our universities from the virus of communal propaganda of communalism, no matter communalism of which community, but here in our country it is the communalism of the majority community which poses this potent threat to not only our concepts of secularism but also to our cultural existence. Some people think as if communalism is a matter of Hindu-Muslim unity or amity. It is much more than that. A nation like ours cannot stand on a cultural footing, cannot develop its culture, cannot develop its genius, cannot develop its talents, unless we free our minds from the direct and indirect influences of communal ideas, communal ideology, communal propaganda, communal thinking and all that goes with it. It is very very important. Surprisingly enough we have not done it even after 22 years of independence. We have had the most disgusting spectacle of communalism running rampant in one of the finest universities of our country, namely the Banaras Hindu University. Its life has been distorted and vulgarised. Its cultural existence has been degraded, its human existence had been somewhat insulted by those who preach communalism there. I say that nothing has been done. Something has been done but much more should have been done. Why was it not done? It is because there are people in high places who bow to the pressures and blandishments of communal forces. They are also entrenched in very high positions and therefore we do not get very far; otherwise cannot we find a Vice-Chancellor for this University who has no association with the RSS, who is not a friend of Guru Golwalkar?

**SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI :** That argument yet goes on in spite of the report?

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** I shall pursue the argument so long as you do not take my side in this matter.

**SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI :** In spite of the report?

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** I am not here to speak on the report.

**SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI :** You have not read it.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** I need not. I know Mr. Joshi without going through the report. Do I have to read it? Would they deny that they have an organisation of the RSS in the campus?

**SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI :** You were talking of the Vice-Chancellor. You have shifted from that.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) :** They say that you have not read the report.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** I have but because I have not made a detailed study of the report, hence I did not speak in the earlier stage. Third Reading is meant for those who are ignorant about details; otherwise it is meaningless. Third Reading is a compendium of half knowledge and half ignorance and I have a mixture of both these in an abundant measure. Therefore I say that communalism should be done away with. We cannot change the name but certainly Hindu communalism or communalism of any sort can be banished from the university by the combined efforts of all those who stand for secularism and democracy.

Then you said that I did not read the report. Certain parts I did. So I said I have half ignorance and half knowledge. This is part of the knowledge. This is about expulsion of Mr. Sinha, the President of the University Union and very adverse remarks have been made on page 51, as you will find. I know the gentleman student who had been expelled. I regard it as an act of vendetta by the University authorities and the Vice-Chancellor in particular and that was done and you get even from the evidence that he was enjoying the confidence of the majority of the students, which was shown by the voting in the elections and even so he was expelled in order to put Damodar Singh in his place. Now I appeal to the Minister. I understand Dr. Rao is a vacillating person these days.

**DR. V. K. R. V. RAO :** What? Vacillating? This is 100 per cent. ignorance.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** I have very great regard and affection for him but I am told, his friends tell me that of late

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

he has been vacillating over certain things may be under mental strain that he is passing through but it is only a passing phase, I hope.

DR. V. K. R. V. RAO : Not me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not hold the education portfolio.

DR. V. K. R. V. RAO : You might hold it some day.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If you are not vacillating, then prove it to the world that you are not vacillating. We are open to conviction. As far as these students are concerned, all disciplinary action of that time which was taken against Mr. Sinha should be withdrawn. One act of non-vacillation you can display immediately is by cancelling them.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHAN-  
DARI : In this context it is vacillation.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : This is one example I am giving. Much has been said about the academic matters and the students' right to participate in politics. I do not know what these people are talking about. Some old men, obsolete creatures, who belong to the last century, who should find their places in the museum rather than in the body politics of our country, begin to talk : 'Oh, the students must not take part in politics'. This is to suit their convenience.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-  
BAR ALI KHAN) : The Education Mi-  
nister said that they can think about poli-  
tics.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am not blaming him because he has been very successful by taking part in politics. That is why from the academic field he has come to the Treasury Benches. I will never blame him. He has been a success. I give credit to him. He was a Vice-Chancellor one day. Another was a Judge and now you see the ex-Chief Justice sitting in these Benches here. I hope I shall not see a retired Inspector-General in these Benches but I want to contest the idea that the students must not take part in politics.

It is not only their right but it is their bounden duty to take part in politics of our country. I would expect that they should take part in the correct politics which improve the condition of the masses, which give an orientation to our cultural and material life, which vividly places before the nation the aspirations of the

future, because, after all, we are struggling to build the nation. Who are going to remake it? Is it the retired official who finds a place in the Swatantra Party or the Rajas and Ranis who likewise go to the Swatantra Party or the superannuated Congress politicians who do not know how to vote even as I find many votes are invalid? Who are to take part in politics? It is the youth, the vigour of the youth that is needed to remake the country and certainly the students must bring into our political life the vigour of the youth, the dynamic thinking, their patriotism and their high spirit of militancy and fighting capacities. All these must be brought into it. I have been to foreign universities. I have seen foreign universities also, the politics there. Well, the students there are also encouraged to take part in politics. I have seen it in the Oxford University. He was a student of the Oxford University, I believe.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : Not of Oxford, of Cambridge. I was not a student of Oxford.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Well, he was in the Cambridge University. I went there and saw. They have got societies with their leanings to the Conservative Party or the Labour Party or the Communist Party. There are all kinds of societies. The Liberal Party is there also. They fight against one another. They express their points of view. Leaders from London go there and address them. In our country also the same thing should take place. Students must not be discouraged from taking part in politics, because it is they who make what the nation is to be, and the political making of the nation is very very important. Therefore I say. Besides, it is their thinking and ideas which should influence the older generation, not that the older generation alone will influence the young generation. The older generation also should give way; it should be traffic from both sides. Certainly from the old they should get their rich knowledge and all that, and from the young the older generation must imbibe the forward looking modern ideas, modern thinking and so on. The responses must be from both sides. Mr. Vice-Chairman, that is why I say it is very very important, also because some have disparaging remarks to make about student participation in politics. I think the hon. Minister should realise it and I think he does realise it that if the student community does not take

part in the politics of the country, this country will not be worth living in. After all, in our country we have still a lot of illiteracy. It may be that even twenty per cent. and thirty per cent. of the people are literate today. Still, only a very small section of the community has the advantage of education. Others cannot enter the portals of the universities. In such a situation it is essential that those who have the advantage of going to universities for higher learning take part not only as students but also as future architects of modern India. That is very very important.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, finally before I sit down I must say that this university must not be subjected to attacks by policemen and others—the campus and other places like that. Academic centres must not be subjected to attacks by policemen and similar other executive authorities. Academic autonomy should be there but we should at the same time see that this academic autonomy is exercised in a manner which is beneficial to the community, particularly to the student community.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, as we are passing this Bill I hope we all would give them all encouragement to implement the positive aspects of the Bill in a better way but again, before I sit down, I should say that two things are essential. First, you must declare a war in the Banaras Hindu University against communalism, open or veiled communalism, and in this you must seek the co-operation of the staff and students and all those who are sincerely devoted to fighting communalism and stand for the ideals of secularism, and you must unite them into a mighty common front in the academic world to free our academic system and our education from encroachment by vicious communal ideas, destructive communal ideas. That is also very very essential, and I think Parliament having passed this law, will remain always vigilant and see as to how this law is being implemented and administered in the Banaras University in the conduct of the affairs of the university. I would again appeal to all concerned that they should realise their responsibility in a matter like this, which is a non-party matter, which is a national matter, which affects not only today but also tomorrow, which affects the generation which is living but also the generation yet unborn. Therefore we owe a great responsibility to ourselves, to our conscience, to Parliament and to the nation to see that the academic world is run in the interests of

the nation free from corrupting ideas of communalism or from other reactionary ideas.

Thank you.

श्री बी० एन० मंडल (बिहार) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो बहस इस सदन में चल रहा है दो-तीन दिन से उसके सम्बन्ध में कुछ बात मुझे भी कहनी है। आज से दो बरस पहले एक बार जब यू० जी० सी० की रिपोर्ट पर बहस हो रही थी उस समय भी मैंने इस बात का जिक्र किया था कि बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी के अहाते में जनसंघ का एक दफ्तर है जो कि वहां के एटमासफियर को खराब करता है, इसलिए उसका वहां पर रहना . . .

डा० भाई महावीर : (दिल्ली) : संघ का नाम तो ठीक कहिए।

श्री बी० एन० मंडल : आर० एस० एस० का। वह एटमासफियर को खराब करता है, इसलिए उसे वहां नहीं रहना चाहिए। उस समय हमको झुठलाने की जनसंघ के मेम्बरों ने कोशिश की थी लेकिन दो बरस के अनुभव ने देश को इस बात का पता बतला दिया और यह बात साबित हो गई कि जो वहां पर उपद्रव हुआ है उस उपद्रव की जड़ में आर० एस० एस० का आफिस है।

उत्तर भारत में स्वतंत्रता के जमाने से पहले से तीन विश्वविद्यालय हैं, कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय, दूसरा बनारस विश्वविद्यालय और तीसरा अलीगढ़ विश्वविद्यालय। तीनों विश्वविद्यालय में स्वतंत्रता आने के बाद गड़बड़ी पैदा हुई है और उसका जो इलाज होना चाहिए उसकी कोशिश हो रही है। अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी में गड़बड़ी हुई, उसके इलाज की कोशिश की जा रही है, कुछ किया भी गया है। इसी तरह से बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी का हाल है। कलकत्ता यूनिवर्सिटी के बारे में क्या हुआ हमें पता नहीं है। जो बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी में हुआ और जो अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी में हुआ, जहां तक हमने अनुभव किया है, उसकी जड़ में साम्प्रदायिकता का वातावरण है जो हिन्दुस्तान में पहले से चला आता था और इन यूनिवर्सिटी



[श्री बी० एन० मंडल]

मे उसका असर हुआ है। इसी की वजह से वहाँ गड़बड़ी पैदा हुई। बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी की स्थापना में सबसे बड़ा हाथ था मदन मोहन मालवीय जी का। मदन मोहन मालवीय जी देशभक्त थे इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं, लेकिन साथ ही साथ महामना मालवीय जी उस जमाने के आदमी थे जिस जमाने में धर्म की छाप लोगों के दिमाग पर रहा ही करती थी। स्वतंत्र होने के पहले सेक्युलरिज्म का नारा उतना स्पष्ट नहीं हो पाया था। जितना कि देश के स्वतंत्र होने के बाद हुआ। इसलिए बनारस जो संस्कृत और हिन्दू धर्म का केन्द्र माना जाता था, वहाँ हिन्दू कल्चर का प्रभावशाली वातावरण रहता, स्वाभाविक था और यही कारण था कि जो शुरू में आर० एस० एस० जो इतनी खुराफात करने वाला नहीं मालूम पड़ता था मालवीय जी ने उसको जगह दे दी होगी। ऐसी कल्पना की जा सकती है लेकिन बाद में आर० एस० एस० के जरिए देश में जो मिस्त्रीफ की गई है वह भी देश के सामने आई है। महात्मा गांधी की बात को देश जानता ही है। इधर जितने दंगे हुए हैं उसमें कितना हाथ आर० एस० एस० का रहा यह हम सब जानते हैं . . .

**डा० भाई महावीर :** आप जानते हैं और कोई नहीं जानता, न रघुबर दयाल कमीशन जानता है, न और कोई जानता है।

**श्री बी० एन० मंडल :** जो संस्था इस तरह का विष-वमन करती है, जिसको साम्प्रदायिकता कहते हैं उसका यूनिवर्सिटी कैम्पस में रहना न विश्वविद्यालय के लिए अच्छा है, न हिन्दुस्तान की स्वस्थ राजनीति के लिए अच्छा है। इसलिए आज इस बात की जरूरत है कि सरकार या जो यूनिवर्सिटी के अधिकारी हो उन लोगों को इस दिमाग से काम करना चाहिए कि वहाँ पर साम्प्रदायिक वातावरण कायम न होने पाए। अगर कोई ऐसा वातावरण कायम हुआ है तो अब वहाँ से दूर होना

चाहिये। इस सिलसिले में जो कुछ भी सुझाव कमीशन ने दिए हैं कि वहाँ से आर० एस० एस० का आफिस हट जाना चाहिए इसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन निश्चित तरीके से होना चाहिए। सबूत होने या सबूत न होने की कोई बात नहीं है। हो सकता है कि कोई मामला हो जिसमें अधिकारियों को यह बात सच्ची मालूम पड़े कि साम्प्रदायिकता की वजह से यह बात हो रही है और उसका कोई सबूत न मिले फिर भी अधिकारी को यह अधिकार है कि चूंकि देश का संविधान सेकुलरिज्म को अपना आधार मानता है इसलिए सारी बातों को छोड़ कर सेकुलरिज्म को कायम करने के लिए जिस को दड देने की जरूरत है, जिसको भगाने की जरूरत है, वह सब करने की उनको पूरी छूट हो। लेकिन हमारे मंत्री जी, जिनका स्वभाव बहुत अच्छा है। इस बात की कोशिश करते हैं कि बिना किसी कड़वाहट के साम्प्रदायिकता का जहर वहाँ से निकले। इसके लिए उन्होंने जो कोशिश की है उसकी मैं सराहना करता हूँ। यह बात ठीक है कि जो कानून का प्रस्ताव उन्होंने बनाया है वह ऐसा नहीं है कि जिससे सभी लोगों को संतोष हो क्योंकि उसमें नामिनेशन को बहुत बड़ा स्थान दिया गया है, लेकिन जैसा उन्होंने आश्वासन दिया है कि कोई कम्प्रोमिसिव कानून आने वाला है और उसके जरिये यह वृत्तियाँ निकाली जायेंगी, इसलिए मैं मंत्री जी से फिर अनुरोध करूँगा कि वह इस बात का खयाल रखे कि वहाँ जो साम्प्रदायिकता का जहर है वह न पनपने पाये। यदि वह आफिस वहाँ से हट भी जाये तो भी उस अहाते में कवायद को, वहाँ रोकने की कोशिश की जानी चाहिए। वैसे कवायद से कोई हर्ज नहीं है लेकिन उसके साथ साथ वहाँ लेक्चर होते हैं और युवकों के दिमागों में साम्प्रदायिक विष के डाक्टरिन्स को ठूसा जाता है और उनके दिमाग को खराब करने की कोशिश की जाती है। इस तरह की एक्टिविटीज को यूनिवर्सिटी के अधिकारी रोकें ऐसा मेरा उन से अप्रार्ह है।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) :** Dr. Bhai Mahavir, I would request you to be brief.

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR :** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I should have thought that third reading was not the stage where we would be treated to political harangues on communalism and secularism but some of our friends here perhaps cannot digest their food unless they give some sort of manifestation of what goes on in their own brains and what they try to reflect on others. The hon. speaker just before me has been talking what Mr. Bhupesh Gupta also has been saying but I could justify Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's statement of these things because he said that it was some sort of an exercise in ignorance which he was indulging in but I did not think he would resort to 100 per cent ignorance for the purpose of speaking on this Bill. Anyway I do not want to involve myself in an argument with him. Secularism is something and communalism is something which he has tried to give his own meanings to but this is not an occasion which is appropriate for the purpose and I will resist the temptation of refuting much of the things which he has said and which appear to me to be devoid of sense.

I would only wish to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to one or two points and I hope they will receive his earnest consideration irrespective of the fortune which the present Cabinet may be faced with before night fall, but hoping that he will continue in his seat and in any case whatever assurances are given by a Minister his successors also attempt to honour them so far as they are assurances in respect of policies which they also wish to follow. There has been a discussion and Mr. Rajnarain was kind enough to refer to me and make an appeal that we should not distort facts. I should have thought that was an appeal which needed to be addressed to himself before he could address it to others. Anyway I do not want to go into that also; I do not want to drag in names. I would only request the hon. Minister to make note of one particular fact which I tried to impress yesterday. There has been something seriously wrong in the affairs of the University in the Office of the Registrar. There has been misuse of funds; there has been misappropriation. The Registrar's Office has been accused of suppressing files, delaying matters, not following instructions of the appropriate authorities, whoever the authorities might be. Now, Dr. Joshi is not there but there will be some

Vice-Chancellor and if that Vice-Chancellor does not get proper co-operation and obedience of the Office and if people who have been playing ducks and drakes with the funds of the University continue to have such opportunities, whatever Court, whatever Council we may nominate, whatever amending Bill we may pass, we shall not achieve the purpose of having a flourishing centre of learning in the form of Banaras Hindu University. I would request therefore the hon. Minister to give an assurance here if it is not against his policy that whatever rot there has been in the Office in the form of financial irregularities, in the form of administrative irregularities, you would see that those are rooted out so that no type of favouritism, no type of wrong activity can flourish there in the new Administration. I have not been able to follow Mr. Rajnarain's arguments about this matter. I said certain things about a person here who was the Treasurer for a pretty long time. The argument that Mr. Rajnarain gave was that he was a great fighter for freedom in 1942; he said he did this and he did that. But my submission is whatever any person might have done in 1942 or in any other phase of the struggle for freedom, that does not give him a licence for indulging in misappropriation or misuse of funds of a public body like this. I am not interested in one person or the other. I only say that this justification should not be given when you come across such things which cannot be justified. Irrespective of the person concerned, we should see that these things are rooted out and the University is purified of all such elements. There has been so much talk of communalism. There are also forces which want to disrupt the academic life and the social fabric of this country. If people have got links because of which election results are broadcast from the Peking Radio it is not something which should be taken as normal political activity of Student Unions. I am not going into details. I am only requesting that the spirit in which this Bill has been brought and is being passed now should be maintained. The University should be purified of all types of wrong practices and wrong things which have brought a bad name to the University, and I hope once again we will be able to see that the great dream which Malaviyaji had is nearing fruition.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) :** Mr. Rajnarain. You have promised that you will finish in three minutes.

6 P.M.

**श्री राजनारायण :** हमारे बोलने के पहले ही जब आप कह देंगे तो हमारे प्रामिस का क्या रहेगा। प्रामिस जब हम करते हैं तो उसको हम पूरा करते हैं, मगर जब उसे आप अपने डिक्टेसन से पूरा करावेंगे तो हम रिवोल्ट करेंगे। आपने क्यों कहा? अगर मैं उसके बाहर चलता तो आप बोलते। हमने आपसे रिक्वेस्ट की थी कि हमको केवल पांच मिनट का समय दे दीजियेगा। आपने पहले ही हमको आधा घटा लेकर दे दिया। मैं फिर बता दूँ कि मुझको बीच में मत टोकिएगा।

श्रीमन्, मैं शिक्षा मंत्री जी से फिर निवेदन करूँगा आपके द्वारा कि शिक्षा मंत्री जी काशी विश्वविद्यालय में वह स्थिति पैदा करें जिससे पूज्य महामना मालवीय जी की भावनायें मूर्तिमान स्वरूप ग्रहण करें। पहली बात।

दूसरी बात जो मैं नहीं कह पाया था वह मैं माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री जी से कह दूँ कि पूज्य महामना मालवीय जी ने एक आदर्श प्रस्तुत किया था। 18 अगस्त, 1942 का दिन था। उन्होंने हमको बुलाया और यह कहा कि विश्वविद्यालय की सीमा से अब तुम लोग बाहर जाओ क्योंकि यहाँ कई जाने गईं 1942 की क्रान्ति में। तो हमने कहा कि महामना जी यदि हम लोग चले जायेंगे घेरें के बाहर तो फिनले कलेक्टर हैं और यह इसका तार है।

Is it parliamentary practice? Is it the duty of the Whip to speak to him

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) :** He is attending

**SHRI OM MEHTA (Jammu and Kashmir) :** You are addressing the Chair

**SHRI RAJNARAIN :** I am addressing the Chair. It is not like a Whip.

श्रीमन्, मेरा निवेदन यह है कि पूज्य महामना ने यह कहा था, हमने फिनले का तार जो सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को आया था वह मालवीय जी को बताया था, तार यह था—

“University is focus of all revolutionary activities Awaiting order Finlay-Collector”.

फिनले कलेक्टर चाहता था कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट हमको आदेश करे और हम काशी विश्वविद्यालय पर कब्जा कर ले, तो मालवीय जी ने कहा था कि तुम तो चले जाओ ‘I will be the first man to be down at the gate, if police or military enter’’. मालवीय जी ने कहा कि तुम लोग जाओ, मैं पहला इसान होऊँगा जो कि विश्वविद्यालय के फाटक पर लटूँगा और पुलिस या सेना आवेगी, तो हमारे सीने पर चढ़ कर के आवेगी।

श्रीमन्, उत्तर प्रदेश में संयुक्त विधायक दल की सरकार हमने बनाई, उसमें एक क्लाइ लिखा हुआ है बिना विश्वविद्यालय के अधिकारियों की अनुमति के पुलिस का प्रवेश निषिद्ध होगा और जब विश्वविद्यालय के अधिकारियों ने पुलिस को नहीं बुलाया और पुलिस वहाँ अपने आप तीन दिन, चार दिन पहले से ही चली गई, 3 जनवरी, 1968 को, तो हमने कहा कि श्री चरण सिंह तुमने गलत काम ही नहीं किया बल्कि उल्टा काम किया, तुमने सविद के लिये, संयुक्त विधायक दल की सरकार के लिये, जो कानून था उसको तोड़ दिया इसलिए तुम इस्तीफा दो और चूँकि मैं उस काशी विश्वविद्यालय में पला हूँ, हमारी जिन्दगी का एक एक रेशा वहाँ के वातावरण में पला हुआ है, इसलिए हमने कहा कि हमारे कर्तव्य होगा कि श्री चौधरी चरण सिंह जी से इस्तीफा ले। श्रीमन्, आप जानते होंगे कि जब श्री थानु पिल्ले की सरकार ने केरल में गोली चलाई थी तब हमारी सरकार थी, पी० एस० पी० की सरकार थी, डा० लोहिया उसके जेनरल सेक्रेटरी थे, डा० लोहिया ने कहा कि श्री थानु पिल्ले इस्तीफा दे। इसी फडामेटल प्वायट को लेकर कि पुलिस की गोली कब चले, इसी फडामेटल प्वायट को लेकर पी० एस० पी० हमने छोड़ दी, हम लोग अलग हो गये, हम ऐसे नहीं कि अर्जुन अरोड़ा की तरह अनुशासन भी तोड़ें और उसी में बने भी रहने की कोशिश करें। हम सीधे रास्ते जाते हैं। हम स्ट्रेट लाइनर हैं, तो हम अलग हो गये।

इसलिए मैं आदरणीय मंत्री जी से कहूँ चाहूँगा कि मालवीय जी की इस भावना को जरा मूर्तिमान् स्वरूप दिलाइये, विश्वविद्यालय में पुलिस के प्रवेश से, 144 की दफ्ता से, पी० ए० सी० के हथियार और बन्दूक की छत्रछाया में शिक्षा नहीं चल सकती, शिक्षा चने तो शुद्ध वातावरण में स्वयं वातावरण में, शान्त वातावरण में, सत्य वातावरण में, और इसलिए ऐसे वातावरण को निर्मित करने में मंत्री जी जितना योग देंगे उसमें जितना अधिक योग हममें मांगेंगे उससे चार गुना, छह गुना योग हम देंगे। मैं कहता हूँ कि हमारी ओर से कभी भी हिंसा को उकसाना नहीं मिलेगा, हमारी ओर से कभी भी कोई गलत काम करने के लिये प्रोत्साहन नहीं मिलेगा।

हमारे मित्र डा० महावीर चले गये। (Time bell rings) मैं घड़ी देख रहा हूँ, हमारे अभी तीन मिनट हैं। डा० महावीर चले गये। ट्रेज़रर के बारे में कहूँ। अगर ट्रेज़रर ने कोई गलती की हो तो उनको जाना चाहिये, जब मैं श्री फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद के लिये कहता हूँ कि वह जावे और श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी की मित्र कोट और नेकलेस की बात कहता हूँ तो फिर कोई भी गलत बात करेगा उसको भोगना पड़ेगा, चाहे वह ज्योति भूषण गुप्ता हो, चाहे वह राजनारायण हो, चाहे उनके रिश्तेदार हो, चाहे माई-बाप अफसर हो, अगर उसने हिसाब गलत किया है, गबन किया है, अगर मिस-एप्रोप्रियेशन हुआ है तो मैं सरकार से कहूँगा कि सरकार उस पर उचित कार्यवाही करे, शीघ्र कार्यवाही करे, मगर किसी भी प्रकार का पक्षपात, किसी भी प्रकार का अवसरवाद, किसी भी प्रकार की वैईमानो विश्वविद्यालय के क्षेत्र में न चले और मैं अपनी पूरी सहायता, मदद और अपनी पूरी सेवा मंत्री जी के कदमों में अर्पित करने के लिये सर्वदा उद्यत रहूँगा।

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to say one or two words. I am happy that within a few minutes the hon. Minister will get what he wanted

in the shape of an amending Bill. I must join those who have said that they are opposed to nominated bodies and I also say emphatically that, as far as possible, nominated bodies should be as short-lived as possible. The Minister has given an assurance that it will not last for more than three years. "Three years" is a long period and I would like him to make efforts and see that these bodies do not function a minute more than what is absolutely necessary.

Now, there is great responsibility on the Centre and the University Grants Commission as far as financial assistance to the Central Universities is concerned. I personally feel that the vigilance exercised by both the Education Ministry and the University Grants Commission over the Central Universities has not been as stringent as it should have been and if it had been so probably many of the financial irregularities which have arisen today would not have been there. Now, Banaras is a national university and it should be the effort of everybody to see that it runs smoothly and its national character is maintained, but I must say that the malady from which the Banaras Hindu University suffers is deeper than what is sought to be remedied by the amending Bill and, therefore, I must request the hon. Minister to find out what exactly is the malady from which it is suffering. Ways and means must be found to remedy the maladies before the comprehensive Bill promised by the hon. Minister is brought forward. I am referring to the financial irregularities which have been brought to the notice of the University Grants Commission, the Education Ministry, the Gajendragadkar Committee and several other commissions from time to time. I am sorry to say that none has paid attention to these financial irregularities which have been pointed out. I do not blame the Gajendragadkar Committee, because it was not a part of the terms of reference as far as that Committee was concerned, but I do blame the University Grants Commission for not seriously considering the 137-page memorandum submitted to the University Grants Commission about a year back detailing the financial irregularities. I would like to know from the Minister and the University Grants Commission as to what has been done to that memorandum detailing the financial irregularities. The University is suffering from a disease which has to be remedied and the symptoms appear on the body politic of the

[Shri M.P. Bhargava]  
University from time to time in the shape of student unrest and for which commission after commission is being appointed. Some of the reports of commissions have not even seen the light of the day. They are lying buried somewhere, because they refer to certain financial irregularities. I would request the Minister to send, within the rules of the University Grants Commission, and audit party to the University, which should go into the accounts of the University, go into all the grants which have been given to the University, both recurring and non-recurring, from time to time and find out if the money has been properly spent. I would further request the hon. Minister to have a further probe made into the matter, so that before a comprehensive Bill comes here, we can tackle the real malady from which the Banaras Hindu University, the Aligarh University and some other Central Universities are suffering today.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : Mr. Vice-Chairman, if you have no objection, I should like to begin and then conclude

my speech tomorrow. I have got a very urgent meeting to attend.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) : Do you want to say something? You can conclude quickly.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : I have got to speak because references have been made to God, religion, students and politics, and so on. I am sorry as Education Minister, when these questions have been raised by learned Members of the other side, it is my duty to my portfolio as well as my conscience and the country that I should express myself on the subject of God, religion, students and politics, etc. They are very important questions of very great relevance to education in this country. So, Sir, I am beginning my speech and I shall continue it tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) : The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at eleven minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 21st August, 1969.