

[Shri Rajendra Singh]

service conditions for the railwaymen commensurate with the risk, responsibility and hazards connected with the duties of railwaymen which are peculiar to the railway service and uncommon to other Government services. With these words, I would again counsel the Government. . . .

राजस्थान और अर्सेनिक व्यय मंत्री (डा०
 डे० गोपाल रेड्डी) : दो मिनट बाकी हैं,
 और दो मिनट बोल लीजिये ।

Shri Rajendra Singh: One issue which has been raised by the hon. Members is that since the State Governments are not going to relate the salaries and the emoluments of their employees to the salaries and emoluments of the Central Government employees, it is not in the interests of the economy of the country to allow the Central Government employees to get what others would not get and make them a privileged class. If I remember aright, the hon. Minister who is sitting here, while inaugurating a conference of some departmental union of the employees, rebuked the Central Government employees that they should not insist on getting a better treatment, a privileged treatment, from the Government since the peasantry of this country, the common people of the country, are not having all that they want and for years together they would not have them. Therefore, he went on to say that they must keep out from demanding such things from the Government. I agree that the economy of the country is not such as can permit us to indulge in luxuries. But if it is applicable to the under-dogs, in the words of my hon. friend the professor over there, those who are the top-dogs should also be prepared to make similar sacrifices in the name of the country and in the name of social justice. It is equally justifiable to demand from them that they should make such sacrifice. (Interruptions).

Mr. Chairman: It is 2.30 now.

14.31 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE
 MEMBERS' BILLS AND
 RESOLUTIONS

FIFTY-FIFTH REPORT

Shri Jadhav (Malegaon): I beg to move:

"That this House agrees with the Fifty-fifth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 10th February, 1960."

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Ferozabad): I have tabled the following amendment.

"Subject to the condition that the time allotted for the discussion of the resolution regarding quitting the Commonwealth be increased by one hour."

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): I second that amendment.

Mr. Chairman: I believe that granting one hour more is in the discretion of the Chairman who may be there at that time. So, I think this may be held over till that time.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: All right, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That this House agrees with the Fifty-fifth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 10th February, 1960."

The motion was adopted.

14.32 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: COMPULSORY
 MILITARY TRAINING IN EDU-
 CATIONAL INSTITUTIONS—
 contd.

Mr. Chairman: The House will now resume further discussion of the following Resolution moved by Shri

Prakash Vir Shastri on the 18th December, 1959, namely:

"This House is of opinion that steps be taken to introduce compulsory military training in educational institutions."

Out of 2½ hours allotted for the discussion of the Resolution, 18 minutes have already been taken up and 2 hours and 12 minutes are left for its further discussion today.

Shri Prakash Vir Shastri may continue his speech.

श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री (गुड़गांव) : सभापति महोदय, पिछले अधिवेशन में जब मैं ने इस प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित किया था, उस समय की अपेक्षा आज मेरे इस प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित करने में मेरी भाषा में और अधिक बल है। और अधिक परिस्थितियां भी मेरे इस प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित करने में सहायक हैं। जिस समय मैं ने इस प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित किया था उस समय मैंने इस सदन के सम्मुख यह निवेदन किया था कि हमारे देश के चारों ओर कुछ इस प्रकार की संकटपूर्ण परिस्थितियां उत्पन्न हो गई हैं जिन्होंने हमारे देश के सम्मुख एक प्रश्नवाचक चिह्न उपस्थित किया है कि हम अपने देश की समस्याओं के सम्बन्ध में गम्भीरता से सोचें। कोई कोना और कोई दिशा इस समय हमारे देश की इस प्रकार की नहीं है कि जिस कोने पर संकट के काले बादल न मंडरा रहे हों। दक्षिण में पुर्तगाल हमारी घरती पर अधिकार किये हुए है, उत्तर दिशा में चीन के लोगों ने हमारी घरती के एक बहुत बड़े भू भाग पर अधिकार किया हुआ है और हमारे देश के सामने एक बहुत विचित्र समस्या उपस्थित की है। इधर पश्चिम दिशा में पाकिस्तान है और पूर्व की दिशा में आसाम के नागा पहाड़ियों के क्षेत्र में पिछले दस वर्षों के निरन्तर परिश्रम और प्रयत्नों के बावजूद अभी तक हम उस दिशा में शान्ति स्थापित नहीं कर सके हैं। वो ऐसी दशा में जब देश की चारदीवारी पर संकट घिरा हुआ

है, हमारे देश के सामने एक गम्भीर प्रश्न है। हम उस पर सोचें और गम्भीरता के साथ विचार करें कि अपने इस देश की संकटकारी परिस्थितियों का सामना करने के लिये हम किस प्रकार अपने देशवासियों, विशेषकर उस नयी पीढ़ी को, जिस को आगे चल कर भावी भारत के भविष्य को अपने कंधों पर बहन करना है, उद्यत कर सकते हैं।

पिछले समय जब मैं ने इस प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित किया था और समयाभाव से अपना वक्तव्य पूरा नहीं कर पाया था, इसी बीच और कुछ घटनायें देश में घटीं जो मेरे प्रस्ताव को समर्थन देने में और सहायक हुईं। हमारे इसी लोक सभा के अध्यक्ष श्री अन्तर्धानम अय्यंगार अभी कुछ समय पहले बम्बई के भारतीय विद्या भवन में दीक्षान्त भाषण देने के लिये गये थे। जिस प्रस्ताव को मैं यहां उपस्थित कर रहा हूं, बिल्कुल उन्हीं शब्दों को उन्होंने अपने दीक्षान्त भाषण में दोहराया है। श्री अय्यंगार ने १० जनवरी को बम्बई में दीक्षान्त भाषण में छात्रों को सम्बोधित करते हुए कहा था :

"छात्र समुदाय को अनिवार्य सैनिक भर्ती के लिये तैयार रहना चाहिये। क्योंकि चीन ने हमारे सीमा क्षेत्रों पर जो खतरा खड़ा कर दिया है उस को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए ऐसी सिद्धता अपने में निर्माण करना आवश्यक हो गया है।"

श्री अय्यंगार ने कहा :

"आज युग की मांग है कि प्रत्येक भारतीय युवक को अनिवार्य रूप से सैनिक शिक्षा प्रदान की जाये। कम से कम प्रागामी कुछ वर्षों के लिये तो इस नीति का अवलम्बन करना ही होगा जिस से कि हम वर्तमान संकटपूर्ण स्थिति का सामना करने में सफलता प्राप्त कर सकें।"

[श्री प्रधान मंत्री का उत्तर]

अभी कुछ दिन पहले नेशनल कैंडिडेट कोर की रैली में भाषण करते हुए हमारे देश के प्रधान मंत्री नेहरू जी ने फिर अपनी इस भावना को दोहराया और दोहराते हुए उन्होंने भारतीय विद्यार्थियों को सम्बोधित करते हुए कहा था कि मेरी यह हार्दिक अभिलाषा है कि देश का कोई बालक इस प्रकार का न रहे जो शिक्षा प्राप्त न कर सके। जहाँ प्रधान मंत्री ने अनिवार्य शिक्षा की ओर ध्यान दिलाया वहाँ उन्होंने ने २७ जनवरी के अपने भाषण में छात्रों को सम्बोधित करते हुए यह भी कहा कि :

“युवक और युवतियों को चाहिये कि वे अपने में फौजी एकता, साहस और अनुशासन की भावना पैदा करें। हमारी सेना देश की रक्षा कर सकती है। क्यों ? सिर्फ इसलिये कि उसे प्रशिक्षण दिया जाता है।”

हमारे मंत्रिगण की भी यही अभिलाषा है। अभी इसी मध्य में हमारे प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री श्री कृष्ण मेनन ने दो तीन स्थानों पर अपने इस प्रकार के वक्तव्य दिये हैं जिन में छात्रों को, नई पीढ़ी को, सैनिक शिक्षा देने की चर्चा की है, कानपुर में और दो एक और स्थानों में।

तो मैं ने आप के सामने यह बात इसलिये प्रस्तुत की है कि मेरे प्रस्ताव की पुष्टि में इस प्रकार के वक्तव्य बहुत सहायक हुए हैं। मैं अपने देश में विद्यार्थियों के लिये सैनिक शिक्षा अनिवार्य करने की चर्चा कर रहा हूँ इसका यह अभिप्राय नहीं है कि हम किसी देश पर आक्रमण करने की तैयारी कर रहे हैं या हम संसार की शांति को भंग करना चाहते हैं। पर सीधी सादी भाषा में मेरा अभिप्राय यह है कि हम किसी की शांति को भी भंग नहीं करना चाहते पर अपने देश की शांति को

किसी के पैरों के नीचे रूंदवाना भी नहीं चाहते कि कोई हमारे देश की शांति पर धाकड़ आक्रमण करे। हमारी तटस्थता की नीति है और हम दुनिया में तटस्थ रहना चाहते हैं, किसी घुप विशेष से सम्बद्ध नहीं होना चाहते। सबल की तटस्थता का कुछ अर्थ होता है। किनारे पर स्थित अगर घास का एक छोटा सा तिनका दिल्ली की यमुना नदी के किनारे बैठ कर कहे कि मैं तटस्थ हूँ, मैं तटस्थ हूँ तो उसकी तटस्थता इसी प्रकार की होगी कि जब तक गंगा या यमुना में बाढ़ नहीं आती तब तक वह तटस्थ है, लेकिन सावन और भादों की बाढ़ जब आ जायगी तो तिनके की तटस्थता को बहा कर भाग ले जायगी। हाँ अगर हमालय की चट्टानें कहें कि हम तटस्थ हैं, अरावली की पहाड़ियाँ कहें कि हम तटस्थ हैं तो उनकी तटस्थता कुछ अर्थ रखती है क्योंकि उन में अपना बोझ है, अपना स्वत्व है। इसी प्रकार जब हम देश के पड़ोसी राष्ट्रों से कहते हैं, हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा था कि अगर नेपाल पर आक्रमण हुआ तो वह भारत पर आक्रमण समझा जायगा, और जब पड़ोसी देशों की रक्षा के सम्बन्ध में वक्तव्य इस सदन में और बाहर दिये जाते हैं तो कहीं ऐसा न हो कि हमारी स्थिति इतनी दुर्बल हो जाय कि उनका हम पर से विश्वास उठने लगे। इस लिये अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि देश का वातावरण इतना सशक्त हो जो प्रधान मंत्री की भाषा में और नई पीढ़ी के अन्दर बल पैदा हो और हमारे पड़ोसियों में, जो हमारी मैत्री पर अभिमान करते हैं, साहस का संचार हो और एक गंभीरता का वातावरण पैदा हो सके। हमारे देश की पुरानी परम्परा यह रही है कि जब भी इस प्रकार की परिस्थितियाँ पैदा हुईं तो यहाँ पर अनुशासन से बड़ा लाभ हुआ है। अभी हमारे देश में एक और घटना घटी। उत्तर प्रदेश के बड़े बड़े विश्व-विद्यालय, लखनऊ और इलाहाबाद के, महीनों तक बन्द रहे। उस का कारण बतलाना मेरे इस समय का प्रकरण नहीं है। लेकिन यह

बहुत आवश्यक है। अभी भारतीय सेना के स्थल सेनापति जनरल शिमैया लखनऊ के अन्दर भाषण दे रहे थे। वहाँ पर भाषण देते हुए उन्होंने नई पीढ़ी को सम्बोधित करते हुए कहा था :

“आप लोगों में जब भी अनुशासन हीनता की कोई घटना घटती है तो आप मत कल्पना कीजिए कि वह सारा ममाचार हमारी सेना तक नहीं पहुँचता, या वह भारतीय सिपाहियों के, जो भारतीय सेना में काम कर रहे हैं, मस्तिष्कों में किसी प्रकार के विचार उत्पन्न नहीं करता।”

यह कहना उनका बिल्कुल स्वाभाविक था कि आखिरकार सेना में जो सिपाही काम करते हैं, जो अधिकारी काम करते हैं वे सेना में काम करने वाले पढ़ने वाले विद्यार्थी के भाई होते हैं, पिता होते हैं, उन्हीं परिवारों से सम्बन्ध रखते हैं जिनके साथ हम प्रकार की घटनाएँ घटती हैं। बच्चों के सम्बन्ध में सेना में किस प्रकार की प्रतिक्रिया उत्पन्न होगी, इस को गम्भीरता से सोचा जाना आवश्यक है। इस लिये भी कि हमारे राष्ट्र का अनुशासन, विशेषकर विद्यार्थी समुदाय में, धीरे धीरे गिरता ही जा रहा है, अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि हम अपने देश के छात्रों के लिये सैनिक शिक्षा अनिवार्य करें। बल्कि मेरा तो सुझाव यह है कि यदि हमारे माननीय प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री आवश्यक समझें और उचित समझें तो प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय की ओर से अपने देश के शिक्षा मंत्री को सुझाव दिया जाय कि स्नातकोत्तर जो उपाधियाँ दी जाती हैं बी० ए० और एम० ए० की वह किसी विद्यार्थियों को तब तक न प्राप्त हो सकें जब तक वह सैनिक शिक्षा अनिवार्य रूप से न प्राप्त कर ले। इसका सबसे बड़ा लाभ यह होगा कि आगे चलकर नई पीढ़ी में अनुशासन की भावना आयेगी, जिस को भावी भारत के भविष्य को अपने कंधों पर लेना है।

हमारे जीवन में आज बड़ी गिथिलता दिखाई दे रही है। बड़ी बड़ी सभायें होती हैं रामलीला मैदान में या और कहीं, जिन में

लाखों का जन समूह एकत्र होता है। लेकिन १० या १५ हजार पुलिस वाले वहाँ पहुँचते हैं अनुशासन बनाए रखने के लिए। अगर भावी पीढ़ी को ठीक साँचे में ढाला जाय तो इस की आवश्यकता नहीं होनी चाहिए कि अनुशासन को बनाये रखने के लिये इतनी अधिक पुलिस बुलाई जाय या और किसी प्रकार की शक्ति से काम लिया जाय तब फिर कहीं अनुशासन उत्पन्न किया जाय। यह तो मैं इन सभा सोसायटियों की चर्चा कर रहा हूँ लेकिन सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र का अनुशासन धीरे धीरे गिरता जा रहा है। अग्रजों के समय में हमारे आफिसेज में जितने काम करने वाले कर्मचारी थे, आज जब मैं आप के सामने बोल रहा हूँ तो उन की अपेक्षा हमारे कर्मचारियों की संख्या कई गुनी बढ़ गई है।

हमारे राष्ट्रीय अनुशासन के अभाव के कारण यह है कि कार्य उतना अधिक नहीं होता जितना कि होना चाहिए। अगर देश का प्रत्येक व्यक्ति अनुशासित हो और उसकी यह भावना हो कि उसे १० बजने से एक मिनट पहले ही अपने दफ्तर आदि कार्य के स्थान पर पहुँच जाना है और मंहुनत से जुट कर काम करना है और समय को व्यर्थ नहीं गंवाना है तो आज की अपेक्षा हमारे देश में कहीं अधिक कार्य सम्पन्न हो सकता है। स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्रों की एक परम्परा होती है। स्वस्थ राष्ट्रों का एक अपना क्रम हुआ करता है और उसमें राष्ट्र अपने को ऊँचा उठाने के लिए जीवन के हर कार्यक्षेत्र में चाहे वह दफ्तर में हो अथवा दुकानदारी का पेशा अपनाये हों, सर्वत्र मुस्तीदी से समय के मूल्य को पहचानते हुये कार्य में तत्पर रहते हैं। कोई कारण नहीं है कि आज यदि भारत में भी वही स्वस्थ देशों की परम्परा अपनाई जाय और सरकारी कर्मचारी समय को व्यर्थ न गंवायें और समय पर दफ्तरों में पहुँच कर अपनी जिम्मेदारी को निभायें और उसी तरह व्यवसाय आदि क्षेत्रों में भी यही भावना धर कर जाय तो भारत निश्चय ही विकास

[श्री प्रकाश बीर शास्त्री]

पथ पर अग्रसर हो सकेगा। देश में इस अनुशासन की भावना को पैदा करने के लिए यह बहुत आवश्यक है कि भावी पीढ़ी के अन्दर हम इस अनुशासन की भावना को जागार्य और हम अपने राष्ट्र के अन्दर इसके लिए सैनिक शिक्षण अनिवार्य कर दें।

एक बात मैं विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ मैं इस देश की नई पीढ़ी के लिए यह प्रस्ताव उपस्थित कर रहा हूँ कि हमारे शिक्षणालयों में सैनिक शिक्षण अनिवार्य किया जाय, एक बड़ी कमजोरी बड़ी तीव्रता के साथ हमारे देश के नवयुवकों और नवयुवतियों में पैदा होती जा रही है और वह हमारे इन बढ़ते हुए सांस्कृतिक समारोहों को लेकर है। मैं इन सांस्कृतिक समारोहों के तो विरुद्ध नहीं हूँ लेकिन यह जरूर कहना चाहूँगा कि इस प्रकार के सांस्कृतिक समारोह जिनमें केवल नृत्य और संगीत को ही उद्बोधन दिया जा रहा है, उससे हमारे नवयुवक और नवयुवतियों को दुर्बलता के स्तर पर लाकर खड़ा किया जा रहा है जो निश्चय ही यह हमारी आज की भीषण परिस्थितियों के लिए अनुकूल नहीं है। ऐसा कहने से मेरा यह अभिप्राय नहीं है कि संगीत और नृत्य संबंधी ही उपेक्षा के योग्य हैं लेकिन उसके लिए समय और परिस्थिति दुष्प्रकार करती है लेकिन आज जिस समय कि शत्रु हमारे सिर पर खड़ा हो हमारे देश के युवक अपने पैरों में घुघरू बांध कर थिरकें और नवयुवतियाँ श्रंगार रस के कार्यक्रम रटें तो उसको देखकर हमें हिन्दी के एक कवि की यह बात बरबस स्मरण हो आती है :—

“नीकी वी फीकी लगे बिन अक्सर
की बात,

जैसे वर्णत युद्ध में श्रंगार न सुहात।”

युद्ध के समय श्रंगार रस की चर्चा नहीं सुहाती और न ही वह उपयुक्त है।

मैं अपने भाषण को उपसंहार की ओर ले जाने से पहले दो आवश्यक बातें और भी निवेदन करना चाहूँगा एक तो यह कि गांधी जी की अहिंसा के सम्बन्ध में अभी हमारे मित्रों ने, जब मैंने इस अधिवेशन में प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करना चाहा, तो बाहर चल कर यह कहा कि अगर सैनिक शिक्षण को अनिवार्य कर दिया जायगा तो उससे गांधी जी की अहिंसा का हनन हो जायगा लेकिन मेरा अपना अनुमान है कि इन भाइयों ने गांधी जी की अहिंसा को पूरी तरह समझा नहीं। गांधी जी ने बार बार अपने भाषणों में कहा कि मेरी अहिंसा किसी को दुर्बल बनाना नहीं सिखाती और किसी को कमजोर बनाना नहीं सिखाती। जब काश्मीर पर पाकिस्तानी दरिन्दों का हमला हुआ था और हमारी सेना के सिपाही श्रीनगर की ओर विमानों में उड़कर जा रहे थे तो उसके लिए गांधी जी का आशीर्वाद हमारे सिपाहियों को सदा प्राप्त था। इसलिए ऐसा कहना कि आज सैनिक शिक्षण अनिवार्य कर देने से गांधी जी की अहिंसा के सिद्धान्तों का हनन हो जायगा, यह गांधी जी की अहिंसा की गलत व्याख्या होगी। हमारे देश में इस प्रकार की परिस्थितियाँ आई हैं जब कि यहाँ के साधु सन्तों को उन्होंने इस बात के लिए विवश कर दिया है कि वे अपनी मालाएं छोड़ कर तलवार हाथ में लेकर कूद पड़ें। गुरु नानक महाराज ने जान की जिस ज्योति को प्रज्वलित किया और एक नया पंथ चलाया उन्हीं गुरुओं की परम्परा में चल कर सिक्खों के दसवें गुरु गोबिन्द सिंह ने धर्म और देश की रक्षा के खातिर तलवार धारण की और समर्थ गुरु रामदास ने देश और धर्म की रक्षा के हेतु छत्रपति शिवाजी की कमर पर हाथ रक्खा ताकि वे हाथ में शस्त्र ग्रहण करके देश की रक्षा करने में जुट जाएं। इसी तरह बन्दा बैरागी के समय और परिस्थितियों ने उन हाथों को जिनमें कि माला रहती थी शस्त्र ग्रहण करने के लिए विवश कर दिया और उसने माला फेंक

कर देश और धर्म की रक्षा के हेतु तलवार ग्रहण की और जिसने कि चांदनी चौक में खुले ग्राम खड़े होकर फर्लंसियर की गलत नीति को चैलेंज किया और देश और धर्म की रक्षा के प्रयत्न में अपने प्राणों का होम कर दिया। यही चीज और राष्ट्र की रक्षा की प्रेरणा हमें मर्यादा पुरुषोत्तम श्री श्रीराम-चन्द्र और योगिराज कृष्ण महाराज के जीवन से मिलती है। आज की परिस्थितियों में सैनिक शिक्षण अनिवार्य है। स्वयं कृष्ण भववान के शब्दों में गीता में यह कहा गया है :—

“परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृतम्।

धर्मसंस्थापनार्थं सम्भावामि युगे युगे ॥”

हम इसलिए अपनी नई पीढ़ी को तैयार करना चाहते हैं। मैं तो बारबार कहूंगा कि हमें अपने देश के विद्यार्थियों के लिए सैनिक शिक्षा अनिवार्य कर देनी चाहिए। जहां सज्जनता है और भलापन है उनको हम संरक्षण दें और जहां पर विनाश की प्रवृत्ति है हम उसका इस प्रकार से हनन करें ताकि हम भी संसार में सुख और शांति व समृद्धि के प्रसार में अपना योग दे सकें और अगर मैं इसको हमारे देश और हमारे धर्म का जो आधार ग्रन्थ वेद है उसके अनुसार कहूँ तो वेद में भी इस प्रकार के शब्द प्रायः हैं :—

“यत्र ब्रह्म च क्षत्रम् च सम्यंचौ चरतः सह”

जहां ब्राह्मधर्म और क्षत्रधर्म साथ रहते हैं वहां समृद्धि रहती है।

“अप्रतश्चतुरो वेदाः पृष्ठतः सशरं धनुः”

हम शान्ति की चर्चा भले ही करें लेकिन शस्त्र हमारी कमर पर कसा हुआ और तरकस में तीर तना हुआ रहना चाहिए।

हम पंचशील का नारा लगाते हैं, दुनिया में शांति की चर्चा करते हैं। चर्चा करना बुरा

नहीं है। “अमा सोहृती उस भुजंग को जिसके पास गरल।” लेकिन क्षमादान देना उस सर्प को ही क्षमा देता है जिसके मुंह में जहर के दांत होते हैं लेकिन ऐसे सांप का जिसके कि जहर के दांत तोड़े जा चुक हों, उसके द्वारा क्षमादान दिये जाने का कोई विशेष महत्व नहीं होता। आज की परिस्थितियों का तकाजा है कि हम सचेत होकर शत्रुओं का विनाश करने और उनसे अपने देश की रक्षा करने के लिए कटिबद्ध हो जाएँ और देश के नवयुवकों को सैनिक शिक्षण प्रदान करें और उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए मैं अपने इस प्रस्ताव को सदन के सम्मुख प्रस्तुत करता हूँ और अपने प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री और उनके सहयोगियों से अनुरोध करता हूँ कि इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करें और देश की नई पीढ़ी को अनिवार्य शिक्षण देने की देश में व्यवस्था करें।

Mr. Chairman: Resolution moved:

“This House is of opinion that steps be taken to introduce compulsory military training in educational institutions.”

There are some amendments. Are hon. Members moving them?

Shri U. C. Patnaik (Ganjam): I want to move my amendment. I move:

In the resolution,—

add at the end—

“by providing for basic military training for all students by the nearest Army, Navy or Air Force units.” (2)

Shri Naldurgkar: I have got my amendment No. 3.

Mr. Chairman: That widens the scope of the resolution and, for that reason, it seems to be out of order.

Dr. Gohokar: I move:

In the resolution,—

after the words "military training" insert—

"for healthy students"

Mr. Chairman: The resolution and the amendments are now before the House.

Shri U. C. Patnalk: In moving my amendment and making some other constructive suggestions on the subject, I must state that this is one of the most important resolutions that has come up before this House during this Lok Sabha session. The subject has to be approached from various points of view, but the first and most important matter is the prevailing unrest among students, what you may call "student indiscipline"; you may call hooliganism or rowdyism, if you prefer it. But, then, there is no doubt that in our educational institutions today there is a great deal of unrest, which has got to be considered from every aspect and which has got to be checked in the national interest, because the student of today is the citizen and leader of tomorrow. So, you have to think in terms of his education and training so that the best in him is brought out for national service, both in normal times and in emergencies. Therefore, you have got to consider it, maybe from this negative aspect also, namely, from the viewpoint of checking the student unrest, of making them more disciplined members of the national force and of utilizing their services in a better way.

But I would appeal to the Government to consider it from another point of view, namely, from a positive point of view. It has been often described that "mischief is misdirected energy". A student or a young man who shows signs of restlessness and mischief is not a man to be discarded, or disliked, or looked down upon. He has got energies, more

energies probably than the goody-goody fellow, and those energies are not being canalised properly, and for lack of outlet the energies are misdirected. So, in scouting the most elementary definition of mischief is "misdirected energy". So, student indiscipline has to be considered from the point of view of utilizing that energy which is now finding no outlet, which is now feeling frustrated and going in a wrong direction. You have to canalise it in the national service for building up the citizens of tomorrow. Therefore, I would request the Government to look at this unrest problem from the point of view of utilising their energies in the national interest. Therefore, I would request Government to consider this subject as a very important one and to see that youth enthusiasm is properly utilised.

Another thing that will be necessary is the co-ordination between the different departments. I will explain it by saying that it is not merely the Defence Ministry which is to be in charge of training of the youth, nor merely the Education Ministry which is to be in charge of the subject, nor merely the health school of Rajkumariji which is to tackle the subject, nor merely the Rehabilitation Ministry from the viewpoint of National Discipline organisation, but all the departments who have got to approach this subject as they should approach every other subject in our national economy, namely, a co-ordinated effort to tackle the problems.

Since we achieved freedom, our Government has forgotten one problem. It has been thinking of very big projects, of Five-Year Plans and so on, but it is forgetting the main problem of organising our manpower, of training our manpower and of mobilising it, whether they be youth or old men, for national service both in emergencies and in normal times. We have to make our youth as well as others disciplined, physically fit, mentally alert and emotionally patriotic

in order to build up the country because we are feeling frustrated and the proper atmosphere is not there. We have got to create all that by tackling our manpower problems as we have not been tackling them.

In this connection I will point out that our youth are not having proper outlet in the shape of physical training, physical culture, military discipline and so on. What is the strength of our boys and girls in schools and colleges? It is huge. According to the latest report of the Education Ministry—they have given the latest report for 1956-57—the total strength of boys and girls in colleges and universities is 7,49,846; in vocational, technical and special schools it is 7,00,033. The total is 76,36,820. What is the number that has been served by the NCC and the ACC? NCC is a sort of military training, of course, but ACC only gives a military bias and social-service training. The number in NCC on the 1st January, 1949 was 1,92,253 out of which the Senior Division, which relates to these 76 lakhs, was only 82,653—73,407 boys and 9,246 girls. We are grateful to the hon. Defence Minister who has announced that he is going to expand the NCC by about a quarter million more. I would say that even taking all this and the proposed expansion into consideration, it is going to cover a very small fraction of our youth in colleges, universities and other post-matric courses.

The total strength of our scouts is about 5 lakhs in the whole country. For the Junior Division, the younger students who are very large in number, it is only five lakh scouts. Junior Division boys and girls are 92,258 and 17,342 respectively and in ACC, which gives only a military bias, it is about 8½ lakhs. So, of all the student population, not more than 10 per cent are covered by all these systems.

The National Discipline Scheme is being worked out in 588 schools in Bombay, Bengal, Delhi, UP, MP and

J&K. So, these are all the training facilities for physical culture, military training, military discipline and all that, available in our schools and colleges. I do concede that education is a State subject. We have only to give some sort of refresher courses, higher education and all that. But apart from that, it is the duty of the national leaders to look to education and to the training of our youth. As I submitted, the number of boys and girls in our educational institutions, who are covered by all these schemes, including the NCC and the ACC is not very large. It is not more than 10 to 12 per cent of the total.

Then there is another aspect which I may refer to. That is also an important aspect. It is the cost aspect. It is true that the Centre is bearing some part of the cost but the States have to bear the bulk of the cost. The expenditure in NCC is about Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 per head per annum. The expenditure in ACC is Rs. 65 to Rs. 70 per head per annum. The expenditure in the National Discipline Scheme is about Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 per head per annum. In scouting also it is almost the same. So we have to consider the question from the viewpoint of cost. We have to consider the question from the viewpoint of the number of people that we are going to cover by all these schemes.

I would also ask one or two other aspects to be considered, particularly, when the hon. Defence Minister and his entire organisation is here. I would like to bring to the notice of the House some other aspects. Today probably it is a heresy to say anything against the NCC or the ACC. It is true that our hon. Defence Minister is giving hope to the country against the Chinese aggression by saying that he is increasing the NCC by about a quarter million people. But then I would ask a very humble question of the hon. Defence Minister.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): He does not admit that it is an aggression.

Shri U. C. Patnalk: I would ask one question and that is this. How many of these NCC and ACC boys have been absorbed in the military organisation during the last ten years? I come from a State where we have two battalions. Not more than three or four persons from two full battalions have been absorbed during the last ten years in military service. So, NCC and ACC training is being given but they do not accept that this training is of very great help. They have not absorbed any of these trained personnel. You know, Sir, in the NCC there are A, B and C certificates—A certificate for Junior Division and B and C certificates for Senior Division. There are so many boys in these universities who have won these B and C certificates, that is, they are considered to be the pick of the boys. They have been working as non-commissioned officers, warrant officers, cadet officers, sergeant-majors and under officers and all that. In spite of your having so many people with certificates and working as sergeant-majors and under officers, not more than three or four from two full battalions have been taken during the last ten years in Army service or in the Territorial Army. Territorial Army is a citizen force. It should have been easier to absorb some of these ex-NCC cadet officers who have taken B or C certificate in the Territorial Army. No one is being utilised. That is one objection. You are now flouting this NCC training in the face of the nation which tells you that you are not prepared to meet the Chinese aggression, but have you been utilising these NCC trainees, particularly the cadet officers who have got B and C certificates?

15 hrs.

There is no continuity in this NCC anywhere. A man undergoes NCC training and he is thrown out. He joins some other service, some department, and there is no continuity for the NCC trainees either in the

Territorial Army or in the Home Guards or any other organisation, much less in your military organisation. So, I would submit that this so-called training is not only not adequate, not only costly, but it is of practically no use to the nation. Of course, a few thousands of our boys are getting trained in drill and discipline every year, I do concede that, but apart from that minor sentimental benefit, it has not benefited the defence organisation, nor has it benefited those boys and girls who have undergone the training.

In every country in the scout movement and military training organisations, there is always an attempt to build up the emotional sentiments of the boys and girls by appealing to their nationalism. There are patriotic songs, slogans, patriotic stories and so on, but here in our NCC organisation, as in the army organisation, the biggest ban is against slogans, songs and shouts. I have discussed this matter with very senior officers. I wanted to know why they do not even sing the *Vande Mataram* except over the gramophone, why there is no attempt to rouse the national sentiment. They have told me what they consider to be the real reason. They say mere emotion should not be appealed to boys and girls should be made to fall in line and do the drill etc., just as mechanically as possible; they must be made to fall in line with the military training in a mechanical way, not by rousing the emotions and sentiments, be they of patriotism, be they of nationalism. That is why today in the armed forces as well as in the NCC this is banned. So, the approach which you should give the boys and girls is not there. You simply train them to mechanically fall in line; you train them in squad drill, in arms drill, just a little rifle shooting, and then they go, and you say it is practically no use. Therefore, I would like those concerned to see that this training for boys and girls is made universal as far as possible, so that every boy and girl who is physically fit is given the training. How can that

be done?—by reducing the cost, by making it a mass organisation. How is the cost to be reduced?

Today the cost per head in NCC is about Rs. 200 to Rs. 300. A country like ours cannot afford so much. Here I would like to be a little heterodox by bringing in what we saw in a country which is now hostile to us about two years ago when a parliamentary delegation visited it, i.e., China. The report of the individual members has been published in this book. In Part II of the Report I had given a report on Chinese military organisation, its strength and the methods by which it was giving universal military training. It is true that in today's circumstances we cannot refer to all these things with approval, but if there is anything good in any system, we should look into it.

I was in charge of submitting the report on the military organisation of China and a senior Marshal who was in charge of the political department of the armed forces of China was there to give us information. We had discussions and I tried to point out that in their organisation they had nothing like the NCC or the ACC which we had. He wanted to know our expense per head and the percentage covered. I told him the expense was about Rs. 200 per head and that five to seven per cent of the student population was covered. Then he began talking in a very peculiar way. He said we were a rich country, we had attained freedom two years earlier, we could afford to have a very costly organisation for a very small section of the boys, but that they could not do it. So, he took us the next day to a university centre with about 10,000 to 14,000 boys and girls when they were having their recreation hour. There was no NCC or military training, but all the 10,000 to 14,000 boys and girls were on the parade ground. The nearest military station brought weapons in a truck. A section was having arms drill with those weapons, another sec-

tion was having squad drill, another section was having this or that type of games. All this came under the Ministry of Physical Culture and Recreation in that country, and every boy and girl had real military training without any expense to the Exchequer. They were wearing the Sun-Yat-Sen uniform, navy blue pant, coat and helmet. There was practically no exception, and by rotation they all had the training without costs to the State.

I do not say you have to copy, but I appeal to the Minister to have an organisation by which all the boys and girls will get free military training at the minimum cost.

I have suggested in some other connection that we should try to evolve something like the standard cloth of the war days, which is cheap, durable and does not get soiled. I had a discussion with some of the cloth manufacturers of Ahmedabad, and they said that if there was an assurance of large sale, they were prepared to manufacture a cheap standard cloth. If that can be done, boys and girls can be encouraged to buy it instead of a costly dress, and that would serve as a sort of uniform. It is a question of approach, of our meeting them half way and giving them suggestions. The nearest military unit can come and give the training and there should be one organisation to help physical culture. Now we have a number of organisations like the Rajkumari Coaching Scheme, the National Discipline Scheme, the scouts organisation etc, and of course the Defence Ministry is able to force the State Governments to spend a lot on NCC, but we are not having an adequate number. So, the Ministry should look at it from a positive and constructive angle, not merely to spend the money. The youth of the country are the leaders and citizens of tomorrow and that manpower has to be trained, but our programmes are for expenditure, not for manpower development. I request the Government in every Ministry to tackle problems from the manpower aspect

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which is now dissociated practically from all our plans and programmes. That manpower has to be trained and mobilised by the collaboration of the different Ministries at different levels, and the problem has to be looked at from the viewpoint of the country, and not the viewpoints of the different individual Ministries.

Raja Mahendra Pratap (Mathura):
Can I also say a few words?

Mr. Chairman: Shri Narasimhan.

Shri Narasimhan (Krishnagiri):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I find here the suggestion to introduce military training in educational institutions. But, then, the Mover of the Resolution has added the word 'compulsory'. No doubt, the word 'compulsory' is not very tasteful to the persons who are sought to be compelled in complain about a particular manner. Even with regard to text-books, this morning our Prime Minister was saying before the Southern Educational Book Trust that when compelled they became unsavoury. But, still we cannot get rid of the method. Though the Mover of the Resolution has confined military training to educational institutions, to the extent that it becomes compulsory, the scope becomes very large. The number of boys and girls comprise a vast population in our country. I do not know why it should be confined to educational institution only; it should really cover all youth all over the country. Otherwise, it will not be a full measure.

It is not a simple problem. There are many aspects of the question; the general question of defence also comes in. Therefore, I submit to the Defence Minister that he should appoint a Committee or a Commission of competent educationalists and military experts to go into this question and study all the aspects of the matter and make suggestions. No doubt, some committees might have been appointed and might have gone into

the question earlier, but it is better to have a more comprehensive view and have the whole matter examined afresh. We must really have a very comprehensive report on the subject. I hope this will be considered by the Ministry.

What my friend, the Mover of the Resolution has really suggested is that military education on a very vast scale should be imparted to our youths. It, directly or indirectly, amounts to universal military education. It cannot be denied that the problems and implications are the same because of the vast population of our country. Whether we educate and train a crore of people, or five crores of people, or fifty lakhs of people, the problems are, more or less, the same. So, what applies to the difficulties, advantages and disadvantages over universal military education, it applies in this case also.

Now, certain observations made by people who studied the question of military training, either amounting to universal scale or otherwise, are also quite relevant here and I may be permitted—I am not going to take much time of the House—to quote some of the passages from a book that will give an idea as to how we should deal with this particular matter. I found a book, called "Universal Military Service" in the reference shelf of the library. It is compiled by Robert E. Summers and Harrison B. Summers. It deals with problems that arose during the War, giving military training to people. It is a very exhaustive book. This passage is of particular interest. Democracy itself requires this kind of education. That is what the authors were aiming at. It says:

"Democracy means equality of obligation even more than it means equality of opportunity. It means equality in the supreme obligation, to give everything that one has, both property and life, when the necessity arises. A small professional army is neces-

sary to maintain instruction, to study problems, to meet emergencies, to organise. But a professional army, relied on as the defence of a Government, is a fit arm for monarchy only."

The writer further says:

"A volunteer army is an aristocracy, in about the best sense of the word; but an aristocracy it is, and a volunteer army system is irreconcilable with democracy. Democracy must come to universal military obligation or it must go out of business."

Mr. Chairman: I do hope the quotation is not very long.

Shri Narasimhan: Not at all. With the quotation, probably my speech will be over.

This is what the author says. Then, another passage reads thus:

"This country is particular.. It refers to United States.

"...needs conscription for military and for other than military reasons."

I am not discussing about military conscription. I am only saying that the advantages, disadvantages and difficulties are fully applicable here because we are dealing with mass population.

It further says:

"We need it for patriotic and moral reasons. It would bring men together....

It is very interesting to see how an American quotation so nicely applies to a country like India.

"...the East with the West, the North with the South, the men of the shipboard, the prairies and the mountains. It would open the hearts of men to the realities of comradeship and brotherhood. It would improve the health of a

population that has become too sedentary. Through discipline, it would make men more efficient for business and industry, and as the experience of Australia has demonstrated, it would rid the community of hoodlumism and loafing."

The military education will, in addition to helping the defence of the country, also help in their becoming better citizens. That is what is emphasized when the quotation says:

"it would make men more efficient for business and industry, and as the experience of Australia has demonstrated, it would rid the community of hoodlumism and loafing."

Reference was made to students' indiscipline. It is not only in the case of students alone, but even in the case of youth, uneducated or partly educated. If they go wrong without doing what they are expected to do at their proper age, it will also go to harm the country. The last portion of the quotation which I would like to read to the House is just this sentence:

"This kind of thing is vital to our national unity, vital to our democracy and vital to our manhood."

That is what they say about large-scale military training.

So, I hope that this matter will not be treated as a mere compulsory training in schools. It amounts to universal training and only the difficulties of organising should be thought of and then the Resolution rejected. I would like the Government to see whether the whole thing can be examined afresh in the form of appointing a competent committee of experts. In the terms of reference they should be asked to bring out all aspects of the matter and give proper suggestions so that the entire youth of the country may be trained in a disciplined

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manner and also be trained in taking up arms, if necessary, or even in ordinary self-defence by way of policing, etc. I hope the Government will kindly take up this matter.

Mr. Chairman: There are only 1 hour and 25 minutes left now. May I know how long the hon. Minister will take?

The Minister of Defence (Shri Krishna Menon): About half an hour.

Shri Khushwaqt Rai (Kheri): Half an hour is too much. Fifteen minutes will be sufficient.

Mr. Chairman: Now, how many hon. Members wish to speak on this Resolution? I find that there are many hon. Members.

Shri Gohokar (Yeotmal): I have got my amendment, Sir. So, I also want to speak.

Mr. Chairman: I hope the hon. Members will agree that the time may be curtailed to ten minutes each. I hope, it is agreed.

Shri Goray (Poona): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have no hesitation in supporting wholeheartedly the Resolution which was moved by my friend Shri Prakash Vir Shastri and also the amendment that was moved by another friend, Shri U. C. Patnaik. This is a subject which should not be viewed from any party angle. As was suggested by my hon. friend Shri U. C. Patnaik, it is not only the Defence Ministry which should consider this subject seriously, but the other Ministries also should be associated with it. I do not think that all the Ministries need sit together and evolve a plan, but I certainly expect that the Defence Ministry as well as the Education Ministry should put their heads together, and take some firm decision as to what is to be done regarding this suggestion.

In a way, this resolution deals with a subject which is for ever there. Whenever an emergency arises, it

assumes a special importance, and all of us begin to think in terms of some sort of military training. But I think that this haphazard manner of dealing with the subject should be given up, and special effort should be made to see to it that we have a long-term scheme, so far as the youth of this country is concerned.

In a way, I think the resolution as drafted is too narrow. It is not only the students in the universities, but I would say that all the youth in this country should be brought within the scope of this resolution, because in my opinion the question that we have to deal with is this. What do we propose to do with the most precious asset that we have, namely, the youth of this country?

It comes as a shock to us that in this country which is trying to develop itself, and trying to bring up its youth, not merely one university but three universities had to be closed down. And almost everywhere, the professors and the teachers and the university vice-chancellors are faced with the problem of student indiscipline. But I do not think that the student indiscipline is confined only to the students. Everywhere, I suppose, there is indiscipline in this country, and if our nation is one of the biggest nations in the world, I suppose it is one of the most undisciplined nations also in the world. I think that nothing much can be done about people who have grown older and are middle-aged, but certainly something can be done to the new generation that is coming up. That is why I think it is very necessary to give serious thought to the suggestion contained in this resolution.

Another point is that we are wedded to the doctrine of *Panchsheel*. We have not been able to convert the whole world to that doctrine, and occasions arise when our neighbours do not subscribe to that point of view, or their interpretation of the *Panchsheel* is entirely different, and we are

up against the problem of how to deal with them.

I do not think that any man conversant with military tactics or developments will dare to say that at the eleventh hour it will be possible to raise a sufficient number of disciplined men; and the most difficult part is to have a sufficient number of trained officers. During the last World War, the British Government tried to recruit an Army here and with the best of efforts they could not go beyond two million people. Therefore, whether it is from the internal discipline point of view or whether it is from the point of view of meeting an emergency which might threaten us in the future, it is very important that we devise ways and means of imparting military education to the new generation.

Just now, we have not even the skeleton of a scheme. Only the NCC is there, and the National Discipline Scheme is there, and there are certain private organisations in the country which are in this field. I would like to mention in this connection the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh or the Rashtriya Seva Dal or the Congress Volunteer Organisation or other organisations similar to them. Taking all these organisations into consideration, I do not think they deal even with the fringe of the problem which we have to face.

There is also another danger that if such private organisations are allowed to function, then they may not function on the lines on which we would like them to proceed. Whether we would like to allow private organisations or political parties to have their own volunteer corps or their own militia is another question which, I think, this House seriously consider. So, the conclusion seems to be inescapable that early steps ought to be taken to see to it that at least we make a beginning with the youth which is in the universities. I do not think that it should take a lot of ex-

penditure. It will, of course, certainly mean some expenditure, but as my hon. friend Shri U. C. Patnaik suggested, it would be possible for us to devise ways and means by which we can make it cheaper and more popular also.

Shri Patnaik very pertinently pointed out that what is missing in all these organisations, and in the organisations which are run by Government, such as the N.C.C. is the emotional aspect of the organisation.

Last year, I had an opportunity to visit some of the East European countries, and I witnessed some of the youth festivals there. I was surprised to find that thousands of college boys and girls, young people, young men and women from villages, had come to participate in those festivals. In particular, I recollect what I saw in Sofia. There I found thousands of young men and women marching in formation, not necessarily military formation, but marching in a disciplined manner, and with songs and bands and flags, and there, I saw what sort of effect a mass demonstration can create. They were giving slogans, and when they gave any particular slogan, it was not just one voice shouting, it was not more gramophone record which was being played, but literally, it was thousands of full-throated voices coming out in unison, and the whole arena was more or less hypnotised.

So I do feel that if we want to create a proper atmosphere in this country, a sense of nationalism—I am not pleading for creating a sense of chauvinism or expansionist tendencies in this country or any sabrerattling—then we have to do something on these lines. I would say that we are a people who are be-reft of the very elementary patriotism. What is it that we mean when we say that in spite of our relations with China being what they are, there are many people in this country who are taking advantage of it and trying to smuggle goods across the frontier? What is it

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that we mean when we say that in spite of our ban on exports to Goa, merchants in Bombay and other places are sending goods to a place like Aden and from there, they are again redirecting the goods to Goa? This is what is happening. And I say this is happening because we have not taken any steps during the last twelve years to inculcate amongst the people even the elementary sense of nationalism. Now, if this is to be done, I do not see any other way of doing it except by imparting in our college boys and girls and even in our high-school boys and girls, a sense of patriotism and discipline; and this will go a long way in giving us a new generation which will really build India. We are not the people to build it. It is the new generation that will come up who will build future India. It will not be possible to get that generation to move along the right lines unless we give them some sort of compulsory military training.

Now, the idea of giving them compulsory military training suffers at our hands because of certain inhibitions. As my friend, Shri Prakash Vir Shastri pointed out, we have been brought up in the Gandhian tradition and the moment we begin to talk of military training, we feel that we are doing something which, is not in keeping with our great tradition which the Father of our Nation has bequeathed to us. I would say that we must get rid of that inhibition. There is nothing contradictory in bringing up a disciplined generation and upholding the principles of Gandhism. In fact, disciplined boys and girls would be able to uphold the principles of Gandhism much better. A disciplined nation will be more capable of observing the basic principles of Gandhism than a nation without it, a nation without moral standard. Now we have a nation, Sir, without any sense of discipline, a nation which is thoroughly disorganised, a nation which has no sense of patriotism or

which has no emotional integration at all. Therefore, Sir, I would say let us get rid of this idea that military training or compulsory military training goes against the tenets of Gandhism. It does not. It is in order to have emotional integration that we want to bring up a nation of disciplined people. There is need for emotional integration in this country. Moreover because of the caste system, we have condemned certain castes as unfit for military training. There are millions of people who think that to undergo military training is something which is against their tradition. We must try to get rid of that notion too because today we are thinking of defending a country of 35 crores.

An Hon. Member: Now 42 crores.

Shri Goray: Yes, now 42 crores. It must be our object to see to it that there are hundreds and thousands and millions of people who will, if the time comes, be capable of using arms. We have been told by the eminent guest who came here yesterday that they have taken to demilitarisation. He told us that now the army in Russia is one-third of what it was. What is their army today? It is more than 20 lakhs. That means that at an earlier time it was 60 lakhs or 75 lakhs or 1 crore. We have to act in a world where nations are talking incessantly of peace and demilitarisation and have armies of 50 lakhs and 60 lakhs, nuclear weapons and what not. Therefore we have to see that we must have at least minimum military training imparted to our students. To ask for such military training is not to ask for something which is not in keeping with our nationalism but it is something which is going to reinforce our nationalism. Therefore I would very gladly extend my full support to the Resolution which has been moved by Shri Prakash Vir Shastri. I hope, in conclusion, that the Government will not treat the Resolution in the manner in which they treat Resolutions which come from the Oppos-

tion Members. This is something which the whole House should consider as their own. The Minister of Defence should consider that the very fact that an opposition Member has brought this Resolution means that it is not only one party which is behind it but that the whole nation is demanding this sort of education, and if they do it, the whole nation will muster behind them and will not raise any doubts and objections and will not put obstacles in the way.

डा० राम सभग सिंह (सहस्रराम) : मभापति महोदय, मुझे इस बात का बड़ा गर्व हो रहा है कि मैं श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन कर रहा हूँ। ठीक इसी तरह का प्रस्ताव मैं करीब आठ, साढ़े आठ वर्ष पहले इस हाउस में लाया था और उस वक्त बहुतेरे साथियों ने उसका समर्थन भी किया था। दो, तीन साथियों ने उस वक्त उसकी मुखालफत इस आधार पर की कि हम लोगों का देश गांधी जी का देश है और इसलिए यहां पर लड़कों को सैनिक शिक्षा नहीं दी जानी चाहिए। लेकिन यह उस वक्त भी बतलाया गया था और आज करीब करीब यह बिल्कुल स्पष्ट हो गया कि गांधी जी कभी नहीं चाहते थे कि यहां पर अनुशासन न रहे। वे देश को और देश के तमाम नर नारियों को पूरी तरह अनुशासनपूर्ण पद्धति अस्तित्वार करने की इच्छा रखते थे और जहां तक सम्भव हुआ उन्होंने सबको अनुशासन का पाठ पढ़ाने का प्रयास किया और उनके अनुशासन की शिक्षा की ही बदौलत हम लोगों को स्वतंत्रता मिली और जिसके फल स्वरूप आज स्वतन्त्र सरकार और एक स्वतन्त्र देश की संसद् यहां पर कायम हुई। आज हम लोगों को इस बात की पुनः आवश्यकता पड़ी। इसके दूसरे कारण हो सकते हैं लेकिन मैं ने जैसे बतलाया मैंने आज से आठ, साढ़े आठ वर्ष पहले अनिवार्य सैनिक प्रशिक्षण सम्बन्धी प्रस्ताव इस भवन में प्रस्तुत किया था और आज तो स्थिति ऐसी आ गई है जब कि यह और भी अधिक आव-

श्यक हो गया है हालांकि यह पहले भी आवश्यक था और मैं तो अगर आज की स्थिति नहीं भी रहती तो भी मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता। मुझे इस बात का अफसोस है कि आज तक सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर आकृष्ट क्यों नहीं हुआ और आज हमारे प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री महोदय कहते हैं कि हमको सवा दो लाख के करीब लड़कों को ए०सी०सी० और ए०सी०सी० में सैनिक प्रशिक्षण मिलना चाहिए। इस बात की तो और हमारी सरकार का ध्यान बहुत पहले जाना चाहिए था। आज हम देखते हैं कि हमारे बड़े बड़े शिक्षण के विद्यालय चाहे केन्द्र के विद्यालय बन्द हो रहे हैं तो विद्यार्थियों को प्रशिक्षित करने के बजाय यह भी आवश्यक है कि हम अधिकारियों को भी प्रशिक्षित करें कि वे ऐसी स्थिति ही न पैदा होने दें जिसमें कि विद्यालय बन्द हो जायें। यह दुःख का विषय है कि तीन बड़े बड़े विश्वविद्यालय बन्द हो जायें। इसलिए जरूरत है कि पहले अधिकारीगण और हम लोग अनुशासन सीखें और विद्यार्थियों के सम्मुख एक स्वस्थ उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करें क्योंकि जाहिर है कि जब हम में अपनी ताकत होगी जब हम खुद बखुद अनुशासनपूर्ण रीति में चलना सीखेंगे तभी हम किसी को प्रभावित कर सकेंगे। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि हमारे विद्यार्थियों में यदि कहीं कोई अनुशासनहीनता नजर आती है तो उस के लिए शिक्षकों, जिम्मेदार अधिकारियों और अपने को उस के लिए दोषी और जिम्मेदार समझना चाहिये और उस अनुशासनहीनता के लिए हमारी भी जवाबदेही है क्योंकि उन की बदौलत हमारे यहां अनुशासनहीनता का प्रचार हो रहा है और वे उस अनुशासनहीनता को रोकने के लिए प्रयत्न सिद्ध हो रहे हैं। आज यदि कोई समझे कि चीन के आक्रमण के चलते विद्यालयों में देश के नव-युवक और नवयुवतियों को सैनिक शिक्षा देने की जरूरत है तो मैं उस से सन्मत नहीं हूँ। मैं तो इस बात का कयल हूँ कि

[डा० राम सुभग सिंह]

हिन्दुस्तान की स्वतंत्रता की सुरक्षा के लिए और हमेशा उस को बरकरार रखने के लिए यह जरूरी है कि देश के ४० करोड़ नर-नारी सुयोग्य बनें और सुयोग्य नागरिक बनने के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि उन को पहले सुयोग्य शिक्षा मिले और सुयोग्य शिक्षा मिलने के लिये यह जरूरी है कि नीचे से ऊपर तक जितने भी शिक्षा के अधिकारी हैं वे सुयोग्य हों। इस के लिए यह भी आवश्यक है कि जो भी नीति-निर्धारण करने वाले हैं वे ऐसे हों जिन का कि स्वतः प्रभाव पड़ता हो। एक एक नर-नारी पर अगर उस के प्रभाव पड़े कहीं भी अनुशासन नहीं हो सकता। भले ही लाखों रुपये हम लगावें, करोड़ों धरबों रुपये हम लगावें और कितने ही हम मिलेटरी टैंक्स क्यों न दें और लोगों को प्रशिक्षित करें कोई विशेष प्रभाव पड़ने वाला नहीं है क्योंकि हम ने देखा कि च्यांग-काई शोक के पास काफी बड़े टैंक्स थे और अमरीका से भी आये थे मगर वह वहां जो उचलपुचल हुई उस का मुकाबला नहीं कर सका। इसलिए आज सब से बड़ी जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम देश के नवयुवक और नवयुवतियों को ठीक शकल में ढालें और अपने लड़के और लड़कियों को अनुशासन-पूर्ण ढंग में ढालने के साथ साथ उन को सैनिक प्रशिक्षण दें। लेकिन यदि हमारे सुरक्षा मंत्री महोदय कहें कि हम को सवा दो लाख लड़कों को एन० सी० सी० और ए० सी० सी० में ट्रेन्ड करना है तो मैं इस को एक बिलकुल बेकार की बात मानता हूँ। अगर हमारी सरकार—जो आदमी है—उन को उचित रीति से उचित काम पर लगावे तो उस को ऐसा करने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी। चूँकि हम ऐसा नहीं करते इसीलिए हम को जनता के पास जाने की जरूरत पड़ती है। जो हमारे पास शक्ति है यदि हम उस का सदुपयोग कर सकें तभी हम जनता के पास जाने के अधिकारी हैं। उस अवस्था में देश का एक एक आदमी

प्रशिक्षित हो जायगा और भारत सरकार को खर्च करने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी। अभी भी हमारे यहां गांवों में भ्रष्टाड़े हैं, दबल होते हैं, लोग लाठी चलाना, गदा चलाना और तलवार चलाना सीखते हैं। वह खुद बखुद इन चीजों की शिक्षा लेते हैं, उन को शिक्षा देने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ती। हम अपने देश में सेना पर २०० करोड़ रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं। आज और ज्यादा खर्च करने की जरूरत सामने है। अभी तक हमारे देश की सीमा ६००० बर्ग मील थी, अब चीनी आक्रमण के कारण यह सीमा २५०० मील और बढ़ गयी है। इसलिए अब हम को २०० करोड़ के स्थान पर ३०० या ४०० करोड़ रुपया लगाना होगा। लेकिन आज जो यह २०० करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने के बाद हमारे पास ताकत है, उस को इस्तेमाल नहीं हो रहा है जरूरत पड़ने पर भी। अगर सरकार इस शक्ति को इस्तेमाल किए होती, तो हमारे लड़के बिना शिक्षा दिये आज अपने को शिक्षित करने का प्रयत्न करते। आज लड़के इलाहाबाद और लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालयों को बन्द नहीं होने देना चाहते लेकिन जो अधिकारी हैं वे उन को बन्द करना चाहते हैं। यह सब गलत चीज है। आज देश के आदमियों को प्रशिक्षित करने का तरीका यही है कि आप खुद उन के सामने आदर्श उपस्थित करें। आप के पास जो भी थोड़ी शक्ति है उस का सदुपयोग करें और तब जनता से मांग करें।

हमारा ४०० करोड़ का बजट है और इस में से २०० करोड़ सेना पर खर्च होता है। हिन्दुस्तान के निवासियों की पर-कैपीटा आय ३०० रुपये के लगभग है। ऐसी स्थिति में यह देखना चाहिये कि वे क्या और ज्यादा दे सकेंगे। इस अवस्था में यह जरूरी है कि हम कम से कम खर्च कर के ज्यादा से ज्यादा परिणाम निकालें और ऐसा करना जरूरी है। हमारे देश में आज

१ प्रतिशत भादमी विश्वविद्यालयों में शिक्षा पा रहे हैं। ६६ प्रतिशत कालिजों में नहीं हैं। इस एक प्रतिशत को आप अच्छी से अच्छी सैनिक शिक्षा दें और मैं चाहूंगा कि इस के लिए अच्छे से अच्छा इन्तिजाम हो और स्टेट का कंट्रीब्यूशन क्या हो और सेंटर का क्या हो इस बलेड़े में न पड़ कर इस की व्यवस्था सेंटर को ही करनी चाहिये। हां, हम राज्य सरकारों को भी यह कहें कि वे फलां फलां सुविधाएं दें। इस प्रकार हर प्रकार का प्रबन्ध कर के हम ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों को सैनिक शिक्षा दें, इस डर से नहीं कि हमारे ऊपर चीन का आक्रमण हुआ है। आप अपने साधनों का सही उपयोग करेंगे तो काम खुद बखुद हो जायगा। अपने साधनों का सही उपयोग न करने के कारण ही आज यह स्थिति पैदा हुई है। आज जरूरत है लड़कों को सुशिक्षित करने की और इस चीज का प्रचार स्कूलों और कालिजों तक ही सीमित न रखा जाय बल्कि उन तक भी इस का प्रचार किया जाय जो स्कूलों और कालिजों से बाहर हैं। और जो हमारे इंडीजीनस मैथड हैं, गदा और तलवार आदि चलाना सीखने के, उनको भी उचित प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय। आज हमारा डंग खराब होता जा रहा है। श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री ने भी उस की ओर ध्यान आकृष्ट किया कि मैसूर में गोली चली, यहां तालकटोरा गार्डन में पिछले साल यूथ फेस्टीवल में उचित व्यवस्था नहीं हो सकी। तो इन चीजों को हमें रोकना चाहिये। आज अगर हम इस काम के लिए एक विशाल मंत्रालय खोल दें और सैनिक शिक्षा का और भी विस्तार करें, लेकिन उस का तब तक कोई असर नहीं होगा जब तक कि हम खुद बखुद प्रभावकारी कदम अपनी तरफ से नहीं उठायेंगे।

Shri Narayanankutty Menon (Mukandapuram): Mr. Chairman, I am in agreement with some of the deductions drawn by my hon. friends who preceded me, even though I was not able to completely follow the

points raised by the hon. Mover of the Resolution.

The most important point which was being streamlined in every one of the arguments of the speakers was that in order to instil a sense of discipline in the youth of the country, there should be compulsory military training. There are other grounds also. Certain remarks were made showing that there is complete lack of a sense of discipline especially among the youth of the country and also the people. It has also been said that we are one of the most indisciplined countries in the world.

If we go into the question whether there is lack of discipline among the youth of this country or the people of this country, it is one matter; it is quite another when we try to find out what are the remedies we are going to adopt to instil discipline in the minds of the youth and the people of this country. When we make a remark that the youth of this country is indisciplined and there should be some process by which this House should decide that some steps should immediately be taken to instil discipline in them, the question arises whether by introducing compulsory military training in colleges in the country this sense of discipline could be instilled in the minds of the youth of the country. If we answer the question by an 'yes', certainly we will be overlooking the causes of indiscipline. If at all indiscipline is manifest in the youth of the country in Universities, it is not the prerogative of the youth alone; it is also prevalent among the elderly people in the country.

Reference was made to the closing down of Lucknow and Allahabad Universities. The hon. member accused the students of being guilty of indiscipline. But just across the streets of Lucknow and Allahabad, you will find that this sort of indiscipline is not confined to the students alone, but to political parties—a single political party—whose members take up lathis

[Shri Narayanankutty Menon]

and fight each other and break each other's heads in the party elections in these cities. So is it fair to say that indiscipline is there among University students alone? When we accuse students of indiscipline, let us examine in each case why the indiscipline is manifest and who are responsible for it.

Reference was made to the Youth Festival. Last time, the Festival was held in the campus of Mysore University. Mounted police had to be called in order to check the students rushing into the University campus where the Youth Festival was being conducted. What is the cause of the indiscipline? It is simple. When this Youth Festival, in which representatives of all Universities in the country assembled, was held and they were discussing things, when they were singing folk songs and all that, the students of Mysore University were prevented from attending it. The college authorities said: 'We will not give you a holiday to attend the Festival'. Such was the stark fact. The Mysore University authorities prevented the Mysore University students from participating in it. Naturally, their enthusiasm was bubbling up and the students indulged in acts of indiscipline.

I pointed out only one example. Wherever, indiscipline is noticed among students, it is the same story. If at all we find indiscipline among the youth, among the University students, let us not find the panacea in compulsory military training; let us not think that it will solve this whole problem. It can be admitted that a certain degree of indiscipline is there. But by introduction of compulsory military training, will it be possible to instil discipline? Certainly not. Will it be possible to instil patriotism by compulsory military training? Certainly not. Will it be possible to instil a spirit of nationalism by compulsory military training? I say cate-

gorically that it will be impossible to find a panacea for indiscipline among youth in compulsory military training.

The question was posed: what shaft we do in order to channelise the bubbling energies of youth into creative activities? My hon. friend, Shri U. C. Patnaik, said that mischief is misdirected energy. It may be possible that the energy of youth is misdirected. What is the way of properly directing it? What is the creative way of finding a solution to it? The idea is that the energy of the youth should be properly directed. If you are convinced that mischief is misdirected energy, there are plenty of avenues in the country to channelise the energies of the youth and the people. In our Second Plan, laudable things are put in; *Shramdan* is put there. There are hundreds of construction works where voluntary labour was required. In every place, we have miserably failed to inspire confidence and get voluntary labour. If we could direct the energies of the youth towards these huge construction works, it would be more profitable for us. That would be the greatest service that the Parliament and the country can do. Even the military experts in other countries have definitely said that things cannot be set right by compulsory military training. We should also be realistic and see the situation and condition in our country. Today it would not be possible for the country to undertake such a job of this magnitude. The resolution will only be on the paper; it could not be implemented. Shri Patnaik said that there were 7.5 million youth in the country's universities. According to him the expenditure on the National Cadet Corps is Rs. 300 per head. It will be a colossal expenditure if we have to spend Rs. 300 per head on these 7.5 million youths. Even then we would be able to train them militarily in a haphazard way. That is not the solution.

As far as the country's defence is concerned, Shri Goray said in this

country there is a little bit of patriotism lacking. I am not going into that question. Since Independence, when there has been a national emergency, when the Pakistani raiders crossed the Kashmir Frontier, our own people, our own army, however limited their number or supplies may be, stood heroically and exhibited their patriotism and our borders could not be violated. We are keeping an army and supplying that army. There is a limitation for the supply. By simple military training, an army will not function. Taking into consideration the methods of modern warfare and military strategy, we should see whether such a huge manpower should be militarily organised in order to fight a war. Any military expert will testify to the fact that man-power is not at all the most important factor in modern warfare. If we pass this resolution, it will be an impractical resolution; it cannot be implemented. Therefore, I beseech this House not to take up the responsibility of passing a Resolution which the Government and the people are incapable of implementing... (Interruptions).

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Why do you not ask about Ladakh, Mr. Goray? He is referring to your point.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: My friend talks about Ladakh. I come to that point. I will not leave any room for my friend to keep guessing.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: Does the hon. Member want a particular standard in China and another standard in India?

Shri Goray: That suits China.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: That is a different question. It is quite easy for my friends to talk about Ladakh. But actually, when the real question of patriotism comes, who is on which side? That is the sole question. In the year 1947, when the Pakistani raiders were crossing Baramula and our men could not be transported back and when we were lacking vehicles, there were patriots in

this country who demanded a heavy price for the vehicle and they said that unless that price was paid by the Government, they will not release the vehicles. Those are the people who talk about patriotism. When these people talk about patriotism and arm-chair militarism is exhibited, if they could be accepted as patriots, everybody could afford to be a soldier-patriot. But when the real test comes, people will know. My friend asked me about Ladakh. I am confident about Ladakh. We are confident about the frontiers of this country. Whenever the frontiers of this country are being attacked and if they are attacked, certainly we will be the first and foremost to join and go to the front....

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Do you think that it has not been attacked so far?

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: I know the implications of war, if my friend does not know. Four of my brothers are in the Army; they are in the frontier and even in 1947 I made a speech referring to these trucks because they could not be brought, the so-called patriots of today refused to release the trucks from Jabalpur unless the money was paid. It is easy for these people to talk about patriotism as long as they are safely within the walls of this Chamber. Therefore, I submit that this question should not be considered on the basis of sentiment. We should be realistic and see whether it is possible for us to implement. Therefore, I beseech this House should not take up the responsibility of passing this Resolution.

डा० सुशीला नायर (झांसी) : सभा-पति महोदय, जो माननीय मेम्बर अभी भाषण कर रहे थे, मैं अपने प्राप को उन की विचार-धारा से बहुत कुछ सम्मत पाती हूँ। हम लोग अपने बीच में एक बीमारी देख रहे हैं। वह बीमारी है इन्डिसेप्लिन की, अनुशासनहीनता की। इस में कोई शक नहीं है कि इस बीमारी का इलाज होना चाहिये। यह बीमारी हमारे देश के युवक क्या और बड़े क्या, सब के बीच

[डा० मुशीला नायर]

को खतरे में डाल रही है। उस खतरे में से देश को निकालना चाहिये और उस के लिए सब उपाय करने चाहिये। यहां तक में इस प्रस्ताव को पेश करने वाले भाइयों की भूमिका के साथ सम्मत हूं। मगर बीमारी का जो वह इलाज बता रहे हैं, वह इलाज सही इलाज नहीं है, यह मैं बहुत नम्रता के साथ निवेदन करना चाहती हूं। आप विचार करिये कि अनुशासनहीनता युवकों में है, इस से हम बहुत परेशान होते हैं। मगर अनुशासनहीनता का नमूना कौन पेश करता है युवकों के सामने? हम लोग, जो बड़े हैं। क्या इस सदन में हम अनुशासनहीनता नहीं दिखाते? और तो सब छोड़ दीजिये, बाहर तो जो लोग करते हैं, सो करते हैं—वह नहीं होना चाहिये—लेकिन कम से कम इस सदन में जो लाखों व्यक्तियों के प्रतिनिधि हो कर आते हैं, मेम्बर साहबान, वे तो अनुशासनहीनता न करें। अगर इतना भी हो, तो हम दूसरों को रास्ता बताने वाले बन सकते हैं। हम यह चाहते हैं कि कोई एक दबा की गोली मिल जाये, जिस से सारी की सारी बीमारी एक दम में दूर हो जाये और हम ने मान लिया है कि मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग से यह सारी की सारी बीमारी दूर हो जायगी। लेकिन अनुशासनहीन लोगों के हाथ में आप राइफल दे दीजिये, उन को राइफल चलाना सिखा दीजिये और मिलिटरी की ट्रेनिंग दे दीजिये, तो आज तो वे मुक्का-मुक्की करते हैं, लट्ठम-लट्ठा करते हैं, कल को वे गोलियों से लड़ेंगे। यही तो होगा। दूसरा क्या हो सकता है? यानी अनुशासनहीनता को दूर करने का इलाज माननीय सदस्य यह बताते हैं कि सब को आप सिपाही बना दीजिये, फ़ौजी बना दीजिये। मैं बहुत नम्रता से कहना चाहती हूं कि अनुशासनहीनता का आप पहले इलाज कीजिये। वह इलाज मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग नहीं है। किसी ने तो यहां तक कह दिया कि गांधी जी भी तो अनुशासनहीनता के विरुद्ध

ये। इसलिये मिलिटरी तालीम होनी चाहिये। बिल्कुल सही बात है, गांधी जी सरासर अनुशासनहीनता के विरुद्ध थे। गांधी जी डिसिप्लिन के पुजारी थे। लेकिन क्या डिसिप्लिन के लिए गांधी जी ने मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग ली थी, या किसी को देने की बात कभी की थी? यह मान लेना कि अनुशासन प्राप्त करने का—डिसिप्लिन प्राप्त करने का—एक-मात्र तरीका मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग है, मेरी समझ में सब से बड़ी भूल है। मैं समझती हूं कि आज हमारे विश्वविद्यालयों में जो तकलीफ़ हो रही है, हमारी पोलिटिकल पार्टिज़ के चुनाव वगैरह में जो तकलीफ़ें हो रही हैं और दूसरी जो बहुत सी अनुशासनहीनता की मिसालें हमारे भाइयों ने यहां पर दी हैं, उन सब चीजों का जो इलाज है, वह है सही प्रकार की शिक्षा। सही प्रकार की शिक्षा का अर्थ है सही प्रकार के शिक्षक और सही प्रकार की शिक्षा की सामग्री। अब उस सही प्रकार की शिक्षा को देने के लिए, आज जो करोड़ों रुपये खर्च करने के लिये तैयार हो रहे हैं हम मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग के लिए, वे करोड़ों रुपये उरा ज्यादा अच्छे ढींचर तैयार करने के लिये खर्च कीजिये, अच्छी शिक्षा देने का प्रबन्ध करने से कीजिये। हमारे स्कूलों और कालिजों में अनुशासन के लिए जो ट्रेनिंग देने की आवश्यकता है, वह मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग से पूरी नहीं हो सकती। मैं कहती हूं कि हर एक बच्चे को अगर हृष स्कूल में ले जायें, स्काउट की ट्रेनिंग दे दें, गाइड की ट्रेनिंग दे दें, तो उस से ही यह अनुशासनहीनता बहुत हद तक दूर हो सकती है।

16 hrs.

मगर उस के साथ ही साथ स्मरण रहे कि बच्चा चार छः घंटे स्कूल में जाता है, बाकी समय घर में रहता है यह समझना कि अकेले स्कूल के चार छः घंटों की शिक्षा से ही उन के सारे दोष दूर हो जायें और

घर में बैठ कर हम लोग चाहे जैसे अपने जीवन की मिसाल बच्चों के सामने पेश करें, वह सही तरीका नहीं है। उस का परिणाम जो हम चाहते हैं, वह नहीं हो सकता। आज हम पेट्रियाटिज्म की बात करते हैं, देश-भक्ति की बात करते हैं। सब से पहले आवश्यकता है कि हम में से हर एक व्यक्ति अपने हृदय को टटोले कि इस देश-भक्ति के लिये, इस पेट्रियाटिज्म के लिए हम अपने आप को किस हद तक अनुशासन में रख सकते हैं, रखना चाहते हैं, रखते हैं, कितना हम इस के लिये त्याग करने के लिये तैयार हैं, तपस्या करने के लिए तैयार हैं। त्याग और तपस्या खाली मिलिटरी के मैदान में—लड़ाई में नहीं होती है। मैं आप से यह निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि आज स्पूतनिक के युग में, इन्टर-कॉन्टि-नेंटल बैलिस्टिक मिसाइल के युग में क्या माननीय सदस्य यह सोचते हैं कि राइफल ले कर खड़े हो जायेंगे, लड़कों को मिलिट्री ट्रेनिंग दे देंगे, तो हमारे बार्डर सुरक्षित हो जायेंगे? यह कहां की बात है? सुरक्षा के लिए आवश्यकता है कि हम अपने अन्दर अनुशासन, हिम्मत और देश-भक्ति की वह भावना पैदा करें, जिस से कि किसी की हिम्मत न हो कि वह हमारे देश की ओर घाव उठा कर देख सके। आज चीनियों की यह हिम्मत क्यों हुई हमारे बार्डर पर हमला करने की? इसलिए कि हमारे देश में ऐसे लोग हैं, जो उन को बढ़ावा देते हैं। आज भी बैठे हुए हैं वे लोग और देश-भक्ति का उपदेश देते हैं विद्यार्थियों को। सभापति महोदय, मैं बहुत नम्रता से आप के सामने यह निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि आज इतने लम्बे बार्डर की सुरक्षा के लिए, अपनी आजादी की जड़ों को मजबूत करने के लिए एटामिक वार-फ़ैक्टर के इस युग में अपने स्वयं की रक्षा के लिये और अपने अस्तित्व की रक्षा के लिये आवश्यक है कि हमारा ऐसा अछछा कैरेक्टर बने, अछछा जीवन बने हिम्मत का और बहादुरी का और

हमारे देश का ऐसा डेवलपमेंट हो—आर्थिक डेवलपमेंट, सोशल डेवलपमेंट, सब प्रकार से डेवलपमेंट—कि इस देश का एक एक व्यक्ति देश की सुरक्षा और मान के लिए अपना सर्वस्व देने के लिये तैयार हो। जब हम ने आजादी हासिल की थी, तो कोई राइफल से नहीं की, बन्दूक से नहीं की, किसी बहुत बड़े हथियारों से नहीं की। तो जब हम ने हिम्मत से, दृढ़ता से, सच्चाई से और देश-भक्ति से आजादी हासिल की है, तो उन्हीं तरीकों से हम अपनी आजादी की रक्षा भी कर सकते हैं। लिहाजा इस कम्पलसरी मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग का मैं हृदय से विरोध करती हूँ।

Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadli (Ludhiana):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am surprised that there should be any controversy about the objective that underlies this resolution. I quite see that the Defence Minister may not be able to accept the resolution, for they might find it very difficult to implement it fully because of the enormity of expenditure involved and other considerations; but so far as the objective is concerned I do not think there could be any controversy.

Sir, military training may be with the objective of inculcating the sense of discipline in the educational institutions or it may be with the objective to create a reserve force for the defence of the country. In either case the objective is good and should have been accepted by all

Now, it would be admitted on all hands that the security of the country should be the primary consideration, particularly in the context of the situation. There are always four factors that count in the matter of the security of the country. The first factor that counts, in this connection, is the industrial potential or the natural resources of a country. The second factor that counts is the geographical location of a country. The third that would count is the man power. The fourth factor that might

[Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi]

come into consideration is the extra-territorial aspect.

So far as the geographical location of the country is concerned we thought that we were absolutely safe: we have got vast oceans round about us, we have got the Himalayas on one side and there are only two borders that needed protection. But the recent situation has amply shown that the Himalayas are not impregnable. They have been already pierced. We cannot think ourselves to be safe so far as the vast oceans are concerned. Therefore, my submission is that in the matter of the geographical location of the country too the security of the country should be the primary consideration. Of course, in the matter of natural resources and industrial potential every effort is put in. But I would submit that in the context of the things now the emphasis should be on the man-power, on the training of the man-power and, particularly, the concept of military defence. The defence of the country must change in view of the development in nuclear warfare and technology. If that must change, when even the Maginot line and others have become non-existent in the context of the present warfare, what is the thing that we can bank upon? It is the man power.

How can we develop it? The hon. Minister would be aware that when during a conference at Paris of the NATO powers they justified the use of nuclear weapons for defence, Field-Marshal Montgomery enunciated that principle when he said:

"Thermo and nuclear weapons will be used if we are attacked. The reason for that action is that we cannot meet the strength that could be brought against us unless we use nuclear weapons; and our political chiefs have never shown any great enthusiasm in giving us the opportunities to be able to do so without using such weapons."

Therefore, it is either the weapons that would count or the man power that would count. This has been abundantly shown both in the Korean warfare as well as the Chinese warfare against Japan.

Therefore, man power is one of the factors on which India must count. India must train her people. I believe, man power means trained man power to meet the situation. I submit that in the present context it is not actually the defence force that counts. Of course, in a democracy it is felt that normally it is the defence force alone that should fight, it is the defence force alone that should safeguard the interests of the country and it is on the shoulders of the defence force alone the security of the country lies. But I believe that that concept is wrong and has to be exploded. The emphasis is shifting to the citizens' army rather than the actual defence or the military forces. For that purpose, you have got to have a reserve on which you can count and which can be brought forward in an emergency. We must see to it that such a reserve is built up. At one time, when I was speaking about it, in the budget session of 1957 or 1958, the hon. Defence Minister was pleased to say that that would be creating a war psychosis. That is wrong. Training is most essential and I am afraid that the resolution which my hon. friend Shri Prakash Vir Shastri has sponsored is not wide enough to carry the intended objective. His objective, I believe, is that the entire manpower of the country should be canalised and trained and the method to be adopted is to be different. One of the methods has already been suggested by Shri U. C. Patnaik. I would like to invite the attention of the hon. Defence Minister to what is done in Switzerland. Switzerland is the most peaceful country in Europe. It has always remained neutral. Yet you find that the moment an individual reaches the age of 20, he has to go to a recruit school for training. There, training is not

a matter of years or months. It is a matter of days. The moment the individual reaches the age of 20, he enters a recruit school.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi: I shall finish in two minutes. The boy is given training, an intensive military training, for 118 days. For the next 72 days he is sent to the technical side, flying or something of that kind. Later on, up to the age of 36, he remains in the first reserve. From 36 to 44 he remains in the second reserve. These are the different reserves in spite of the fact that Switzerland is the one country in Europe that is neutral, has been safe and has never been invaded. This was the reason why no nation has ever dared to attack it in the first world war. Nor did Hitler attack it during the second world war. They went through Belgium to Denmark and Sweden in the second world war and both these countries were wiped out though they were stronger militarily, comparatively speaking.

Therefore, I submit that so far as the intended objective of the resolution is concerned, it should have unanimous support in the House. I congratulate the Defence Minister on his having already accepted the spirit of the resolution in that he has already enlarged the ambit of the NCC and is going to introduce rifle training in the colleges and institutions as compulsory training. Since he has already accepted such measures, I hope, he would also accept the object underlying this resolution.

Mr. Chairman: It is 4.14. I may call the hon. Minister.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Pall): Could you give me five to seven minutes?

Mr. Chairman: It is almost 4.15 now. The Minister wants to have half an hour for his reply, and then the mover

has to reply. So, there will be hardly enough time left.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: The reply can be for eight to ten minutes. Or, can we not sit for five or ten minutes or, say, 15 minutes extra?

Shrimati Uma Nehru (Sitapur): May I have just five minutes, Sir?

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Ferozabad): My only submission is, I should not be elbowed out. My resolution should be allowed to be moved.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): The point of view of a woman Member should also be heard on this subject.

Mr. Chairman: Then, the hon. Members will take five minutes each.

Shri Jaipal Singh (Ranchi West—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): Sir, I find there is no quorum.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Let us squeeze in two or three speeches.

Mr. Chairman: The bell is being rung. Now there is quorum. Shrimati Uma Nehru.

श्रीमती उमा नेहरू : श्रीमान् जी, इस बिल पर आज जितनी स्पीचिज़ हुई हैं उन सब को मैंने सुना। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि जैसे कोई वार आफिस में घादमी बैठे हुए हों और बातें कर रहे हों या कोई कहीं लड़ाई हो रही हो जिस के लिए इस कानून की जरूरत हुई। हमारे सभी जो मद हैं वे चाहते यह हैं कि यहां पर कानून कोई ऐसा हो जिस के जरिये मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग ही नहीं बल्कि कम्पलसरी मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग दी जा सके। मेरे सामने उत्तर प्रदेश का नक्शा भी रखा गया और बताया गया कि वहां पर स्टूडेंट्स में कितना इनडिस्टिप्लिन है। इस बारे में मैं आप को एक बात बतलाना चाहती हूँ। हमारा जो जीता जागता इतिहास भारत का है वह हमें क्या बतलाता है। इस

[श्रीमती उमा नेहरू]

इतिहास को हम सब जानते हैं। हम ने जिस तरह से आज़ादी हासिल की, उस से आप वाकिफ़ हैं। आप कुछ भी कहें कि हम डिडिसिप्लिन्ड थे या डिडिसिप्लिन्ड नहीं थे, लेकिन हम ने इस मुल्क को आज़ाद करवाया है। महात्मा गांधी के पीछे हम चले, रंग बिरंगे कपड़े पहने हुए और मिलिटरी के कदम हमारे साथ नहीं उठते थे, लेकिन हमारे कदम जो उठे, हम ने जो कदम उठाये, हम में जो मारल स्ट्रेंथ आई, उस के बल पर हम ने मुल्क को आज़ाद करवाया।

आज स्टूडेंट इंडिसिप्लिन पर सब लोग परेशान हैं और सब सवाल करते हैं कि यह क्यों है। खास तौर पर हम औरतों के सामने यह सवाल आता है, हम माताओं के सामने यह सवाल आता है कि इन लड़कों और लड़कियों में इंडिसिप्लिन क्यों है। मैं तो इस के बारे में इस नतीजे पर पहुंची हूँ कि इंडिसिप्लिन तभी होता है जब खुद वालदेन में, पैरेंट्स में इंडिसिप्लिन होता है, बजगों में इंडिसिप्लिन होता है, स्कूलों और कालेजों में टीचर्स में इंडिसिप्लिन होता है। मैं अपने परसनल तजुबों की बिना पर आप को बतलाती हूँ कि मैं खूब घूमी हूँ इस का पता लगाने के लिए और बहुत अच्छी तरह से मैं ने इस चीज़ को स्टडी किया है और मैं इस नतीजे पर पहुंची हूँ कि यूनिवर्सिटी प्रोफेसर्स में इतना इंडिसिप्लिन है, इतनी बातें मैं ने उन के बारे में सुनी हैं कि उन सब को सुन कर और देख कर मुझे बहुत अफ़सोस हुआ है। चाहे सखनऊ यूनिवर्सिटी हो, चाहे अलाहाबाद यूनिवर्सिटी हो, चाहे बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी हो वहां पढ़ने वाले बच्चों में इतनी इंडिसिप्लिन की बात नहीं है और न उन में वे बीमारियां हैं इन्फ़ार्ल या दूसरी, जितनी कि चर्चा की जाती है, जितनी कि वे वहां के प्रोफेसर्स में हैं। जब हम इन चीज़ों को वहां देखते हैं तो हमें सोचने के लिए मजबूर हो जाना पड़ता है कि आया हम अपने बच्चों को वहां पर

पढ़ने के लिए भेजें या न भेजें। आज जब यह हालत हमारे गुरुओं की है जो कि हमको शिक्षा देते हैं तो फिर हम यह सोचें कि वहां पर कम्पलसरी मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग दी जाए ताकि उनका चरित्र ठीक हो जाए, तो यह बात मुझे कुछ गलत मालूम देती है।

मैं समझती हूँ कि असली बात यह है कि जब तक शिक्षा ठीक नहीं दी जाएगी तब तक कुछ होने वाला नहीं है। मैं तो इस नतीजे पर पहुंची हूँ कि शिक्षा का महकमा चाहे सैटर में हो, चाहे स्टेट्स में हो, यह महकमा योग्य, समझदार, और पढ़ी लिखी औरतों के हाथों में होना चाहिए। जब तक यह महकमा उनके हाथों में नहीं होगा तब तक जो स्पीचिज हमने सुनी हैं, इनसे भी बुरी स्पीचिज सुनने को मिलेगी। इसलिए अधिक न कहते हुए मैं इतना ही कहना चाहती हूँ कि इंडिसिप्लिन स्टूडेंट्स में इतना नहीं है जितना कि स्टूडेंट्स को पढ़ाने वाले जो हैं, उनमें दिखाई दे रहा है।

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: This vedy idea of compulsory military training is really very fascinating. I am not opposed to this idea and I do not think that it is in any way inconsistent with the Gandhian philosophy. As a matter of fact, it falls very much in line with the Gandhian philosophy. But my objection to this is on very different grounds. I want to refer to that very briefly, and that is why I have asked for your indulgence for two minutes.

I think we are taking a very superficial view of the entire situation. It is entirely wrong to equate discipline with military training. As a matter of fact, there is nothing to equate military training with discipline. It is going to be a national character. We must develop certain traits of character, and it should be inherent in our system of education to develop certain traits of character. It is only

then that we will be able to overcome the entire situation. We are having so many schemes of national discipline, like the national discipline scheme, the Cadet Corps and so on. Are we going to inject something from outside to make the student community disciplined? It is entirely wrong. I think our system of education should be such that it should be inherent in the system of education from the very beginning, from the very start, from the primary school stage right to the end of the education that you instil into them certain traits of character, and discipline would be just one part of that trait of character. It is on this ground that I say that, apart from the validity or usefulness of the compulsory military training, we should not confuse it with discipline and we must understand where the ailment lies.

My view is that our present difficulties are not only in the colleges and universities but all over, simply because there is immaturity with the politician himself. He is not yet mature; he does not know how to behave. I do not say that he purposefully does it, but he is immature, and we have not been able to adjust ourselves with so many forces which have been released in this country. Unfortunately, I am sorry I have to say that also, the ruling party has not been able to take stock of the entire situation and to discharge the responsibilities which squarely lie on the shoulders of the ruling party. Unless and until we find very great discipline instilled in the ruling party, I do not think it will be possible to inspire the country and have discipline in all the sectors.

One word more and I would sit down even before the five minutes that you have allotted to me are over. I do not at all agree with the view which has been expressed by my very great friend, with whom I am generally very much in agreement, Shri Goray, who said that ours is the most indisciplined nation. I do not at all agree with that view. It is

entirely wrong to say that this nation is the most indisciplined nation. We are passing through a crisis, that I am prepared to understand; we are passing through a transitory stage, that I am prepared to understand. But is it not a fact that this nation gave fight for freedom? Was it the sign of an indisciplined nation? Was it a sign of indiscipline that they have been able to secure freedom and power from a great colonial power? I do not even agree with the contention of my friend that the entire nation has lost its character during the past five or seven years. It is just a transitory stage. There are certain forces which have been released, of which we must take note. I do not think that this nation is an indisciplined nation. I very much resent that statement. We have passed through two colossal elections where this nation has exhibited a complete picture of perfect discipline. In any other place something very different would have happened.

I think this misunderstanding should not be permitted to gain ground. This is a perfectly disciplined nation. We have certain temporary difficulties and this crisis of character, as I have submitted, has got to be taken note of, in the educational institutions particularly. I again plead that it should be inherent in our system of education to build certain traits of character from the very beginning. Otherwise, the compulsory military training, or the national scheme which we are thinking of, that after a man comes out of the higher secondary school he has to put in some training, will be of no avail. I think we are taking an entirely superficial view and it is only certain fad on which we are working. They are not going to serve the nation at all. We must take care from the very beginning, from the primary stage, to instil certain traits of character in the students.

Shri Krishna Menon: Mr. Chairman, Sir, the House has before it a resolution and amendments. Since

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we are a legislative chamber, it will be impossible to disregard the text of anything that is put before us, but at the same time I have to take into consideration the fact that this is not a Bill but a Resolution expressing an opinion and therefore not to be too literally taken. If one had to take into account only the Resolution, as it stands, it will not be possible for any Government to accept this because it says "introduce compulsory military training into educational institutions", presumably including the nurseries because an educational institution includes every place where education is imparted or, if you want to be narrow, perhaps where money is received from public funds or which comes under the competence of the Ministry of Education. So, the thing is so vague that if one were to stick too literally to it, it will reduce itself to absurdity. But I think it is fair to the Government and to the House to look at the spirit of this Resolution. I would like to say that we welcome its introduction because it does so happen that the mind of the House is diverted to certain aspects of the matter. I will deal with the amendments later on.

Government are unable to accept this Resolution, as it stands, or even with minor modifications. Some of the debate as, Mr. Chairman, you yourself pointed out by implication, has wandered into fields far wider than this, and hon. Members had in mind national conscription in many ways. Let me first say that suppose we take this not in a literal sense but as a suggestion that boys of college-going age should come under military service then there are other methods of dealing with it. There is no country in the world where educational institutions are placed under compulsory military education. What happens is that youth between such-and-such ages are called up for service, whether they are in schools or anywhere else. You may restrict it to college-going students, but the educational

institutions could not usurp military education in that way.

Now the question also arises that if Parliament or the country or public opinion and so on is going to introduce compulsion, why should then it be confined to students who are going to colleges, or, conversely, why should others be excluded? Are the non-college-going students or villagers less patriotic or are less capable of being disciplined or are they requiring discipline less? Have they lesser responsibilities to contribute either to the stability or to the progress of the country in times of emergency and for other purposes? Therefore if you look at it from that point of view, the moment you talk about compulsion you will be dealing with nearly 22 million people, if we are taking, shall we say, arbitrarily the age as between 17 and 21 years for our male population and making a guess of the next census. According to the latest figures that we have for 1951, there will be nearly 22 million young people to be conscribed for a period of three years, that is, at any time there will be under training 14 million people. Anyone who has applied his mind to it will find that the proposition before this country neither from the point of view of economics nor from the point of view of providing people for training or the establishments required, nor from the point of view of public opinion or the development of our economy is feasible. We will be driving away these people from other fruitful production. So, while there is sentimental expression, perhaps ill-considered expression of opinions, for national service and conscription, we have to take these things into account.

Then if we narrow it down to those who are in schools and colleges and if we take educational institutions in that sense, there are probably, it appears to me, somewhere about 9,00,000 male students for this age category in our colleges and educational insti-

tutions. One can view not only with sympathy but with understanding what Shri Mathur said just now. If the purpose of it is national character and national discipline, it will be a sad day for this nation if national character and discipline can only come through training under arms. It will be a sad day for this nation if we would substitute the word discipline and regard it as synonymous with militarism. We have no desire to militarize the youth of our country. That is why the N.C.C. organisation, while it is very largely organised under the direction and general guidance of the Armed Forces, is still an educational movement as such and we take care to see that their curricular studies are not affected in the course of training. This is the general background which I wanted to give. I have very little time.

The greater part of the debate has been addressed to the N.C.C. and what the Ministry of Defence ought to be responsible for either by themselves or in conjunction with others. Before 1948 young people in this country, whether boys or girls, were not allowed to join organisations of this character. Parliament passed a legislation establishing the N.C.C. in 1948 and in 1949 the Corps was embodied. It was said—I am sorry to say that these expressions come pointed at persons rather than at topics—the Defence Minister had made no contribution to the development of the N.C.C. Looking at the figures we find that during the last three years the strength of the N.C.C. has multiplied by 95 per cent., nearly doubled. Today we have nearly 110,000 boys and girls in the senior divisions of the N.C.C.—I exclude the girls if the hon. Member would not mind because they do not bear arms. There are 98 to 99 thousand of them who are senior cadets who have had three years of training and are, if not in every sense, at least in the military sense, disciplined and would stand comparison with the territorial armies and the militia of most countries, and certainly with the Cadet Corps of any

other country. So, the progress in the last 2½ to three years has been to double the number. I am not now speaking about the junior division of the N.C.C. but about the adult boys of the age of 16½ and that sort of thing. That is double.

The total strength of the N.C.C. today is under 2.4 lakhs. That is a very vast increase from about ten years ago, or even five years ago. If the A.C.C. is to be taken into account and if Shri Mathur's ideas would find any receptivity at all, i.e., not merely military training but bringing boys into some kind of disciplined formation, another ten lakhs of boys and girls have to be included. The A.C.C. has been recording an increase of well over 100 per cent. in the last three years.

Shri U. C. Patnalk: Here are official figures, I am quoting.

Shri Krishna Menon: I am not giving way.

Shri U. C. Patnalk: In the N.C.C. senior division on 1-1-1959....

Mr. Chairman: He is not giving way.

Shri Krishna Menon: I am not giving way for several reasons. I have experience of the hon. Member, who is an expert on the question except that his expertise is completely isolated from the facts of any question.

Shri U. C. Patnalk: I challenge him on the statement of facts. I am quoting from the official publication *India 1959*. On 1-1-1959 the strength of the A.C.C. was 1,92,000 of which the strength of the senior division was 82,653: boys 73,407, girls 9,246. Does the hon. Minister deny that?

Shri Krishna Menon: I think an hon. Member of Parliament ought to appreciate that *India 1959* is printed in 1959 but prepared much earlier.

The figures for the total of the N.C.C. on 31-3-1957 i.e., three years

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ago, for the whole of the senior and junior divisions, excluding the A.C.C. and girls, was 1,40,057, i.e., 1.4 lakhs. On 31st December last year the total strength of the N.C.C. was 2,35,418 comprised of 93,738 boys, 1,14,140 junior division and 27,540 girls.

These are the figures I gave, and if these figures are to be challenged, they will stand; they can be challenged, but they will not stand challenged. That is why I said there is a possibility of producing what appears to be impressive arguments if you do not bother about the facts of the case.

Then it was said it is a toy organisation, it does not perform any military or other purpose, no attention is given to it, it has no purpose, no use, for the armed services.

I regret very much that an expression of opinion of this kind or this kind of statement should be made, because it has an adverse effect on the morale of the corps and upon the officers who work very hard to produce these results.

What are the facts? Over 50 per cent., and I say it with some reason for gratification, over 50 per cent. of all the entrants into the officered strength of the Indian Army today come through the N.C.C. Last year, 43 per cent. of the cadets who went to Khadakvasla came through the N.C.C.; I do say, they have come through the N.C.C. organisation, but there are boys who have gone through the N.C.C.; they are marked as N.C.C. boys, and their proportion is 43 per cent.

In Dehra Dun, until last year, 10 per cent. of the seats were reserved for persons expressly from the N.C.C. for training purposes. There is a special course there, and it is modified taking into account the N.C.C. training. This year, they have elevated it to 15 per cent. If this stood alone, that would not be very impres-

sive. The remainder of the places were left to the U.P.S.C. to be filled by open competition, and through the open competition, between 50 to 55 per cent. is taken up by the N.C.C. boys, with the result that the officered ranks of the Army today, and to a lesser extent, of the Navy and the Air Force, are more than 50 per cent. N.C.C. boys, and it is increasingly so. Over and above that, in the medical or in the engineering corps and in our scientific organisation are large numbers of young people who first go into the N.C.C. and get some ideas of national defence.

Shri U. C. Patnalk: May I know how many members of the N.C.C. have been incorporated in the Armed Forces as officers, N.C.O's. and J.C.O's? The hon. Minister is only giving the reverse statistics, namely during the last two or three years....

Shri Krishna Menon: I can only give the figures; I cannot give the hon. Member understanding on them.

I said that over 50 per cent. of the entrants into the Armed Forces came through the N.C.C. They are N.C.C. boys. And I stand by this statement. This can be checked up over and over again. That shows how experts have little understanding of the realities of the situation. How do you recruit N.C.C. cadet in the other ranks right into the Armed Forces? How do you take an N.C.C. cadet officer who is probably a school teacher above the military recruiting age into the regular forces of the Army? It is easy enough to make a speech which has no relation to administrative considerations or to the rules appertaining to this particular organisation. So, it is not possible to pick an N.C.C. cadet or boy and say, you now be an officer, without training. That training of the N.C.C. just prepares him to go to the military college, and in the military college, if he does very well, and if among the applicants to the Military college, the main bulk comes from the N.C.C., then the N.C.C. has justified itself.

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The way the House expresses its satisfaction, or rather, I would not say, satisfaction, but its desire or interest in a particular matter is to be very critical about it when it begins. It is so certainly with the Ministry of Defence. When the production went up, the House was extremely concerned about it, in what different ways it should be done and so on. It is natural in a parliamentary system. Therefore, I accept this criticism that the N.C.C. should be run this way or that way as a parliamentary way of expressing interest in this matter.

Now, I come to the development of the N.C.C. In the last twelve months, have been introduced into the N.C.C. two categories. One of the categories is the kind of idea, though not necessarily exactly the kind of idea, which Shri U. C. Patnaik has given expression to, that is to say, out of the N.C.C. ranks should go out not only boys who are recruited to the other ranks but also boys who are recruited to the officers' ranks. So, there has been introduced now into the N.C.C. what is called the officers' training unit which is to take each year 750 boys. And those boys will correspond to gentleman cadets at Dehra Dun. They will all be officers. They would not be officers in units, but they would be cadet officers. And they are being trained as officers. And entry into that will be severely restricted to people who have, on the one hand, the necessary physical stamina and on the other, the necessary physical ability, which is sometimes lacking in a greater part of the recruits. Also, there are specialists either in engineering or medicine or cost accounting or administration or who have great capacity for leadership. That is to say, this number of 750 will be distributed over the universities in India, and will demand only a few from each institution. So, there is room for one to choose. And individuals may also go, that is, boys who have already spent two or three years in the N.C.C., if they are not above the age for recruit-

ment. And if they show promise, from there they will enter the military colleges, only for finishing courses, even as the engineers go into the senior course at Poona. So, that is the position with regard to one category. The other category is the N.C.C. Rifles.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I would beg to correct the hon. Minister. At page 108 of this Government publication of 1959, the official figure is stated to be 73,407, it is not 2½ lakhs as stated by the hon. Minister....

Shri Krishna Menon: I would seek the protection of the Chair. Government must be allowed to express their position....

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Minister is not giving way. Two Members should not stand speaking at the same time.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: He has contradicted the facts published by Government.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member can point it out later. First, let the hon. Minister finish his speech.

Shri Krishna Menon: It is true that some people live in things of the past. And this book is of the past.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: This is India, 1959.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence (Shri Fateshree Gaekwad): This is 1960 now.

Shri Krishna Menon: The question is whether the House accepts the figures I give with all sense of responsibility as I have on behalf of Government.

So, the other category that has been introduced is what is being called the N.C.C. Rifles. This requires some explanation. The incorporation of rifle regiments in the regular Army is the normal practice. First of all, they are infantry units. They are lightly armed, and

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can be of quicker movement, and their training is adapted to that purpose. But no impression should be gained that these NCC Rifles units are any kind of cheaper or inferior edition. They go through the full course of training, they will be under the same officers or have the same kind of instructions, and be largely commanded by National Cadet officers who now, after ten years of the NCC, have gained experience in this matter. It is in regard to this aspect of the NCC that Government have given recently their very great attention, and announced that before the end of the budget year of 1960, 250,000 young men are to be enrolled; they will bear arms, they will go through the proper training and role. That will not affect the NCC as it stands today, that will go on in the same way, and we hope in the same way it will be progressing also.

Now, what will be the position of the numbers in that case? Today, it is estimated that between the ages of 17 and 20, perhaps there are 900,000 boys in our educational institutions. We all hope and wish, and we expect that it will go up quickly. But, anyway, there are about 900,000 boys now. If these 250,000 are added on to the 100,000 we already have, that makes a total of 350,000 and we expect to increase the regular NCC a little more. So, roughly speaking, at the end of the next financial year, there will be 400,000 cadets among boys in the NCC. If that increase is kept up, in three or four years' time, practically all those things that we desire and those who speak about national service desire, will, in fact, be accomplished.

We are all entitled and some of us are entitled to think and hope that in this country, for the purposes of coming into a disciplined scheme or having the third or fourth line of the defence of this land, it will not be necessary to introduce national service. It may be that in some places

patriotism is too much talked about. It may be that in the ranks of these young people there is a desire for national service. And Government are gratified to find that there has been no lack of response.

Owing to budgetary considerations, we have had to split these 250,000 into 50,000 before the end of this financial year, and 200,000 afterwards. Mr. Chairman, you will be pleased to hear that these 50,000, so to say, have been oversubscribed. So, there is no difficulty in so far as the response of the young people is concerned. And I think it behoves this House to say a word of appreciation about the responses and about the quality of these boys. They show remarkable aptitude and the results of discipline training. This is the position of the NCC at the present time.

As to whether there should be any kind of national service introduced at the present moment, Government have before them no proposals for national conscription. In any scheme of national conscription, those who have conscientious objections would have to be exempted. Otherwise, we would not be a civilised democracy.

Therefore, at the present rate of progress, the NCC alone would, in about three or four years' time absorb all the boys who are of this particular age, for the military training. It will be possible with experience, as it goes on, to find out to what extent the NCC training can be built in with curricular studies, because a great deal of the thinking in this direction is to the effect that neither military training nor cadet training today is merely a matter of physical discipline. There are so many subjects to be learnt. There are many things to be studied. It may be possible for colleges to find ways of adjusting their curriculum and for the NCC to adjust their curriculum so that some subjects which may be abnormal in the University may be taken up in NCC training.

These are matters under consideration. But anyway, there is every reason to think that there will be room available in the NCC for large numbers of students of this age, as the years pass, in two or three or four years' time—what is more, opportunities for them.

I think it will be unfair, especially having regard to the principles of our Constitution not to say what will happen to the girl students. There are today somewhere about 30,000 girl students in the NCC. Corresponding to the National Cadet Corps Rifles is being established a service for the girls who will specialise in field ambulance, nursing, motor transport, signals, administration and things of that character.

Reference has been made to a national emergency. I think it will be a wrong impression to give to the House or to the world that this country is going to base its active national defence on students in schools, when there is no actual declaration of war. But in any country like ours, on the one hand, there is the requirement of discipline inside the community. Whether one agrees with Shri Goray or not, the fact remains that we could do with more discipline, we could do with more organisation, we could do with more capacity of people to move about in a way that does not disturb others and so on. So it is necessary that larger and larger sections of our community, whether it be in colleges or in villages, should come under some form of organisation. For the same reason, the Lok Sahayak Sena is being expanded and its course of training altered.

That being the case, we are introducing this girls' section for these purposes. If unfortunately we should be in an emergency that requires a greater manpower, first the regular Army moves into forward positions, as it must do. Its place is taken by the Territorial Army. And since, Mr. Chairman, this debate has in the case of other Members somewhat gone

slightly beyond the Resolution, may I say this, that the Territorials are to take the second line? We have yet to see Members of Parliament volunteering to become officers or other ranks of the Territorial Army. You cannot make constant appeals for this. India is the only country in the world where in the Territorial Army of the country, where young persons should come for training and other things required for developing their qualities for officering, every section of the people has not come. It is usually a place where there has to be a composite population. But in any case when these young men get in there and when the Territorial Army is embodied and they become a regular army, they go forward. These people would be taking over certain functions without necessarily becoming militarised by having to go away from their homes or anything of that kind, because perhaps they will be too young for that. In the field of communications, they take over transport, signals, administration or anything of that kind.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: Is it more than 50,000 in the whole country?

Shri Krishna Menon: Therefore, this is a remoter line of defence.—I have no doubt with some experience, Shri Patnaik himself will contribute a little to the idea of discipline.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: Wrong statements are being made.

Shri Krishna Menon: He is over the age. Otherwise, we would have taken him into the NCC.

Therefore, what I have to report to the House is a record of progress.

Shri U. C. Patnaik rose—

Shri Krishna Menon: In a parliamentary system of government, we must give as well as take. You cannot just give always. You must be able to take it.

Shri U. C. Patnalk: The hon. Minister's age should also be taken into consideration.

Shri Krishna Menon: By the end of the next financial year, we would be in a position to say that there is a general disposition towards going, not necessarily into the armed forces, but into this kind of training and organisation. Government also at various times consider other forms of national discipline which would probably apply to boys and girls who do not come into this or are below the age. This is the account which we have to give and in the circumstances I have mentioned, Government must decline to accept this Resolution.

Mr. Chairman: Shri Prakash Vir Shastri will take five minutes.

श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री : सभापति महोदय, पिछले अधिवेशन में मैंने जब इस प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित किया था तो अपने शब्दों में मैंने यह स्पष्ट निवेदन किया था कि मेरा अभिप्राय: शिक्षणालयों में सैनिक शिक्षण को अनिवार्य कर देने से इतना है कि हमारे देश की जो युवा पीढ़ी है उसको इस शिक्षा से दीक्षित किया जाय। मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है कि हमारे माननीय प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री ने इस बात का समर्थन किया है कि न केवल शिक्षणालयों के बल्कि भारत के अन्य क्षेत्रों में जहां भी युवा पीढ़ी हो अगर उसको भी उससे दीक्षित किया जाय तो बहुत अच्छा है। मैंने पिछली बार अपने इस प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित करते हुए यह भी निवेदन किया था और जैसे आपने भी यह कहा कि दूसरे देशों में भी कुछ देश इस प्रकार के हैं जहां कालिज स्तर पर या महाविद्यालयों में अनिवार्य सैनिक शिक्षा प्रदान करने का क्रम है परन्तु मुझे यह देख कर कुछ थोड़ा सा अफसोस हुआ कि हमारे कुछ मित्रों ने जब इस अनिवार्य सैनिक शिक्षण की जहां पर चर्चा चल रही थी तो उस समय गांधी जी के महान्

व्यक्तित्व का उद्धरण देते हुए यह कहा कि जिन हेतुओं से या जिन प्रकारों से हमने स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त की है हम उन प्रकारों को आगे भी बलें। मैं नहीं समझता कि मेरे इस कथन में उसके लिए कहीं विरोध भी है। मेरा अभिप्राय: यह था कि जो स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त करने का प्रकार और हाथ है वह हाथ स्वतन्त्रता के संरक्षण के लिए और भी अधिक मजबूत होना चाहिए। स्वतन्त्रता की हिफाजत करने और उसे बनाये रखने के लिए हमें आज पहले से भी अधिक मजबूत हाथों की आवश्यकता है। स्वयं महात्मा गांधी ने १५ अगस्त को कलकत्ते के अपने भाषण में यह शब्द कहे थे कि आज हमने स्वतन्त्रता की एक मंजिल तय की है, एक लक्ष्य हमने पार किया है। अभी न जाने कितनी मंजिलें इस प्रकार की हैं जिनको कि हमें पार करना है। उसमें राष्ट्रीय अनुशासन की और स्वस्थ राष्ट्रों की परम्परा यह सारी भावनाएं निहित थीं। अगर यही क्रम होता कि जिस प्रकार से हमने स्वतन्त्रता को प्राप्त किया है, उसी प्रकार और परम्परा को हम जीवित रखते तो शायद मेरे भाषण को उन माननीय सदस्यों ने नहीं सुना जिसमें मैंने बतलाया था कि काश्मीर पर जिस समय पाकिस्तानी दरिन्दों का हमला हुआ था और हमारी सेना वहां उन हमलावारों का मुकाबला करने गई तो हमारी सेना को महात्मा गांधी का आशीर्वाद प्राप्त था। इसी तरह मैं बतलाऊं कि हैदराबाद में जब भारत सरकार की ओर से पुलिस ऐक्शन शुरू हुआ था तो वह गांधी जी के शायद सबसे निकटतम साथी ही थे जिनके कि हाथ में इस देश की बागडोर थी, जिन्होंने कि हैदराबाद के शासन को भारत के लिए अनुकूल बनाने के लिए ३ या साढ़े ३ दिन का एक बहुत शानदार कदम उठाया और जिसके कि द्वारा देश की एकता के लिए जो खतरा सिद्ध हो रहा था वह उस पुलिस

ऐकशन से खत्म कर दिया गया और हैदराबाद अन्य देशों रियासतों के समान भारत संघ में प्रविष्ट हो गया। परन्तु जैसे कि मेरे मित्र श्री पटनायक ने इंडिया १९५६ नामक पुस्तक से कुछ आंकड़ों प्रस्तुत किये थे और उन आंकड़ों को देख कर बड़ी निराशा भी हुई। अब हमारे माननीय मंत्री ने जो अधिकृत आंकड़े प्रस्तुत किये हैं उनसे एक समस्या अवश्य उपस्थित हो गई है कि गवर्नमेंट की ओर से जो इस तरह के आंकड़े प्रस्तुत होते हैं वह कम से कम उन मंत्रालयों से सम्बद्ध जो व्यक्ति हैं उनसे लेकर यहां पर प्रकाशित करने चाहिए। अन्यथा गवर्नमेंट की ओर से प्रकाशित होने वाली पुस्तकों में अगर इस प्रकार के आंकड़े निकलें और प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री या सम्बन्धित विभाग कोई दूसरी बात कहे तो यह किसी भी स्वस्थ शासन के लिए अच्छी परम्परा नहीं है लेकिन फिर भी हम उन आंकड़ों को जो कि पुस्तक में दिये हुए हैं सत्य न मानते हुए और प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री महोदय ने जो आंकड़े दिये हैं उन्हीं को सत्य मानते हुए और उन्हीं को शब्द कहे हैं कि जो क्रम अभी तक इस समय चल रहा है अगर वही क्रम बराबर चलता रहा तो तीन वर्ष के पश्चात् हमारे देश की स्थिति इस तरह की हो जायगी कि जो भी इस प्रकार की शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के लिए जायेंगे वह सैनिक शिक्षा से दीक्षित हुए विद्यार्थी होंगे। परन्तु मैंने अपने माननीय प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री से निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि आज हमारे देश का जो वातावरण है और जो उसकी मांग है और जिसका कि प्रतिनिधित्व यहां भिन्न-भिन्न भाषाओं में हुआ है, श्री नरसिंहन् ने जो उसके सम्बन्ध में एक बात व्यक्त की है कि कोई इस तरह का एक कमिशन या ऐसी समिति नियुक्त की जाय कि जो इस बात को व्यवहारिक और विस्तृत रूप दे सके और उसके सम्बन्ध में सारे देश के अन्दर एक इस प्रकार का

वातावरण बना सके कि नई पीढ़ी युवा पीढ़ी जो कि शिक्षणालयों के बाहर भी हो उसको भी इस अनिवार्य सैनिक प्रशिक्षण की व्यवस्था में सम्मिलित कर लें तो मुझे उसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं खाली व्याख्या का क्षेत्र बड़ जाता है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री महोदय के इस भाषण से जिस बात को मैं चाहता था उसका यहां पर कुछ समाधान हुआ है परन्तु मैं चाहता हूँ कि वह समिति जिसे आप नियुक्त करें वह शिक्षणालयों के लिए इसकी व्यवस्था और अधिक विस्तार से करे तो अधिक अच्छा होगा। मैं इन शब्दों के साथ प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री महोदय के भाषण के बाद अपने इस प्रस्ताव को वापिस लेता हूँ।

Mr. Chairman: There are two amendments. Are they being pressed?

Shri Goray: The Resolution itself is withdrawn.

Mr. Chairman: I take it that they are withdrawn.

The amendments were, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Chairman: I take it that the hon. Member has the leave of the House to withdraw the Resolution.

The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.

16.55 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: QUITTING THE COMMONWEALTH

श्री बजरंग सिंह (फिरोजाबाद) : सभापति महोदय, मैं अपने निम्न प्रस्ताव को सदन के सामने पेश करता हूँ :

“इस सदन की राय है कि भारत को राष्ट्रमंडल से अलग हो जाना चाहिए।”

इस प्रस्ताव के पेश करते समय, इस प्रस्ताव के पीछे जो भावना है, उसकी पृष्ठ भूमि में जो वर्तमान नतीजे निकल रहे हैं और भविष्य में क्या नतीजे निकलेंगे