#### SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION

# Situation arising in Central Institutions of Higher Education with specific reference to Jawaharlal Nehru University and University of Hyderabad

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am initiating this discussion on the notice, that you have read out, with a deep sense of anguish, anger and anxiety of what is going to happen to our country because, I believe, what happened in the Hyderabad Central University and what happened in the JNU are not matters confined to only one or two educational institutions in our country. You have seen what happened with the Pune Institute. You have seen what happened with the IIT, Chennai. You have seen what is happening in the Jadhavpur University, apart from Hyderabad and JNU. You have seen what is happening in Allahabad. You have seen what is happening in Burdwan. You are seeing in various places that these sorts of incidents are happening. And I would like to submit here that it is not only the case with Institutes of Higher Education and Universities but also with institutions like the ICHR, ICSSR and the Nehru Memorial Museum. In all these institutions, you see an interference of an order that is not sanctioned by law. Every single institution, every Central University, has been established by an Act of Parliament. It runs on the basis of an Act of Parliament. And if this Act of Parliament is violated, it is our duty to intervene and ensure that such violations are put an end to. Therefore, at the outset, I am demanding that we should constitute a House Committee to, actually, go into all these developments in the Hyderabad University and in the JNU because it is our responsibility to answer these questions that have been raised.

Now having made this point, I would come to the substantive points. You see an effort, in the field of higher education and education in general, of what I would describe as an effort to replace Indian history, the synchronic evolution of Indian history, what all of us are products of and what we have gained, with Hindu mythology. To replace history with mythology, to replace the rich Indian philosophy with Hindu theology, is the larger project at work and this project, actually, dovetails with the project which this Government is patronising, the project of metamorphising India's Secular, Democratic, Republic into what they call the Hindu Rashtra. This, therefore, is an assault on the Constitution of India, as I conceive. And, unfortunately, this Government is leading this insurrection against the Indian Constitution, against the Republic of India. Now, let me substantiate why I say that.

Let us take up the issue relating to the Hyderabad Central University briefly. All of us know what happened in terms of how these Dalit students had been treated. Whatever has happened in the past, there were a large number of Dalit students who committed suicides

## [Shri Sitaram Yechury]

in that University, and we all know that. But that doesn't absolve what has happened now with the tragic suicide of Rohith Vemula. These students were socially ostracised. Their scholarships were stopped. And a Dalit student, whose single parent, his mother, brought up two of her sons in order to reach Institutes of Higher Education through, you know, the kind of jobs that the Dalits can do in our country. Through that, she has brought up her children. And, stopping their scholarships, actually, means virtually murdering them. You do that and then you create a situation where the students commit suicide! Yes, we were told that an hon. Minister of this Government wrote a letter about some clash between two student groups. The proctorial inquiry of the University took place. The matter was settled. After that, there was an intervention and we have been told that all of you write letters to the Minister. Yes, we all write letters to the Minister. There is nothing wrong. I have also written letters to the Minister about various things happening in various central universities. I have written letters to the Minister asking for admission in Central Schools, that is outside my Constituency or my remit. Writing letters to the Minister is no offence. All of us do it. Many a time we get an acknowledgement saying that your letter has been received and the matter is being looked into. Receiving letters with acknowledgement is also the job of a Minister. So, it is not ordinary letters that are being written and answers given. You have five senior officers of the Ministry intervening, telling the University to take action. That is a partisan intervention and that partisan intervention is not according to any Constitutional foundations of basics in our country, and that is what we are saying that the Government has exceeded the brief of answering only letters or that all of us are writing letters to the Minister, we all will do as long as we are public servants and, therefore, the matter here is, through this intervention, a situation has been created that led to this tragic death. We have been demanding, Sir, when we had the two-day Special Session of Parliament, to pay homage to Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar, we have said, mere peroration and speeches is not sufficient to pay homage. Come with concrete legislative agenda. Come with agenda why you will discuss, after 60 years, why is this not being fulfilled, even the limited objective of reservations, how, due to privatisation in the economic policies the public sector is being curtailed and reservations in jobs that the public sector could provide are shrinking by the day, need for considering reservations in the private sector. We said, bring in this question of implementation of the SC/ST laws. Make it more punitive. But nothing of that was done. If you are really concerned about the role of the Dalits, pay homage to Dr. Ambedkar. And what did he say, Sir, finally? I have quoted it a number of times, and I don't want to repeat the entire quotation, that we have given ourselves a political structure where we have given every citizen of ours a vote. Each vote has the same value. 'One person, one vote'; 'one vote, one value'.

11

Short Duration

Dr. Ambedkar warns that if this 'one vote, one value' does not change rapidly into 'one person, one value'. Then this political structure will not remain. It will be thrown asunder. This is what Dr. Ambedkar warned and what are we doing in that direction? We will discuss that when the Motion of Thanks on President's Address comes. When the Budget comes, we will discuss what we are doing there. But the point is, creating an egalitarian society as the Constitution, promises, we give, "irrespective of caste, creed and sex", equality. That is the equality that we have given to ourselves in this Constitution and that is being violated. This is a very serious matter; that goes beyond some trouble in the university. This is a serious matter of what is the State's role in intervention and if the State promotes this role of intervention that is anti-Dalit, that is something we in the Parliament will have to take note of because that University was created by an Act. You and I passed it here and if we don't take note of it and suggest interventive action, then, I am sorry, we are abandoning our responsibility and therefore, I raised this with a sense of anxiety, with a sense of anger and anguish.

Now, I come to JNU, Sir. We have been products of Jawaharlal Nehru University. The Ministers in this Cabinet have been products of Jawaharlal Nehru University. At the outset, we had said, the day after that I met the hon. Home Minister. He was here a little while ago. I met the hon. Home Minister, along with our colleagues, Shri D. Raja and Shri K. C. Tyagi, and we told him that if there is anybody who has raised anything antinational, take action on the basis of credible evidence. You assured us that no innocent will be punished; we were assured of that. Immediately comes a reference to a tweet by a noted terrorist - Hafiz Saeed - who was let loose by an earlier BJP Government saying that Hafiz Saeed supported the students. Now, can you imagine a situation in any country where the Union Home Minister, the repository of all inputs from intelligence agencies, gives a tweet and retracts? He did that on Pathankot. He tweets on Hafiz Saeed and retracts! And, Delhi Police puts out an alert saying that this is a false tweet account. You are proceeding on a false tweet account! By all means, let me assure this House - we have done it on umpteen times - any anti-national act or any act that encourages terrorism is something that should be dealt with and strictest action must be taken. But, in the name of that, penalizing the university as a whole, I think, is most unfortunate. It is because, these youngsters today, what Sardar Patel had once called, are the 'Steel Frame of India.' The Steel Frame of India is your Administrative Service, Foreign Service, Police Service, media, academia, intelligence, etc.

I can name the officers today in this Government who are the products of JNU and heading various departments, cells, etc.

[Shri Sitaram Yechury]

Madam External Affairs Minister is here. The Foreign Secretary of our country is from the JNU. The Home Minister is not here. But the Special Cell you have created to take care of terrorist threats emanating from the ISIS and the impending danger to India is headed by a JNU student.

AN HON. MEMBER: Smt. Nirmala Sitharaman is also from JNU.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Hopefully, they know that she is from JNU. I don't want to remind them of that.

Sir, where all do you want me to go? There is no field where these students have not excelled. And, today, you castigate the entire university as being anti-national! You said that these students are the enemies of our country.

What is happening, Sir? Nathuram Godse, the murderer of Mahatma Gandhi, will be national hero and Sitaram Yechury and the Deputy Chairman will be anti-national! Is this the nationalism we have to see? You are saying, to instill nationalism in students, there will be a huge national flag in every Central University. It is about 207 feet. Very good. You put it all over the country. But, remember, the Tricolour in our hearts, the National Flag in our hearts, is much larger than all the National Flags that they can put together and you don't have to teach us desh bhakti. We don't want certificates of patriotism by these sorts of double standards that they practice. I come from a student organisation. I headed JNU representing that student organisation. We all come and with pride we used to say this. One of our colleagues was attacked by a terrorist in Assam. His body was cut. I will name him if you want. But, he is dead and gone as a martyr. He is Niranjan Talukdar. His body was cut, put in a gunny bag and thrown into a well. It could not be found for more than a month. Later, through forensic tests of his teeth, it was confirmed that it was his body. What was the slogan we gave in JNU at that time, Sir? We gave a slogan, "हमारे जिस्म के ट्रकड़े-ट्रकड़े हो सकते हैं, लेकिन हम इस देश के टुकड़े नहीं होने देंगे।" हम इस टेररिज्म के खिलाफ खड़े हैं और आज हमारे लिए देशभक्ति के इस तरीके के प्रवचन होते हैं! अगर यहां पर कोई समस्या है, तो आप उसको हल करने की कोशिश करिए।

Sedition Act, उसमें महात्मा गांधी को जेल भेजा गया, उसमें बाल गंगाधर तिलक को जेल हुई। आजादी के समय हम सबसे यह वादा किया गया था कि हम उस Sedition Act को अपने कानून से निकाल देंगे, लेकिन उसे नहीं निकाला गया। भगत सिंह प्यार से फाँसी चूमते हुए इस देश के अन्दर शहीद हुए इसी Sedition Act के अन्दर और आज इस Sedition Act को आप अपने स्टूडेंट्स के ऊपर इस्तेमाल करते हैं। जब वे अपनी बात कहने के लिए उठते हैं, तो उनके ऊपर हमला होता है। माननीय गृह मंत्री जी, दिल्ली की पुलिस आपके अंडर है। दिल्ली के पुलिस किमश्नर कहते हैं कि 'until they

prove their innocence, they are guilty.' पुलिस कमिश्नर कहते हैं कि inverting the principle of jurisprudence. लीडर ऑफ द हाउस, जो माननीय वकील हैं, आप यह बताइए कि सर, कहां से न्याय हुआ? और, वहां पर उनकी पिटाई होती है, मीडिया में दिखाई देता है, सरकार की तरफ या अथॉरिटीज की तरफ जो एविडेंस होता है, जो भी है, यह प्रव होता है कि वह सब डॉक्टर्ड है, वह फेब्रिकेटेड है। अगर आवाज उठाएं, तो उनको कोर्ट में पीटो। सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने उधर पटियाला कोर्ट में एक टीम ऑफ लॉयर्स सुपरवाइज करने के लिए भेजी। उसके अंदर एक सदस्य वह थे, जो हमारे साथ राज्य सभा के अंदर रहे थे, फॉर्मर मिनिस्टर थे, उनकी पिटाई होती है। सर, देश में क्या हो रहा है? यही सवाल में गृह मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या हो रहा है? न्यायालय में न्याय दिलवाइए, वह नहीं हो सकता, तो पिटाई? और, पिटाई करने वाले के बारे में आज भी कोई शब्द नहीं। सुना है, बीजेपी के दिल्ली से एमएलए हैं। वे गर्व से कहते थे कि अपॉजीशन इतनी छोटी हो गई कि वे एक सिटी बस में घूम सकते हैं। दिल्ली चुनाव के बाद हमने कहा है कि दिल्ली में तो अब बीजेपी थ्री-व्हीलर में घूमेगी। उनमें से एक जाकर पिटाई करते हैं और कहते हैं कि मैं देश भक्त हूं, मुझे पिटाई करने की इजाजत है। कौन सच्चाई कहेगा? हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी इतने देश घूम कर आए हैं, उसी विदेश के "न्यूयार्क टाइम्स" का आप एडिटोरियल पढ़िए। Do you want me to read it out, Sir? Read out the New York Times editorial. It is a leader in the paper. It says, " India is in the throes of a violent clash. Prime Minister Narendra Modi and its political allies on the Hindu right determined to silence dissent." The New York Times says this. "Lawyers and B.J.P. supporters chanting "glory to Mother India" and "traitors leave India" assaulted journalists and students. The police refused to intervene." This is by New York Times.

Le Monde is one of the most respected papers in Europe. They have written editorials on to what is happening in India. What are all these foreign tours and getting support for India abroad if this is what is happening? That is where, Sir, I want to really draw your attention to the serious fact that why I have said it is an insurrection against the Constitution. The Constitution gives me the rights. A Secular Democratic India, धर्मिनरपेक्ष, जनतंत्र का गणतंत्र भारत है। उस भारत में मैं पैदा हुआ हूं। मेरे हिसाब से यहां कई सारे लोग हैं, जो इस भारत में पैदा हुए हैं। हमारे लिए भगवद्-गीता, हमारे लिए बाइबल, हमारे लिए कुरान, यह जो काँस्टीट्यूशन है और इस काँस्टीट्यूशन के चलते हुए आप हमें जो अधिकार देते हो, हर नागरिक को देते हो, इस काँस्टीट्यूशन की शपथ लेकर हम यहां पर आए हैं और आप वहां पर बैठे हो। यह सरकार यहां काँस्टीट्यूशन की शपथ लेकर बैठी है। इसके अंदर अगर कोई आपकी नीतियों का विरोध करता है, अगर कोई आपके खिलाफ कुछ नारा लगाता है, तो वह देशद्रोही है? मैंने सुना है कि आजादी के नारे लगे हैं। बिल्कुल लगे हैं आजादी के नारे, हम भी लगाते रहे हैं। हमें अरेस्ट किरए। हम चाहते हैं आजादी भूख से, हम चाहते हैं आजादी बेकारी से, हम चाहते हैं आजादी मनुवाद से। ...(ययधान)...

श्री वी.पी. सिंह बदनौर (राजस्थान)ः ऐसे नहीं है। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री सीताराम येच्री: हम चाहेंगे आजादी संघवाद से भी। ...(व्यवधान)... और यह आजादी हम चाहते हैं। ...(व्यवधान)... यह आजादी हम चाहते हैं। इस आजादी के लिए हम लड़ेंगे। इसका अधिकार मुझे यह काँस्टीट्यूशन देता है। इसलिए मैं कह रहा हूं और नेशनलिज्म का सवाल आ गया। ...**(व्यवधान)..**. गुरुदेव रवीन्द्रनाथ की किताब है, आप चाहें तो हम आपको भेंट कर सकते हैं। आप इसको पढ लीजिए। जिन्होंने जन गण मन लिखा था, जिसको हमने स्वीकार किया था, जिसे सुनकर हम अटेंशन में खड़े होते हैं, वह हमारी अपने देश के लिए इज्जत है। इन लोगों के लिए, आप कहते हैं कि वहीं नेशनलिज्म है, जो हम कहेंगे। इस नेशनलिज्म से ऊपर उठकर रवीन्द्रनाथ टैगोर, सुभाष चन्द्र बोस, महात्मा गांधी, सब लोगों ने लिखा है। What is India, Sir? We are the crucible, these lands are the crucible of civilisational advance of humanity. It is not just in our country. We gave the world so many things because of which modern civilization exists today as it is. And to say all these are products of Hindu civilization alone is wrong. Most of these advances came when Buddhism was the reigning religion in our country, and it is only when it came back with the caste hierarchical order, Manuvaad, as we call it, जिससे हमें आज़ादी चाहिए, तब यह जो पूरा advance है, वह रुक गया। And we want to catch those threads. अगर दारा शिकोह की बात कहें, तो ये कहेंगे कि यह बाबर की औलाद है। जिसने संस्कृत पढ़ कर मजमा-उल-बहरीन लिखा और आज अगर दुनिया वेद और उपनिषद के बारे में जानती है, तो वह काम दारा शिकोह ने करवाया। वह बाबर की औलाद है। Majma-Ul-Bahrain of Islamic Sufism and Vedantic Indian Traditions, 'The Mingling Of The Two Oceans', India was moving to a much higher spiritual society, Sir. We were moving to a much higher spiritual society that has been thwarted. And, therefore, I am beseeching this House to seriously think about it, not of one offence or two offences, by all means, if anybody has taken anti-Indian position or anti-Indian activity, take action. But in the name of that, you are castigating an entire university. And is that what all of us here have come to? Sir, I have quoted in this House a number of times earlier, Ashoka, the Trimurti, that you are sitting under, the four-lion pillar, inscribed on that pillar, from where we have taken the symbol of our nationhood. Inscribed on that Pillar is Ashoka's Edicts that irrespective of whatever sect anybody may follow, irrespective of whatever faith anybody may have, the job of the State is to protect that faith.

In Bhagavad Gita, what does Lord Krishna say? Madam External Affairs Minister wants that to be the holy book of our country. But what does it say? It says that I shall preserve the faith of every individual in every form that he may choose for his faith. Are we doing that? I am seriously asking this. Are we doing that? Are we realizing today the potential of what India can be? Instead of that, you are confining it into narrow domestic walls like Rabindranath Tagore said. 'Narrow domestic walls' whereby what I defined as nationalism is nationalism.

Sir, I do not want to go into that. We have been, what you call, saying that the Left like witches. But remember, this is the 400th year of the birth of a genius; I don't know

there is one man who wrote all that, William Shakespeare. He was one individual who wrote all the corpus that he wrote. Remember his play Macbeth, where there is a song of the witches. If you are comparing us with the witches, then, listen to this song. What does the song say? "Double, double toil and trouble; Fire burn and cauldron bubble". And what does he say that is being produced? "For a charm of powerful trouble, Like a hell-broth boil and bubble". "Hell-broth boil and bubble". This is the song of the witches, and this is what is happening for a charm of powerful trouble. "Charm of powerful trouble, Like a hell-broth boil and bubble". Yes, we are witches; we forewarn. We are witches, Sir, and we forewarn what is going to happen. Like in Macbeth, the witches forewarn. Macbeth can be the king, but the line of kings will come from Branquo. You may be the king today; the line of kings in India will come from another Branquo, not from you. So, if you call us witches, then, also understand the prophesy of the witches, which comes out to be true. And being forewarned is being forearmed. That is why we are saying this. We are calling upon the people to be forearmed against this attack that is happening in the name of nationalism that is basically a certain brand of religiosity.

Sir, you and I and all of us have grown up in this world. We have grown up in this country, where there are Islamic influences and Christian influences. I was born in a Hindu traditional family, had my Ved path done and thread ceremony done at the age of 11, and have studied all the Vedas. Then, you say, with a name like Sitaram, having read all the Vedas, why have you landed up as a Communist? I have landed up as a Communist because I have studied all of them. So, don't teach us all this. If you want to debate and argue, come, debate and argue, and that is how our philosophy grew, through debate and argument, and that is exactly what they want to suppress today, Sir. I say, do not suppress. Remember, our Prime Minister went to a convocation recently, at the Banaras Hindu University. So did Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru go to a convocation at the Allahabad University. In that Convocation of the Allahabad University, what did Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru say about the universities? I quote:

"A university stands for humanism, for tolerance, for reason, for the adventure of ideas and for the search of truth. It stands for the onward march of the human race towards even higher objectives. If the universities discharge their duties adequately, then all is well with the people and the nation."

So, it is an adventure of ideas, of tolerance, of humanism. And, you castigate that entire university! You say that it is anti-national and it needs to be closed down! Forty years ago, that used to be in the editorials in the Organizer, which said, 'it is a den of antinational activity; it must be closed down.' Today, the leaders of the Ruling Party say that it must be closed down.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA (Rajasthan): And they want to take a tank there!

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Now, they are thinking of taking a tank there. Not only a flag, but now they want to take tanks there!

Sir, whether it is the BJP or the Congress Party, I don't normally take names of parties — yes, during Emergency, we did not allow the University Court meeting inside the university. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was our Chancellor. We said, "We are protesting against Emergency. We will not allow that meeting to be held here." It was taken to Vigyan Bhavan — we have fought assaults on democracy. Likewise, today, with renewed vigour, people are fighting assaults on our secular order. They are fighting assaults on our secular order and, therefore, suppressing dissent is not what the Indian Constitution or the Indian democracy is about. Therefore, Sir, I really beseech you, let us decide today, after this debate, to have a House Committee to go into what is happening in all the Central Universities and institutions that we have established through an Act of the Parliament. Each one of them has a separate Act. We are responsible, finally, to the country if something goes wrong there. Bring it to us. And don't say we all write letters. We all do write letters; I am not ashamed of saying that. But our letters do not get the attention that your colleague Minister who gets it. Five officers go on reminding the University to take action against him. Rohit Vemula's death is a result of that. That is why, for a Dalit, the slogan of 'azadi against manuvaad' will remain, Sir. If you wish to arrest me for that, arrest me. I will give that slogan. I will give the slogan of 'azadi against hunger'. I am ashamed of my country when of the five children that die every day in the world due to hunger three come from India. That is why I am saying, please do not castigate these students or the University. Please, stop this tirade against them in order to advance your brand of nationalism, in order to advance and transform the secular, democratic, Republic of India into a version of a theocratic, fascistic *Hindu Rashtra*. That is my sincere appeal.

Therefore, Sir, through you, I want to be seech upon this Government, saying, look at the richness of our plural society, the richness of all of us who belong to different faiths, different castes, different languages and different cultures. We are all welded together in this great country called India.

I have my point of view, you will have your points of view, they will have their points of view, and only with a debate and discussion do we rise to higher levels. Do not destroy that potential of India. Therefore, my appeal to this august House, my appeal, through you, to the Government and to all my colleagues, is, let us have a House Committee to

inquire into what is happening, what is anti-national; let us punish it with the greatest vigour and let us redeem our pledge to remove the sedition clause which can be misused as is being misused. Let us ensure that the job of the police is to maintain law and order, not to assist the disruption of law and order, and let us for Heaven's sake be responsible to our Constitution and to our people, and that is my firm belief.

मैं माफी चाहता हूँ। आज़ादी के नारे हम भी लगाएँगे। भूख से आज़ादी चाहिए, मनुवाद से आज़ादी चाहिए, गरीबी से आज़ादी चाहिए, इस देश को बेहतर बनाने के लिए जो भी इसका नुकसान कर रहा है, उससे आज़ादी चाहिए। ...(व्यवधान)... इसीलिए मैं यह कह रहा हूँ, याद रखिए। मैं बाबा साहेब की वॉर्निंग फिर से दोहरा रहा हूँ कि हर इंसान को एक वोट, हर वोट का मूल्य एक, लेकिंन हर इंसान का मूल्य एक जब तक नहीं होगा, यह ढांचा खड़ा होने में दिक्कत होगी। ...(समय की घंटी)... उस आधार पर मेरी विनम्रता से यह अपील है कि इस तरीके के षडयंत्र और अपने बच्चों पर अटैक बन्द कीजिए। ये ही बच्चे हैं, जो हमारे प्यूचर हिन्दुस्तान को बनाएँगे, भारत को बनाएँगे। अगर आप उनको देशद्रोह कह दो, तो आप और हम क्या कर लेंगे? हमारे देश की तीन-चौथाई आबादी नौजवान है। आप उसको स्वास्थ्य दो, उसको शिक्षा दो, उसको रोजगार दो, तो वह खुद एक बेहतर भारत बनाएगा, आपकी या हमारी कोई जरूरत नहीं है, हमारा काम सिर्फ यही है कि उन्हें हम वह दिलवाएँ। ...(समय की घंटी)...

इसलिए मुझे विनम्रता के साथ यही कहना है कि आप इस तरह के अटैक्स बन्द कीजिए और हमारे देश के विकास के लिए, आगे बढ़ने के लिए हम सामूहिक तरीके से चलें। थैंक यू, सर।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. Now, Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD): Sir, I don't think it will be over by 12 o'clock.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No; at 12.00 noon, we will break and, then, Question Hour will be taken up.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Okay, Sir; then, you can call somebody else please.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. Then, Shri Bhupender Yadav. But I would remind all hon. Members that they should adhere to their party time, because two-and-a-half hours is the time allotted for discussion. We may go up to 3.00 p.m., not more than 3.00 p.m. in any case, because we have to take up other Business also. Now, Shri Bhupender Yadav. See, your party has 30 minutes and there are three speakers; so, you can take only 10 minutes.

श्री भूपेन्द्र यादव (राजस्थान)ः सम्माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, अभी श्री सीताराम येच्री जी आज़ादी की बात कर रहे थे। मेरा यह मानना है कि हमारे देश के संविधान में अभिव्यक्ति की आज़ादी दी गई है, पर जवाहरलाल नेहरू यूनिवर्सिटी की जो घटना हुई, वह अभिव्यक्ति की आज़ादी थी या देश से आज़ादी की अभिव्यक्ति थी, उसके बारे में वे तय करें। वह freedom of speech थी या speech for freedom थी? इसमें अगर आप अंतर करेंगे...

# श्री सीताराम येचुरीः किससे फ्रीडम थी? ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री भूपेन्द्र यादवः वह मैं आपको बताता हूँ। अब मैं सीताराम येच्री जी को बताता हूं कि किससे फ्रीडम थी। सम्माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, ९ फरवरी को जो कार्यक्रम हुआ और जिस कार्यक्रम को यह नाम दिया गया कि एक सांस्कृतिक संध्या में The Country without a Post Office' नामक डॉक्युमेंटरी को रिलीज़ किया जाएगा, उसके लिए एक पर्चा बंटा। अभी सीतराम येचुरी जी जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी के जिस उद्धरण को व्यक्त कर रहे थे, उसे नेहरू जी ने 13 दिसम्बर, 1947 को इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय में दिया था। यहाँ कांग्रेस के लोग बैठे हैं और कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग बैठे हैं। उस उद्धरण के साथ मैं यह कहना चाहंगा कि जब जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना हुई थी, तो उसके लक्ष्य में लिखा गया था - "अध्ययन, अनुसंधान और अपने संगठित जीवन के उदाहरण और प्रभाव द्वारा ज्ञान का प्रसार तथा अभिवृद्धि करना, उन सिद्धांतों के विकास के लिए प्रयास करना जिसके लिए जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने जीवनपर्यंत काम किया, जैसे राष्ट्रीय एकता, सामाजिक न्याय, धर्म निरपेक्षता, जीवन की लोकतांत्रिक पद्धति, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय समझ और सामाजिक समस्याओं के प्रति वैज्ञानिक दिष्टिकोण।" में मानता हूं कि इस उद्देश्य के लिए जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना की गई थी, लेकिन सीतराम येचुरी जी, मैं आपसे पूछना चाहूंगा कि आप जिन बच्चों के इंसिडेंट की बात कर रहे हैं, उन्होंने जो पर्चा वितरित किया है, क्या आप जानते हैं कि उस पर्चे में क्या लिखा था? उसमें लिखा था, "Kashmir did not belong to Nehru, nor does it belong to Manmohans and Modis of recent times who keep flaunting this 'inalienable crown' to the whole world. What the consciously invisible is that how the occupation of this territory has taken place through might of the brutal force rewriting history." क्या आप इसका समर्थन करेंगे? यह पर्चा वहां पर बांटा गया था। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री सीताराम येचुरी: यह किसका पर्चा है? यह आप क्या पढ़ रहे हैं? ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री भूपेन्द्र यादवः यह पर्चा वहां बांटा गया था, जिनको गिरफ्तार किया गया है। ...(व्यवधान)... यह पर्चा उन्होंने बांटा था, जिनको देशद्रोह में गिरफ्तार किया गया है। ...(व्यवधान)... आप आगे सुनिए। ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI TAPAN KUMAR SEN: It is written by ... (Interruptions)...

श्री भुपेन्द्र यादवः आप उसके बाद की बात भी सुनिए। ...(व्यवधान)... आप सुनिए, मैं उस पर्चे को पढ़ रहा हूं। ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI K.N. BALAGOPAL: How can you quote without authenticating it? ...(Interruptions)...

श्री भुपेन्द्र यादवः सर, मुझे बीच में डिस्टर्ब नहीं किया जाए। ...(व्यवधान)... मुझे डिस्टर्ब मत कीजिए। ...(व्यवधान)... सर, मैं पर्चा रिकॉर्ड पर रखने के लिए तैयार हूं। ...(व्यवधान)... मेरी बात सुनिए। ...(व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order? ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI K.N. BALAGOPAL: Sir, my point of order is this. Without authenticating how such a statement can be made here. What is your point of order? ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: We are asking for authentication. ... (Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is quoting. ... (Interruptions)... Do you want him to authenticate? ... (Interruptions)...

श्री भूपेन्द्र यादवः आप स्नने का धेर्य रखिए। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री आनन्द शर्माः मैं व्यवधान नहीं डालना चाहता, लेकिन इसका ऑथेंटिकेशन ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री भुपेन्द्र यादवः मैंने ऑथेंटिकेशन दिया है। ...(व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Anand Sharma, what is your point? ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: My point of order is, as per the rules of this House, if a Member quotes from a document ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI BHUPENDER YADAV: It is a parcha. ... (Interruptions)... I am ready to ... (Interruptions)...

श्री आनन्द शर्माः कृपा करके ये यह बता दें कि इसका लेखक कौन है और इसका पुष्टिकरण करके सभा पटल पर रखें। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री भुपेन्द्र यादवः आप सुनिए तो सही। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री आनन्द शर्माः इसके बिना नहीं हो सकता। ...(व्यवधान)... यह किसने लिखा है? ...(व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay. Sit down please. ... (Interruptions)... Sit down. ... (Interruptions)...

श्री आनन्द शर्माः इसका लेखक कौन है? ...(व्यवधान)... क्या आपने उसको पकड़ा है? ...(व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Anand Sharma, please sit down. ... (Interruptions)...

श्री आनन्द शर्माः इसका गलत इस्तेमाल नहीं हो सकता। ...(व्यवधान)... आप बताएं कि यह किसने लिखा है? ...(व्यवधान)...

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI ARUN JAITLEY): Sir, we are grateful that Mr. Sitaram Yechury initiated a very important debate. And, the whole House heard it in pin drop silence. Obviously, there is an alternative point of view. Nobody disputes when you say that we have to protect the Constitution; nobody disputes that we have to protect the academic credentials of our universities; nobody disputes that we have to allow freedom of thought in that university. Having said that, there is an alternate view point. Why should this level of intolerance be displaced to that alternate viewpoint? ...(Interruptions)... Sitaramji, please allow me to complete my sentence. ...(Interruptions)... Now, the alternate view point is that we heard half-an-hour discourse without reference to the actual incident that took place in the Jawaharlal Nehru University. This debate is not taking place on some theory or any abstract. It is taking place in the context of what happened in the university. And, when Mr. Bhupender Yadav wants to refer to that incident, you will display the level of intolerance! ...(Interruptions)... He will authenticate the document and he will also give you the names of the authors of this document. ...(Interruptions)...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, I take it very seriously. ...(Interruptions)... The whole House has a right to reply to my discussion. ...(Interruptions)... I believe in a philosophy -- "Let a hundred flowers bloom, your flower and my flower." ...(Interruptions)... Let a thousand thoughts contend'. ...(Interruptions)...

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Mr. Yechury, let me tell you ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: All that my colleagues are asking, from all across, is that if you quote something, authenticate it. ... (Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I told him already. ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: That is all we are asking. ... (Interruptions)... And let me tell you, that is not intolerance. ... (Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have already said. ...(Interruptions)... He will authenticate it. ...(Interruptions)...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: That is not intolerance; don't mislead the House. ...(Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Bhupender Yadavji, can you authenticate it? ...(Interruptions)...

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: He will authenticate that and place it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has agreed. ...(Interruptions)... Mr. Bhupender Yadav, now you continue please. ...(Interruptions)...

श्री भुपेन्द्र यादवः उपसभापित महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाह रहा था कि श्री सीताराम येचुरी जी भी कह रहे हैं कि उन्होंने भी धर्मशास्त्रों को पढ़ा है, लेकिन भारत की एक प्रणाली है कि हमारे यहां दर्शन में न्याय, वैशेषिक, योग, सांख्य, उत्तर मीमांसा और पूर्व मीमांसा और इनसे असहमित रखते हुए भी बौद्ध, जैन और चार्वाक दर्शन आदि सबको हमने स्थान दिया, क्योंकि हम हर विचार को मान्यता प्रदान करते हैं। हम उन संस्कारों में पले हैं, जिनमें संघ की शाखा में जाते हुए भी हमने प्रातः स्मरण में महात्मा गांधी को इस देश का पूज्य माना है और वही इस देश में पूजनीय हैं।

महोदय, हम इस बात से इंकार नहीं करते कि देश को बनाने में, देश के प्रधान मंत्रियों ने योगदान दिया है, लेकिन जिन्होंने इस पर्चे को बांटा है, उनके माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूं कि भारत के प्रथम प्रधान मंत्री से लेकर भारत के वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री तक, सबने देश की एकता के लिए काम किया है और देश की एकता को तोड़ने वाली यदि कोई Cultural Evening होगी, तो प्रशासन को उसमें हस्तक्षेप करने का अधिकार है और प्रशासन ने यह काम कानून के अनुसार किया है।

महोदय, मैं सीताराम येचुरी जी के ध्यान में यह बात भी लाना चाहता हूं कि वे मुझ से पूछ रहे हैं कि यह पर्चा कहां बंटा है? मैं उन्हें बताना चाहता हूं कि वहां पर एक पोस्टर भी लगा है पोस्टर क्या लगा था जिस पर लिखा था कि 'Against the Brahmanical collective conscience, against the judicial killing of Afzal Guru and Maqbool Bhat.' ये अफजल गुरू और मक़बूल भट, क्या देश के दलित और पिछडों के लिए लड़े थे? आप किस की बात कर रहे हैं?

महोदय, अभी इन्होंने कहा कि ये हिन्दू माइथोलॉजी से हिस्ट्री बनाना चाहते हैं, तो आप JNU में मिहषासुर की पूजा करते हैं और बंगाल में दुर्गा पूजा के समय पंडाल में वोट मांगते हैं। क्या यह दोहरा मापदंड देश में चलेगा? क्या यह दोहरा मापदंड इस देश में चाहिए? मैं आप आपके समक्ष यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस देश की सामाजिक परंपरा क्या है - कबीर, नानक और रैदास, जितने भी हमारे परम्परावादी संत हुए हैं, जिन्होंने सामाजिक सुधार का काम किया है, क्या उन्होंने इस देश की संस्कृति का निर्माण नहीं किया? क्या आप अफज़ल की किलिंग को जुडीशियल किलिंग कहने का पोस्टर लगाएंगे? सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि जब उनके खिलाफ केस है, तो उसे अभिव्यक्ति की आज़ादी को न मानकर, आज़ादी की अभिव्यक्ति के नाम पर अगर कोई समर्थन देगा, तो मेरा यह मानना है कि यह गलत है।

श्री सीताराम येचुरी: पी.डी.पी. के साथ किसने सरकार बनाई? ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री भुपेन्द्र यादवः आप सुन लीजिए। ...(व्यवधान)... सीताराम येचुरी जी, आप सुन लीजिए, जिसने भी ...(व्यवधान)... मैं यहां पर एक बात और कहना चाहूंगा। ...(व्यवधान)... माननीय उपसभापति जी ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री नज़ीर अहमद लवाय (जम्मू और कश्मीर): मैं वहां से इलैक्ट होकर आया हूं। हम इस देश के नागरिक हैं। ...(व्यवचान)... हमारी सरकार आज बी.जे.पी. के साथ है। ...(व्यवचान)... पहले हमारी सरकार आपके साथ भी थी...(व्यवचान)...

†جناب نذیر احمد لوائے: میں وہاں سے الیکٹ ہوکر آیا ہوں۔ ہم اس دیش کے ناگرک ہیں ۔..(مداخلت)... پہلے ہماری سرکار آج بی جے ہی۔ کے ساتھہ ہے ...(مداخلت)... پہلے ہماری سرکار آپ کے ساتھہ بھی تھی۔ ...(مداخلت)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Why do you interrupt your own Member? ....(Interruptions)... Mr. Yadav, please continue....(Interruptions)...

श्री भ्पेन्द्र यादवः माननीय) उपसभापति महोदय, इस देश की आजादी को प्राप्त कर के 67 सालों के इतिहास में हमने देश में शांति बनाए रखने के लिए, देश की स्वतंत्रता को अक्षुण्ण रखने के लिए, देश में न्यायपूर्ण शासन की स्थापना करने के लिए, देश में जनभागीदारी के आघार पर सामाजिक न्याय प्रदान करने के लिए देश के जीवन मृत्यों को ऊंचा उठाकर भारत को वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि से विकसित करने के लिए एक लम्बा प्रयास देश ने किया है। लेकिन विश्वविद्यालयों में जहां पर देश के आने वाले भविष्य की पीढ़ी पैदा होती है, वहां पर आप हिन्द्स्तान को तोड़ने वाले बीज को रोक नहीं सकते और इसलिए आपको अभिव्यक्ति की आज़ादी और आज़ादी की अभिव्यक्ति में अन्तर समझना होगा। अगर इस अन्तर को हम नहीं समझे, तो हम इस देश को बहुत पीछे ले जाएंगे। और मैं यहां पर यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय, जिस पर आज इस देश को गर्व है, हमने देश में सामाजिक विज्ञान का एक संस्थान बनाया, लेकिन मेरा एक मूल प्रश्न है कि जो वामपंथी विचारघारा के लोग वहां पर हमें मनुवाद के नाम पर गाली देते हैं, उनके politburo में एक भी Scheduled Tribe नहीं है, उनके politburo में प्रॉपर Backward Class और दलित representative नहीं है। अगर वे यह बात जानते हैं तो पिछले 42 साल में जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय की Faculty में backward और दलित कितने बने हैं और उनके लिए इन्होंने क्या संघर्ष किया, उसे बताने की कोशिश करें। वे यह बताने की कोशिश करें कि जो सामाजिक संस्थान देश के गांव और गरीबों को सोशल साइंस के माध्यम से जोड़ने का काम कर रहा था, उसमें कितने Backward हैं, उसमें कितने दलित हैं, उसमें कितने शोघपत्र तैयार हुए हैं, उसमें जो subsidized हैं, उसमें किस प्रकार से देश की पॉलिसी को निर्मित करने के लिए काम किया है? जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय को उसकी स्थापना के सिद्धांतों के अनुसार आगे बढ़ाना होगा। Freedom of Speech के नाम पर हम इस देश में देशद्रोह की अनुमति प्रदान नहीं कर सकते। सीताराम येवरी जी, मैं माननीय उपसभापति जी के माध्यम से आपको यह कहना चाहुंगा कि जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय में, आपके व्याख्यान से तो SFI के बच्चे अच्छे हैं। मैं आपको SFI पत्र पढ़कर सुनाता हूं। आप कह रहे थे, किसका पत्र है? जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय में SFI ने एक protest letter निकाला और आपकी पार्टी का एक 11 फरवरी, 2016 का व्याख्यान है। जो SFI है, उन्होंने क्या लिखा? उन्होंने लिखा, 'The religious fundamentalists, bolstered by an ideology propped up by the petrodollars of Saudi

<sup>†</sup> Transliteration in Urdu Script.

Arabia, masquerading as "radicals" serve only to undermine the genuine struggles of the people of Kashmir. These elements, whose communally charged slogans...' तो किसने communally charged slogans लगाए? जब आपकी स्टूडेंट यूनियन कह रही है कि वहां communally charged slogans लगे तो आप बताइए, कौन सउदी अरब के petrodollar से और कौन मुस्लिम मानसिकता से वहां slogan लगा रहा था? जब आपकी Student Union यह बात कह रही है और सरकार उसके आधार पर अगर कार्यवाही कर रही है तो आप उसका विरोध कर रहे हैं! आप उसको अभिव्यक्ति की आज़ादी बता रहे हैं। आप देश तोड़ने को अभिव्यक्ति की आज़ादी बताएंगे?

श्री सीताराम येचुरीः यह sedition है।

श्री भूपेन्द्र यादवः यह कैसे sedition है?

श्री सीताराम येचुरीः वही मैं आपसे पूछ रहा हूं।

श्री भुपेन्द्र यादवः इसलिए मैं आपसे कह रहा हूं। ...(व्यवधान)... आप सुनिए। यह आपकी स्टूडेंट यूनियन ने उनके लिए लिखा है। ...(व्यवधान)... यही कारण है कि जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय ...(समय की घंटी)... महोदय, मैं 12 बजे के बाद समय लेना चाहता हूं क्योंकि मुझे विषय पूरे करने पड़ेंगे। ...(व्यवधान)... इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहुंगा कि जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय में सरकार ने जो कार्य किया है, सरकार ने तो जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय की गरिमा को कायम करते हुए कार्य किया है। जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय में पुलिस का जो interference था, जिसके बारे में हमें कहा जाता है कि इस विश्वविद्यालय को shut down करने की प्लानिंग है, हम इस विश्वविद्यालय को बंद नहीं करना चाहते, यह सरकार की मंशा नहीं है, लेकिन विश्वविद्यालय राष्ट्र भक्ति का स्रोत बने, विश्वविद्यालय राष्ट्रीय एकता का स्रोत बने, विश्वविद्यालय सामाजिक सदभाव का केन्द्र बने, विश्वविद्यालय देश में एक नया विश्वास का माहौल पैदा करे, इसलिए हम इस विश्वविद्यालय देश में एक नया विश्वास का माहौल पैदा करे, इसलिए हम इस विश्वविद्यालय की गरिमा को बचाना चाहते हैं। इस गरिमा को बचाने के लिए मैं अपने कांग्रेस के मित्रों से भी यह कहना चाहुंगा कि आप जिसका समर्थन करने गए थे, कम से कम आपको तो यह तय करना चाहिए था कि जिन्होंने यह कार्यक्रम किया था, उन्होंने कार्यक्रम क्या पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की राष्ट्रीय एकता के विषय को दर्शाने के लिए किया था? आपको समर्थन देने से पहले और उधर जाने से पहले कम से कम यह सोचना चाहिए था कि जिस कार्यक्रम को लेकर सारा विषय बना है और जिस कार्यक्रम को लेकर ध्यान आकर्षित हुआ है...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Yadav. ...(*Interruptions*)... Mr. Yadav, please. ...(*Interruptions*)... Now, listen. We will now break this discussion. At 12.00 noon, we will take up Question Hour, and from 2.00 p.m. to 3.00 p.m., the Calling Attention and at 3.00 p.m., this discussion will be resumed.

THE MINISTER OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT, THE MINISTER OF HOUSING AND URBAN POVERTY ALLEVIATION AND THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, as the debate has started, let us continue the debate after 2.00 p.m.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is time for Question Hour.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: I am not raising questions. I have to answer.

## ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

\*16. [The Questioner (SHRI RITABRATA BANERJEE) was absent.]

### Making real estate licensing online

16. SHRI RITABRATA BANERJEE: Will the Minister of HOUSING AND URBAN POVERTY ALLEVIATION be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government is planning to make real estate licensing online; and
- (b) if so, the details thereof?

THE MINISTER OF HOUSING AND URBAN POVERTY ALLEVIATION (SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU): (a) and (b) A Statement is laid on the Table of the Sabha.

#### Statement

(a) and (b) 'Land' and 'Colonization' are State subjects and it is the Urban Local Bodies *i.e.* the Municipal Authorities and the Development Authorities which issue licenses for real estate projects.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Q. No.16. Shri Ritabrata Banerjee; absent. Any supplementaries?

श्री नरेश अग्रवालः सर, मैं पृछना चाहता हं।

MR. CHAIRMAN: After him.

SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK: Sir, the answer given to the question is this. "'Land' and 'Colonization' are State subjects and it is the urban local bodies, *i.e.*, the Municipal Authorities and the Development Authorities, which issue licences for real estate projects."

Sir, we have recently discussed an exhaustive Real Estate Bill and the Report has been submitted to this House. The Parliament is dealing with real estate. Therefore, this subject has been taken over by the Union Government for the guidance of the State Government. Therefore, to say that licences are being issued by the urban bodies and then we have nothing to do with this, is not a correct position. If that was the case, then the House would not have introduced the Real Estate Bill.