STUDENT UNREST UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY, DISCIPLINE
AND LEGAL PROCESS :-

(1) INTRODUCTION :-

Unrest among students and the outbreak of violence through which it manifests itself is no longer an isolated phenomenon. Today it has spread its tentacles practically over the whole state and it seems together momentum with time. There are people who would look upon it as the teething troubles of our young democracy.

Prolonged student activities in the sense of agitation and demonstration and off-repeated occurrence of violence involving the youth of the country effects the nation's vitality, it impairs the cause of education, erodes the fundamental values of our society and inexorably undermines the apparatus and operations of democracy.

In the state in most cases the student unrest has taken shape of violent agitations against all established authority and causes wide-spread disturbances. These disturbances have raised several issues. Are they the expressions of a conflict of generations of youth loosing faith in the old? Or are they just symptomatic of the times, the age of unrest and tensions
we live in, part of the conditions all the world over? or are they a manifestation, at one more level, of some sense of general frustration within the country? Or are the conditions in our universities really so poor or have suddenly so deteriorated that our young men are genuinely agitating about them? Or have the academic and administrative standards gone down in our seats of learning that the students community feels frustrated to resort to frequent acts of indiscipline? Or they points to some fundamental deficiencies in our educational system? Or again, could it be that our students are acting under inspiration from examples in other parts of the world or are led or misled by extraneous influences and forces within the country? These and host of other questions arise and call for investigation, answer and remedy.

(2) Reasons for the present explosion of student indiscipline and Violence:-

After independence India has had to suffer from many catastrophes, but none of them can compare with the terrific implications of student indiscipline. None can deny that they are working under great handicaps; over-crowded class rooms, ill equipped school and college, inefficient teaching, lack of needed facilities, homes without any environment which could be intellectually stimulating. It is felt that problem of student unrest is not purely an educational problem. It is not even a simple law and order issue, even though this aspect has been posing
delicate and awkward questions for the authorities. It is now fairly well recognised that the phenomenon owes its existence not solely to unsatisfactory conditions at our higher seats of learning, but there are other deeper factors as well which are referable to the evident social, political economic and even historical framework within the country.

The truth is that we have not succeeded in imparting a sense of burning zeal or in inculcating in them an unshakable faith in the future of the country. There is doubt, suspicion and cynicism all around. There is poverty and deprivation and an interminable talk about it all the time. There is an overmuch politicisation of life. There is frustration and there is despair. Uncertain prospects of employment loom large on the student horizons. Standards of education are going through steep abysmal decline. The quality of instruction is generally indifferent. Serious intellectual involvement and pursuit of scholarship seems to be going out of vogue. The curriculum is outmoded, facilities are generally inadequate, student population is bursting at the campus seams, and there are insufficient alternative outlets for the energies of students.

There are certain deep rooted causes for the present explosion of student indiscipline and violence. They are not new but they have attained new dimensions. A climate of indiscipline, defiance of authority and proneness to violence can be seen in the country generally. This straying away from the
norms of good behaviour and peaceful action has been noticed at all levels and in all spheres. The prevailing economic discontent and a feeling that social justice is not being achieved rapidly enough has reinforced these trends. These abnormalities are being taken as the new norm, and have acquired a certain respectability. The students are flattering the elders by indulging in imitation of their ways on a large scale.

Akin to this is a steady erosion of moral values and the ethical basis of life of the community in general. There is a wide gulf between percepts and practice. And it is not surprising that an attitude of cynical disregard of the percepts should develop among the students also.

There is vast increase in the feeling of solidarity and sense of power among the students. This is finding expression in demonstration and lawlessness, on any occasion big or small. This is now running parallel to the doings of organised groups, political parties, Government servants, the working classes etc. Any grievance individual or collective, real or fancied, is now liable to become the ground for mass protest and a show of strength.

One has also to remember another feature of development that, in a poor economy the meeting of some of the needs of the people and some improvement in the living conditions does not
lead necessarily to all-round satisfaction. In fact, it stirs ambitions, generates more needs and more demands, which are difficult to meet immediately. The felt needs outstrip the resources. Thus, there comes about what has been termed as the revolution of rising expectations and the resulting unrest.

One has also to remember that a certain amount of friction and heat are inherent in the very structure and functions of a University. Both the teachers and students are affected by it. On its campus meet the elder and the younger generation. They are in a state of constant celebration. Some kind of sniping and occasional uproars, therefore, are quite normal for university life. Violent agitations have figured in the annals of even the most distinguished of the Universities.

The two major functions of university are the transmission of the cultural heritage of mankind to a new generation and the creation of new knowledge.

This simultaneous emphasis on two opposites, the conservation of the past on the one hand and preparation for the future on the other, again leads to diverging interests. A wise administration will reconcile the two, but an occasional disharmony should not be surprising. A perennially peaceful university, in fact, would be a very dull place.
Glaring gaps in the academic structure of the country are also contributing to the unrest among the students. The functions of the universities in the under-developed countries are not fundamentally different from those of the universities in the West, but the Indian institutions lack their resources of money and especially of men, and are, by and large, not organized to meet the social and political pressures generated by a large parliamentary democracy. The first universities in the country established in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras about a century ago were patterned after the London University of mid-19th Century. They laid down the curriculum, conducted examinations and awarded diplomas to the successful candidates. The universities which were established later were modelled after the universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Even when teaching universities were established at Banaras and Aligarh, they continued to follow the examination procedures of the earlier universities so that emphasis has continued to be everywhere on examinations and degrees, rather than on sustained intellectual effort and the acquisition of knowledge. The external impersonal examinations have stood in the way of development, of close personal relations between the teachers and the taught.

The universities in other countries have been undergoing profound structural changes to meet the needs of the modern times. The Indian universities on the other hand, have been
comparatively static. The Acts have been amended, and sometimes more frequently than necessary, but this has been done largely in a process of accretion and deletions. The main purpose of amendments has centered on determining the levers of 'power' or authorities of the university. There has been hardly any effort to mould the structure of the universities to the needs of academic requirements of the contemporary world or to adapt them to the new social and political forces emerging in the country. While making a comparison of Indian and African Commonwealth Universities, Sir Aric Ashby said sometime ago that the Indian universities are more or less like the London University of 1850s, while the African Universities are modelled after the London University of 1950s.

University education in India has had always a strong vocational bias. It aimed during the 19th century at the training of personnel for the lower cadres of the Government service. A number of brilliant scholars were thrown up and a large number of graduates played a leading part in the struggle for Independence, but this was not the intended function of the university. It was just an unexpected by-product. The vocational view of higher education continues to prevail to this day, but there is no equilibrium now between manpower requirements and admissions made to the different faculties. In the Arts Faculty particularly, the opportunities for gainful employment are far less than the number of candidates who
graduate every year, leading to a great deal of uncertainly in the minds of young men. With many unqualified teachers due to the rapid expansion of education, the faculties have been losing their authority and prestige. This coupled with the emphasis on cramming to pass the examinations has led to a steady decline in standards and the intellectual atmosphere that one would desire in a college or a university is absent from many institutions.

It is not possible to catalogue here all the major causes which vitiate the atmosphere of Indian campuses. They are many. The wrong appointments owing to nepotism, inept administration, teacher's fractions and campus politics, intrusions into university autonomy and curtailment to academic freedom have all their impact on the student body. Both the Radhakrishnan Commission and Kothari Commission have drawn attention to these and reference can be made to these and several other reports if one is interested in making a comprehensive list of the weaknesses of Indian universities. One feature of the Indian scene, however, deserves special mention in the context of present unrest. On the attainment of Independence, we aimed at a highly moral society based on Gandhian idealism. We have not been able to live up to the ideals that were preached. Several other democracies have politics very similar to our own but they do not moralise to the extent that we do. The inability to live up to the proclaimed ideals and the yawning gap between perception and action has caused inevitably a great
disillusionment. This along with shortages of many kinds e.g. rise in prices and great economic hardship among the classes from which most of the university students come, has lead to a weakening of confidence in the leaders of the nation. A feeling has also grown among large sections of the population that the best way to promote any interest is to launch an agitation backed with violence.

The Education Commission's Report begins with the eloquent words: "The destiny of India is being shaped in her classrooms." It is sad to think that about the time that the Report was published, the classrooms were deserted in many states in the country, and her destiny was being worked out in the streets with brick-bats and bonfires. To get the traunts back into the classrooms, there is something even more urgently needed than friendliness and solicitude namely, teachers whose learning animates and enlightens the classroom. If the learning is not there, not much harm comes of young people being out in the open air which is healthier than the air of classrooms.

How to win students from the path of agitations and violence and bring discipline and peace back to our campuses is a very complex problem. There is no cut and dried solution or any easy way out of the difficulties. Educational reforms cannot be carried out in a short time. Among other things, they need, besides financial resources, a great deal of preparation and
reorientation in the outlook of teachers.

It is not proper to isolate the problems that the students face from those of the rest of society. The glaring economic and social disparities affect them as powerfully as they do various other sections of society. There is today a general impatience with conditions of life and the way our society is organised. This impatience is healthy. Our task is to see that it results in something constructive. In the last analysis the reorganisation of the educational system is intimately linked up with the reorganisation of the whole social structure. Unless this is attended to with all the urgency that it demands, we shall not have grasped the long-term implications of the present situation in the student community.

The one relieving feature of the whole situation is the widespread awareness of the range and complexity of the problem and the need to tackle it comprehensively, on an enduring basis, from different angles and at different levels. The Education Commission, composed of eminent educationists of this country and from abroad, in its report recently published has dealt with the deficiencies in the educational system and listed the remedial measures to be taken. The panel of Vice-Chancellors\textsuperscript{1} and educationists\textsuperscript{2}, have also made certain recommendations.

1. Schedule
2. Schedule
(A) **Political Interference**

Political leaders who have to be found in the society in which it functions. Universities have grown in recent years in response to regional and local pressures. Some of the campuses are rife with faction - fights based on caste and language; there are also personality conflicts and increasent border struggles between departments and the many centres of authority. Favoritism, in its various manifestations, is a common feature throughout India.

The "style" of administrative leadership in the Indian campus is a frightening amalgam of indifference, arrogance, self-righteousness and incompetence. The "big stick" is wielded when situations are normal but when the occasion demands courage and swift action, these qualities are rarely forthcoming. In day-to-day administration, the rules of routine work are religiously adhered to but the principle of administrative impartiality is often sacrificed to favouritism and nepotism. Students are quick in sensing that administration is erratic without clearly discernible principles of action. It is not difficult to see that in this situation we have a fertile soil for student revolt. Edward Shils has described the consequences of this state of affairs and no one who is familiar with the sociology of the university campus in India can differ from the assessment: "Authority, which out of either principle

3. Schedule
liberalism, internal division, fear, or incompetence, or a mixture of all these - is unable or unwilling to impose itself, appears to the Indian student as weak authority. A weak authority exercised by the hesitant, the divided, the corrupt, the derogated, and the unworthy is no curb on the rebelliousness in the heart of the Indian student. The hesitation of university and college authorities to respond to often legitimate student desires, and their sometimes cowardly alacrity to yield when threatened with open indiscipline, further discredit these authorities. The remoteness of this weak authority, its bureaucratic impersonality, its lack of conviction as to its own validity, do not satisfy the need of the Indian youth for a unitary, immediately present, integral, and morally pure authority". Discontent among students smoulders under the surface of all Indian universities; in many they have burst forth into an all conflagration. Politicians have naturally exploited the situation for their own advantage. They frequently invite youth to play its role in the social "transformation". This process of recruitment from student ranks began long before independence, with the result that students have now become a force to be reckoned with. In recent years, Naxalites have influenced and mobilised Calcutta students in a big way; other parties in the country have not been slow in catching up. On the other hand, student groups
have often sought the support of political parties in their conflicts with the establishment. Even teachers have not hesitated to make use of students, as the politics in Osmania University has shown. Again, since the appointment of a Vice-Chancellor is not infrequently the result of manipulation, those whose have played a significant role in the process, claim a right to be rewarded for what they have done for them. Amar Kumar Singh who has documented this feature in the case of Ranchi University observes that politicians view the University "as a colony to be exploited in order to promote their political power." They are then able to get their sons admitted to colleges although they are not up to the mark, even in professional courses like medicine and engineering.

Another consequence of the politicization of the student community is that educational decisions tend to be taken in the context of over-riding political considerations. Today, neither the head of the department and the college principal nor the university administrator can ignore the political factors which impinge on administrative rationality in a matter like selective admissions. The language problem furnished a good example of the way in which politics has entered into academic decision-making. Because of these development, there is considerable "double-think" among educationists and university authorities. Much is talked about the great ends of education
but there is, in practice, a pathological fear of displeasing students or the public. This is a major impediment to any significant reform in the quality of university education in India.

(B) Union Activities:

Another vexatious question which must be tackled firmly is the compulsory membership of unions. This practice should be ended. It gives a few students who manage, by very dubious methods sometimes, to get themselves elected as office-bearers, the authority to speak in the name of the whole body of students, even though the majority of students may be opposed to steps proposed to be taken in the name of the union.

One of the recommendations made by Chief Ministers, to which reference has already been made, aimed at preventing universities from being used as recruiting grounds for political campaigns. This must be implemented without delay. If political parties can enter into a gentleman's agreement not to use students for political purposes and take no active interest in any trouble that may crop up within the university, they would earn the community's gratitude. But in any case, the Vice-Chancellor and the head of the institution should be armed with sufficient powers to prevent the campus from being
used for nonacademic purposes and remove those not approved by him from gaining access to hostels or approved lodgings.

Student's unrest would probably not become the serious law and order problem if it were not for the way political parties take an active hand in fanning the fire. All political parties are not inspired by the same motives. In some cases, the interest taken by political leaders is purely due to local reasons. In other cases, it is the desire to retain the party's leadership and influence, whenever any trouble is brewing.

If the spirit of indiscipline is once fully established with the active encouragement and support of grown-ups in responsible positions, the whole community will suffer. But no one has the time to think of these consequences. The fight with authority and temporary victory against it have an exhilarating effect. That is all.

But, for all its evil effects, this kind of participation of political parties in student unrest is not very dangerous. It is not organised and has hardly any objectives other than obstensible ones. Once the real or fancied grievances of students are removed, the movement collapses. Real, deep-rooted and farreaching danger comes in when student unrest
is made part of the political strategy of a political party. Then it is a planned and organised technique interlinked with other items, all knit together by a similar political objective. Such a movement can hardly die down because fuel can always be found for it. There is every reason to fear that the present wave of student unrest belongs mainly to this class.

Students and political parties are drawn into these movements without realising that they are being made instruments to serve causes for which they have no sympathy. Those who pull the strings are clever men: they know how to divert the attention of the public and the Government to secondary and unimportant issues so as to keep effectively shielded their real objectives. An agitation by students is easy to manipulate and carry on. It is easy to think up a grievance and appeal to the generous instincts of the young. Circumstances can always be created which will result in the death of, or serious injury to, one or two students and this can be trusted to unleash and amount of public discontent which can be expected to keep the unrest alive for a long time.

The structure of the universities needs changes to meet the new requirements of the country as well as pressures of the emerging social and political forces. This is not a place
to go in a comprehensive manner into the details of the kind of changes that are required, but a few may be mentioned. We have said again and again, that the elections vitiate the atmosphere of the universities. Why not then change the charters of the universities in such manner that elections are minimised if not completely omitted. The universities have to take note of the needs of the country; they have to be responsive to public opinion, but at the same time, they have to be protected against any external interference in their day to day work. The university Grants Commission is one of the organisations which has helped in safeguarding university autonomy, but it does not provide immunity to the universities from interference by local political sections. Many of our problems are similar to those of the United States rather than the European countries. We can think of a Board of Management for the Universities with long terms for the members so that they can look ahead and plan several years in advance. We have adopted this pattern of administration for our Institutes of Technology. It could be extended to the universities.
(C) The Moral Crisis in Education:

For moral development of the nation through the educational process we shall have to clean the temples of learning of all corrupting influences and we shall have to see that our political and social leaders raise their own standards of conduct so that they set good examples before our students. Some of the educationists have lamented that in the Fifth Five Year Plan, the allotment of ₹ 1,726.0 crores for education is very small. I, for one, am worried whether even this amount may not go down the drain without achieving any real educational and political institutions improve significantly. After all, in education we want to build character, and character can be built not by percepts but by examples of men of character. If we go on investing more and more funds in education and at the same time go on presenting lower and lower standards of moral conduct to our students, the next contribution to the educational efforts may be negative.

Even if we cannot improve the political climate from the moral point of view, there is no reason why we educationists and particularly teachers of schools and Universities should not decide to raise the moral standards
of conduct in our own institutions.

(D) Moral Standards in Educational Institutions:

The motto every educational institution has to be "No Compromise with untruth, fairness and justice and impartiality at all levels." The aim should be to establish that there are some institutions of society, namely the educational institutions, where justice and fair-play prevail and where there is perfect impartiality in all dealings. We have to ensure complete impartiality in admissions. Admissions should be strictly on merit. We may make reservations for weaker sections of society and fix quotas for them but even there, within the quota in each category, admissions should again be on merit. No body should be admitted just because he happens to be related to a member of the management or a minister or a teacher or has some influence with the powers that be. The practice of charging capitation fees in some courses or reservation of seats for nominees of vice-chancellors, members of management and other
VIPs should be completely stopped. All admission rules should be publicised and all admissions should be open to public scrutiny.

Similarly all recruitment of teachers must be ruthlessly on merit alone. Here there should be no reservations for any class of persons because a teacher is going to influence generations of students including students of weaker sections of society and there is no reason why the best teacher should not be selected. Influencing a selection committee for a teacher should be regarded as a moral sin and the selection committee should resist these pressures with all force.

We have to make strong and concerted attack on the use of unfair means in examinations. This has become a widespread evil which is eroding the moral resistance of the nation to a great extent. One shudders to think what will be the future of the nation when its leadership will be in the hands of those students who instead of believing in hard work today, believe in the easier method of the use of unfair means for passing in the examinations. If they cannot resist the temptation now, how can they resist any corrupting influences in future? We have to create responsible student and public opinion against these practices. Every parent should consider it his sacred duty to the nation to persuade his children from using unfair means. Every teacher should consider it his patriotic duty to prevent cost. He should consider himself as a soldier who is fighting
on the battle front for the moral integrity and freedom of
the nation.

A similar situation occurs in educational institutions
when attendance records of students are forged by some teachers
in their misguided sympathy for individual students. They
believe they are helping some students to save a year of their
life. This is true but at the same time they are giving lessons
in forgery to thousands of students and the harm they are doing
is beyond description. Any unfair practice used by a teacher or
a principal or a member of the management is a blow to moral
health of the nation and one should reflect on the consequences
of what one is doing when ever one is tempted to indulge in
unfair or unjust practices.

One of the root causes of students frustration and indiscipline is their feeling of lack of justice and fair play in educational insitutions. There may be one or two per cent teachers who may be indulging in such harmful practices but it brings a bad name to the whole educational system. The rest of the teachers must actively fight the influence of this minority of teachers. Remaining indifferent to the situation is not enough. Sometimes such practices on the part of those teachers, who are nothing short of traitors to the nation, are tolerated in the name of unity of the teaching profession. The unity of the teaching profession should be for some noble purpose and not for
harming the cause of education itself. In the same way there
is a small fraction of students who are not interested in studies,
who know that they are not going to succeed in life through the
hard path of education and who therefore are prepared to wreck
the educational system. It is unfortunate that the over whel­
mimg majority of students who are interested in serious study
and in building themselves for the sake of service to the nation
remain indifferent or support the harmful activities of the
students in the name of students unity. Students unity should
again be for noble causes, for building the nation, for fighting
corrupt practices and for high ideals; it should certainly not
be for sheltering students who are harming national interests.

For raising the moral tone of the educational system, the
social service schemes are very important. These schemes have
been launched on a voluntary basis and they have not been very
successful. Social service schemes should be made a part of the
curriculum and should not just be regarded as additional or
extracurricular activities. Social service should be a means of
educational training of emotions of the students and it should
be as much part of the curriculum as training in academic
subjects. We have to train students for a complete life the
social sense and feeling for other is a part of such a training
and as such it cannot be relegated to a second-rate position in
the activities of the students.
Another important consideration is the motivation we can provide for the teachers. Today a large majority of our teachers are not in tune with modern development. Many of them have not studied at all beyond what they studied in their school and college days 20-30 years back and even at that time whatever they studied was 100+ years out-of-date material. We have to face the massive problem of inservice training of lakhs of teachers. We have to train them in the subject content as well in the pedagogic techniques. We have also to orient them towards new values of education and society. We have to provide extensive inservice training programmes, facilities for extensive professional activities and motivation in terms of merit increments for those who do exceptionally good work as teachers and scholars.

One of the most important causes of moral degradation in educational institutions is the present examination system, with its emphasis on external paper-setters and assessment once a year. This has to be replaced by continuous assessment so that the students get the habit of working regularly and they are not tempted to use unfair means in the one examination in a year which has to determine their future. Continuous assessment will imply internal assessment by the teacher who teaches the students. This will also imply a complete faith in our teachers. Again, this mistrust of
the teacher has been responsible for a great deal of moral harm to our system. Teachers are not responsible for admissions or examination or curriculum making for their students and they do not have a sense of participation in the educational system. Internal assessment will give them their dignity and restore their position as pivotal persons in the educational hierarchy. Teachers will also have to rise to the occasion and claim freedom to examine their students. Many teachers are afraid of this freedom. They are afraid of unruly students and of undue pressures from social elements in society. If the teachers are not prepared to fight these influences to regain their independence and freedom, they will continue to suffer and the moral atmosphere will continue to be polluted. It is for the Teachers Associations to assert the right of internal assessment and give an assurance to the rest of the society that they will not yield to any pressures in evaluating students.

(E) Above The Law?

At the present time, student unrest has become a law and order problem. It seems that this aspect has been very perfunctorily considered so far. Its seriousness has not been raised at all. The student has been subjected to unnecessary coddling and he has been made to feel that he is above the law.
If a shopkeeper had to close his shop by force he has no redress; a cinema-owner who is beaten up can get justice nowhere: cases may be instituted as a matter of formality but everyone knows that they will be withdrawn. Not only public property but the furniture and furnishings of educational institutions may be destroyed but no compensation is to be paid. It appears that two years ago, State Chief Ministers came to certain conclusions on student indiscipline but, unfortunately, they left their implementation to the Centre with the result that nothing has been done.

If wisdom prevails this time, State Chief Ministers would be well advised to keep the execution of their resolutions in their own hands, leaving the Centre the task only of giving them the assurance that it will fully support them in the measures they take to meet the menace. Let us hope the assurance will be kept.

There should be special legislation dealing with destruction of public property and other acts of sabotage. The practice of having proctor magistrates in all universities and other major educational institutions might well be introduced. There used to be such officers in some places in the past. Proctor magistrates should also help in laying to rest some of the knotty questions which arise when the police have
to enter the university campus.

Some conventions have developed in recent years which should be strongly put to an end. Whenever students feel that they must go on strike or create some other situation leading to a suspension of the normal function of a college or a university, an action committee at once comes into existence and the authorities have to negotiate with it for terms of settlement. This practice must go. There should be no recognition to any individual or group, no matter what it calls itself, presuming to speak on equal terms with the head of the institution. Students can make requests, not present demands, to him.

(F) Police Excesses:

The phrase "Police excesses" has been frequently used in connection with students' demonstrations. With Communist journals it has become a deliberate technique for the purpose of demoralising the police. The term 'Police excess' in connection with students' demonstrations has valid significance only if it implies that in dealing with riotous gatherings of students (with whom outside elements are often mingled) more force has demonstrably been used than was necessary for the purpose of bringing the situation under
control. In such circumstances, it is the police who are the best judges of the kind and nature of force that they consider to be adequate. One would expect that, with the police, will always be present a responsible official who will direct and control their operations. Entering students' hostels or private houses after a situation has been brought under control would certainly constitute an excess. But caution should be exercised in accepting as correct the charge as often as it is made regardless of the circumstances under which the police have felt compelled generally in self-defence to take unpleasant action.

Connected with this problem is the right of the police to enter a university campus. Another phrase in vogue is "the sanctity of the campus", implying thereby that the police may enter a university campus only with the permission of the Vice-Chancellor or some responsible authority. No one will dispute the proposition that the university authorities should make every effort to deal with a threatening situation without police assistance. But the moment students break out into violent disorder, throwing brickbats, committing arson or damaging property, no sanctity of the campus is left. Once such a stage has been reached, the police has every right to enter the campus; and it must be left to the discretion of the police officer in charge to deal with
the situation as it develops in the manner that seems best to him.

(3) Some Remedial measures:

As an immediate step, it has been suggested that the educational authorities could open a dialogue with a representative group of student leaders in a bid to restore normalcy. This, it is urged, should be done without any loss of time, before other long-term measures are considered.

As for the more permanent solutions, a major suggestion made has been for the provision of in-built safe-guards in the system so that occasions for complaints are reduced to the minimum and grievances as they arise receive prompt attention. In tangible terms, the measures favoured are:

(i) the creation of Students Councils to open up channels of communication between the students, teachers and the authorities and to provide to the students, a sense of participation in the affairs of their institutions, and

(ii) the appointment of a whole-time Dean for student welfare. Arrangements made in this behalf, it has been emphasised, should be such as to inspire
complete confidence; administration in the universities should not be rigidly bureaucratic but deal speedily and with sympathy and imagination all genuine grievances; and care should be taken to see that there has been prior consultation before substantial changes in the working of educational institutions which affect the students are introduced.

More basic, however, is recognised to be the need to restore an atmosphere of serious scholarship in the universities. For this, admission of students should be made strictly on the basis of merit and their equipment so that only those with the requisite mental stamina and aptitude for higher learning enter the Universities, leaving others to follow other profitable avenues of training and employment created for the purpose. Likewise, there should be similar insistence on high academic standards in the selection of teachers and the right persons should be appointed on terms reasonable enough to attract and retain the best talents. Only then would our universities be peopled by men and women who would 'gladly learn and gladly teach'. Raising of the admission age is also favoured so that persons entering the universities are already mature enough to behave responsibly and discipline on the campus need not have to be a product of regimentation.
If the right type of leadership and respect for authority in the universities is to be hoped for, it is pointed out, Vice-Chancellorship should cease to be sinecures of political patronage and only men of the highest academic standing and impeccable integrity should be appointed. Simultaneously, it is urged, there should be no political interference or inroads into the autonomy of academic bodies and the Vice-Chancellors should be left completely free in the administration of university affairs, including the maintenance of discipline on the campus. All this would be of no avail if outside influences persist. And in regard to this, one can do no more than appeal (and such appeal has come from more quarters than one) that seats of learning should be regarded sacred and political parties should impose upon themselves a self-denying ordinance and leave student organisations and educational institutions in peace.

Intellectual involvement of the students is also admitted to be condition of equal importance. This is possible, it has been said, only by modernising in the first place the present curricula in order to make them realistic and related to the needs of the country at the present time so that the student finds a sense of purposiveness in the pursuit of his studies. At the teaching level, it has been recommended that there should be less of one-way lectures
and more of tutorials, group discussions and the like so that student interest is activated and an intellectual dialogue between the student and the teacher established, rendering learning an interesting adventure.

It has been further widely felt that university education should be so organised as to make it a stimulating and interesting experience. It should call forth and fully engage the physical, mental and emotional energy of the students. Extracurricular activities no doubt can provide one form of outlet. 'Earn-as-your-work' scheme has been recommended as another means. In addition to these, some form of social service is suggested. The idea is that students' idealism and identification with the problems of society should be utilised in some activities beneficial to themselves and the community. In this connection, the Prime Minister cited the example of Burma where every graduate has to do a year of national service before he is awarded the degree and of the U.A.R. where a similar system obtains. In fact, it would seem that even in Japan students are drafted to help agriculturists during the harvest seasons.

Every care has to be taken so that respect for teacher grows in the minds of the students, and emotional ties develop
between them and the institutions to which they belong. This will depend very much on the quality of teaching; the care and sympathy which the students receive at the hands of the teachers and authorities especially regarding their living conditions and other amenities and the moral atmosphere of educational institutions i.e. how far malpractices, casteism, nepotism etc., are being kept out.

(4) U.G.C.'s Difficult Task:

The point has sometimes been made that, though enquiries have been made in the past into students' problems, little has been done to implement the recommendations of the committees responsible for such enquiries. The criticism is only partially correct. The number of students in Indian universities has more than doubled in the last ten years, from about seven lakhs to over 15 lakhs. With limited funds at the disposal of the university Grants Commission, it has obviously been impossible to maintain the same standards, despite a certain measure of reform. The point would be better understood by a reference to the food situation in India. Food production has increased considerably in recent years; but it has been more or less neutralised by the growth of population.
This, however, is not to say that a more active policy cannot be pursued by the U. G. C. in dealing with the problems of our students. There is no one at present on the staff of the Commission who deals solely with students' problems and their welfare activities. In fact, when the strength of the commission is increased, as the Ministry of Education intends doing after the passage of a Bill now before Parliament, there will be a strong case for the appointment of a full-time member to deal exclusively with such problems.

The conference recently held in New Delhi, of a certain number of Vice-Chancellors, some members of the U. G. C. and few educationists, adopted some useful and practical measure which should go for towards lessening tensions in the universities. Frequent and regular consultation between university authorities and students' organisations should prove useful in indicating the lines of immediate reform and progress.

A strong point seems to have been made by some vice-Chancellors for the preservation of the autonomy of universities. Ministers in more than one State have exercised
pressure on Vice-Chancellors to modify or even to reverse decisions already adopted by the university authorities. There has been a tendency in many instances to condone acts of violence on the part of students and to recommend withdrawal of cases against law-breakers guilty of serious offences.

On the subject of student's unions, a criticism frequently heard is that several of these unions are run by a class of students whose academic record is indifferent, if not dismally poor. A suggestion worthy of consideration is whether a maximum period should not be prescribed beyond which a student who is unable to pass this examinations should not be permitted to continue in the university. Another aspect of students' unions is the demarcation of spheres of responsibility between such unions and consultative committees, also composed of students and members of the staff, on the lines observed in Aligarh. The consultative committee in Aligarh university deals with students' welfare in its manifold aspects, while the union concerns itself only with such extracurricular activities as debates.

Another useful point which is bound to receive further consideration is the need for a clear distinction between genuine problems of students and those which do not directly concern them. There have been instances of students of a
university from one state disturbing the peace of a university in a neighbouring state for the observance of inter-state or all India demonstrations. "Action Committees" have clearly no place in the life of a university.

(5) **Student Unrest in the State of Gujarat:**

Hardly a week goes by when the newspapers do not carry a report about some university or college which would not cause anyone who has even the slightest regard for education in the state hang his head in shame. The fact is that in most of the universities and colleges in the state there is no education.

Education presumably means that something is being taught, that classes are being held, that most of the teachers are teaching, and the most of the students are attending the classes and trying to learn to the best of their ability. Yet hardly any person interested in the reform of higher education in this country, whether at the state or the Central level, has courage to ask the simple questions, "How many classes have actually been held in a whole year in the university or colleges where their children study

1. See schedule VIII containing paper cuttings revealing the position of Universities in the State.
or for whom they are formally responsible in one way or another?" or "How many students enrolled in these institutions have actually attended the classes that were held there?" If such questions were asked and the answers found, what would be revealed would perhaps shock us out of our complacency if we are concerned even the least or little bit for higher education in this state. We would be amazed to find that very little actual education is being imparted in the so called institutions of higher learning.

How has this situation come about? Unless we study what is happening in most institutions of higher learning in this state, we will not be able to understand the causes that are corroding the foundations and making it impossible for any authority to perform even its minimum functions in these institutions.

The stir starts, as every principal of a college or the Vice-Chancellor of a university knows, with the problem of admissions. The vociferous and popular demand is that every one who has passed the qualifying examination should be allowed admission if he wants it. The idea that higher education is meant for those who are qualified for it and who have given some evidence for it is not accepted by anybody. Those who themselves are in positions of authority
and wield economic, political or bureaucratic power want
their children to be admitted whether they qualify or not.

However, this group, though important, exer-cises
influence only from behind the scenes - the pressures are
mostly from individuals and students associations and they
can be resisted if one has the will for it. What is more
dangerous, and little known, is the fact that over a period
of time it has been accepted by the authorities that being
a formal student confers a certain advantage even if that
person does something which if done by anybody else would
render him liable to criminal prosecution. If being a
student ensures one's safety from criminal prosecution under
the law then those who are criminals would prefer to be stu-
dents and save themselves from the usual hazards of a criminal
career.

It is this criminal element which takes the lead in
organising a substantial part of those who are denied admi-
ssions in institutions of higher education in this state.
These form the determined hard core which can go to almost
any length in getting their demand accepted. Another large
group of students whose vested interest is in-admission at any
cost consists of those belonging to scheduled castes and
scheduled tribes, since a precondition for their getting a
government scholarship is that they be formally enrolled as a student in some institution of higher learning. They therefore, want the admission requirements to be lowered as much as possible so that they may get the scholarship to which they are automatically entitled the moment they are admitted to any college or university.

None of these groups, it should be noted, is even remotely interested in studies. What they want is formal admission at any cost so that they may get the legitimate and illegitimate advantages which it confers on them. What they want to pursue after admissions is not studies but their own interests pursued from a position of advantage and power which the admission provides to them. The first demand, therefore, which such groups raise after admission invariably is that attendance should not be compulsory. In fact, what they want is that there should be no attendance requirement at all. Year after year this is the second battle that the students fight and invariably win so much so that today no student or teacher believes that anyone will be debarred from the examination even if one has not attended a single class in the whole year in any subject in one's college or university. Cases of students being debarred from appearing in examination are rare in the state.
If students do not attend classes or even attend them once in a blue moon when they are in the mood to do so, the teacher loses interest in teaching and may even begin to prefer such a situation as it gives him extra time to pursue domestic, academic or monetary claims which are pressing on them all the time. In the situation thus develops a subtle, even unconscious, connivance between the students and the teachers to see that no formal requirement of attendance be there and that as little teaching be actually done as possible.

Once such a situation is accepted by everybody, the rest follows with inevitable consequence. As few classes are held and even fewer attended, specially by those who are leaders of the student community, that is those who have no interest in education at all, the demand for the postponement of examinations gains momentum, ostensibly on the plea that the courses have not even covered. No one asks these students how many classes have they actually attended out of those that have been held and how the courses can possibly be covered in the little time that is available even if their demand for postponement of examinations be accepted. In fact, the student leaders are busy preparing for a strike and not for the examinations even during these days when their ostensible complaint is that sufficient teaching has not been
done to enable them to take the examination.

The demands flowing from this situation are not confined to the postponement of examinations alone. What is demanded is the subversion and nullification of the examination system at its core. This is done in many ways. One such way is to agitate for a larger number of questions out of which the minimum number may be attempted, the abolition of internal choice amongst questions, the scrapping of separate sections out of which questions have compulsorily to be selected. Besides these, there is the usual demand for a large gap between the examination of different question papers in a subject.

Even if all these are accepted, as in most cases they are, the troubles of the university do not cease. The students reserve the right to decide whether the question paper they have received in the examination hall is adequate or not. Whenever they find it slightly difficult they boycott the examination, force others to do so, tear up their answerbooks, walk out of the examination hall, stop the trucks and buses plying on the road, go to other centres and disrupt the examinations there. And even when they do not boycott the examination they openly assert their right to copy in the examination and threaten invigilators who try to stop them from doing so.
Most invigilators have accepted the situation and look the other way behaving as if everything is alright and nothing untowards is happening around them. Those who are a little more conscientious either prefer not to take the invigilation work at all or try their best to see that at least ostensibly not much cheating is done in the room where they are located. Such persons are invariably found inconvenient by their colleagues and given the least amount of invigilation duties compatible with the rules in this regard. Examination centres are spread out in large mofussil areas of the states and it would be no exaggeration to say that what goes on in the name of examination in most such places is a farce which deceives no one except those who are in charge of higher education in the country.

The story, however, does not cease with the cheating at the examination. Cheating is done at many places and levels. The question papers are leaked out, many times with the connivance of the paper-setters themselves, even before the examination takes place. Answer books are smuggled out of the examination halls and then returned after the answers have been written by someone else. In other cases, answer books are smuggled out after the examinations from the university office through the connivance of the staff there and different ones substituted in their place.
The curtain, however, does not fall even with the declaration of the examination results of the farce that goes on every year in the name of higher education in the state. If, for any reason, the students are not satisfied with the result of the examination, they agitate for bonus marks so that a majority of those who have failed may pass and, surprisingly, in many cases the demand is accepted by those who know better but whose will to resist has been weakened by gheraos and pressure tactics that the students have perfected almost to the utmost. Not only this but in many universities results can be managed at the computer level where mark sheets are prepared. Many such cases are reported in the newspaper.

The gradual erosion of the will of the university authorities for putting up any resistance against the unacademic demands of the students is a long story in itself. Suffice it here to say that the students, along with other groups in the university, have perfected techniques to coerce the authorities into conceding demands even when they regard them as unacceptable on academic and administrative grounds. The pitiable condition of the syndicate and the academic councils of most universities could be gauged by a perusal of their minutes where in successive emergency meetings called by the vice-chancellors, they have eaten the humble pie and modified their own earlier resolutions.
In fact, most vice-chancellors are so demoralised that they try to buy peace by satisfying the student leaders. Those whom they ask to be admitted, are admitted; those whom they want student aid fund to be given, are given. They are given money out of the vice- chancellor's discretionary fund ostensibly for academic purposes such as study tours, but practically to be used as they like, since no accounts are asked for and even if asked none are given. The student leaders, thus gradually become brokers between the administration and anyone in the university. They charge for their services and bully the authorities into doing what they want them to do. Others begin to see where the effective coercive power lies and gradually invisible alliances begin to get formed so that each group may get through alliance with others what they cannot get on their own. In all these activities these students leaders get the cooperation of state level dailies and at times of University administrations.

How little the University Grants Commission or the state and Central Ministries are concerned with higher education or seem to know about the actual situation at the grassroots level may be gauged by a pronouncement of chairman of the University Grants Commission where he had said something to the effect that lack of sufficient hostel facilities for students was one of the key problems in the universities and that the University Grant Commission would give priority to
remedying the situation as far as possible. It is surprising that the University Grants Commission authorities are not aware that hostels are one of the biggest headaches to the Vice-Chancellor of any university for the simple reason that they are not the places where students from far off distances come to live a meaningful, corporate life to pursue their studies, but rather dens where a large number of unauthorised persons live, including those that are not even on the rolls of the university. They are the places where criminal elements seek shelter keeping with them arms which are freely used in faction and caste fights between different groups of students and from where none dare remove them, including the wardens, proctors and vice-chancellor of the university. These are the persons who do not pay their mess dues and openly boast that they would not do so. Others whom they support equally do the same. The extent of wilful non-payment of mess dues is little known to most people even inside the universities. The amount of money lost in realising mess dues in an unbelievable astronomical waste by Indian standards. Yet it is allowed to happen in hostel after hostel in this state. One wonders why, when it is not so difficult to stop it. One should remember in this connection that these students generally come from well to do families and can afford to pay their dues.
As for violence, who does not know that most of those in the hostels who come to study live in fear of these bullies and consider themselves fortunate if they are not physically manhandled. Have a surprise search in almost any hostel in any university in the state, and there is a very high probability that arms and ammunitions will be discovered. The students in some of these hostels are drug addicts and carry on all other types of illegal activities. Some days back a naked lady was found lying in the Hostel of L. D. Engineering College. Who would like more hostels in such a situation? Most university authorities would be happy with less of them. But who dares say it openly?

The story is long and this is only one part of it. There are other groups in the universities besides the student, the teachers, the clerical, the administrative and the class IV staff, and the vice-chancellor and the invisible government machinery behind him - and each has a story of its own. But the story we have told mirrors the others as well, to some extent at least.

Four final year M.B.B.S. students of Gujarat University recently approached an examinee in Bombay to get 75 to 80 percent marks while the average hovered around 50.
Marks being usually high going by MBBS standards, it aroused curiosity of the authorities. The university got the answer scripts of all examinees reassessed. Predictably, only those four students scored more or less marks as given by the dubious examiner. To straighten things, the university again got the answer scripts reassessed and the doubts confirmed.

When results were declared, students, who were pretty sure of their marks but not knowing how it all happened, threatened authorities of dire consequences. Although the university did not get any conclusive proof to establish money changing hands, it exposed both fragility and vulnerability of the system.

May be this was the first case of its kind, but it confirmed the doubts that such cases must be rampant but rarely exposed. Also, it must not be restricted to medical faculty but extends to all courses.

When students fail, their parents often go in for rechecking (i.e. physical verification) and reassessment of marks. Most are satisfied with the result declared for the second time. But there is a category of parents who have the audacity to approach university officials to see if something could
be done to raise the marks even if the examinee does not deserve.

There is a system of blacklisting an examiner for entering into such dubious deals but nothing beyond. It is so difficult to put the onus on the examinations. There has not been perhaps a single case when an examiner has been punished.

Interestingly, there is a provision of levying fines at the time of paper-setting, preparing mark-sheets and other examination duties. It is ₹15 for the first mistake, ₹40 for two, ₹50 for three and ₹80 for four or more mistakes alongside debarring the person from duty for two years. Even more interesting fact is that no person has been punished as per this provision so far.

According to academics, the malady lies in the system. It is a vicious circle. Like other universities in the country, Gujarat University could not revise the examination fees for the last 15 years, lest it invited students' wrath. The university could not also revise remunerations of paper-setters, examiners, invigilators, supervisors and others for years.

About 1.25 lakh students appear as regulars in as many as 174 examinations in different courses in the main April-May examinations from over 130 affiliated colleges and over
30,000 again in 142 repeat examinations during October-November. Nearly 5,000 appear as external students in B.A. and B* Com. and another 9,000 in M.A. and M.Com.

While examination fees are the major source of income of any conventional University, the latter loses heavily on this head. As per an estimate, Gujarat University loses an average of Rs. 100 per student in conducting examinations. The loss is higher in science and professional subjects compared to arts and commerce.

A student has to pay just Rs. 40 for all theory papers and clinical tests put together in first MBBS, Rs. 50/- in second MBBS and Rs. 75 in final MBBS, considers it his birthright to become a doctor. Similarly, it is construed that a student has a right to get in LL.B. Degree at Rs. 115 and earn a B.Ed. degree at Rs. 30. Other expenses like tuition fees for college education are incidental.

Remunerations for paper-setting and other examination duties are very low. The authorities do not get people to provide drinking water to students at examination halls. The meagre sum of Rs. 6 offered to persons for one session and Rs. 12 for two is lower than the minimum wages paid to a farm labourer. An examiner gets Rs. 2.20 to Rs. 2.75 per answer script.
In another startling disclosure, it was found that none of the lecturers in the seven science colleges of Ahmedabad have come forward for assessment work for years. They earn manifold in private tuitions. They do not mind tutoring even school children.

The university has introduced centralised evaluation system in most under-graduate courses. While an examiner is expected to evaluate 30 to 40 answer scripts a day, often the number crosses 150 in absence of adequate number of examiners coming forward.

The university finds it difficult to even pool in class three employees from different teaching departments and other administrative sections for assorted examination works like preparing dummy numbers and packing and despatching bundles of answer-books to different people.

As per Gujarat University's annual report for 1991-92, its income through examination and other fees was of the order of just Rs.1.40 crores, while the block grants from the state government was Rs.2.07 crores and on other heads another Rs.1.29 crores, Rs.13.53 lakhs from the Central government and Rs.1.46 lakhs from the UGC.
As far as Gujarat University is concerned, it finds it difficult to pay even monthly salary bills of teaching and non-teaching staff. Leave travel allowances, leave encashments and payment for various examination works are withheld for over a year. The financial position of the state government has become very precarious and it can no more give any assurance to the university. The condition of other state universities is not much different.

Most universities in Gujarat have so far depended heavily on block grants from the state government besides those coming from the Centre and the UGC. The university incurs a deficit of about Rs. 50 lakhs annually, accumulating to over Rs. three crores over the last six or seven years.

The key positions of the Registrar and the Controller of Examination, are lying vacant in Gujarat University for the last several years speaks volumes about the administrative inconformity, academic vacuum and intellectual bankruptcy on the biggest campus of the state.

Since work goes on, nobody seems to take the matter seriously. The number one post is being looked after by the number two, the number two by the number three and the number three post by the fourth in command. In an air of uncertainly those officiating just carry on the job without putting their
heart into the work. The main work suffers when an additional charge is imposed on the person. And it obviously affects the overall work culture.

Posts of five professors, seven readers and nine lecturers sanctioned by the UGC are also vacant. Going by the statutory teacher-student ratio, the gaps are even more gaping.

The post of the Librarian of the main university library has been vacant for eight years. Even the person who had been officiating has retired.

The Registrar's post has been vacant since the retirement of Mr. K. R. Joshi in September, 1989. The Development Officer, Mr. J. D. Jadia, officiated most of the time since then. At one time, Mr. Jadia held three additional posts—the Registrar, Publication Officer and the Controller of Examinations.

The university advertised the post thrice but not one candidate was found suitable. At present, the Chief Accounts Officer, Mr. Minesh Shah, holds the charge. He is chartered accountant, and knows too well that without a law degree one cannot fill the slot, unless the rules are bent.
The Controller of Examinations has its own importance in a university which has to conduct 174 different examinations in nine faculties and 38 subjects during April-May and another set of 142 examinations during October-November. After Mr. D. P. Chhaya's departure to Baroda, it is lying vacant and is being looked after by one official after another. The Assistant Registrar, Mr. Mahesh Dave, is in charge though he has a busy-schedule.

Keeping a post vacant for long and refusing to confirm the person officiating is demoralising, if not an insult to him. When he returns to his original post—which has been kept vacant for the period—he finds a heap of files waiting for him. And these have to be cleared fast, unless the files are of little importance.

The other senior posts lying vacant in the university administrative office are those of the Assistant Registrar (Exams), the Assistant Registrar (Post-Graduate Studies), the University Engineer, the Publication Officer, the Press Manager and the Personal Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor. And everybody in the university is keeping mum about what happened to the post of the Director of College Development Council. The post was earlier held by such famous name as Prof. Ujamshi Kapadia and Prof. Ramanlal Joshi. Some say this is a political post now.
Interestingly, the university statutes have provisions for two posts of Deans of Students—one for boys and one for girls. But these posts have never been filled in its 40 years of existence apparently because the successive vice-chancellors never wanted somebody else to steal the popularity among students.

The vacant posts also create vacant chambers. Those who come to the campus for the first time often have to run from one room to another to locate a person holding more than one charge.

As the university affairs have to run even with the posts vacant, in one sweep the authorities have transferred 11 people from the academic section to sections with more pressing needs, as though the academic section were inconsequential in a university with 128 affiliated colleges and over a dozen university schools and other institutions.

The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. M. N. Desai, himself admits that Gujarat University is run with the minimum number of staff as compared to other universities in the state. "Where are the people to fill up the vacancies", he asks.
The relation between the State and the Universities in India presents an important issue. State funds support many educational institutions. Inevitably the State has to impose restrictions and controls over them. Nevertheless, it may not be a sound and efficacious policy if the educational institutions are not regarded as semi-independent bodies. In the quest for truth and knowledge the Universities should be left free from any institutional hindrance. This should be so for its effective functioning. The Legislature, the Courts and the Executive have a duty to view the intra-University disputes with reserve and detachment.

In India, the statute appear to give complete autonomy to Universities. However, both the Central and the State Governments have their own methods of influencing them. Government leaders often affect the university policy not through the Chancellor but through the Government nominees.

1. The Central Government does it through its ministries and agencies. Gauvin, Robert - The Indian University. (1965)

2. Though the Vice-Chancellors are not directly appointed by the Government, normally a government nominee finds a place in the committee suggesting names for the post.
Certain Indian legislations have drastic provisions. While some empower the government to remove the Vice-Chancellor in an arbitrary and indiscriminate fashion, some others provide for the issue of instructions, suspension or dissolution of governing bodies of a University, and for inspection and inquiry. Instances of passing a University bill without consulting the concerned interested i.e. existing senate members, academicians and teachers, professional organisations, are not rare. Perhaps, the following suggestion, though a bitter pill may, according to some,¹ cure the above defect. Let University education be a central subject. Then, they think, interference will be less as is well known in the case of centrally administered Universities.²

The alternative open to the Universities perhaps may be either to succumb to a policy of subserviency to the State or to offer resistance to each and every instance of interference. The true solution lies somewhere in the modern developments in political thought.

The traditional rivalry in the past between the Church and the State gave way to a dynamic development of adjustment and understanding between them in due course.

1. Masaldan, P. H. 'University Education in the Indian constitution,' 1 Jue. 120, (1962) In centrally sponsored institutions interference is found to be the minimum.
2. See item 63, list 1, 7th schedule. The constitution of India.
A similar relationship between the State and Universities will have to take place.

A university has leadership in the intellectual life; the State has governance over the entire physical resources of the country. This conspicuous difference in functions demand freedom of operation for the Universities in regulating their affairs in the best conformable way to their educational purposes. The State should be content with the overall supervision ensuring that the universities discharge their responsibilities properly.

In case the State disregards this code of conduct and meddles with their internal affairs, the universities should discover their identity through constant struggle with the State. The only way of adjusting relations between authorities unequally situated is through conflict.

When compared to the Governmental interference in University policy, the attitude of Courts has been, indeed, commendable. While interpreting the constituent statutes, ordinances and regulations, which determine the scope of the autonomy of Universities, the Courts have been reserved and conscious of their limitations. Their interference with University administration has been confined to cases in
which there is a manifest violation of rules or failure to observe the principles of natural justice.

The Courts always respect the jurisdiction of the visitor in disputes within the University. An increasing awareness of this fact is evident in England.

This judicial hands-off can be seen from the judgements of courts. The Allahabad decision in Mool Behari Saxena V.K. L. Govil, is an example. The petitioner, a close runner up to the winning candidate in an election to the office of the president of the Allahabad University Union, impugned the election but did not press the petition as the president-elect in the meanwhile joined as Assistant Professor in the Allahabad University. The Court streamlined on the status of a student body in the corporate life of a University:-

"The Allahabad University Union is one of several institutions which are an integral part of the Allahabad University and whose fundamental object and purpose are to preserve and enrich the corporate life of the University..... there must be an implied understanding that the purpose of the activities connected with or arising out of these institutions, is to strengthen and not weaken or disrupt the
principles of corporate brotherhood on which the University is founded.\(^2\)

The Court refused interim order as it would be "an intrusion into the affairs of an autonomous body which is perfectly capable of dealing with the present dispute."

However, this may seem to be the solitary instance of a Court in India taking pains to describe the concept of corporate life in Universities. Even this case can only be a sermon; for all these things do not affect the rights of parties involved in the case.

Interference in the internal affairs of Universities is to be discouraged. There should also be safeguards against possible arbitrary action. The Universities are not in a position to exercise many of the functions analogous to that of Government. They have great potential for deprivation.\(^1\) Their decisions affect the students in various ways. Take the case of expulsion of a student. He incurs loss of status and a set of relationships and has to face severe consequences." A student like Shelly who has been excluded

2. Ibid 1 ter Dhavan. J.P. 393
from college is branded for years to come...

All these facts lead to an invariable conclusion: Judicial review of University decisions is necessary for meeting out justice to students. However the important factor will be the extent of courts "institutional ability to make reasoned assessments of school disciplinary situations."

In matters pertaining to academic necessities, evaluation of scholarship, educational benefits and the like, educational expertise should have free hand. These matters should be left to the discretion of the University authorities. In other matters Universities should be required to follow fair procedures and to ensure this, judicial review should be provided.

At present, in India as elsewhere, admission is a matter which leads often to dispute and discontentment. But the Courts follow a policy of respecting the decisions of the authorities especially, in the matter of admission, where no simple criterion is available. In Prakash Chandra V. State,1 admission to professional colleges were to be made

1. A.I.R. 1962 M.P. 48, An admission will illand even if it was quite carelessly made. See Sri Krishnan V. Kurukshetra University. A.I.R. 1976 S.C. 326, where a teacher was admitted to the L.L.B. class without the permission of his employer.

on merits. For this, total marks in the preceding examinations was a criterion provided other factors like reputation of the University where the candidate studied last, his interest in the subject etc., remain the same.

As these later factors are seldom the same, assessment of merit is often entrusted to selection committees of experts. Usually, the Government accept the recommendations of such bodies. It is not proper also for the Courts to interfere in such matters; they have neither the training nor authority to substitute their assessment to that of experts.

That admission is a matter within the discretion of authorities does not mean that they can ignore certain important principles. Gokul Prasad V. H. H. - Sohan Betul¹ is notable in this respect. The District Inspector of Schools admitted the petitioner to the Basic Training school; his superior cancelled this on the ground that he had no authority to admit him. The departmental head on the other hand sent instructions that the Inspector is a competent authority for admission. This means that the cancellation of admission was invalid. But the above instructions being administrative, neither certiorari could be issued for quashing the cancellation nor mandamus for readmission. However, the Court's observation is significant:

"It is no doubt true that admission into public institutions such as the Basic Training School are in the discretion of the authorities. But that discretion is regulated by the principles which the authorities have themselves laid down. If admissions are made and cancelled soon after, for no apparent reason, the public may be pardoned for bewilderment over the kaleidoscopic change. They may justifiably think that such institutions are treated as private properties by the Department and the officers responsible for regulating admissions and that admission in these institutions is not wholly a matter of following any principles but a matter of tactics or of opportunism."

This judicial attitude in the matter of admission springs from the respect for autonomy and expertise of the authorities concerned. This is perhaps the best instance, that the Courts can have towards admission questions, but is not helpful in checking arbitrariness and favouritism. The only possible solution seems to be that "the criteria by which admission questions are decided should be made more specifically known to prospective applicants."

The relations between students and the University is connected with the need to maintain order in the University. The areas of conflicts requiring educational expertise for decision must be resolved by the authorities according to their discretion and other conflicts be entrusted with an impartial authority within the University organisation itself.

Promotion, change in prescribed text books and recognition of degrees are some of the areas which ought to be left to the discretion of University authorities. The rationale for the judicial non-interference in these matters lies in the absence of adequate legal standards to measure this discretion. In Deputy Shankar Rastogi v. Principal, 1 S. M. College, the plaintiff, appeared for the first terminal examination and stood third in the class. He and thirty-five other students did not sit for the final examination because of illness. All but one were asked to appear at a supplementary examination. The exemption was made in favour of a "very brilliant student", who suffered from tuberculosis, on humanitarian grounds. The appellant whose request for exemption was refused alleged that the principal's action was discriminatory. The Principal's stand was that the promotion of a student did not follow

1. A.I.R. 1962, All. 207.
automatically from the result of terminal examination. The Court found the exemption well-founded and refused to interfere with the discretion of the principal in a matter which relates to the internal affairs of the school. It observed:

"If the teachers decide that any student or class of students are deserving of special treatment or concession on the ground of illness, poverty, backwardness, genius, prowess in sports, or any other reason, their discretion in these matters must prevail. Within their own realm of education, the teachers must have a very wide scope for discretion which cannot be measured by any legal standards and with which the Courts cannot interfere without upsetting the discipline on which the system of education must be founded."

1. In Ashalata V. Vikram University, the applicant's grievance was that change of prescribed text books put him to financial loss and great strain. Rejecting it, the M. P. High Court held that a University has some highly specialised functions in which the Court cannot lightly interfere.

Similarly, a High Court will not interfere with the discretion of the University to recognise degrees of other universities provided the exercise of such discretion is subject to certain conditions or rules recognised by the university.

Meena Y. Tarkas V. The University of Madras, is a case on point. The petitioner, a graduate of the S. N. D. T. Women's University, Bombay, sought admission to a training college in Madras. As per the rules of the University she submitted on the first day of admission all the necessary Certificates including an eligibility certificate for recognition issued by the Inter-University Board. She was admitted to the training course but refused permission to sit for the examination. The Court directed the University to issue her a hall ticket but to withhold the results till the final disposal of the petition. The Court said also that the Madras University being an autonomous body its discretion to recognise degrees is above judicial interference.

The practice of issuing exparte interim injunction against Universities often hinder the smooth and efficient functioning of Universities, especially, the new ones.

This tendency discloses lack of understanding and appreciation, by inferior Courts, regarding the autonomous character of Universities and, and the highly specialised nature of their work, Narayanan V. Vaidyanathan, is a conspicuous illustration where the grant of an interim injunction was found to be harmful in many respects. An unsuccessful candidate in a selection to the University teaching post obtained an injunction against assumption of charge by the defendant. Reviewing this, the High Court noted that this was a case where injunction was not to be granted as there was no balance of convenience in favour of the plaintiff. The third defendant was not to replace the plaintiff. A grant of injunction would make the students suffer greatly.

The Court observed:

"This case is a clear warning to the High Court of the unlimited mischief caused by the abuse of the power to grant temporary injunctions..... If this Court does not interfere with the order made by the Court below, it will encourage parties to start litigation in subordinate Courts challenging appointments made by the State Government or other authorities, and if the Subordinate Courts indiscriminately issue temporary injunctions, administration may get paralysed.

1. A.I.R. 1975 Karnataka 117."
Principal, Patna College v. K. S. Raman, raises, again, the propriety of an interim order issued by a High Court. The dispute as to the respondent's ineligibility for University Examination # depends on the interpretation of a regulation capable of two views. The High Court passed an interim order revising the decision of the educational authorities that the respondent was ineligible on the ground that the construction placed by the authorities on the relevant regulation was less reasonable than the alternative construction. According to the Supreme Court, on appeal, it would have been better if the High Court had not passed the interim order in view of the delay in filing the petition. It was observed that a Court should normally be very slow to pass ex parte interim order in respect of matter belonging to the jurisdiction of educational authorities.

One need not be led, by the above discussion of cases, to think that the grant of ex parte interim injunction is per se bad. In certain circumstances, ex parte interim injunction is the only efficacious remedy, available to those actually aggrieved by an illegal order of the University. The above decisions need not, therefore, deter the lower Courts from issuing ex parte interim injunctions in deserving cases.

The deciding authority must follow a fair procedure in determining conflicts, in which educational expertise has no role to play. An examination of traditional theories regarding relationship between student and university is relevant in this respect. The in loco parentis theory holds good only in the case of students below 21 and is not universally applicable. The 'contract' theory also fails: all the elements of contract are not discernible from the relations of Universities with students. The University being in a dominant position there can never be a contract on consensual basis. Assuming that this theory adequately explains the relationship, the contract itself will be subject to an implied condition that natural justice shall be observed. The possibility of "unrestricted control" over students may be the basis why Universities are enthusiastic in upholding these theories. Though the Courts are in no mood to be guided entirely by any of these traditional theories they lay reliance upon the contract theory as one

1. In fact it will be a contract adhesion.
3. The other theories are (1) the fiduciary concept coined by Seavay and the intention of 'need to maintain order in the organisation'. Suggested by Street. See Seavy, W. A. "Dismissal of Students: Due process." 70 Hav. L. Rev. 1406 (1957).
of the legal bases on which the requirement of natural justice in University disciplinary proceedings is built.

Where its disciplinary powers are statutory, a University may be regarded as a statutory public authority; the principles of natural justice will become applicable by implication and the remedies of certiorari and mandamus will be available for their breach. Where the disciplinary powers are not statutory there is a presumption that students enter into contractual relationship with the University. Breach of natural justice will then entitle the students to private law remedies of breach of contract, Viz., declaration, injunction and damages. In R. V. Senate of the University of Aston, the applicants failed in two consecutive examinations. Because of the unprecedented failure rate, the examiners carefully considered the academic profile of each candidate, including the personal or family problems, and asked the applicants to withdraw from the course. The Court held that rules of natural justice were violated. Had the examiners come to their decisions

1. Garner doubts whether students, unlike the staff, are bound by contract as the University regulations made under statute or prerogative authority one, even otherwise binding on them. Garner, Administrative Law (1974), 272.

2. (1969) 2 All. E. R. 964
purely on the examination results natural justice might not have become an issue in the case. The extraneous matters considered by the examiner might have been known only to the students, who were not given an opportunity to explain. According to an eminent jurist the incorporation by a Royal charter of the University involved in the case, leads to the inference that the basis of the requirement of natural justice in this case must be contractual as in the club cases. There is no incorporating status, nor subsequent rules therein. This inference seems to be correct.

The content of natural justice in University discipline must be examined more with the object for which the requirements of natural justice are followed viz., to give the aggrieved party a fair hearing, than with its elements discernible from the situations in which they are invoked. This is necessary to hold together the university as a community for the participation of students and teachers "in teaching, study and research, in a released and informed atmosphere". It is not possible to demarcate the limits of natural justice when the requirements of fair hearing are great. Administrative convenience and expediency may perhaps be the only limiting factors.
The requirements of a fair hearing ought to vary from case to case depending on the nature of the issues involved, the extent of harm to the individual, the nature of the organisation, the particular rules of the body etc. In cases involving grave consequences to the student, like expulsion the Universities should see that there is due notice, a fair hearing, representation, proper facilities for presenting evidence, opportunities for cross-examination, a proper record, and a proper system of appeals. It is submitted that administrative convenience or expediency should not be allowed to stand in the way of these facilities.

In India, as elsewhere earlier decisions proceeded, on the footing that the University take disciplinary action in exercise of its administrative power and that it need not observe the principles of natural justice. In Jogendra Rajkishore V. University of Allahabad, a student was expelled for gross misconduct on the report of the proctor without an opportunity to be heard. The Court upheld the action of the Vice-Chancellor on the ground that disciplinary powers are administrative. This classical view fails miserably in doing justice to a student facing expulsion. Therefore Courts should insist on the requirements of natural justice even when it thinks that disciplinary power of Universities is Administrative.

1. AIR 1956 All. 503
such a circumstance. The petitioner, who had to appear for LL.B. final examination, was given a show-cause notice for cancelling his M. A. degree on the ground that he had contrived to obtain a higher division and, for this, tampered with the University records. Submitting that the mark list showed his true position at the examination, he protested against the movement for cancellation of his degree and also questioned the procedures adopted by the University. However, it was finally decided by the University to withdraw his M.A. degree, cancel his LL.B. Examination and debar him from appearing at the University examination till a specified date.

The Allahabad High Court accepted the contention of the respondent that it was competent to frame ordinances for 'maintenance of discipline', to prescribe any code of conduct of mode of punishment and to cancel an examination. About the reasonable opportunity in matters of grave deprivation of student rights the Court said:

"In case of students found guilty of misconduct, as in the present case, I do not think it can be doubted that the Executive Council, while considering those cases was considering them

1. A. I. R. 1961. All. 301
in any other capacity than as an administrative or disciplinary body. It cannot be said to be acting judicially or quasi-judicially". 1

On the facts of the case it went on:

"The requirements of natural justice in a case of this kind could only be that the person concerned should know the nature of the accusation against him, that he should be given an opportunity to state his case and that the tribunal should be acting in good faith. All these requirements appear to be fulfilled in this case."

In view of the seriousness of the allegation both from the point of view of its effect on the petitioner's future and from the difficulty of proving it, one cannot fail to see that the opportunity given in the above case was quite inadequate. The petitioner lost not only his M.A. but his LL.B. degree as well. There was never an allegation with respect to his LL.B. examination. He was debarred from appearing for further examinations for two years. What prompted the University to take such a harsh decision in a situation of this sort is not quite clear. However it seems, had the Court found the action of the University quasi-judicial instead of administrative as it did in this case, it might have been inclined to insist on a more detailed hearing.

1. A.I. R. 1961. All. 305
A slow departure from the above rigid attitude was soon visible in later decisions. The Supreme Court case, *Board of High School V. Ghan Shyam* is the most remarkable in this respect. The respondents were debarred from writing any examination in the future for their alleged unfair means in an examination. No opportunity was given to them before deciding so. Wanchoo, J. held:

"The inference whether the authority acting under a statute where it is silent has the duty to act judicially will depend on the express provisions of the statute read along with the nature of the rights affected, the objective criterion if any to be adopted, the effect of the decision on the person affected and other indicia afforded by the statute. A duty to act judicially may arise in widely different circumstances which it will be impossible and indeed inadvisable to attempt to define exhaustively.""2

The relevant rule which empowers the Committee to take action, does not provide whether it should hear the examinee before any action is taken. But the committee cannot come to any conclusion mentioned in the above

1. A. I. R. 1962 S. C.
rule without relying on materials placed before it as it cannot be expected to have personal knowledge in the matter. The misconduct may be of a serious nature, for example, impersonation, commission of fraud and perjury.

The effect of the Committee's decision in such matters will be serious to the young student. It may even lead, in some cases, to judicial prosecution of the examinee. The Judge went on:

"Though therefore there is nothing express one way or the other in the Act or the Regulations casting a duty on the Committee to act judicially, the manner of the disposal, based as it must be on materials placed before it, and the serious effects of the decision of the committee on the examinee concerned must lead to the conclusion that a duty is cast on the Committee to act judicially in this matter particularly as it has to decide objectively certain facts which may seriously affect the rights and careers of examinees before it can take (any) action in exercise of its power under rule 1(1)."
those powers; Pennycuick V. C. held:

"..... those powers are fundamental to the position of a student in the University that the Vice-Chancellor must be considered as acting in a quasi-judicial capacity when he exercise them; ..... it would be right to treat those powers as merely matters of internal discipline."

Regarding the question whether the Vice-Chancellor complied with the requirements of natural justice, the Court found in the negative as the Vice-Chancellor's letter to the student was one announcing in the decision of the council as the plaintiff was notified as to the date of hearing. But the Court pointed out that a different position might have arisen if, on his return from abroad, the plaintiff had applied for a fresh hearing before the Council and his request been refused.

Unfair means in an examination is a graver offence, and is not to be treated on par with mischiefs of less serious nature, like that in Glyn. But in the former case it may not always be necessary or possible for the examination Board to give an opportunity of being heard to every student resorting to unfair means in examinations.
In Bihar School Examination Board v. S.G. Sinha, the results of candidates at one centre was cancelled on the ground that unfair means were practised on a large scale. The Supreme Court held that it was not necessary to give each candidate an opportunity when there is malpractice on large scale. Hidayatullah, C.J., observed:

"The Universities are responsible for their standards and the conduct of examinations. The essence of the examinations is that the worth of every person is appraised without any assistance from an outside source. If there is sufficient material on which it can be demonstrated that the University is right in its conclusion that the examinations ought to be cancelled the academic standards require that the University’s appreciation of the problem must be respected."

Though the Court seems to be too much preoccupied with the Universities responsibility for their standards the inarticulate major premise for the decision seems to be administrative convenience and expediency, i.e., impracticability of giving a hearing to each and every examinee.

Even in decisions where hearing is given, absence of certain elements of fair hearing may result in injustice to the parties.

In E. V. Kumar V. The University of Madras some students were debarred from sitting in two consecutive examinations for the offence of copying. Apart from the identity of answers of the two candidates in respect of certain questions in a paper on mathematics there was practically nothing to prove whose was the original and who copied it. Suggesting that it would have been far better had the University authorities made an adequate preliminary inquiry into these matters before framing the charges, the Division Bench of the Madras High Court observed:

"In such cases, one would have expected an inquiry to be more circumspect and fuller than what we have noticed in the instant case. We only hope that in future, the University authorities would deal with them with greater care and attention, and awareness of the serious consequences they entail, to the young people, sitting for the examination."

What this decision stresses is this: the essence of fair hearing being justice to the student, he should be informed, at every stage of the proceedings of all the necessary elements in the circumstances of the case without the consideration of which a just decision is not possible.

When an examinee is caught red-handed while using unfair means at examination, the Courts seem to hold that the requirements of justice will be met even without an elaborate inquiry. In Surendra Kumar V. Jabalpur University, the petitioner, caught red-handed while using unfair means, refused to give any explanation and walked out of the examination hall. The court found no need to conduct a formal enquiry in cases of this kind.

The development of the law of discipline through the above decisions is interesting. The traditional theories of student-university relations, grounded in the unquestionable authority of the university over the students, influenced the attitude of the Court. To sustain the authoritarian attitude of the Universities, Courts styled the disciplinary power of Universities as administrative even in cases where the student's future was at stake. In the next stage Courts showed a certain amount of leniency to the

1. A. I. R. 1969 M. P. 234
The nature of University life also changes according to the changes of time. New attitudes develop. New ways of life come in, along with new approach to social and individual problems. Entrusted to its care during the formative period, the university has the responsibility to see that students get proper social orientation and training which a complex and dynamic society demands of its votaries. The universities should, therefore, allow them greater freedom of action in the campus with the minimum number of rules to regulate their conduct. Rule violations should always be accompanied by suitable punishment and the determination of rule violation should always be informed by fair procedure. This insistence on
fair procedure may provoke the criticism of conservatives among the university elite. Their fear is that such requirement of fair procedure will only incite indiscipline among students. To this one has to say that the purpose of fair hearing is to ascertain guilt. By insisting on fair procedure one is not arguing that the quality should go unpunished.

The old theory followed by Indian Courts can be summarised thus: the principles of natural justice need not be observed when the action taken by the university authorities is necessary in the interest of discipline of the institution. This places undue reliance on the deterrent effect of punishment in disciplining the students. We cannot dispute on the efficacy of this method, nor can we fail to note the relative position of this method among other theories of punishment. One may fear that this method may at the most produce a generation of meek citizens. If meekness turned out by dictatorship is the yardstick of discipline such discipline is quite alien to democratic ideals. Such a conception of discipline is wrong and pretext for dictatorship. Even the Marxists despise such a conception of discipline.  

1. "...Every pupil must be convinced that discipline is the best way of attaining the aims of the community. The logic of our discipline confirms that discipline places each individual personality in a position of greater security and freedom. From discipline and respect emerge freedom and self-respect.

Robert S. "On the Marxist Philosophy of Education."
The stress must therefore be on discipline which involves from within oneself. Courts ought to recognise students as citizens first and students second. In India, this aspect of the matter has received adequate recognition by the Kothari Commission and the Committee on National policy on Education.

True discipline should be an inducement to students to flow along socially useful and desirable lines. The vitality and creativity in them is to be conserved. This idea of discipline is neither naive nor passive. What is insisted is that the 'does' and 'don'ts' of discipline should not be so numerous as to arrest the natural development of their personality. For this, the minimum number of disciplinary rules should be framed by men of vision and understanding who can see the budding of adolescence to adulthood taking a thousand hues, colours and shades from the spectrum of social life.

Concluding Remarks:

Ultimately the aim of all educational planning has to be to create an excitement for learning in every student, teacher and in fact in every citizen of the country. Education has to be a life-long process and no educational planning which plans for persons up to the age of 25 and leaves all persons beyond the age out of its consideration.
can succeed. Educational planning should include planning for life-long education, recurrent education and informal education through correspondence courses, radio, TV, programmed learning books, films, evening classes, study centres and so on. Planning for education will be successful if the planning itself is planned properly with clear-cut national objectives in view.

CONCLUSION:

To sum-up it be said that it is not proper to isolate the problems that the students face from those of the rest of the society. The reorganisation of the educational system is therefore, intimately linked with the reorganisation of the whole social structure.

Student indiscipline is not an exhibition of youthful exuberance, nor can it be explained away as the ill-work of interested outsiders. It is a cultural, economic, sociological and educational problem that needs to be studied in an objective and scientific manner for proper remedies.

"Those of us who belong to the older generation must remember that what is happening is a mark of our failure to bridge the gap between generations, combine practices with professions and treat the younger generation with understanding, respect and affection."

1. Dr. Rao
Prolonged student activism in the sense of agitations and demonstrations and off-repeated occurrences of violence involving the youth of the country saps the nations vitality, it impairs the cause of education, erodes the fundamental values of our society and inexorably undermines the apparatus and the operations of democracy.

For the political groups who are not interested in preservation of democracy, the students unrest provides an excellent opportunity to shake the peoples faith in democracy. When student agitations increasingly take a violent turn resulting in disruption of orderd life destruction of public property and often grievous injury to police and to innocent students themselves, it should not be condoned. When they follow such activism they cease to be student and should be punished according to procedure laid down in law. They cannot be allowed to nurse the illusion that it is a privileged group which can defy the law with impunity. Yet the student unrest can only increase if the authorities regard it merely as a law and order problem.

The truth is that we have not succeeded in imparting a sense of burning zeal or inculcating in them an unshakable faith in the future of the country. There is doubt, suspicion and cynicism all around. There is poverty and
deprivation and an interminable talk about it all the time. There is an overmuch politicisation of life. There is frustration and there is despair. Uncertain prospects of employment loom large on the student horizon. Standards of education are going through steep abysmal decline. The quality of instruction is generally indifferent. Serious intellectual involvement and pursuit of scholarship seems to be going out of vogue. The curriculum is outmoded, facilities are generally inadequate, student population is bursting at the campus seams, there are insufficient alternative outlets for the energies of students. All these things throw a challenge to understanding, instead of leading to panic or pessimism or for sweeping denunciation.

In practical terms, education planning and management of universities should be streamlined. Political interference with the administration of universities should be relentlessly eradicated; but equally severe treatment should be meted out to academic politicians on the campus. Intellectual involvement and the tools of study and research should be improved. Intellectual activity on the campus should be all-absorbing and altogether preoccupying. Student services should be provided in an ample measure and there should be vastly greater guidance and counselling including vocational placement. Discipline should be fostered unsparingly but at the same time an adequate consultative and administrative machinery should be set up to check acts of indiscipline. Better faculty - student relationship would be
the core of such reconstruction, as would be the overall improvement of education.

Apart from whatever has been mentioned above following step should also be taken to check the growing student unrest in the country.

1. Education should be put in the concurrent list by bringing suitable amendment in the constitution.

2. Reports of the various committees appointed from time to time to counter-act student indiscipline should be implemented.

3. Universities should be given absolute autonomy and there should be least interference in their affairs either by the Government or the court unless there is grave injustice. They should be left completely free in the administration of University affairs including the maintenance of discipline on campus.

4. Election in the college should be scrapped. The suggestion of Mrs. Maduri Ben Shah, Chairman University Grants Commission that Union in the colleges may be farmed on the basis of merit should be accepted.

5. There should be a whole time Dean, for students welfare activities in every university.
6. There should be one special cell in the University Grants commission dealing with this problem exclusively.

7. The vice-chancellor of the University should be competent and dynamic. He must not owe his position and existence to anybody but to merit. He should cease to be sinecures of political patronage.

8. Administration in the Universities - should not be rigidly bureaucratic but deal speedily and with sympathy and imagination all genuine grievances; and care should be taken to see that there has been prior consultation before substantial changes in the educational institutions which affect the students are introduced.

9. There should be inbuilt safeguards in the system so that occasions for complaints are reduced to the minimum and grievances receive prompt attention.

10. Regarding what happens outside the educational institutions, the essence of the approach has to be that every student must carry a sense of assurance that if he is subjected to mal-treatment and harassment and justice has not been meted out to him he has available to him adequate means of redress.

11. A dialogue should be started by the educational authorities with the students about the future of higher education
and democracy in the country. In every institution, whether a college or a university, there are some teachers who on account of the nobility of their character, teaching, scholarship and interest in the welfare of others enjoy a great deal of respect and confidence of the student community. In periods of agitation such men are likely to remain in the background. They should be encouraged to come forward and build bridges of understanding between the students and authorities.

12. Action committees of student should have no place in the life of University.

University education should also be reorganized so as to make it stimulating and interesting experience. It should call forth and fully engage the physical, mental and emotional energy of the students. The modern curricula should be made realistic so that it may meet the needs of the country.