CHAPTER TEN

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"In the conditions of modern life, the rule is absolute: the race which does not value trained intelligence, is doomed."

ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD

Emphasizing the importance of discipline, President Radhakrishnan said, "After all, democracy has discipline as its necessary implication. Every individual is both a sovereign and a subject. He is sovereign because he subjects himself to law. If we overlook this restraining influence, then democracy is reduced to anarchy. We must be patient with our opponents and impatient with ourselves. Self-criticism is more essential than criticism of our opponents." Just as general discipline is closely linked with democracy, student discipline is an integral part of the educational process, and there can be no education without discipline. During the Republican Period, the Parliament has been increasingly aware of the administrative, educational and legal problems caused by the lack of discipline among students on the campuses of educational institutions in

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1Lok Sabha Debate, President’s Address in the Parliament, August 25, 1962.
all parts of the country. The student indiscipline, unrest and revolt in the academic world has found expression in student demonstrations, protests, riots, strikes, gheraoos and violence. The students have been making an overall demand for greater student participation in the general administration of the educational institutions. The undesirable activities which stem from student unrest have been affecting the academic life, as well as the immediate local environment and the nation as a whole. These activities appear to be caused by the general dissatisfaction of the students with the existing establishment. The impact of student pressures is no longer limited to reforms and changes in the educational system and academic life itself but the student's actions and demonstrations are often directed at problems originating in the society at large, in its social and economic environment. The principal causes of student unrest and indiscipline are such problems as unemployment of the educated, wide gulf between the students from the rich and poor families, political activism of the ruling party and opposition parties in the academic world, favouritism to some students at the time of admission and examination, nepotism at the time of appointment and promotion of teachers. All these causes of student unrest

are known to our political leaders and educationists who have been always suggesting cures but without successful implementation of these cures; because the political leaders were, sometimes, the main source of troubles in the campuses and they were not serious about the future life of the students and the national development and prosperity.

CAUSES AND CURES OF STUDENT INDECIPLINE:

It was in 1954 that Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru stated:

"I am convinced that the future of the country demands that early measure must be taken to improve standards of education and discipline among students. Indiscipline among students, the fall in standards and the general deterioration in universities is largely due to the loss of leadership of teachers and the party faction and political intrigues which disfigure academic life. It is particularly important to ensure the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor is taken outside the sphere of party-politics. I would commend the mode of appointment in vogue in Delhi University as this avoids most of the drawbacks associated with election or nomination. The Managing Committees of schools and colleges should be constituted in a manner which would minimise, if not eliminate altogether, political and group influences. We must take special measure for increasing public esteem for teachers at all levels. Teachers and students organisations
must be associated to a greater extent in the formulation of educational policy. The social status of teachers must be improved by giving them adequate recognition at all state and public functions.

Unside importance given to the final examination is another major reason for student unrest and fall in educational standards. Students are able to neglect their work throughout the year and cram in the last few months in order to pass and or to get a degree. The examination system should be reconstituted so that adequate importance is given to regular class work in the assessment of the final achievement of the pupil.

Measures to encourage self-discipline among students must also be adopted immediately. House system should be introduced so that the students may develop a strong group loyalty and come into closer contact with their teachers. Councils of Monitors and Juvenile Courts of Honour should be instituted in all colleges and schools. Special emphasis should be laid on the improvement of material and social amenities in schools and colleges through voluntary labour, contributed by the students themselves. Play-grounds, common-rooms, open theatres, swimming pools and gardens should be built or enlarged through student labour to improve schools and colleges in many ways. Various types of
extra-curricular activities should be organised and encouraged in all schools, college and universities.

An attempt should be made and ways and means should be devised to introduce an ethical content in instruction, imparted in schools, colleges and universities without reference to any particular religion. Though India is a Secular State, this does not imply any disregard for moral and spiritual values. Our young men and women should receive the best possible training to make them citizens worthy of our traditions and our hopes.¹

COMPELLATORY MILITARY TRAINING:

As early as 1953, Dr. Radhakrishnan Singh realised the need of discipline for the proper development and progress of the nation. He moved a resolution² in the fourth session of First Lok Sabha saying that, "This House is of the opinion that immediate steps be taken to impart compulsory military training to all high school and college students." According to him this was an innocuous resolution. Its object was not of militarising the country but its sole purpose was of 'arousing interest among the youth to lead an active, cooperative and disciplined life for better serving the needs of the country." By the introduction of compulsory

¹Letter dated August 28, 1954, from Prime Minister to the Chief Ministers of all States.

training the imagination of the youth can be sufficiently stirred up in a right direction and their health and physical vigour, which are keys to intellectual growth, can be properly developed. Such developments will enable them to be worthy citizens, and then and then alone, they could be expected to continuously replenish the leadership of the nation and advance the country's growth. The Greeks recognised that personal valour is imperfect without skill and practice. In 1794 the idea of military training for the youth attained a fillip due to the French Revolution and was given a practical shape. However, during modern times this idea has made tremendous advance and every nation of the world has come to realise that along with intellectual training its youth should be given military training as well, because military training offers to youth opportunities of valuable physical and character training. It also teaches them obedience and respect for law and other qualities of good citizenship. Here in India the virtues of good citizenship are all the more needed. Human qualities like decent behaviour, fair dealings and regard for others' rights are fast disappearing. Stagnation has set in everywhere. The nation's life has become somewhat bleak and insipid. He deeply felt that without getting the youth properly trained, the desired results could hardly be achieved. Just like the soldiers of the Armed Forces, the youth of the National Cadet Corps also had shown a remarkable
sense of duty, efficiency and responsibility. The N.C.C. was a young organisation and endeared itself to the public and was much in demand where dignity of labour, social service and team-spirit were required. This itself was proof positive of the fact that the country is in the need of military training. People want that they should be imparted such training which will inculcate in them the qualities of decent behaviour, team spirit and social service. But the targets fixed for even N.C.C. training were too meagre. For Junior Cadets, in which school students were taken, the target was 20,000 and for senior cadets of college students it was 15,000. In all it was only 35,000 in a country having an overall population of about 360 million of which about 70 million were youths. The N.C.C. training was neither very difficult nor it took much of the time of the students. Out of 32 weeks of the year an Indian student had to attend classes only for about 25 weeks. In terms of hours it was only 550 hours out of some 2900 hours at his disposal on the basis of 6 hours a day. The N.C.C. training was given only for four hours a week.

Apart from that the school students were required to attend camps for about ten days and college students for about fifteen days. In all it came to only about 9 percent of their leisure hours. It was thus obvious that for students, time factor was no bar to introducing military training in schools and colleges. We should in the first instance introduce military training in all schools and colleges and
from there we should spread it throughout the country. We have seen in the past that the N.C.C. cadets have gone to do social service like digging trenches or constructing roads. They had given an excellent account of themselves. They should be given first class military training. He desired that his proposal should not be objected on financial grounds because the sum involved would not be very big one especially for a Government which sometimes spent crores of rupees without much justification. To start with the work might be entrusted to the physical training sections of the educational institutions. In every high school and college there was a unit for physical training. The persons working in these units might not be well trained. They should be supervised by the Defence Ministry Machinery. But that machinery should be improved to suit the new set-up because this would be a bigger set-up than the N.C.C. Speaking in favour of the resolution moved by himself, Mr. B.S. Singh said, "Besides, we are having our regular army staff spread throughout the country, and some of them are also posted to N.C.C. Units in schools and colleges. The services of these persons can be very easily utilised to train instructors for schools and colleges and thus we can prepare a cadre for imparting military training in our schools and colleges. This scheme of compulsory military training in our schools and colleges cannot be convincingly opposed on any grounds. Rather, the introduction of this scheme will make students and public feel that one of the major needs of the country
has been recognised and given effect to because it will not only help in character-building, developing the physical fitness and consequently the intellectual fitness of the students, but will also promote discipline, dignity of labour and organised social service among the students. And if we once train the students in that line, then that idea might spread throughout the country very easily because, the students are elements who can spread discontent as well as satisfaction. If they are not properly trained they can kill the Government but if they are trained properly, they can bring satisfaction to the country and they can train the public to support the Government and thus raise the standard of the people and remove poverty from this country. If we inculcate this idea and promote this scheme, then everybody will be satisfied and the country will be led towards peace, prosperity and progress."

Shri U.C. Patelik fully supported the resolution moved by Mr. B.C. Singh, because in his opinion it dealt with a very important and necessary subject. However, he moved the following amendment:

"That for the original resolution, the following be substituted, 'This House is of the opinion that immediate steps be taken to provide for an attractive system of military training for all High School and College students so as to equip them for all-round nation building activities."

Lok Sabha Debate, August 7, 1953."
in times of peace as well as for all-out national defence in war emergencies.'

He was of the opinion that military training should be imparted to all young students of schools and colleges and also to all the trainees of the Teachers Training Colleges. Military efforts and civilian efforts should be combined in the matter of mobilisation and training of man-power, in the matter of organising and developing our material resources. Modern nation-building effort presupposes perfect and harmonious co-ordination of different activities including the co-ordination between the Defence Department and the Education Department. Defence services all the world over are now being utilised for educative purposes, for general education, technical education and industrial education and so on. In every advanced country defence services are given the best training in general education and technical education. The utilisation of the educational institutions for giving military training will bring harmonious co-ordination between the Education and Defence Departments. He did not want compulsory military training or a conscription for military service or a conscription for industries. He said, "Today the trend of the world everywhere is conscription, under the Selective Service system, or under the National
Service Acts or National Security Acts. In a number of American educational institutions military training has been made a compulsory subject. In the National Cadet Corps Act 19, there is no provision that the people who get military training should be given preference in recruitment for jobs and other things. Military training makes a man have a disciplined outlook which helps the cause of production and efficient work. Our professors and teachers should be given every facility to have a military training and experience. In other countries 70 percent of the Cadets from the schools and colleges are being recruited to the Defence Services and to the Defence Academies.

Shri A.K. Gopalan desired to substitute the words 'voluntary military training' in place of 'compulsory military training' in the resolution moved by Shri Singh.

Shri Nathuram Godse gave whole hearted support to the resolution. According to him compulsory military training is quite consistent with our well known and professed ideal of non-violence because Mahatma Gandhi also used to say that 'it is better to take to violence to protect one's honour than to show cowardice.' Military training helps towards the formation of character of our young men and women and it produces in them the virtues of self-respect, confidence, patriotism, service and sacrifice, and discipline.
According to Shri N.V. Gadgil we have very big leaders and very faithful followers. Military education is necessary to produce 'subaltern leadership' which will have initiative, discipline and courage, both intellectual and physical. In a planned economy, our nation must have good leadership, good management and people with ample aptitude for initiative. A planned economy ex-hypothesi means an economy in which discipline has a definite and important part. The Government must accept the policy suggested in the resolution. The policy of military education does not cut right across the philosophy of the Congress and their programmes.

Shri Nasindari said that the policy of our elders was that of peace-making which was very good, but to avoid war, the best way was to be prepared for war and keep the balance in this age of 'Kalyug'. Military training should be given only to the traditionally martial communities who had bold and powerful minds. Money should not be wasted in the training of such people who sang the song of calling for help on seeing a mouse. Every Indian should develop the fighting spirit of Shivaji and Guru Gobind Singh.

Shrinati Sushma Sen supported the substance of the resolution but did not want compulsion or conscription. She thought that military education was essentially desirable for boys as well as girls to teach them discipline.
Professor Mathew opposed the idea of military training for all students saying, "As disciples of Gandhi we should have full faith in the sacred philosophy and doctrine of non-violence and peace. We cannot serve God and Mammon at one and the same time. Too high an importance should not be given to military education. Intellectual training must be supplemented by physical training but physical training cannot be equated with military training." According to him manly games which are more popular even than physical training should be encouraged. The academic atmosphere will be thoroughly vitiated if military training is made a compulsory subject for all students, without caring for their aptitudes and interests. From the academic point of view he considered this resolution to be a 'thoroughly unsound extremist proposition.'

Shrimati Uma Nehru opposed the resolution reciting Ghalib's couplet:

'Ye sadgi par kyun na mar jaan huda,
Larte hain par beth mein talwar bhi nahin.'

(i.e. O God why should we not die on this simplicity?
They fight but with no sword in their hands.)

According to her "we have the greatest weapon of non-violence to fight against every evil. We won the Independence of our country with the use of this weapon of non-violence. The young boys and girls must not be given zilfis to create more problems of law and order in the times of confusion and chaos. She was pained to see Congress Legislators
carrying pistols and revolvers. She advocated the
provision of physical training for the youth to develop
in them the virtues of character and discipline for
peace, progress and prosperity of the nation.

Shri Baghunath was in favour of making military
training both compulsory and universal because the students
of their own do not ever participate in games and sports.
If China to-day is one of the greatest and most powerful
nations of the world, it is only because of century old
Civil War in which the guerilla bands of young boys and
girls underwent military training. In this age of different
political philosophies we should not be afraid of spending
on military education. It is a long term investment. What
we want is the passivity of the strong man and not the
longevity of the weakling. The real strength comes from
the fact that you are prepared to defend yourself. It is
a very vital and immediate problem and requires priority.

Professor Shri Jes Narayan Aggarwal opposed the
resolution in view of the philosophy of humanism and
explained the difference between compulsory military
training and compulsory physical training. He pleaded for
the implementation of physical training and social
conscription for the development of character, sense of
discipline, social service and dignity of labour.
Dr. J.G. Sinha supported the motion saying,
"Militarism has nothing to do with military training. A soldier is always disciplined and behaves in a disciplined way. Our country is inferior in no way. There is plenty of wealth in the form of human material but this human material is not properly exploited. Military training gives us the technique to face the difficult situations with presence of mind and courage. This technique is the soul of all education. It kindles youth’s enthusiasm and inspiration. When our society is moving towards a chaos or anarchy, compulsory military training is much needed."

Fully supporting the resolution Hurnari Annie Macrane said, "This resolution is most well-advised, opportune and extremely necessary to shape the national character of the country and to have an organised and disciplined society. Compulsory military training should be the fundamental basis of our education, to train up the youth of the country as ideal citizens with character, physical and moral courage. If you want in future an Indian nation, a society where there is character, respect for truth and respect for one another, if you want a nation in the future which will shape the destinies of this country on the most advanced lines, you have to accept this resolution as the fundamental basis of training both educational and physical."
Shri R.K. Chaudhri seriously opposed the resolution because “in its acceptance there is a risk of having female students for military training. We have enough of man-folk and enough of man-hood and women-folk should not be sent to battle-field. The children of middle class people do not get proper food, clothing and shelter and education, we should not compel the students with empty stomachs to undergo military training. Government should accept Mr. Sam Mancher Lohia’s suggestion for the expansion of Territorial Army to remove unemployment of the youth. Military training should be given to those who want to receive it.”

Mr. Bhagwat Jha emphasised the need of military training for all school and college students “who are indisciplined, attack their teachers, go on strikes and take out protest processions. Military education will produce balanced personalities with constructive outlook and disciplined behaviour. Military education must be introduced as a compulsory subject for all students just as Arithmetic and Geometry, History and Geography are compulsory for their development. This is necessary to raise the morale of youth high as Napoleon has said, ’Morale is to the physical as three to one’.

In the times of war the morale of the civilian population must be kept alongside the morale of the fighting soldiers. The students who are divided into different parties,
organisations and groups must be brought into one organisation of discipline, cooperation and unity."

According to Shri Khandekar this resolution was not practicable like George Bernard Shaw's theory of 'Eugenics' of improving the breed of men by bringing together proper men and women. In his opinion "military training will make the students dun-driven cattle when general education is very deficient and of low standard. Games and sports must be encouraged to develop the physique of the youth and inculcate in them the spirit of cooperation, comradesic sense of justice and fair-play. These moral qualities will make the nation strong physically, intellectually and morally. India should not follow the Roman political thought of solidarity, discipline, organisation, military strength and dictatorship. She should develop herself according to the Greek political thought of individual freedom and democracy and spread the gospel of peace, love and cooperation."

Shri Satish Chandra, Deputy Minister of Defence was in full sympathy with the object of the military education to help character-building, to improve physique, to inculcate sense of social responsibility and discipline, to develop self-reliance and constructive outlook and to teach dignity of labour. He requested the Hon'ble Members to realise the magnitude of the problem as the entire
Budget of the Government of India would not be sufficient
to provide military training to all the 95 million students
between 13 and 26 years of age. There were many difficulties
of equipment, trained personnel and finances in providing
military education on such a vast scale. According to him
it was unrealistic purely from the defence point of view
to impart military training to millions and millions of
our young men and it was also not practicable to give that
training due to lack of finances, necessary equipment and
instructors. The Government of India had introduced four
schemes for imparting military training outside the Armed
Forces... National Cadet Corps, Auxiliary Cadet Corps,
Territorial Army and Auxiliary Territorial Army. The biggest
problem which the youth of the country had to face was of
the demon of unemployment. Our educational system needed
a radical change. He requested Dr. B. C. Singh to withdraw
his resolution as it was not acceptable to the Government.

According to Giani Altekar "the goal of India is to
promote peace and progress within the country and also
peace outside the country in the whole world. Militarising
the whole country is a step against the achievement of
this goal. The students who want to develop their
intellectual qualities do not join the N.A.C.C. because they
do not find sufficient time for intellectual pursuits to
equip themselves for the competition. In modern times of
mechanised warfare, it is the quality and not the quantity that counts. Therefore, military training should be imparted in schools and colleges purely on voluntary basis and the recruits for our Defence Forces must be taken from the N.T.C."

Professor P.C. Sharma opposed the notion and said, "Of all the debates the most unedifying debate has been on this resolution as it was very confused and very jumbled. The whole talk was about many things moral rearmament or psychological rehabilitation of the youth, unemployment, defense mechanism or reorientation of the educational system of the country or the talk was about nothing. You cannot have compulsory military training without turning the nation into a war-mongering nation, leading to the conditions which militarisation brought about in Germany or in Japan. In the context of our life compulsory military training is unthinkable. Our country is undeveloped and people are suffering from malnutrition and scarcity of food etc. The children are undernourished, underfed and under-clothed. Primary need of India at this time is the right type of education of the youth but not compulsory military training for them. Military training cannot always have the comprehensive utility of inculcating ethical values, enthusiastic spirit of cooperation, sense of discipline, health and vigour. It cannot be panacea or a remedy or a cure of all the moral ills of the society. A simple, comprehensive and inexpensive scheme of physical fitness instead of military training should begin
from the nursery school up to the post-graduate stage. A sense of dignity of manual labour and human cooperation should be inculcated in the minds of all people as a Negro leader Dr. Booker T. Washington has said, 'There is as much dignity in ploughing a field as in writing a poem.' There is as much dignity in using a shovel, an instrument of labour as in doing anything else - making a speech in the Lok Sabha. There is need in India for physical education, for social education and for compulsory manual labour for all boys and girls of schools and colleges to canalise their surplus energy in healthy channels of creative and constructive activities.'1

Shri Joachim Alva opposed the resolution because with the dawn of Free and Independent India the old values of militarism have given place to those of food, health and able-bodiedness. 'We must see that our young men and women in schools and colleges are properly and sufficiently educated and their minds are uplifted; and not make them all take to a musket or gun and become cannon fodder as Prussia or Japan did. India should follow the Monroe doctrine of not wanting to enter any war. To create an effective strong nation, our boys and girls in the schools and colleges must have sound minds in sound bodies. The vices of

carelessness, disobedience, frustration and indiscipline among the students must be removed and wiped off."

According to Shri P.J. Nimbhoj the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence cannot serve our purpose in the age of power politics. We should be well prepared to fight with strength and discipline against our enemy. There must be general compulsory military education for all men and women of martial communities and the Government should make necessary arrangements of finances for this scheme.

Shri Kanavade Patil supported the resolution in its spirit to render our country strong enough in war as we are strong enough in peace. In his opinion, "We must increase our armed strength for the protection of solidarity, integrity and independence of our country. All men between the age of 15 to 25 years at least must be given compulsory military training just as People’s Government of China has given military training to all able bodied young men and infused a new spirit into them and defeated the mighty armed forces of seventeen Western nations in Korea. Our Sanskriti allowed the might of armed strength. High principles and ideologies of non-violence and truth will not save the nation if these principles are not protected by the armed might of the people. In the Bhagvat Gita we have the ideal lesson of Lord Krishna to fight against evil:

'Nato va Prapayasi swarg jitem,
va bhukshase maham,
Tasma duttaai hamante
yudhaye krit nishchaye.'
EVEN MAHATMA GANDHI SAID, "DO NOT BE A COWARD. FOLLOW YOUR PRINCIPLES OF NON-VIOLENCE TO THE EXTENT THAT YOU DO NOT ALLOW YOURSELF TO BE ATTACKED BY A BULLY. IF A BULLY ATTACKS YOU, RESIST WITH ALL YOUR STRENGTH. MILITARY TRAINING IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL FOR THE PROTECTION OF OUR HOMELAND, CHILDREN AND EVERYTHING."

SARDAR V.P. SEHGAL WAS OF THE OPINION THAT MILITARY TRAINING SHOULD BE MADE ATTRACTIVE AND NOT COMPELLARY. THERE MUST BE COORDINATION BETWEEN DIFFERENT YOUTH ORGANISATIONS OF N.C.R., HOME GUARDS, PRATIA PAKSHA DAL, PROVINCIAL ARMED POLICE, SCOUTS AND SCOUTS RIFLE CLUB ETC., TO SAVE FUNDS. MILITARY TRAINING MUST BE COMPELLARY FOR ALL TRAINEES OF TRAINING COLLEGES AND TRAINING SCHOOLS.

DR. SUNIL CHANDRA OPPOSED THE RESOLUTIONS BECAUSE THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF FREE INDIA ARE AGAINST MILITARY TRAINING AND VIOLENCE. THE INDIAN POLICY IS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACE AND NON-VIOLENCE. HE EMPHASISED THE NEED OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION TO REMOVE THE PRESENT DEФECTS IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

DEPUTY MINISTER SHRI K.P. MALAVIYA TOLD THE HOUSE THAT HE COULD NOT ACCEPT THE RESOLUTION AS THE GOVERNMENT HAD NO SCHEME FOR ANY SUPPORT OF COMPELLARY TRAINING EITHER TO THE STUDENTS OF THE COUNTRY OR TO THE YOUTH IN GENERAL. ACCORDING TO HIM THE ECONOMIC PROGRAMMES IN AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIES, SCHEMES OF POWER, ELECTRIFICATION, TRANSPORT, SOCIAL SERVICES AND REHABILITATION REQUIRED MORE THAN 300 CRORES OF RUPEES PER YEAR. A COLOSSAL FIGURE OF Rs. 60 OR
70 crores annual would be required if this resolution was to be accepted. The Government was doing what was possible to infuse as much discipline among the youth of the country as was possible under the circumstances through a number of other semi-military schemes as National Cadet Corps, Auxiliary Cadet Corps, Territorial Army and Auxiliary Territorial Army. The Education Ministry was in touch with the educationists, the Vice-Chancellors and the State Governments on the scheme of introducing compulsory physical training - mass drill and open air training in a systematic way, to make the students work minded. Compulsory manual work for all students of schools and colleges would shake off lethargy that prevailed and stood between progress and present conditions.1

Dr. Ram Shobag Singh withdrew his resolution saying that its sole purpose was to arouse interest in our youth to lead an active, co-operative and disciplined life and have regard for the dignity of labour, social service and other persons' rights when there was a race for the inventing of more and more powerful bombs. The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have had the monopoly of dreadful atom bombs and hydrogen bombs and India should not remain content with the present Army for all times to come.

1Lok Sabha Debate, August 22, 1933, cc. 2377-1394.)
NATIONAL DISCIPLINE SCHEME

On May 28, 1956, Shri S.C. Samant raised the matter of urgent importance in the Lok Sabha. According to him, National Discipline Scheme which had been advocated by Hon'ble Member Shri Bhosale had done a wonderful work that had pleased many people. Some Members of Parliament and approached the Education Minister for the general introduction of this scheme to infuse character building virtues among the students. This scheme was to create new inspiration and faith among the youth. Shri Kanungo had written to Shri Bhosale, "I had the opportunity of observing demonstrations of drill and exhibitions by children, both boys and girls all over India, in the company of Russian Leaders Bulganin and Khrushchev. One such demonstration was by the students of Kasturba Niketan in Delhi. The time, the speed and the alertness and the accuracy of the demonstration was excellent and the Russian Leaders carried away with them good impressions of the same. So can be proud of the achievement of the boys and girls and their instructors."

The remedy to eradicate corruption must come from infancy. Children should be reared in such a way that their character may be built so that they may be an asset to the future they would grow with good and high character.

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1Lok Sabha Debate on National Discipline Scheme, May 28, 1956, cc. 935-9364.
Shri Samanta asked the Government to take up the scheme and spend the money that was required as the Prime Minister and the Education Minister both were enamoured of this scheme. The Education Ministry, he added should fulfil this constitutional duty.

According to LalBahadur Singh Charak the discipline of the nation is very important factor which cannot be ignored. The strikes and troubles in schools and colleges speak for the indiscipline that is prevalent there. The Government should find out ways and means where their energy should be utilized on the constructive side. The Government has been doing good work by organizing schemes of N.C.S., A.C.S., Boy Scouts and Girl Guides but the wonderful spirit of the Indian National Army of Subhash Chander Bose must be inculcated in the minds of all students. The Government should make use of the guidance and services of General Bhosle and the Indian National Army personnel. India's plenty of man-power and plenty of talent should be utilized in a co-ordinated effort to safe-guard the nation in the case of trouble and emergency.

In the opinion of Shri B.K. Basu the National Discipline Scheme should be worked out on a national level and it must be co-ordinated with other schemes of N.C.S., A.C.S., N.V.S., Boy Scouts and Girl Guides to create courage and confidence among the students.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad told the House that the Prime Ministers of India and Russia and other dignitaries were very much impressed by the practical utility and principles.
of the National Discipline Scheme. He desired that the
Government must make an allotment of the amount required for
the development of the scheme and take interest in the
discipline and character of the young budding flowers of the
country.

DISCIPLINE AND DEMOCRACY:

On August 6, 1975 Professor A. Huzul Hasan said,
"Until almost 35 days ago, we were asked in the country, in
this House, as parents or as teachers or as those concerned
with the welfare of the educational system, feeling deeply
worried about future of the University Education in this
country.... Some very unscrupulous elements decided to
exploit the student community and sought to make the
students as instruments of their political game, with the
result that the massive investment which the country has
made in those institutions of higher learning and the high
hopes which the parents had for which the overwhelming
majority of the pupils and students had, that the young
people, after receiving training would be able to look after
their parents and look after the country were threatened...
because some elements thought the students' community was
fit only to be used as a cannon-fodder in their political
game. It is a matter of great satisfaction to the entire
country... that with the procrastination of Emergency the threat
which faced the institutions of higher learning has gone;”
He was very happy that his Hon’ble friends had emphasised
the point of discipline and said, “It was a word which some
how, until the 26th of June, had gone out of fashion. Those
in universities and colleges were considered to be rather
old fashioned if they mentioned the word discipline. But,
Sir, education is a process of discipline. It is a process
of discipline of mind, a discipline of character, a
discipline of personality and a discipline of body. When we
talk to day of needs of inter-disciplinary studies it means
we are assuming that the base of education is discipline.
It is only when there is discipline that we can talk of
inter-disciplinary studies.”¹

Shri R. Canga Reddy desired that military training
must be made compulsory for all students and military
compulsory service should be introduced for persons of
certain age as is in Russia and Holland.

Shri Liladhar Kotoki said, “Another point in the
context of Emergency is National Discipline.... How to
inculcate a sense of discipline among the students? We have
had several schemes. The National Discipline Scheme was
there for some time. We have National Cadet Corps and we
have the Bharat Scouts and Guides. But, why can we not
make it compulsory giving them the alternative to choose
one or the other? The boys and girls in schools and colleges
must take up one of these schemes. The National Service
Scheme is also there and it should be extended.”

¹Lok Sabha Debate on Report of U.O.C., for 1972-73,
oc. 87-184.
Shri C.K. Chandrasekhar\textsuperscript{1} said, that the reactionary forces in our country had tried to exploit the situation which had been prevailing not only in the educational atmosphere but also in our educational institutions in the country as a whole. They had tried to use the young students as an effective instrument for achieving their nefarious political ends. About the indiscipline of the students a lot of furor was always hurled, they say that the academic indiscipline - the students' discipline - had nothing to do with the academic problems. On the contrary it had everything to do with the academic crisis which our country was facing. What were the reasons which agitated the minds of the young students, which had thrown them in a big way to many agitations which were not an academic problem? The crisis in our education system should be understood in the context of the general economic crisis our country was facing at that time. It might not be seen in isolation... It might not be welcome to say but the danger from the C.I.A. was imminent. Especially in the prevalent political situation in our country effective instruments of the American imperialism like the C.I.A. found education as a field here they could effectively operate. The Government had to take measures to curb C.I.A. influence in education.

According to Shri Sudhakar Pandey in our universities trees of poison were being grown and watered by some selfish people belonging to R.S.I. and other reactionary parties.

\textsuperscript{1}Lok Sabha Debate, August 6, 1975, cc. 93-101.
On September 30, 1973 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi expressed her views on the problem of discipline in the words, "When I speak of discipline, I do not mean regimentation but self control and self-guidance. To day's students are some what torn between the false glamour of what is known as revolution and the tantalizing glitter of Western affluence. Sometimes they go between the one end and the other and sometimes they try to combine the two. I would say that education is a training of all one's faculties to absorb, to adapt and to create. It should guide one towards maturity which means the willing acceptance of responsibility. I believe in the academic freedom, the freedom to investigate the truth, publish the findings without fear, with conscience and scrutiny of scholars as the only arbiter. But such freedom cannot be converted into political licence. The university cannot be a sanctuary from law. The large mass of students can be won over through character, example, devotion to scholarship and genuine concern for students' problems, present and those that are likely to arise in the future, by those who are in charge. Students must feel that teachers are more accessible. Their general grievances must be looked into quickly. Often it is a minor cause and a just one, which sparks of incidents of indiscipline."  

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1 Inaugural Address to Vice-Chancellors Conference. The Tribune, October 1, 1973.
On July 10, 1975 she again said, "Democracy is not more important than the life of nation. Any developing country which tried to transform society always has to face many problems of technology, know-how and the equipment. Even if we have all these things, the country cannot progress without unity and discipline. If India is strong, gradually each sector will become strong."

In her broadcast speech to the nation November 11, 1975 the Prime Minister defined the terms democracy and discipline when she said, "Democracy does not mean that there should be only one leader whom all should follow like cattle. This has never been our concept of democracy. Even when we talk of discipline, it does not mean that everyone should think and act alike. On the contrary we want that within the accepted basic democratic values, all should have the freedom to work for improvement in their respective fields."

According to Shri Banbir Singh1 our students are the victims of mental frustration and mental perturbation from which they should be cured. The students of today who are to become the builders of the future nation, have no peace in their mind. They do not like the Indian politics, they do not like this society, nor do they like the educational system of this place. He suggested the Constitution of a Commission to find out the causes of student unrest and then the Government should cure these causes from the sincerity of heart.

According to Shri N.C. Parasher, "since the proclamation of the Emergency and the announcement of the 20-point economic program, peace has come to the campuses all over the country, and we are fortunate that teaching is continuing and that the students are also cooperating all over the country. But those who inspired these teachers or students to create mischief still sit in their sheltered corners somewhere." He requested the Honorable Education Minister to examine how many persons in high posts were those who were pioneers in advising Shri Vaij Prakash Narayan to carry on his activities in the universities. He said if they were continuing in their present positions, then the Government were not doing justice to the country. The Government had not behind the bars the dealers in poison. But they had not put behind the bars the inspirers and the producers or the source of poison.¹

According to Shri N. Tombi Singh student indiscipline cannot be tackled in isolation. It varies from State to State and from city to city. It is more or less a national problem. Regarding the measures against student indiscipline he suggested that a college or a university should have a mechanism by which it should be able to make the student community a self respecting and self disciplined body.²


²Lok Sabha Debate, August 7, 1974, cc. 235.
The speeches of our learned legislators make it clear that they have been all the time convinced of the essential need of discipline among the students and they have been suggesting measures for the inculcation of the virtue of discipline. The occasional rush of strikes, disturbances and riots etc., in the schools, colleges and universities throughout the country has emphasised against and again, the need to handle the human relations in all educational institutions by the sophisticated, sensitive and knowledgeable persons by considering all the aspects of unionization so that an atmosphere of harmony and cooperation is maintained and a sufficient degree of unity, decorum and discipline is preserved. The Report of the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education 1967\(^1\) states that in order to create a sense of responsibility and to provide civic training, students should be associated\(^2\) with the management of their institutions in a manner suited to their age and maturity. At the school stage, pupils - self-government should be an integral part of the instruction in every institution. This assumes an even greater importance at the university stage where the students have to be treated as adults and increasingly associated with the maintenance of discipline. Joint Committees of teachers and students should be established in each university department and in every college to serve as a forum for

\(^1\)National Policy of Education 1967, paras 62 and 63.

discussion and for the solution of common problems and difficulties. Students' Associations should also be developed on proper lines. It is a matter of serious concern that incidents of student unrest have shown a tendency to greater frequency and violence in recent years. The causes of this malaise are complex and deep-seated and an effective cure goes beyond the educational system. But the situation can be remedied considerably if the educational system is transformed, strengthened and made more effective on the broad lines indicated in the National Policy of Education. The programmes of developing national consciousness and of involving students in challenging and worthwhile projects of national reconstruction and the appointment of joint committees of teachers and students will also be of great help. It is, however, essential to emphasize that violence has no place in any civilized society and especially in an academic community. If its members find it necessary to assert their democratic rights, it should be done in a peaceful, orderly and dignified manner.

Student unrest has been connected with the 'growing up' process since long but it has taken qualitatively quite a different shape in modern times in India and other parts of the world. This is a dynamic age, characterized by specialisation and rapid changes brought about by the wonderful advance of science and technology. The explosion of student population and also the explosion of knowledge have been causing the problems of student unrest everywhere. There is a student demand for voice
in institutional governance, freedom for 'dating' and freedom for experiments with sex, reduction in fees, free entry to cultural shows or tournaments, admission of underserving students to the universities, the dismissal of some teachers, banning the publication of a report or book, the cancellation of action taken by invigilators for adoption of unfair means in examination etc. When the authorities refuse to accept their demands, they start strikes and hunger strikes, stage protests and processions and meetings, and indulge in defiance of law and rules, and physical violence which have ultimately led in many cases to police intervention and the closure of institutions. This sad story continues to repeat itself every now and then.

Most of the students are dissatisfied with the parental norms and with the hypocrisy in present day society when the elders talk of honesty and truth, equality and simplicity but in actual life they are seen often to be dishonest and untrue, behaving like super-human beings and aristocrats. Most of the followers of Gandhi are seen lecturing against the use of wine but in their personal life they cannot sleep without having some pegs of some kind of liquor, licenced or illicit. The students who are very sensitive to these things, develop a lack of respect for authority and an unwillingness to abide by any code of discipline when they see the moral degradation of their parents, teachers, and political leaders. In the society they find the social and economic imbalances, corruption, favouritism and nepotism, hoarding and adulteration. They search for
individual freedom and self-determination and feel that any means are justified to achieve an end. Due to the impact of an increasing faith in Paranormalism and Marxism, today's youth seek answers to the life's problems in science rather than religion because they consider religion as the 'opium of the masses.' In the general atmosphere of frustration and hypocrisy, it is but natural for the youth to come out in revolt against the most sacred temples of learning in our society, the schools, colleges and universities. Moreover, when they are led or misled by the selfish leaders of different political parties, they become mad and sometimes break the glass windows and doors of the offices of the heads of the institutions, throw stones and bottles at the police, burn the costly buildings, laboratories and libraries and gherao the Vice-Chancellors and Ministers. The constitutionally elected Government of Gujrat was made to quit by the well organized students struggle under the leadership of Jai Prakash Narayan. The progressive policies like the twenty-point economic programme of the Government could have perhaps saved the situation, had they been implemented just after the mid-term elections to the Parliament in 1971. The student unrest is a world wide phenomenon in the East and the West, with the exception of the socialist countries. This is a clear proof that the students desire to lead a life of peace, discipline and devotion to their work but they revolt against the social order when their socio-economic needs are not fulfilled.
Even in the most developed country of U.S.A. the Students for Democratic Society have been fighting for the rights of the students. Their avowed purpose is 'to restructure' society to completely overthrow the present educational system though they are helpless to offer any suitable alternative. They are simply content to play the disruptive and destructive role of negative criticism of the present capitalist social order. According to Sidney Hook, Professor of Philosophy, at New York University 'By their lawless actions, the members of the Students for a Democratic Society threaten to become the true grave-diggers of academic freedom in the United States. This organisation belies its own name and is bent upon doing everything it can to dispense with both democracy and society.' Before the Emergency in India was declared, the situation was very much like this when the students were misled by the slogans of 'total revolution', and 'save democracy' etc.

The main reasons for student unrest and alienation in India are socio-economic problems and personality problems. The teachers who teach and the students who learn, in the educational institutions at all levels, are not treated equally and therefore, they are the victims of mental distress and emotional disequilibrium. The teachers working in Central Universities and Schools and Public Schools and their students get better facilities than their counterparts in other institutions all over the country. It is high time for our Parliament to make education a
concurrent subject\(^1\) and decide once for all a uniform pattern of educational system for all the children of the nation. Only in this way it can be hoped that a general feeling and sense of discipline, will be inculcated in the minds of our students. No doubt in a democracy students have the rights of freedom of speech and movement but they cannot and should not be allowed to use this freedom as licence as Justice Holmes, a Judge of Supreme Court of the U.S.A. observed in a case:

"The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic."

\(^1\)Supra, Chapter two, p. 60.

\(^2\)Indira Gandhi - Consolidating National Gains, p. 178.