

problems of Malabar and Travancore-Cochin.

Before coming to the clauses, as I said I will have to deal a little with the nature of the industry. Among the sections that are to be represented on the Board are the coconut growers and the persons employed by the growers of coconuts. The coconut husk is taken for the industry. But the fact is that only a small percentage is used. Mr. Thomas put it at 50 per cent. I think the statistics are not correct. It will be about 25 to 30 per cent. of the total husk that is being used for the industry. They are gathered by merchants, and there the part played by the agriculturists stops. The cultivator has nothing to do thereafter. It is taken away by merchants and then soaked in water and kept there for 9 or 10 months in the backwaters and then taken up and fibre is produced, and they are converted into yarn. All this is done on a cottage industry basis. Then they are taken to the industrial area in Alleppey. While speaking of such an industry we should be conscious of the fact that it supports at least a million people in Kerala. Generally the small coconut cultivator does not sell his husk; he uses it for fuel purposes. Even the more important cultivator.....

**Mr. Chairman:** It is now 10-45 A.M. and we have to take up other business which is before the House, that is, Private Members' Resolutions. The hon. Member may resume his speech when this Bill is taken up next.

#### RESOLUTION RE COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING OF STUDENTS

**Mr. Chairman:** The House will now take up Private Members' Resolutions. The Mover of the Resolution will have thirty minutes, or more, if required; the others will have fifteen minutes.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh** (Shahabad South): I beg to move:

"This House is of opinion that immediate steps be taken to impart compulsory military training to all High School and College students."

The resolution, as the House will see, is quite an innocuous one. It has not been brought forward with the object of militarising the country; rather, it has been suggested with the sole purpose of arousing interest among the youth to lead an active, cooperative and disciplined life for better serving the needs of the country. I firmly believe that by introducing compulsory military training the imagination of the youth could be sufficiently stirred up in a right direction and their health and physical vigour, which are keys to intellectual growth, could be properly developed. Such developments will enable them to be worthy citizens, and then and then alone they could be expected to continuously replenish the leadership of the nation and advance the country's growth.

The idea of imparting military training to the youth is not new to this world. It has been there since early history. During Roman period it came to be recognised that personal valour was imperfect without skill and practice. The idea of imparting to youth military training in leadership attained a fillip during the early years of the French Revolution and in 1794 that idea was given a practical shape. But it lasted only for a few years. However, during modern times this idea has made tremendous advance and every nation of the world has come to realise that along with intellectual training its youth should be given military training as well, because military training offers to youth opportunities of valuable physical and character training. It also teaches them obedience to and respect for law and other qualities of good citizenship.

Here in India the virtues of good citizenship are all the more needed. Human qualities like decent be-

[Dr. Ram Subhag Singh]

haviour, fair dealings and regard for others' rights are fast disappearing. Stagnation has set in everywhere. The nation's life has become somewhat bleak and insipid. Most of the Government machineries which should have acted as engines of advancement, have not shown any signs of being active, efficient and above reproach. This has resulted in the spreading of a sense of frustration in the country, particularly among the youth and more especially among the educated youth. Their number is multiplying each year, because of the annual out-turn of thousands and thousands of graduates most of whom cannot stand on their own because of the faults of our educational system.

This is happening at a time when the country is about to enter into the seventh year of its freedom and when almost half of the Five Year Plan is through.

So, the question that naturally faces us is how to extricate the country from its present quandary.

In this situation and having regard to all the efforts made by the Government and the huge amounts spent during the past five or six years on eradicating economic and social evils, I deeply feel that without getting the youth properly trained, the desired results could hardly be achieved.

Here, I would like to say a word of praise for our army. Because of its military quality, we have all seen how of all the parts of the Government machinery, the armed forces have got themselves quickly and marvellously adjusted to the new situation and have shown remarkable courage and efficiency on all the fronts they were sent to. They have shown a remarkable sense of duty, efficiency and responsibility. Similar qualities are noticeable among the youth of the National Cadet Corps, which though a young organisation has endeared itself to the public and is, therefore, much in demand where dignity of labour, social service and team spirit are required.

This itself is proof positive of the fact that the country is in need of military training. People want that they should be imparted such training which will inculcate in them the qualities of decent behaviour, team spirit and social service. But the target fixed for even N.C.C. training is too meagre. For junior cadets, in which school students are taken, the target is 30,000, and for senior cadets of college students it is 15,000. In all it is only 45,000 in a country having an overall population of about 360 million, of which about 70 million are youths.

I may well mention here that the N.C.C. training is neither very difficult, nor does it take much of the time of the students. We all know that out of 52 weeks of the year an Indian student has to attend classes only for about 25 weeks. In terms of hours it is only 550 hours, out of some 2,900 hours at his disposal on the basis of 8 hours a day. The N.C.C. training is given only for four hours in a week. Apart from that the school students are required to attend camps for about ten days and college students for about 15 days. In all it comes to about 200 hours in a year, which comes to only about 9 per cent. of their leisure hours. It is thus obvious that students, time factor is no bar to introducing military training in schools and colleges.

It might be argued that it will not be possible to introduce it throughout the country. I have, therefore, confined my resolution only to schools and colleges. We should in the first instance introduce military training in schools and colleges and from there we should spread it throughout the country. We have to inculcate this idea among the students, and if we make it voluntary and leave it to the choice of staff and students, it will be possible to get that idea propagated among the people of the country. We have during the past one or two years seen, that wherever the N.C.C. cadets have gone to

do social service like digging trenches, or constructing roads, they have given an excellent account of themselves. I want that these youths should be given first class military training.

My proposal may perhaps be objected to on financial grounds. But I think that the sum involved will not be a very big one, especially for a Government which sometimes spends crores and crores of rupees without much justification. To start with the work may be entrusted to the physical training sections of the educational institutions. In every high school and college there is a unit for physical training. But these persons may not be well trained and they should be supervised by the Defence Ministry machinery. But that machinery should be improved to suit the new set-up. Because, this will be a bigger set-up than the N.C.C. and so some improvements must be effected. Besides, we are having our regular Army staff spread throughout the country, and some of them are also posted to N.C.C. units in schools and colleges. The services of those persons can be very easily utilised to train instructors for schools and colleges, and thus we can prepare a cadre for imparting military training in our schools and colleges.

As regards the uniforms, today the N.C.C. cadets are getting uniforms at government cost. It is a little bit costly. We might introduce a very simple and cheap uniform. If Government say "we are poor"—as Maulana Saheb said the other day.

जेब में कुछ नहीं है दिमाग में सब कुछ है—

they spend at times huge amounts of money on unnecessary things. If they are keen, they can easily implement what they are having in their mind, in our schools and colleges. They can send those regular Army staff and the staff which is even now posted to N.C.C. units to train school and college instructors, so that they may be efficient enough to train the students of schools and colleges. If it is a simple and cheap uniform, the

students also can be encouraged to buy it if the finances with the Government do not permit them to provide the uniforms at government cost. It will not be much costly and the scheme will involve very little expenditure.

Thus I find that this scheme of compulsory military training in our schools and colleges cannot be convincingly opposed on any ground. Rather, the introduction of this scheme will make the students and the public feel that one of the major needs of the country has been recognized and given effect to because it will not only help in character building and developing the physical fitness and consequently the intellectual fitness of the students, but will also promote discipline, dignity of labour and organised social service among the students. And if we once train the students in that line, then that idea might spread throughout the country very easily. Because, the students are elements who can spread discontent as well as satisfaction. If they are not properly trained, they can kill the government. But if they are trained properly, they can bring satisfaction to the country and they can train the public to support the Government and thus raise the standard of the people and remove poverty from this country. If we inculcate that idea and promote this scheme, then everybody will be satisfied and the country will be led towards peace, prosperity and progress.

Mr. Chairman: Resolution moved:

"This House is of opinion that immediate steps be taken to impart compulsory military training to all High School and College students."

I have received notice of many amendments. Several of them seem to be out of order. The amendment by Mr. Jhulan Sinha is very much outside the scope. And similarly the one by Shri A. K. Gopalan is outside the scope of the Resolution. Similarly the one on behalf of Mr. Anthony is late as well as outside the

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scope of the Resolution. They enlarge the scope of the Resolution itself, and I hold them out of order.

11 A.M.

In regard to the rest of the amendments I would like that all those who want to move amendments may move them and, after that, we may have a discussion.

**Shri U. C. Patnaik** (Ghumsur): I beg to move:

(i) That for the original resolution, the following be substituted:

"This House is of opinion that immediate steps be taken to provide for an attractive system of military training for all High School and College students so as to equip them for all-round nation building activities in times of peace as well as for all-out national defence in war emergencies."

(ii) That for the original resolution the following be substituted:

"This House is of opinion that while imparting military training to all High School and College students, advantage should be taken not only of an expanded National Cadet Corps but also of other military and semi-military organisations in this regard."

**Mr. Chairman:** Amendments moved:

(i) That for the original resolution, the following be substituted:

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(ii) That for the original resolution the following be substituted:

"This House is of opinion that while imparting military training to all High School and College students, advantage should be taken not only of and expanded National Cadet Corps but also of other military and semi-military organisations in this regard."

**Shri A. K. Gopalan** (Cannanore): I beg to move:

In the Resolution, for the words "compulsory military training" the words "voluntary military training" be substituted.

**Mr. Chairman:** Amendment moved:

In the Resolution, for the words "compulsory military training" the words "voluntary military training" be substituted.

**Shri U. C. Patnaik:** In moving these two amendments I may state straightway that I am not opposed to the original resolution. The original resolution is not only non-controversial but it is one which I am sure will have the fullest support from both sides of this House. I have sought by these amendments only to emphasize upon certain aspects of the subject which were not covered by the original resolution. I seek to drop the word "compulsory" before "military training" and seek to replace it by the words "attractive system of" and seek to try to solve two problems that arise in this connection, namely, the necessity of creating enthusiasm and having attractive conditions for this proposed military training, and, secondly, to meet the objection relating to finance, because that must be the only objection which the Ministry could raise.

This resolution deals with a very important, urgent and necessary subject, namely that military training

should be imparted to our young men, particularly to those in schools and colleges, and, may I add, according to another amendment tabled by Mr. Dwivedi, to the trainees of all the teachers training institutions. (*An Hon. Member:* That has not been moved). Well, it is not before the House, but I would also press that aspect of the question. It is the policy of re-organisation all the world over today that for reorganisation of manpower, for reorganisation of material resources, it is no use that a department should work in an exclusive air-tight or water-tight compartment, but various departments have to combine together in order to give the desired results. Military efforts and civilian efforts should be combined in the matter of mobilisation and training of man-power, in the matter of organising and developing our material resources. Modern nation-building effort presupposes perfect and harmonious co-ordination of different activities and the present Resolution deals with one aspect of co-ordination *viz.* between the Defence and the Education Departments.

That is, as I submitted, one of the trends of modern nation-building *viz.* to co-ordinate some of these departments. Defence services all the world over are now being utilised for educative purposes, for general education, technical education, industrial education and so on. It is an admitted fact that today in every advanced country defence services are given the best training in general education and technical education. That is one aspect.

The other aspect is that educational institutions, youth movements, youth organisations etc. are being utilised for giving military training, a sort of defence bias to the youngmen. These are two aspects of a combined approach to this subject *viz.* combination of education and military efforts. I do not want to tell you, because every one of you know, that in this country work is going on in an exclu-

sive water-tight compartment. There is no connection between this activity and that activity and there is no contact between the Education Department and other Departments and so on. Even in Planning we have seen that there is no co-ordination to plan for all the requirements of the country. It applies to every kind of planning. Therefore we are grateful to the mover of the Resolution that he has brought one aspect of this harmonious co-ordination which is going on in other countries *viz.* the utilisation of the educational institutions for giving military training. Therefore we on this side of the House—not some of us—but I think every Member of this House would give his whole-hearted support to the basic principle of the Resolution that military training should be imparted to all High School and College students, of course, if funds permit.

**Shri A. M. Thomas** (Ernakulam):  
Both male and female.

**Shri U. C. Patnaik:** We have therefore, to examine certain aspects so as to evolve the best system possible to surmount the difficulties in our way. On the first point whether it is to be voluntary or compulsory, I would like to point out that it is more a theoretical thing. I have chosen to drop both the words and to use "an attractive system of training". In any case, the difference between compulsory and voluntary training is more or less a sentimental one and has no practical value. We have to remember that it is not a question of compulsory military service or a conscription for military service or a conscription for industries as is going on in the world today. It is a question of adding one important subject to the curriculum both of the High Schools and Colleges and training institutions. Whether that subject should be made compulsory or voluntary is all the question that we have to answer today.

It is not a question of conscription, rather this difference in word tends

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to make us feel that there is some sort of a conscription behind the resolution. I do not agree with my hon. friends who think that there is any sort of conscription envisaged here. I would go a step further and say that today the trend of the world everywhere is conscription. It is conscription not merely for military service as was the case during the last century but it is conscription for military service as well as for industries, agriculture, essential services and others. You know, Sir, that during the last few years there has been a change in approach. At first people thought that it was necessary to have conscription for military services because it gives a larger number of men at a cheaper cost and your military expenditure is reduced to the minimum. That was the time when conscription was in vogue for military service but during the last few decades a new approach has been made and it is now conscription not merely for military service but also for industrial work, for essential services, for communications and so on. You have conscription not merely in countries like Russia and Germany and other countries where the State was all powerful but even in democracies—so-called democracies of the day. Till very recently, till the first world war you had voluntary recruitment for military service but then under the Selective Service system or under the National Service or National Security Acts even those countries accepted conscription for the purpose of military service as well as for industrial development so that in the whole world today the order is conscription. So it is not merely the compulsory military training which is the scope of the non. Member Dr. Ram Subhag Singh's resolution. It is conscription today which is the order of the day everywhere for military service as well as for industrial organisation and other essential services.

I am not going into that question because that is not the scope of the

present Resolution. The present resolution is a very small one. There is no conscription envisaged here. That is for the Government or for the country at a later stage or in some other proceedings to decide. Ram Subhag Singh simply wants that there should be compulsory military training. The question of voluntary or compulsory service does not come in and it is a question of utilising educational institutions for imparting military training to the pupils. This is so everywhere. In addition to the National Cadet Corps there are joint cadet corps, army cadet corps, navy cadet corps, air force cadet corps. You have also got in the educational system everywhere a sort of military training. Even in countries like America in educational institutions military training has been a compulsory subject in a number of universities and colleges and in a number of High Schools. In some others it is optional.

**Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru):** You mean combined training.

**Shri U. C. Patnaik:** My hon. friend Dr. Ram Subhag Singh has explained various aspects; I am trying to explain one of two aspects where there has been a difference as to the amendments tabled. So I am submitting that it does not make any difference if the word "compulsory" is allowed to remain there. That is the first point. I, therefore, suggest that instead of compulsion or voluntary training we should have military training but it should be on attractive terms, attractive conditions so that people would like to join with enthusiasm. I have already said that it should be made attractive by following various methods. In other countries they are using a number of methods in order to make this training for youths very attractive. It is not merely training in squad drill, not merely arms drill but various organisations taken together for rifle-training, scouting, gliding, Aero clubs and various other types of youth institutions are being utilised

to make youngmen enthusiastic about the military training. From that point of view I suggest that we should also try to make military training interesting and attractive for our students.

There is another point. In the National Cadet Corps Act, there is no provision that the people who get military training should be given preference in recruitment for jobs and other things. I should say that one who has got military training should be given preference, not because he has had military training, but because military training makes a man have a disciplined outlook, and a disciplined outlook helps the cause of production, helps the cause of efficient work, so that a man who has had military training and a military bias can work better and more efficiently. While we make other provisions, we should also see that a provision is made by which military training may be made attractive by giving preference to these trained people, people who have certificates of proficiency in military training, in recruitment.

**Dr. M. M. Das** (Burdwan-Reserved Schedule Castes): Is that the experience of the hon. Member so far as the Public Accounts Committee is concerned?

**Shri U. C. Patnalk:** There is another point which I should like to touch upon. While making this military training interesting, we should, at the same time, look to the financial interests of the country. We cannot straightaway say that there must be compulsory military training for all students or for all young men, without any regard for the financial side. It is there that imagination comes in. It is there that you have to take into account the various possibilities of coordinating the various efforts that are being made to have the best possible results without spending large sums of money. I have to congratulate the Ministry that in the matter of the

Territorial army, they have now introduced or are now introducing what is called the Auxiliary Territorial force. By spending the minimum amount, they have a number of mobile training camps moving throughout the country from one place to another. That would be very helpful.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** He is our expert Member in this line, Sir.

**Some Hon. Members:** He is an authority.

**Shri U. C. Patnalk:** It is a matter for congratulation that they are having a sort of a miniature Territorial army training throughout the country with a number of mobile camps.

**The Minister of Defence Organisation (Shri Tyagi):** Two more minutes may be given to the hon. Member. He is saying something complimentary.

**Shri U. C. Patnalk:** The work will go on throughout the whole year. There is no upper age limit so that many of our friends can go there and join. There is no compulsion for military service. It is going to be a very attractive institution. That institution can be coordinated with the schools and colleges. The Scouts organisation could be coordinated. The Rifle clubs, Flying clubs, Yachting clubs and Rowing clubs, Aero-clubs, etc. should be encouraged and assisted. My hon. friend the Minister should give attention to utilising all the young men there and utilising these clubs and institutions for the purpose of giving this training.

I do not wish to say that there must be a full unit of the National Cadet Corps for each school or college. But, I have to make one or two suggestions. Instead of training these people through Havildars—I do not say that they should not be there; they should be there—every effort should be made to train the teachers of these institutions, and train the civilian public so that they also may be helpful. What is happening now

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is, when the N.C.C. Commanding officer leaves the place, he leaves charge of the institution to a Havildar or a Jemadar. I think he should give the charge to the professor there. Our professors and teachers should be given every facility to have this training and experience. We have to evolve all these things. The Government have got to see how other countries have been utilising all these institutions and how they have a number of semi-military organisations which are integrated with this important machinery and how young men are being built up for the armed forces. We are told that 79 per cent. of the cadets of other countries are being recruited to the Defence services and to the Defence Academies. If that is the position in other countries, we should also have something which would make military training attractive and interesting. As soon as they go into civilian life, they should have the option of having military training and civilian avocations should be thrown open to people who have had military training. I do not want to take the time of the House. I would suggest that these two aspects should be combined and integrated with the scheme.

Shri Raghbir Sahai (Etah Distt.—North East *cum* Budaun Distt.—East): I rise to give my wholehearted support to the Resolution which has been so ably moved by Dr. Ram Subhag Singh. Before I give my reasons for supporting this Resolution, I want to dispel one notion which might be troubling some of the hon. Members at the present moment. That notion is that the passing of this Resolution on compulsory military training may not be consistent with our well known and professed ideal of Non-violence. I think we adhere fully to the ideal of non-violence so long as our country is not attacked by foreign countries. I suppose this is the policy of our Prime Minister, the Government of India and the Congress party. In international dealings also, we stand

by persuasion, mediation and arbitration. We have got no intention to attack any other country. But, it would be prudent on our part to be prepared for all emergencies and it would not be a stroke of wisdom or statesmanship if we give up all our defences and adhere to the principle of non-violence to the very letter. I am reminded of a small personal anecdote. My father used to tell me, whenever you go to bed, place a big stick below cot, as a safeguard against a snake or a thief. I beg to assure, Mr. Chairman, that my father was the most non-violent man living on the earth. He would not hurt even a fly. But, that was just the advice of an old man that one ought to take all sorts of precautions for emergencies. I think the present policy of the Government of India is like that. Even Mahatma Gandhi, who was the greatest exponent of non-violence used to say that it is better to take to violence to protect one's honour than to show cowardice. These are my observations with regard to the notion that the passing of this Resolution may not be consistent with the ideal of non-violence.

One of my main reasons for supporting this Resolution is that if this Resolution is passed and accepted by the Government and translated into action, it would help towards the formation of character of our young men. I believe that at the present moment character is woefully lacking in our young men, and, to be frank enough, in the whole nation. In my humble opinion every young man should be taught to honour his country, more especially to honour himself, to have self-respect and confidence. But, at the present moment we do not find those feelings in the young men of our country. What we find is greed, selfishness, absence of love for one's country and most of all disrespect towards national leaders and heroes. That I beg to say is not a good and salutary tendency. I believe that military education will make them love their country and in our hour of need they

would sacrifice their personal good for the good of the country.

My second reason for supporting this resolution is that if military training were to be imparted in our high schools and colleges, that would go to make our students more disciplined. At the present moment we find that discipline is lacking woefully in the student community and we have all witnessed it from one end of the country to the other.

My third reason for supporting this resolution is that it would go a long way in producing young men with a good physique. At the present moment most of them look slim, short sighted like myself. I came across a book written by Prof. Adarkar in the year 1939 entitled "If the War Comes" and I am quoting one or two sentences from the book in which he has written:—

"At present the physique of most of our students is of the C-3 variety. Thanks to a highly literary education and unhealthy surroundings and emaciated diet, our younger generation of students is growing up in a physical degeneracy which would appear appalling were it not so universal as to escape notice."

I believe that those remarks written in the year 1939 hold good in the year 1953 as well. I am told, at one time Japan was no better than India. But today they have built up a great nation which in vitality and endurance is second to none in the world.

I beg to submit that if this resolution is accepted and is acted upon we can do the same which Japan has done so very splendidly. Take the case of England, Germany, Russia and Japan, when they used to give military education to all their adult boys in high schools and colleges. That is why after the appalling ravages of the last war they have been able to reconstruct their countries so soon. Because that spirit of discipline and love for their country was there.

On the other hand, we find here in India that after the attainment of independence and after the production of the Five Year Plan we find forth-enough cooperation is not forthcoming. If we had brought up our young men in that military atmosphere, they would have given a very good response to the call of the nation and lent their support to making the Five Year Plan a great success.

I also believe that if military training is given to our students the problem of law and order would be solved to a great extent. That is one of the live problems of our country and life in rural areas is regarded as unsafe. The present licence holders,—I know how they use their guns. They keep them for the sake of dignity and for show. The ex-military personnel, I also believe, are no good because they were not brought up in a patriotic atmosphere. Now if these young men who would be given military education when they return to their villages will take all possible precautions to oppose the menace of dacoits and robbers, and the problem of law and order in the villages would be solved to a very great extent.

The passing of this resolution would go to reduce the budget expenditure also. The present tendency in all other countries all over the world is to reduce their military expenditure. Only today I read in the papers that in Russia their military expenditure is only 20.8 per cent. of their total expenditure. But I believe that in our country it is almost 50 per cent. That is a big problem. I do not think that merely after passing this resolution and merely after it has been acted upon by the Government, the military expenditure would be reduced. In course of time, say after five or six years, I think the Government would be in a position to reduce their military expenditure to a very great extent because young men who would be brought up in that atmosphere, would be patriotically inclined and

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could safely be called upon at any time of emergency to the aid of the country. It has been done in other countries as well.

I would close my remarks with the request that this resolution be accepted and I hope it would be accepted. Government should also bear in mind that while giving this military education we should not turn our young men into 'militarists.' We should not try to imitate Germany, Italy and Russia in every point and I do not wish that after military education was given to our young men we should produce Hitlers, Mussolinis or even Stalinis because from whatever I read about Stalin I think he was a ruthless man so far as his opponents were concerned. I think our military education should inculcate the spirit of patriotism, a spirit of service which should produce good young men with good physique who would relegate their everything for the good of their country. I hope Government would see its way to accept this resolution.

**Shri Gadgil (Poona Central):** I am in entire sympathy with the mover of the Resolution as well as the movers of the amendments. This is not the first time a resolution of this kind has been tabled in this House. I am here for the last 20 years, and at least, according to me, more than 10 times resolutions of this type have been moved. In the good old days, before independence, it was a different matter, but after independence, in view of what the Government has done in the matter of the Territorial Army, the National Cadet Corps and the Junior Cadet Corps, there is no doubt left in the mind of anybody that the Government does intend to proceed on some such lines. I can very well realize the difficulties of the Government so far as the financial aspect of the question is concerned. The number of persons that will be brought under the scheme as proposed in the resolution will be about two million and a half and the cost of training would come to approximately Rs. 250 per person.

Just imagine what would be the cost. At the same time, it is possible that the area of compulsion may be limited to only college students, and probably, the additional cost that will be necessary may not exceed more than a crore and a half. Whether the Government can today afford to spend Rs. 1½ crores for this purpose is also a matter of great concern. I would, therefore, really wish the Government should agree and say that the principle embodied in this Resolution is acceptable to them, and should take time to consider at what time and through what stages this can be implemented at some future date. The desirability of this is absolutely accepted by every one in the House.

In the good old days there was a distinction between the martial classes and non-martial classes. Speaking of my personal experience, in 1914 when the first World War started, I offered myself for enrolment at the Neemuch Cantonment, and the recruiting officer asked my caste. In the good old days it was not a fashion to say one did not belong to any caste; so naturally I said that I was a Brahmin. He said: "You are a N.M.", and he elaborated: "You belong to the non-martial class". After three years, in 1917 when the British Government thought that more cannon fodder was necessary from India, I was accepted as a recruit in the Maharashtra Regiment, and later on transferred to the Indian Defence Force as one of the non-commissioned officers. Here, in India, although on paper the distinction between martial and non-martial classes does not figure, yet, in actual practice, I have received a number of complaints that this does work. In order to create certain traditions in certain communities or certain areas, it is necessary that some start must be made somewhere at some stage. I, therefore, suggest that so far as that part of the Resolution which deals with the college students is concerned—not today, I am not urging it straightaway—Government should consider whether they

should not accept it and give training to round about two lakhs of students. Everybody complains that in India we have not got what is called "subaltern leadership". We have got very big leaders, and very faithful followers. They would not even raise their heads although they know very well that the leadership has gone all wrong. So, between the two, there is a necessity of clearly evolving a pattern of leadership which will have some initiative, some discipline, and which will have courage, both intellectual and physical. For that purpose, it is eminently desirable that every year a group in the society in that particular age group should be trained so that when they leave schools or colleges, they will be able to discharge their social duties in a better manner.

Today, we are thinking—in fact, we have started to some extent—of what we may call a planned economy. In this it is absolutely necessary that we must have good leadership, good management, and people with ample aptitude for initiative. All these virtues are normally associated with military life. I, therefore, suggest that the Government, as I said, may be justified on financial grounds in saying that nothing can be done immediately, but as I understand it—as I said in the beginning of my short speech—the way in which the Government has been doing things would naturally make them accept the policy suggested in this resolution. I do not want the Government to give here and now an assurance that they have accepted, and they will do this this year and that that year. Nothing of the kind. But, I do beseech them, not merely for the purpose of making our defence line more effective, but for the far more important aspect which I have just enunciated, viz., that in the next three years and thereafter we want our people to be more disciplined. A planned economy *ex-hypothesi* means an economy in which discipline has a definite and important part. That being the case, it is for the Government to consider whether, just as they are planning the creation, produc-

tion and disposition of material things, the time has not now come for, so to say, organizing the manpower in the country. Organization does not merely mean bringing the people together. Organization along with a scheme of division of labour also contemplates division of authority, and proper exercise of that authority. That proper exercise of authority is only possible if you have the men with the necessary background of training, men who have ample opportunity in those formative years of their life so that they may, when they enter actually in the life of the community either as soldiers or as leaders, be able to discharge their duties efficiently and honestly. I am sure if you go about in a college, we feel absolutely as if we are in a bazaar from the way the students talk and from the way they walk. But introduce this little element of discipline and training, immediately you find something like a different and very attractive atmosphere. I have not the slightest doubt that, as a result of military education, the fat will become a little less. So those who are lean will put on some flesh; both of them will have a better and a dignified gait, and a better and dignified way of behaving in society. Therefore, psychologically, apart from the physical aspect, I feel that some such experiment, if at all it is to be called an experiment, ought to be made. It does not mean that we are out for some future war. A friend of mine just saw me and said: "Does it not cut right across the philosophy of the Congress, right across their programme?" I said: "Nothing of the kind." We are against nobody. Our foreign policy has been that in this world all are our friends though they act inimically. We always consider them friends; unilaterally we have called them friends. Therefore, it is not for that purpose that we are doing it, but for the specific purpose which I have enunciated a few minutes ago. I do not want to take up the time of the House with more than this.

**Shri Namdhari (Fazilka-Sirsa):** In the present days it is very difficult to trust anybody because God has made

[Shri Namdhari]

these four Yugs, and out of that this is the Kal Yug which is the worst of all. Everybody is a friend and relation only of power. There is nobody in this world who is a friend of a weak person. Even weak persons' daughters' betrothal is unacceptable, I have seen from my own experience. From that point of view, the policy of our elders was that of peace-making which is very good; but to avoid war, the best way is be prepared for war and keep the balance. If we are strong, nobody will dare to fight against us. I submit that we have got nearly 2000 miles of border line, and I am myself elected from a border constituency. I have visited the border regions, which are just open fields, with no Siegfried or Maginot line. If troubles start, and one has only to cross the border fields you will know what it will mean. You know our policies are the best, and we are the well-wishers of the whole world, but yet in times of trouble, unless the border line is quite strong the procedural orders and other wireless messages etc. will not be carried to the military on the spot in time. Besides giving military training to the high school and college students, we should also see that the people within a radius of 50 miles from the border should be given mass military training, so that we have a moving Siegfried or Maginot line. It does not mean that we are out for offensive acts. If the people know that we are strong, then all will become our dearest and nearest kith, kin and friends. In the same way, around all the big cities like Delhi, I want that the villagers should be trained up. What for? Not to fight a war, for it is not that everybody has to fight on the front. In the previous war, the enemy was throwing paratroops by parachutes, specially to create panic among the civil people, so that they can be thrown into a lot of confusion. I do not want that if anybody throws parachutes near Delhi or any other big city. I do not want the army should be called from the cantonment to destroy them. The people of Delhi, and the villagers roundabout Delhi should themselves

be in a position to destroy them right in the air. I feel therefore that if we are powerful, everybody will become our friend, and the peace movements in the world, can be strengthened if we could work as a religious police. When a doctor is performing a surgery, he has no intention of killing a patient, his only intention is to cure the patient. In the same way we should be physicians and surgeons both, and at the sametime we should be well-wishers of the whole world, but we should be so strong that if we have to send an army to Korea today, we can yet look after all our people with a powerful military force, if circumstances require it.

It is not merely the military training that can make us powerful, but the spirit also is required. You will remember that in the last war, when the two great British ships were destroyed by the Japanese, there were two suicide squads, volunteers who went right into the inside of the ship, through its chimney by small planes and blew them away. So, for military training, we should have the proper persons to be trained. If the raw material is good, then very fine stuff can come out of it. If the training is given to the wrong persons then we cannot expect the same results to be achieved.

We have got certain traditionally martial communities in India, just like the Mahrattas, the Jats, the Rajputs, the Gurkhas, the Sikhs and the South Madras people and Beharis. So, we should not waste our money on other people, who sing the song:

चाचा दोड़ियो रे, बुहिया काटने को आई

To waste money on such people is not a wise thing to be done. The training should be given to those who have bold and powerful minds. If others have not developed that power, then it is no fault of ours. We read in our history how Shivaji with his Mahrattas fought Aurangzeb in a number of smaller or bigger battles. Similarly in the history of Guru Govind Singh, we find that after his first three sons got kill-

ed his 9 year old last son was leaving, and he came to Guru Saheb, and asked him. 'I am going to the front, will you kindly advise me as to what I should do, give me your last lesson'. And the poet has stated in Hindi what Guru Govind Singh told his last son. That is the spirit which I want every young Indian to develop. Guru Govind Singh said:

बेटा तुम्हीं हो मुल्क के बड़े के खिदया,  
सर भेंट करो ताकि चले देश की नैया,  
ले दे के तुम्हीं हो मेरे गुलशन के बर्कया,  
स्वाहिश है तुम्हें तेग चलाते हुए देखें,  
हम भ्रात्र से बरछी तुम्हें खाते हुए देखें ।

Every Indian youth should become a peace-lover and strictly follow the policy of our elders, as well-wishers of the whole universe, but like the strong physician and surgeon both, who wants to cure the patient of his disease. We should develop that spirit, so that if our services are required in any emergency, we could explode like an atom bomb. just as the Japanese did.

I submit that this is the time when this kind of military training is essential, for dearest and nearest friends change in no time, and unless we rise to the occasion, we shall be caught in the fire, and the devil will not spare anybody. So, we should see that we are strong like the *sur deva* armies, with best wishes for all and like Shiva-ji, get the blessings of Chamundi Mata.

**Shrimati Sushama Sen (Bhagalpur South):** Sir, I am thankful to you for giving this opportunity for saying a few words on this Resolution, because I think I was amongst those who first broached the subject in this House in the form of a question, in December last year, that military training should be imparted to the youth of this country. But I regret to say that that suggestion was turned down by the Defence Ministry on the ground that there was no hurry about it, and there was financial difficulty.

I support the substance of Dr. Ram Subhag Singh's Resolution, but at the same time, I think that there seems to be some confusion in his Resolution which seeks to urge compulsory military training to be given to our high school and college students. This might mean conscription, which is undesirable I would rather support Shri U.C. Patnaik's amendment which reads:

"This House is of opinion that while imparting military training to all high school and college students, advantage should be taken not only of an expanded National Cadet Corps but also of other military and semi-military organisations in this regard."

I think it is highly desirable that there should be military training for the youth of our country. A question was put by an hon. Member whether women also should be trained. I do not see why the girls in our high schools and colleges should not have that training, because it teaches discipline, and as has been pointed out by Shri Gadgil, that kind of military training and discipline is essential not only to our boys in the high schools and colleges, but also to the girl students.

As regards the excuse of lack of money etc., I would only say that our Defence Ministry will be able to find the necessary means, if they could utilise the National Cadet Corps and other military and semi-military organisations to help for this purpose. I feel therefore that military training could very well be given to the students in our high schools and colleges.

With these few words, I support the amendment moved by my hon. friend Shri Uma Charan Patnaik.

**Prof. Mathew (Kottayam):** At the very outset, I would frankly say that I am against the Resolution as it stands. I find myself in a rather unenviable, or is it enviable, position, in being so far the solitary figure to oppose the motion. But still I do so.

[Prof. Mathew]

Attempts have been made to explain away real distinctions, as if those distinctions did not exist. I could not follow such sophisticated arguments. There is a very real distinction between the terms 'compulsory', and 'not compulsory', which you cannot explain away. The question is not whether the word 'compulsory' is there or not, but what is it that is contemplated? The words "attractive military training" have been substituted in an amendment. No doubt, the advocates of military training will say that it must be and it will be attractive. But that is not the point. Is it the idea that military training should be given for all our boys and girls in the high schools and colleges? Therein comes the rub or is it only for those students that want to avail themselves of it? In the former case it is compulsory, whether you say it or not? If what is meant is that all high school pupils and college students, irrespective of sex by the way, should undergo military training, then I say I am opposed to that. In passing, I may refer to a minor point. It may be that the Mover of the Resolution did not want to go into details, but still there are certain questions which are not mere unimportant details. Though I do not want to stress it, I am afraid what is contemplated is a rather long and thorough course in the colleges and high schools, if the scheme is brought into effect. For in the high schools they will have a fairly long course, but it will not end there. In the colleges it is further continued. So it is a long and thorough course. I do not mind for if there is military training, let it be long enough, let it be thorough enough. But, to go back to my main point, the distinction between compulsory and voluntary is a very obvious distinction which you cannot explain away by any sophistry of words or any disguising of the real points at issue.

Now I want to stress a question of deep principle. A Gandhian Seminar was conducted in this city last January when some select representatives

of several nations of the world assembled here to study the Gandhian philosophy. Some of our foremost men were also present there. They are all disciples of Gandhiji. Acharya Kripalani, whose personal acquaintance I have not been able to cultivate so far, was present there unlike him. I am not an absolute disciple of Gandhiji with regard to the doctrine of non-violence. I am quite prepared to take up the position—and I believe that our nation has taken up the position—that the implications of the doctrine of non-violence as propagated by Gandhiji are so deep and the ramifications are so large that when these are worked out, no nation may be able to agree to them. I admit that no nation on the face of the earth is now prepared to live up to these very deep implications. But then let us put it frankly like that, that we are too weak—and I say that we are too weak—to follow that great principle in all its depth, in all its amplifications. But that is not what was said here.

It was said that Gandhiji himself would have agreed to this proposal; that, I am afraid, is not true. I know fairly well what Gandhiji said on this point. He said that he preferred violence to cowardice. Very often people who want to advocate or tolerate violence, just quote Gandhiji at this point, that he said that violence is better than cowardice. There is no one who advocates cowardice here. But do you mean to say that people who are not militarily trained are necessarily cowardly people? The alternative to violence is not cowardice. He held up a far higher method. He expounded a far deeper and more sacred philosophy which as a people we are not able to follow. That I admit. But it is one question whether we try to live up to a certain ideal and fail, whether we try to approximate to that, and other whether we work in the opposite direction. Now you cannot work in contrary directions. A great Hebrew prophet long centuries ago once asked his people to choose between Jehovah and Baal and at a much later period a far grea-

ter One said: 'You cannot serve God and Mammon'. You cannot work in contrary directions. We may not be able to live up to Gandhiji's ideal; we may be able only to gradually approximate to that. But to work in an exactly contrary direction is a different proposition.

Then, I am not against national self-defence. I am not against maintaining an army for India. I accept the compromise that at present we are not able to live up to Gandhiji's ideal. We must have an army, and if we are to have an army, we must have a fairly well-equipped army. But to introduce compulsory military training in high schools and colleges, where the pupils are educated, to make them military-minded is a different thing. Someone was uneasily aware of this and said: 'Well, I am for the proposition before the House, but I do not want to make our people military-minded'. Now, you cannot combine opposites. It is to give far too high an importance to military education if you say that it is to be compulsory for all students. Then some one said 'Let us just incorporate it in the curriculum'. Well, you are disguising difficulties and objections. Every student need not study history every student need not study physics, but you say every student must undergo this military training. Now, I shall be brief as I know that my time is limited. I am all for physical training. I am still more for manly games. An argument was brought forward that intellectual training must be supplemented by physical training. Who ever questions that? Intellectual training must be supplemented by physical training, but physical training cannot be equated with military training. From my own experience in colleges, I can say that even physical training is rather unpopular; it is manly games that are popular.

Then it was said that if we have this scheme of military training, it will solve the problem of law and order in the country. I do not quite see how that is so. In fact, in cer-

tain circumstances, the problem of law and order may be made more difficult. If in villages and towns those who have undergone military training range themselves in opposite camps, the problem will be more acute. Therefore, I am all for manly games as I am even for physical training. But to bring in military training surreptitiously as if it were almost the same as mere physical training is something which I cannot leave unchallenged.

12 Noon

I do not know how much time I have taken up; I have one point more. I was rather impressed by one ominous feature. The Education Ministry is not represented here; from the very start there was nobody representing the Education Ministry. Only the Defence Ministry is represented. That almost suggests that it is simply a question of military defence and that the Education Ministry has nothing to say on this matter. If in the very discussion of this question, this dangerous position has been assumed, what will happen if at any time we are to act on it? I think that education, in the genuine sense of the term, would be then entirely subordinated. The academic atmosphere would be thoroughly vitiated. Some precedents and analogies were taken and somebody said that in the Roman days it was so; I wondered why Sparata was not mentioned! One speaker said that in Germany it was so, but he was later good enough to slightly correct the natural suggestion and say 'We do not want to be military-minded like Germany'.

Therefore from the academic point of view this is a thoroughly unsound extremist proposition and I oppose it.

श्रीमती उमा नेह्रू (जिला सीतापुर व जिला खेरी-पश्चिम) : जब से मैं ने यह प्रस्ताव देखा तब से मैं बराबर सोच में हूँ और मुझे इस मोके पर गालिब का एक शेर

[श्रीमती उमा नेहरू]

याद आ रहा है और वह यह है कि :

इस सादगी पर क्यों न मर जाय या खुदा,  
लड़ते हैं पर हाथ में तलवार भी नहीं ।

यह शेर मुझे बराबर याद आता गया और उस का कारण क्या है? कारण यह है कि हालत हमारी इस समय क्या है, इंसान को असल में प्रैक्टिकल होना चाहिए और संग संग उस को अपने देश की स्थिति को भी समझना चाहिए । एक भाई ने कहा कि कम्पलसरी मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग (अनिवार्य सैनिक प्रशिक्षण) होनी चाहिए और इस विषय का प्रस्ताव भी रक्खा गया है, दूसरे ने कहा कि उस में से कम्पलसरी लपञ्ज हटा दें और अटर्नेक्टिव (आकर्षक) रल दें, अब अटर्नेक्टिव बड़ा बेग (अस्वच्छ) लपञ्ज है, अटर्नेक्टिव वर्दी, अटर्नेक्टिव बन्दूक, या क्या चीज अटर्नेक्टिव होगी । अभी मेरे एक दूसरे भाई ने महात्मा गांधी की मिसाल दी और उस को सुनने के बाद मैं ने ऐसा अनुभव किया कि मुझे इस भवसर पर खड़ा होकर जरूर कुछ कहना चाहिए ।

वायलेंस (हिंसा) और नानवायलेंस (अहिंसा) का प्रश्न जिस समय इस हाउस में आया, तो उस के सम्बन्ध में मुझे आप से यही कहना है कि मैं तो समझती हूँ कि हमारे हाथों में कहिए, कमर में, दिमागों में या दिल में जो हथियार है वह नानवायलेंस का है और उसी नानवायलेंस के हथियार से हम ने अपनी आजादी को भी हासिल किया है, और इसलिए आज मैं कोई वजह नहीं देखती कि इस देश में हम हर एक बच्चे को कम्पलसरी मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग दें, इस बान की तालीम दें कि वह बन्दूक लेकर चलें, क्योंकि एक तो मैं देखती हूँ कि रोज रोज मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग की टेकनीक बदलती जाती है और

महज एक इंसान के बन्दूक चलाना सीखने से कोई फायदा नहीं है, दूसरे सिर्फ बन्दूक हाथ में लेने से कोई फायदा नहीं जब हम देखते हैं कि देश में कोई चरित्र अथवा कैरेक्टर रहा नहीं है ।

सारे मुल्क की हालत तो कैम्प्रेस और कन्फ्यूजन (गड़बड़ की अवस्था) में है । हमारे मुल्क की बैंकबोन तो मजबूत ही नहीं हम बड़ी गड़बड़ी में पड़े हैं । हर कदम पर हम सिर उठा कर आगे नहीं जा रहे हैं । ऐसे कन्फ्यूजन में, ऐसी गड़बड़ी में अगर बन्दूक भी हमें मिल गई तो उस से क्या होगा? आज विद्यार्थियों की जो हालत है उस से बदतर और क्या होगी । इस लिये मैं तो समझती हूँ कि फिजिकल ट्रेनिंग (शारीरिक प्रशिक्षण) पर ज्यादा विचार हम को करना है । जब तक हम में डिसिप्लिन (अनुशासन) नहीं आयेगी, हमारे शरीर में, कुल देश के शरीर में जब तक शक्ति नहीं होगी, तब तक बन्दूक हाथ में लेना बेकार है । इसलिये मेरा तो ऐसा विचार है कि इस की ओर हमें पहले ध्यान देना चाहिए ।

संग संग मैं यह भी कहूँ कि यह जो यहां पर बार बार कहा गया है वह अच्छा तो बहुत लगता है कि मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग दी जाय पश्चिमी देशों की कितायें यहां पड़ाई जाती हैं, हर एक इतिहास हमारे सामने लाये जाते हैं, कोई जापान की चर्चा करता है, कोई जर्मनी की चर्चा करता है, लेकिन कोई भी यहां पर ऐसा नहीं है जो अपने घर की हालत देखे कि क्या हालत है । आज हमारे देश की हालत यह है कि हम रोज ब रोज गिरते जाते हैं, हमारे स्टूडेंट्स (विद्यार्थियों) के चरित्र गिरते चले जाते हैं, हमारे टीचर्स (शिक्षक) जो उन को पढ़ाने वाले हैं वह मजबूर हो गये क्योंकि विश्व

वियों में डिसिप्लिन नहीं है। ऐसी हालत में मैं समझती हूँ कि पहले यहां पर यह प्रस्ताव आना चाहिये था कि यहां पर प्राइमरी बेसिक एजुकेशन (बुनियादी शिक्षा) कम्पलसरी होनी चाहिये जिस से कि विद्यार्थियों के चरित्र बन जायें। वह तो नहीं हुआ, पर बन्दूक की तरफ ऐंट्रेशन है। अभी मैं अपनी कॉन्स्टिट्यूएन्सी में गई थी वहां मैं ने एक महात्मा गांधी के चेले को देखा जो इस वक्त एम० एल० ए० हूँ। मैं तो हैरत में आ गई क्योंकि मैं ने देखा जो महात्मा गांधी के नानवायोलेंस के चेले थे उन को तमंचे का लाइसेन्स मिला है। और उन को तमंचे का इतना ऐंट्रेशन था कि वह उसे घर में नहीं रखते हैं बल्कि अपनी कमर में उस को बांधते हैं। मैं ने अपने उन भाई से कहा कि तमंचा कमर में है लेकिन मैं आप को यकीन दिलाती हूँ कि तमंचा आसानी से छिन भी सकता है। जब तक इन्सान में ताकत और शक्ति नहीं है उस को इन चीजों की ओर नहीं आना चाहिये। विचार या खयाल को तो ऊंचा करना ठीक ही है, लेकिन संग संग इन बातों की ओर भी ध्यान जाना जरूरी है। मैं मानरेबल मेम्बर से कहूँ कि आप को अपने मुल्क को देखना है और अपने डिफेंस को भी देखना है। डिफेंस डिपार्टमेन्ट में रुपया नहीं है, प्लैनिंग के लिये हमें हमेशा रुपये की परेशानी रहती है। हम इस की वजह से डिफेंस में तरक्की नहीं कर सकते, एजुकेशन में तरक्की नहीं कर सकते। मैं कम्पलसरी मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग देने के विरुद्ध हूँ। मैं जरूरी समझती हूँ कि अपने घर की हालत को देख कर, अपने देश की स्थिति को देख कर काम करना चाहिये। वह जबर्दस्त सबक जो नानवायोलेंस का था और जिस की वजह से आज हम आजाद हुए हैं उसको आज हम भूले हुए हैं और भूलने की वजह से

हम रोज ब रोज गिरते चले जाते हैं। फिर से हमें उस ओर ध्यान करना चाहिये और फिर से हमें उस हथियार को इस्तेमाल करना चाहिये, तभी देश की उन्नति होगी।

**Shri Raghuramaiah (Tenali):** I am very happy that this resolution has at last come before this House. I am afraid we are really a century backward. This is a motion which should have been adopted and implemented in this country long ago. And. I must congratulate the mover of the motion for having brought it at least today.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** Is it being implemented in any other country?

**Shri Raghuramaiah:** Well, then we shall be a century in advance.

I am not one of those who have got any confused ideas on a subject like this. (*Interruption.*). Just because the word compulsory is there no great havoc is going to be wrought. I am not one of those who can persuade myself to think so. We have had some kind of voluntary training in this country for many years. We have had the University Corps. How far that scheme has worked is well-known. The percentage of young men who have been able to offer themselves and who have been able to find time in view of the busy curricula and who have been able to receive training, I think, is very negligible considering the total population of this country. I do not think that anybody can seriously dispute that a compulsory scheme is the only kind of scheme that can really help the people. Voluntary effort has got its own limits. There must be the time and there must be the inclination to do it which is very much lacking. As a matter of fact, even the ordinary sports and drawing classes are not really taken advantage of by many. I am not therefore one of those who say that compulsory military training is not necessary and that it can be left to the voluntary effort of the people. As to the need for military training, I do not think it needs

[Shri Raghuramaiah]

much argument, especially being the neighbour of a great country like China and having seen the debacle of France during the last war. You will all remember that during the last war, in spite of the greatness of France it was her unpreparedness that actually caused the collapse of her armies. The German armies almost crossed overnight because France remained technically undeveloped. She did not have first-rate tanks, she did not have first-rate air power. We are much more backward than many others. We have not got regularly trained military personnel. It can be said, 'What is there, if and when a war comes we can have conscription of all adults'. There is a time in every man's life when he can learn things and learn them effectively. I submit that the best time when a man can learn this art and learn it well is the school and college age. And, if China today is one of the great and powerful nations of the world, let us realise why it is so. It was not a case of compulsory military training but, in a way, it was compulsory because they had long years of civil war in China. That very thing compelled her people to undergo military training and the People's Army in China, I understand, is the Army built out of the guerilla bands which trained themselves in this century old civil war. Of course, we have had not a civil war nor do we want one just because we want our people to be trained. The way in which a peaceful democracy can train its citizens effectively is compulsory military training.

As for the financial aspect of it, our friend Mr. Gadgil has been rather hesitant. He was reluctant to urge that there should be military training for high schools. He wanted it to be confined at the moment only to college students and he was making an appeal to the Ministry to somehow find the money for it and see whether it cannot be implemented if not now at least at a later stage. I would like that we should not take it in such a leisurely way. The time has come; it may be

that there is no prospect of war but so long as the forces of war are so arraigned and there are so many differences in political philosophies and so many alliances, regional pacts and so much of bellicose spirit in the world, we never know what would happen. And, we should not be one day too late. I would therefore urge with all the force at my command that it is already late and that if we neglect it even by one day it may be dangerous. I would, therefore, say that the time has come to revise our notions. We have spent crores and crores on Kashmir; we are spending so much money every year. Why should we be afraid to spend on military education? The expenditure is really part of the Defence expenditure. It is a long-term investment. Instead of calling a few odd people in times of emergency, you train the youth of the country so that at any time you have a citizens' army ready to take over which professionals may not be able to do with the same amount of efficiency.

I would, therefore, urge, that the training that we impart should be immediate; it should not be confined to college students, that considerations of finance of one crore or two crores of rupees should not stand in the way. If there is any case for including any item which is not already there in the Five-Year Plan, I would say it is military training. We are spending several crores on the development of the country. In a matter like this, which is of vital importance to the building of the nation, finances should not stand in our way. There is really no conflict between this and the spirit of non-violence. What we want is the passivity of the strong man and not the loquacity of the weakling. It is no use giving lectures about our greatness in inter-national conferences and this and that. The real strength comes from the fact that you are prepared to defend yourself. Today we have attained a certain status. If we add to it the military strength of this nation, we will really be a first-rate power in the world, a power which politicians

like Dr. Malan, indulging in all sorts of loose talk cannot dare insult. If we are at any moment ready to defend ourselves, our status in international circles will be really first-rate.

I would, therefore, urge on the Ministry to treat this as a very vital and immediate problem, one that is requiring a priority which is perhaps as deserving as any item in the Five Year Plan.

**प्रो० अन्नवाल (वर्धा) :** इस विषय पर बोलने की मुझे आवश्यकता नहीं थी लेकिन मुझे यह देख कर थोड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ कि अधिकतर जो व्याख्यान हुए वे इस प्रस्ताव के पक्ष में थे ।

यह तो हम सभी समझते हैं कि शारीरिक शिक्षण या फिजिकल ट्रेनिंग हमारे देश के लिए बहुत आवश्यक है और आज जो हमारे नवयुवकों की और हमारे विद्यार्थियों की हालत है उस से सभी को दुःख है । लेकिन फिजिकल ट्रेनिंग एक बात है और कम्पलसरी मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग दूसरी बात है । फिजिकल ट्रेनिंग का अर्थ यह है कि विद्यार्थियों में समाज सेवा का शिक्षण हो, कम्पलसरी सोशल सर्विस (अनिवार्य समाज सेवा) हो और हर एक विद्यार्थी डिग्री लेने के पहले गांवों में जाय या शहरों में परिश्रम करे, अपने देश को बनाने के लिए, उठाने के लिए । इस प्रकार उस के चरित्र का निर्माण हो, कैरेक्टर बिल्डिंग हो, इस के लिए हम सब एक मत हैं । लेकिन डिसिप्लिन आना, शारीरिक शिक्षण होना, समाज सेवा करना, परिश्रम करना एक बात है, लेकिन देश में एक मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग का फीजी वातावरण बनाना बिल्कुल दूसरी बात है । इस में गांधीजी का नाम लेना या हिंसा और अहिंसा का नाम लेना भी में बहुत उचित नहीं समझता । गांधीजी ही क्या, आज अगर हम मान-दृष्टि से देखें, जर्मनिज्म

की दृष्टि से देखें तो कोई देश मिलिटरिज्म या मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग को लाकर लड़ाई का वातावरण बढ़ाने के लिए नहीं कहेगा; कोई नहीं कहेगा कि हम को उसे प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिए । हमारे देश में भी आज डिफेंस (प्रतिरक्षा) पर काफी रूपय खर्च होता है । खैर हम उस के विरुद्ध कुछ नहीं कहना चाहते । कितना भी हम अहिंसा में विश्वास करें जब तक हम उनके एवज में धीरे धीरे दूसरी चीज नहीं लाते तब तक हम अचानक उसके खिलाफ नहीं बोल सकते । लेकिन यह तो हमारी नीति है और किसी भी देश की होगी कि डिफेंस पर हम धीरे-धीरे कम खर्च करें । आज हम देखते हैं कि रूस जैसा देश भी अपना डिफेंस पर खर्च कम कर रहा है और अमरीका जैसा देश भी डिफेंस पर अपना खर्च कम करने की कोशिश कर रहा है । फिर आज हम यह कोशिश करें कि इस पर खर्च बढ़ायें, क्योंकि मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग बढ़ेगी तो उस पर खर्च बढ़ेगा ही । इस में बन्दूक चलाने पर और दूसरी चीजों पर जैसे कि एन० सी० सी० में होता है, खर्च करना पड़ेगा । तो यह खर्च बढ़ाने की चीज है और इस से बजाय शारीरिक शिक्षण के, और मजबूती और श्रम का वातावरण बढ़ाने के, हम अपने देश में एक लड़ाई की फिजा (वातावरण) पैदा करेंगे । मेरा निवेदन है कि यह उचित नहीं है । इसलिए मैं यह निवेदन करूंगा कि जिस तरह से यह प्रस्ताव रखा गया है उस का हम समर्थन नहीं कर सकते । उस के एवज में अगर फिजिकल ट्रेनिंग पर आप जोर दें सोशल कान्सक्रिप्शन (समाज सेवा के लिए अनिवार्य भर्ती) पर जोर दें तो हम जरूर एक राय से उस का समर्थन कर सकते हैं । मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इसी दृष्टि इस प्रस्ताव पर विचार होगा ।

**M. Chairman: Dr. S. N. Sinha.**

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee** (Hooghly): There is a feeling, Sir, that your eyes are not turning this side.

**Mr. Chairman:** They are not turning to any particular side. I am only seeing that people having different views speak. It is necessary for all sides to be represented. It is not a question of this side or that side. It is entirely wrong to accuse the Chair of partiality to this side or that side.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha** (Saran East): The present resolution before the House has come out as a natural demand of the martial constituency which our esteemed friend has the honour to represent. The timing is also an ideal one. Today is the 7th of August. We are on the eve of the Eleventh Anniversary of our August Revolution.

Secondly, many new developments have taken place during the last few weeks in the world, and a great many changes are taking place. One of the changes has started on the 17th of June and a new type of revolution is going to take place in Eastern Europe. In Korea, the representatives of our army, are going on a peace mission. Here in our country also we have many new problems. At this stage, it is just unthinkable that the youth will not demand some sort of expression or the natural wish which he has. When he compares himself to his counterparts in other countries he finds himself a bit inferior. Our country is inferior in no way. There is plenty of wealth in the form of human material. But something is lacking in this human material. If there is no enthusiasm for work in the youth he is not to be blamed, because we have done nothing for him. We have not trained him. We are afraid that if he gets some physical strength he will become a militarist. It is a thing to be laughed at! Militarism has nothing to do with military training. There is no man in the world more disciplined than a soldier. He is always disciplined and behaves in a disciplined way.

I will give you two illustrations, Mr. Chairman. Only a few weeks ago when I was in East Berlin, a youth, a young student impressed me most. What was the matter? I am telling you only the technique of what he was doing. The gates of a slaughter house were broken. Many workers were coming out. Tanks were chasing them. A high school student jumped upon the front tank and destroyed the aerial and the radio apparatus of the tank. What happened? All those workers who were running for their life got time and none of them was shot. Suppose, at that time there was no youth who had some military training. They would have been helpless, as we were here in Calcutta. I was in Calcutta at the time of the disturbances recently, and I saw how our young men were behaving. Some party, or some people wanted to create disturbances were just throwing crackers and some primitive sort of bombs and everybody was looking on in a helpless condition. Why should we remain helpless when there is a technique which we can adopt? This technique is the military training. This is the soul of all education. It is something which kindles youth's enthusiasm and inspiration.

Youths energies are something like a mountain torrent. Today we are harnessing the Damodar. We are spending crores of rupees on river valley projects. Why can we not harness the energies of our youth and put them to some productive and useful work? What do we see in youth's energy? A mountain torrent coming. If nothing is done with it, that is not the fault of the torrent. You have to harness it; you have to generate electricity. With that electricity you can light your houses; you can build your factories; you can do all sorts of useful things. In the same way if you harness the potential energies of the youth, you can do something very good about your Five Year Plan also.

We are afraid of expenses. In this connection also why not take a lesson

from what other countries are doing? For example, the best system which up till now I have seen and which I have studied myself is the Swiss system. There they have the militia system. The whole defence of the country depends upon the militia system. Here if we give training to our high school children and students, then we will have at our disposal something like a militia army. The State has nothing to spend on it. In Switzerland, the training is compulsory, and there are very few exceptions. Those who do not take part in the compulsory military education have to pay a certain tax. Why can we not do the same in our schools and colleges? What right has a boy from a normal family to fall ill? What right has he to remain weak? He has no right to do so. If he does so and does not take part in this compulsory military education, he must pay some sort of tax. That tax must be imposed. Such a tax exists in Switzerland. It is not a matter of Rs. 1 crore or anything like that: what matters is the total waste of energies of the youth, which we cannot stand. Because we have no military training, we do not have even a clear thinking power. I feel in this society we are moving as if in a chaos or anarchy; people do not know where they have to go. It is something like driving in a street where a person does not know which side he has to go, whether to the right or to the left, and a collision takes place at every step.

Therefore, it is high time that our country thought about this matter. And if we have to be a great country, which we are going to be, I must say that the Resolution which is before the House must be supported by every group, and even by the Government.

**Kumari Annie Mascarene** (Trivandrum): The resolution presented to this House by the hon. Member is most well advised, opportune and extremely necessary to shape the na-

tional character of the country. We are not accepting this resolution to train up venerable ancestors. We are accepting this resolution to train the youth of the country in order to have an organized and disciplined society who could handle the administration of the country and lead it towards peace and prosperity.

Compulsory military training should be the fundamental basis of our education. I am extremely sorry to note that a person of such experience in education like the hon. Member opposite had opposed the resolution. Perhaps he may be under a misunderstanding that the students in his college, if given the training, may rise against him. If I remember aright years ago, during the days of hectic agitation I happened to visit this very peaceful hon. Member who was at the head of the college, in the college itself. And the first complaint he levelled against the students, about their strike, was that the revolution which Gandhiji had launched had affected the students too.

I do not understand that this resolution is on the basis that we are preparing the youth of this country for subversive activities. Certainly not. I view this resolution as a principle, accepted in almost all the countries of Europe, to train up the youth of the country as an ideal citizen with character, physical and moral culture, who will be able to lead or to steer the ship of state when necessity occurs. It is a resolution, that has to be accepted on its merits and not from the financial point of view. If you consult the Finance Minister he may object on the ground of scarcity of finance, on which question we have always noticed that it is more or less a besetting sin with the Finance Ministry that there should be scarcity of finance whenever a necessary scheme came on the scene.

So, apart from the financial side, is it not the duty of every Member of

[Kumari Annie Mascarene]

this House to train up the future citizens of this country, not to handle weapons for subversive activities, but to handle weapons if necessary when an emergency arises—one of a national character—to defend the nation? Should we ask the youth of this country to take hurried recruitment and training and defend the country? Should they not be given a training early enough which will discipline their character, which will make them behave like gentlemen and ladies?

I am also of the view that this resolution should be carried irrespective of sex—that is not only to boys in high schools and colleges but also to girls in high schools and colleges the training should be given. And I can assure you that if you give them separate training, the girls will surely prove better than the boys.

If you want in future an Indian nation, a society where there is character, respect for truth and respect for one another, if you want a nation in the future which will shape the destinies of this country on the most advanced lines, you have to accept this resolution as the fundamental basis of training, both educational and physical.

I support this resolution and I am only sorry that some elderly Members opposed it. I can assure them that by the time these people are ready, it will be more than half a century, and they need not be frightened about them. I give my full support to the resolution.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury (Gauhati):** I oppose this resolution, because if it is accepted there is a risk of having also female students for this training. I consider that there has already been enough martial spirit in our Indian women and that a further encouragement of martial training given to them in the schools would lead to disastrous results. We have still in our Defence Minister enough of hair. But if mili-

tary training is started in our schools and colleges and if female students are also given such training God knows.....

**Kumari Annie Mascarene:** I resent this remark.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** I seriously oppose this Resolution. I consider it as an echo of the past which you want to forget. In those days when our youths were not allowed to go near a rifle or a gun, it was necessary for us to consider how we should defend ourselves. Those days are long past. I say our popular Government is functioning and the popular Government will certainly look to the defence of the country in the best ways possible. I do not want Rani of Jhansis now. I consider in India we have enough of men-folk, enough of manhood and I cannot think of sending out our women-folk for the battle. As you are laughing on it may I ask you to think for a moment what would be the implications of this resolution. I would ask you to think for a moment of our middle class people today—how hard it has become for them to give education to their children. Formerly, they were thinking of only of their boys. Even that was sufficient strain on them. Now you have got to give training both to boys and girls. How heavily indebted they have become! I may particularly refer to those employees of the Government of India, those clerks and Assistants and others who find it difficult to give education, ordinary education to their children in the schools. I submit that if you are really considering about giving compulsory military training to students in colleges and schools, I should like to ask my hon. friend what provision does he make for giving them sufficient food for the purpose. As it is today, the middle-class people have to pay for the bus; they hardly can afford a four anna bit to each of the boys so that they may take something in the schools. Over and above that, with empty stomach if you com-

pel them to undergo military training I do not know what sort of military training that will be.

In days gone-by wars were fought with bamboo poles instead of guns. Even in the year 1915-16 bamboo poles were used instead of guns. Only sometimes rifle was allowed to be used. Do you want to have again bamboo poles in our schools and colleges? There are billions of students who are to be provided sufficient lunch or something before military training is resorted to. I do not for a moment believe what my friend here says that the Government is wasting huge sums of money and a portion of that amount could be utilised for military training. I understand the Government is not having enough funds to carry out all the projects that they have in view. To spend some money on military training will be sheer tom-foolery and nothing else.

We have already started the Territorial Army. Sufficient money should be found for carrying on that Territorial Army effectively. Sometimes good suggestions come from unexpected quarters. I saw in the papers this morning that Shri Ram Manohar Lohia was suggesting that in order to remove unemployment Territorial Army should be expanded. I entirely agree with him. Territorial Army should be expanded so as to give employment to youths. If you begin to give military training in schools and colleges I submit that more unemployment will be the result.

Now my friend, the Mover of the Resolution has adopted a very clever method. He has not mentioned in his resolution what will be the age of the students. So far as I am concerned I will be perfectly safe. But what do you think of young girls whose parents should be thinking of giving them suitable matches? If they are busy in this sort of military training unemployment will be the result. I do not really understand what is there to laugh at. I am objecting to this 'compulsory'. I would rather welcome

the other amendment of Mr. Jhulan Sinha which says.....

**Some Hon. Members:** It is out of order.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** Out of order! But not so far as this amendment is concerned. I think it is more laudable, more practicable than what has been set forth in the previous one. You can give military training to those who want to receive it. Why do you compel the girl of a college who may have been married already? What is the age limit? There should be some age-limit. Make it a practical proposition. After a certain age military training should be given or should not be given. The whole idea is so impracticable and, in my opinion, so rotten that it would be only destructive. You try to give more money for the defence budget so that you can have a regular fully-equipped and scientific army. Last war showed that we want mechanized warfare. If you give some sort of a training to prepare students for mechanized war then that is a different thing. If you can spend more money to invest something like an atom bomb or counter atom bomb that is understandable. Do not do it simply by show of the physical prowess of our women-folk.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member has already taken more than ten minutes.

**Mr. Chairman:** Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad.

**Shri B. S. Murthy:** Our Party has not been given a chance, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** Order, order

श्री भगवत झा (पूर्विया बसन्धाल परगना) : मैं हिन्दुस्तान के स्कूल और कालेजों में पढ़ने वाले करीब करीब ५४ लाख विद्यार्थियों की ओर से इस प्रस्ताव को इस हाउस में लाने वाले डाक्टर राम सुभग सिंह को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस प्रस्ताव को रक्खा।

अभी अभी मेरे बोलने से पहले ही हाउस के एक बहुत बजुर्ग मेम्बर बोल चुके हैं। पर

[श्री भगवत झा]

उच्च के विचार को सुनने के बाद मैं इस बात को नहीं समझ पाया कि वह सचमुच इस प्रस्ताव के विरोध में है या सिर्फ इस प्रस्ताव के उस भाग के विरोध में है जिस का सम्बन्ध लड़कियों को मिलिटरी (सैनिक) शिक्षा देने से है। अगर इस हाउस के इतने बुजुर्ग मेम्बर इस प्रस्ताव के विरुद्ध हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के विद्यार्थियों को जो स्कूल और कालेज में पढ़ते हैं उन को मिलिटरी शिक्षा न दी जाय, तो भगवान ही इस देश का कल्याण करे। क्योंकि आज स्कूलों और कालेजों में विद्यार्थियों की जो अवस्था है उस की ओर अगर हम देखें तो हम इसी सिद्धान्त पर पहुँच जायेंगे कि उन लोगों को यह शिक्षा देनी ही चाहिये। मैं इस सदन में यह बात मान कर आया था कि इस प्रस्ताव के सिद्धान्त के सम्बन्ध में तो किसी को भी आपत्ति नहीं होगी, हाँ, आपत्ति अगर होगी तो इस पर होगा कि इस को किस तरह से काम में लाया जाय। शायद इसके आधिक्य प्रश्न को लेकर कठिनाई अनुभव की जाय और सरकार इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध करते हुए कहे कि उस के पास पैसा नहीं है, और यह कि इस के लिये पैसा कहाँ से लाया जाय। लेकिन इस हाउस में आ कर के इतने बड़े बुजुर्ग मेम्बर, इतने बड़े पार्लियामेन्टेरियन अगर इस की सोचें और इस को चुनौती दें तो मैं उन से कहूँगा कि आप फिर जरा अपने पुराने स्कूल और कालेज में चलिये। मैं आज से दो साल पहले अपने कालेज से निकला हूँ। उस वक्त जब मैं स्टूडेन्ट्स आर्गेनाइजेशन (विद्यार्थी संघ) का सभापति था तो हम लोगों का काम यह था कि हम विद्यार्थियों की मुस्तलिफ पार्टियों के राईट्स को सेफगार्ड

करें। (अधिकारों का संरक्षण करें)। लेकिन आज स्टूडेन्ट्स की संस्थाओं का काम यह रह गया है कि वह शिक्षकों और प्रोफेसर्स के राईट्स को सेफगार्ड करें। आज हालत यह है कि अगर स्कूल और कालेजों में कोई अनुचित काम किया जाय और विद्यार्थियों पर उस के लिये अनुशासन की कार्रवाई की जाय तो प्रोफेसर्स पर डंडे पड़ते हैं। अगर कोई गलत कदम उठाया जाता है तो स्ट्राइक (हड़ताल) किया जाता है और प्रोसेशन (जलूस) निकाले जाते हैं। मैं स्वयं स्ट्राइक और प्रोसेशनों के विरुद्ध नहीं हूँ। मैं और मेरे साथियों ने भी सी सवा सी स्ट्राइक्स लीड किये (हड़तालों का नृत्य किया) हैं। लेकिन आज की स्थिति में यह रोकना पड़ेगा और उन के अन्दर ऐसी शिक्षा का प्रसार करना पड़ेगा जिस शिक्षा के जरिये हम उन के अन्दर सन्तुलन ला सक और अनुशासन ला सकें, जिस को फँला कर हम उन के दिमाग को उस रास्ते पर ले जा सकें जो कन्स्ट्रक्टिव (रचनात्मक) हो। जो उन के विकास में सहायक हो। आज हर स्कूल और कालेज में अवस्था यह है कि कहीं पर कोई रचनात्मक प्रोग्राम नहीं है। आप कहते हैं कि यह शिक्षा कम्पलसरी क्यों की जाय, आप कहते हैं कि इस को वालेंटरी कर दिया जाय। मैं कहता हूँ कि न यहाँ कम्पलसरी का प्रश्न है और न वालेंटरी का प्रश्न है। मैं कहता हूँ कि आप स्कूलों में विद्यार्थियों को भूगोल पढ़ाते हैं, आप ज्योमेट्री पढ़ाते हैं, लेकिन बाहर निकल कर वह उस से क्या लाभ उठाते हैं। आप इतिहास पढ़ाते हैं, शेरशाह, अकबर और औरंगजेब की कहानी पढ़ कर प्रैक्टिकल लाइफ में वह इस से क्या लाभ उठाते हैं? आप उसे ज्योमेट्री पढ़ाते

हैं, अरिथमेटिक पढ़ाते हैं, उस की प्रैक्टिकल लाइफ में इस से क्या लाभ होता है। आपने भिन्न भिन्न विषय इस लिये रखे हैं कि वह उन को पढ़ कर एक ऐसी जगह पहुंच जाय कि विद्यार्थी जीवन से निकल कर वह अपने जीवन का विकास कर सके। मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग को इन्ट्रोड्यूस (जारी) करके आप सिर्फ एक आपशनल (ऐच्छिक) विषय नहीं बल्कि कम्पल्सरी अर्थात् अनिवार्य विषय और जोड़ रहे हैं। जिस प्रकार से आप विद्यार्थियों को भूगोल, इतिहास, ज्योमेट्री, अरिथमेटिक का पढ़ाना जरूरी समझते हैं उसी प्रकार से उन के विकास के लिये आप उन को मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग भी देनी चाहिये। यह प्रश्न कहां उठता है: सिद्धान्त के नाम पर, कि मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग कम्पल्सरी हो, आपशनल हो या वालैन्टरी हो। प्रश्न तो सिर्फ यह आता है कि क्या विद्यार्थियों के सजीव विकास के लिये जिस प्रकार आप उन को और सब्जेक्ट्स की शिक्षा देते हैं, उस प्रकार क्या उन को मिलिटरी शिक्षा दी जाय। अगर इस का विरोध किया जाय डिफेन्स के नाम पर, तो यह बात स्पष्ट है कि आज की लड़ाई रामायण और महाभारत की लड़ाई नहीं है, सिकन्दर और पुरु की लड़ाई नहीं है कि बगल में लड़ाई हो रही है और बगल ही में किसान अपना खेत जोत रहा है और फसल काट रहा है। आज की लड़ाई में दुश्मन सब से पहले यह कोशिश करता है कि देश का मोरेल (धैर्य) गिरा दिया जाय, उस के स्तर को गिरा दिया जाय। उस की फौज के आने के पहले वहां के आदमियों का मोरेल गिराने के लिये फिफथ कालम आता है। कलकत्ते में बम गिराने का मतलब सिर्फ यह नहीं है कि उस को नष्ट कर दिया जाय, बल्कि उम्मु का मतलब यह भी है कि वहां की स्थिति में इस प्रकार

उलट पुलट हो जाय कि समूचे देश का मोरेल गिर जाय। नेपोलियन ने एक बार अपनी स्पीच में कहा था :

"Moral is to the physical as three to one."

(धैर्य का मूल्य शौर्य से तिगुना है)

यानी अगर आप देश को उन्नति के पथ पर ले जाना चाहते हैं तो आप को देश के अन्दर लोगों के मोरेल को ऊपर उठाना होगा। क्योंकि युद्ध के आने के पहले, हवाई जहाज आने के पहले, बम आने के पहले, दुश्मन सबसे पहले जो काम करता है वह यह कि देश के मोरेल को गिराता है। इस लिये अगर आप के पास इतना पैसा नहीं है कि आप सम्पूर्ण देश के नौजवानों को मिलिटरी शिक्षा दे सकें तो कम से कम आप यह तो कर सकते हैं कि स्कूल के पढ़ने वाले लगभग ४४ लाख विद्यार्थियों को और कालेज के पढ़ने वाले लगभग १० लाख विद्यार्थियों को मिलिटरी की शिक्षा दी जा सके। ताकि उपयुक्त अवसर पर आप उन को फील्ड (रणक्षेत्र) में ला सकें। मैं उन को फील्ड में अनिवार्य रूप से लाने के लिये नहीं कह रहा हूँ, मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे डिफेन्स मिनिस्टर के पास मजबूत फौज है और मुझे विश्वास है कि यदि युद्ध का अवसर आ ही गया तो वह अपनी आर्मी भेजेंगे, लेकिन साथ साथ जब फौज लड़ती हो तो आप को और आदमियों की आवश्यकता होती है। अगर आप हर एक स्कूल और कालेज के पढ़ने वाले लड़के को मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग देते हैं, तो आप जब चाहें उन को फौज में भर्ती कर सकते हैं। अभी अभी डिफेन्स आर्गनाइजेशन के मिनिस्टर ने एअर फोर्स के रिट्रूटिंग ऑफिसर से कहा है :

"We go by the measurement of the chest and not by what is inside the person."

[श्री भगवत झा]

मैं उन से कहूंगा कि चलिए स्कूल और कालेज में वही आप को दोनों मिल जायेंगे। चैस्ट (छाती) भी मिल जायेगा और ब्रूजम (हृदय) भी। अगर आप इन विद्यार्थियों को शिक्षा देते हैं, तो आप को इस की दिक्कत नहीं होगी। आज अपने देश में विद्यार्थियों की भिन्न भिन्न संस्थायें हैं, जब मैं स्टूडेन्ट्स फेडरेशन में काम करता था तब एक संस्था थी, लेकिन अब तो करीब पच्चीस संस्थायें हैं। अगर आप चाहें तो उन को एक स्थान पर ला सकते हैं। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि आप को विद्यार्थियों को मिलिटरी शिक्षा देनी ही चाहिये, जिस से कि उन में एकता पैदा हो जाय। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सिद्धान्त के विरोध में किसी को नहीं होना चाहिये। अगर मेरे पास भ्रवसर होता तो मैं यहां पर इस के फाइनेन्शाल इम्प्लीकेशन (वित्तीय परिणामों) पर भी कुछ कहता। पर इस समय इतना ही कहता हूँ कि हमें इस के सिद्धान्त को तो तुरन्त ही मान लेना चाहिये। अब तो इस को कार्यान्वित करने की ही जरूरत है और यह देखा जाय कि वह कैसे हो।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

**Shri Khardekar (Kolhapur cum Satara):** I had no idea that I would speak today but the atmosphere has been so persuasive that I cannot resist the temptation. These are days of high floods and today we found the House flooded with militant eloquence of the Amazon. Our Kaka Saheb talked about the necessity of physical excellence. Here, I feel like telling a very interesting story about physical excellence minus the 'top'. George Bernard Shaw published a theory of his own on 'Eugenics'. He said if by select breeding, from the old plough-horse and the old rotten dog we could

produce the modern marvel of a race horse and the Alsatian dog, why not by proper selection and by bringing together proper men and women improve the bread of men. Now, it is very easy to come out with a theory, but if you have to practice it, it becomes very difficult. There is an interesting anecdote in this connection. Once a very beautiful lady met George Bernard Shaw. When Shaw saw this lovely and very interesting personality, he said: "Young lady, why have you come?" "I have come to see you because I was interested in your theory" and she immediately began putting very interesting questions. "Mr. Bernard Shaw, do, you not think you are the best brain in the world?" Shaw said: "Well, anyone having brains can be convinced about it". Then she asked: "Do you not think that I am the loveliest woman in the world?" Bernard Shaw said: "Anyone who has eyes can be convinced about that." Then she said: "If that is so, if by putting these two together—your intellectual excellence and my physical excellence—we were to give the world an offspring for the benefit of humanity, would not the world get superman?" Shaw was an honourably married man in spite of his eccentricities, and he did not want to be outwitted, after all, by a dancer. So, Shaw said after scratching his beard for some time: "Yes, my lady, you have thought about something intriguing, but may I ask you one or two questions, just as you have been very kind to ask me?" He said: "Do you know how I look?". Shaw always described himself as something of a monkey, a tall, lanky, lean fellow with a beard and so on, certainly an ugly specimen of mankind. And then Shaw said: "That means, that is the physical side of Shaw". And he said: "May I describe your brains, the brains of a dancer? It is better that I do not describe. So, you have seen only one side of the picture. If Shaw's ugliness and Isadora Duncan's brains, i.e., lack of brains, were to be

put together, the outcome would be something horrible".

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Now, my point was whether by a sort of regimented military training we are going to produce more or less "dum driven" cattle in this country where education itself is so very deficient. When standards are going lower and lower, is it proper for us to try doing so many things—apart from the other objections that I have for military training? I am even opposed to compulsory physical training. I would rather go in for sports and games. They will not only improve your physique. They add beauty to your body, and your mind considerably improves; that spirit of co-operation, the spirit of comaraderie, and what is more, the sense of justice and fairplay are developed. Let us not give up all these moral qualities which we have inherited from the past. Let us try to improve all these, and let us not be a nation that is rotten, but that which is physically, intellectually and morally strong.

Now you know that if you look into the political history of the world, you will find there are two currents of political thought. One is the Roman political thought, and the other is the Greek political thought. The Roman political thought always tried for solidarity, discipline, organization, military strength and so on. What has it led to?—dictatorship, wars, militarism and all that. As against that, you have the Greek political thought which laid emphasis on individual freedom which has led to democracy. We have been a nation that is peace-loving. Is it proper for us to give it up and completely change? When you think of military training, compulsory or otherwise, in schools and colleges, you are going to bring the type of mentality which will produce we do not know, what sort of trouble in this country. At a time when we are likely to lead the world towards peace from madness and lunacy, is it proper for us to think of copying others?

Let us build on the solid foundations of the past, and let us be a nation that would spread the gospel of peace, love and co-operation.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Satish Chandra.

**Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara):** May I know, Sir, whether you propose to extend this debate, for, I may draw your attention to the fact that this subject is of more interest than even the defence estimates? This question of military training must be disposed of once and for all, and I would like you to give not one, but even two hours, for the debate.

**Shri Tyagi:** I thought perhaps the relevant closure of the debate would come from the Education Ministry. Our Deputy Minister is only intervening.

1 P.M.

**The Deputy Minister of Defence (Shri Satish Chandra):** I have heard with respect and attention, the speeches delivered in the House today. In fact, I had not expected that this debate will be so lively and arouse so much interest among the hon. Members.

First of all, let us be clear about the object of this Resolution. The Mover has laid emphasis mainly on the character-building aspect of military training. He has drawn the attention to the fact that military training helps character-building, and enables one to improve his physique. It helps in inculcating among the trainees a sense of discipline, in developing self reliance by teaching them the dignity of labour and so on. Some other hon. Members have spoken about the development of martial qualities among the youth of the country. They think that military training is essential from the defence point of view. There is a great deal of difference between these two approaches.

The Mover of the Resolution does not appear to be very keen about the development of martial qualities as a

[Shri Satish Chandra]

result of compulsory military training. His object and approach is entirely different. I am in full sympathy with the object which he has in view. It is absolutely essential that our young men must receive today a training which will make them more disciplined citizens, and develop in them a constructive outlook. They will thereby learn to do things with their own hands and their physique will also improve. This is something to which nobody can have any objection, because it is an absolutely non-controversial approach. Keeping this object in view, I feel that increasing assistance and greater facilities should be provided for imparting military training to the youth of our country.

But as far as the defence aspect is concerned, I would say that it is entirely a different matter. Many hon. Members have opposed the introduction of military training on a compulsory basis. They feel on various grounds that it is not proper to impart regular military training to all young men and women. I do not wish to go into this controversy, because in the context of the present resolution, it is not very relevant. If I touch that subject, I will raise a discussion about the role of our army, navy and air force, about our defence requirements; to what extent we are prepared to meet an aggression, and to what extent we should further prepare ourselves. I think that such a discussion is neither within the scope of the present Resolution, nor does it appear to be the intention of the Mover to raise it here. Military training is being imparted in various ways. Some hon. Members may rightly feel that the facilities should be extended to enable more and more boys and girls to receive it in future. But when we talk of compulsory military education, I will request hon. Members to realise the Magnitude of the problem. Some Members have said that we should not hold up this scheme by saving one crore or two crores of rupees. Well, to convince them that

it is not a question of a crore or two, I think I should give some facts and figures. The National Cadet Corps at present has on its rolls about 82,000 boys and girls and the total expenditure on the NCC, which is shared between the Central and the State Governments, is about Rs. 1 crore and 90 lakhs. For the training of 82,000 boys and girls we are already spending 1 crore and 90 lakhs of rupees. From the figures that I have been able to gather from the Ministry of Education, the number of students above 15 years of age on a rough calculations is between 2 and 2½ millions, i.e. about 30 times more than the number which is receiving the benefit of NCC training today. Even if we confine military training to boys and girls over 15 years of age, it is going to cost us an additional 60 to 70 crores of rupees per year. NCC training is not the complete military training; only elementary type of training is given. Can we afford to spend an additional sum of 70 crores of rupees, if we decide to expand the NCC scheme to include all the boys and girls above 15 years of age in our schools and colleges? Sir, that is a colossal figure. It is easy for an hon. Member to say that we are spending 100 crores of rupees on the Damodar Valley and why not spend money over this? But the hundred crores which we spend on the Damodar Valley are going to last. It is not a recurring expenditure; it is a productive capital expenditure.....

**Shri Sarangadhar Das** (Dhenkanal—West Cuttack): The Damodar Valley will bring in a thousand crores.

**Shri Satish Chandra:** So I say. You are only supporting me.

**Shri Tyagi:** You always support him.

**Shri Satish Chandra:** The total number of boys and girls in our Higher Secondary Schools and Colleges, if we also include those below 15 years of age, is about 4 millions. This does not include primary schools, vocational

and technical institutions etc. If the Resolution is accepted and is to be implemented, it will require an expenditure of over a hundred crores of rupees per year.

Again some hon. friends have spoken about the necessity for the expansion of the Territorial Army and about imparting military training to adults. I just tried to see the latest census report and found that the population between 13 and 26 years of age is about 95 millions. By the figures that I have given above the House will realize that the entire Government of India Budget will not be sufficient to provide military training to all of them.

Apart from the financial difficulties, the hon. Members who have supported this resolution have not realised the difficulty about the availability of equipment. If military training is given on such a vast scale, probably the entire military equipment that we have or that we may have to replace each year will easily have to be multiplied many times over.

**Several Hon. Members:** Have bamboo poles.

**Shri Satish Chandra:** There is the difficulty of equipment; there is not sufficient personnel to undertake the task, there is the difficulty of finances. What I mean to say, is that being in the fullest sympathy with the objects which the mover of this resolution has in view, let us dispassionately examine as to what extent it is possible to extend the present facilities for military training and in what manner it can possibly be done.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** May I know what will be the return which the hon. Minister expects supposing we spend this 95 or 100 crores.

**Shri Satish Chandra:** I do not agree with Mr. Chaudhury that the money spent on various schemes of military training does not give any return. Every hon. Member who spoke today has laid emphasis on character-build-

ing, on improving the physique of our boys and girls and the need of developing in them a sense of social responsibility etc. etc. Those are very essential qualities if we really want to re-construct this vast country.

Now the point is as to how we can impart to as great an extent as possible the military training to boys and girls. Because it is found difficult at present to obtain further funds for the development of the National Cadet Corps in order to impart instruction to more than 82,000 students we are trying to evolve a new scheme called the Auxiliary Cadet Corps. The experiment was tried last year in a few schools and we are satisfied that it has got potentialities of development. So, from this school session we are extending that experiment which is now taking shape in the form of the Auxiliary Cadet Corps. This Corps will provide training in citizenship, first aid, social sciences through some form of manual labour, route marches, physical exercises and mass drill etc. If hon. Members give further suggestions the syllabus can be improved upon to include other subjects, for instance, fire-fighting etc. Training in these subjects will help a great deal in building up the personality and character of the boy. All these subjects form part of full military training. In a way, the Auxiliary Cadet Corps will provide training in civil defence and transform students into better citizens without giving weapon training, which is very costly.

I am glad to say that the Baroda State has recently agreed to provide compulsory A.C.C. training to all its under-graduates.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Is the hon. Minister likely to take a long time?

**Shri Satish Chandra:** Yes, Sir.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Then he may continue on another day. The House now stands adjourned to meet again at 5 P.M. today.

*The House then adjourned till Five of the clock.*

*The House reassembled at Five of the  
Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

DISCUSSION ON CALLING OF  
TROOPS IN CALCUTTA.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Mr. A. K. Gopalan will raise the discussion now. The discussion will close at 6-30. There are a number of members who are anxious to speak here. They have given me notice and so 10 minutes will be the maximum for a speech. If they cut it down to less than 10 minutes it is all the better so that all the people can take part. I will call the hon. Minister at 6-15.

**Shri A. K. Gopalan (Cannanore):** I first of all thank you for the kind opportunity that you have given to the Members of this House for discussing a very important issue that has happened during the last month. After the last session of the Parliament from Calcutta to Tuticorin several things have happened, which require the serious consideration of the Government and the Members of this House. The lives of people, I do not know how many, have been lost and if we shut our eyes to the serious situation on technical grounds I am sure that we will be doing injustice to the country and to the people. The agitation in Calcutta began in the first week of July. It was against the enhancement of the tramway fares. It was a struggle for one pice but really the people were not able to pay even that one pice and that was the reason why the agitation rallied round itself all the sections in Calcutta and also the whole masses. All sections of people in Calcutta rallied round this agitation. That shows that it was really because the condition of the country was such that the people were not even able to pay one pice more. The first agitation started with the people who refused to pay the enhanced rate and

then there was firing, there was lathi charge and then it went to the extent of calling military aid. The *Hindustan Times* of 17th July, 1953 in its editorial had said: "Troops had been called out at Calcutta at last in dealing with the situation created by the Tramway Enhancement Resistance Committee." What was the justification for the calling of the troops, firing and other things. To put it in the words of Dr. B. C. Roy, the economic situation of the country was largely responsible for the agitation against the Government and the situation was further aggravated by the ever increasing unemployment. He also stated that unless the menace of economic distress is fought, there was no solution for it. I will not go into the details about it. I have only read the report in papers. I leave it to the hon. Members of this House who had been there in Bengal and who know the situation better. The agitation was against British capital and its exploitation. The report says that according to the Company's accounts for 51 there was a net earning of Rs. 10 lakhs after allocating funds to the new accounts. A dividend of 6 per cent. was declared. So what has happened within the last so many months to justify the enhancement of fares? It would be difficult to say. It would be difficult for me to cite another instance where a British capitalist business is nursed so well and made remunerative. Tram cars certainly are essentially a poor man's means of conveyance and even the slightest enhancement of the fare is bound to cause undue hardship to the poorer classes.

It is unfortunate that even the slightest trouble anywhere in the country develops and catches like wild fire. The reason is obvious. We read in the papers every day that industries are closing and unemployment is increasing. For the last three days the House has been discussing the silk industry and the coir industry and in the course of their speeches hon. Members have pointed out how the small industries like, silk, coir and handloom are closing