

CHAPTER IV**AGENDA ON EDUCATION: THE INDIAN SCENARIO**

India is an ancient country with a long record of experimentation in political, economic and social thought and behaviour. Her present day political thinking and behaviour is imperceptibly conditioned and influenced by the past experience and development spread over thousands of years. It is, however, the more recent history and developments, particularly since the beginning of the 19th century, as also other political thought currents which came to India as a direct result of the West, which have a more direct bearing on her present day political life and trends. "Therefore, a clear perception and understanding of this historical evolution of India political thought and behaviour is essential for proper assessment of the present day India's political mind and the lines on which it is expected to develop and grow in the days to come"¹.

The Indian Nationalism is the direct offspring of Western political and economic philosophy. In search of the roots of Indian Nationalism Sri Nagendranath Gupta wrote in "Sidelights on the National Movement in India": "What are the forces at work for the moulding of a United Nation called India? Primarily, the awakening of a national consciousness comes from within, and secondarily, it is quickened by influences from outside. Both these agencies can be traced back in the growth of the national movement in India"².

The influence of Western model of liberalism and nationalist trend found its place perpetually in the guiding philosophy of the Constituent Assembly, which had given birth to the Indian Constitution, Prof. Balraj Madhak observed: "But unfortunately the Constitution makers of India were carried away by the glitter of Europe at that crucial period of our rebirth as a free nation. They prepared a constitution which is everything

but Indian. It is exotic in inspiration and content. It tried to perpetuate that political pattern which they have inherited from the British"³.

The nature of Indian National movement has been sometime termed as "White Revolution". Suggesting this argument, liberalists among the nationalists in India often blamed the "Red Revolution" as a wrong conjecture and put forth their preferences with these words: "The world is familiar with the fable of a white man and the white man's burden, but for the first time in history it is face to face with a white Revolution. Every revolution of which there is any record was a red one, reddened by the bloodshed in the course of it. The revolutionaries commit murders and massacres, and are slain in their turn by those who try to suppress the revolution No revolution has been known to be peaceful or bloodless ... In France and in Russia the badge of revolution was red and the revolutionaries waded through blood ... For the first time since the world began an attempt is being made to achieve without violence what was never before obtained without it. What is being witnessed in India is a bloodless revolution"⁴.

Whatever the term they give the influence of Western liberal education on the inception of or in the growth of Indian Nationalism neither can it be ignored nor discarded. And certainly, as we have shown earlier, the liberally educated Indians took the rudimentary role to spread the nationalistic zeal among Indians to take it at the grass-root level. The concept of Marxism and Leninism by the very birth of it in Indian soil, had been borrowed from outside India. But from the dimensional viewpoint the nationalistic zeal locates within the four walls of a liberalized country. But the idea of Marxism by its very inception covers up the whole international dimensions or phenomena. The arrival of Marxist-Leninist ideals happened in the backdrop or doldrums of First World War. As M.R. Masani observed: "The First World War came as a shock in India, as elsewhere, to many people who had come to regard the kind of world they inhabited as something permanent ... Just when this heart-searching and stock-taking were going on throughout the world, the Russian revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky broke out. Its

denunciation of the existing system and sweep of promises of a better future based on peace, equality and social justice took many people by storm... It was on this wave of idealism that communism came to India. Here it mingled with another stream – nationalism”⁵.

Another striking resemblance with Indian Nationalism and Indian Communism is that both the theories spread initially by intelligentsia. M.R. Masani opined: “Though Communism, ideologically, is a creed professedly based on the strength and interests of the proletariat, and though during the war years the increased tempo of the country’s industrialization had created a sizable labour force, the strength of communism in India was in the beginning”, M.R. Masani thinks, “as it is even at the present day, mainly intellectual”⁶.

“The intellectual and emotional climate in India in the early twenties was receptive to the ideas of communism. In such a climate, the Communist International sought to forge the necessary organizational links”⁷, as observed by M.R. Masani. Bolshevik leaders were very keen to Indian isochronal situation. “The Bolshevik leaders turned their eyes very early to India”⁸. In 1919, the Third International decided to support nationalist movements in the East “as they tend to upset the existing authority while not opposing revolutionary aspirations”⁹. In 1920, at the Third Congress of the Comintern, Lenin said: “British India is at the head of these countries, and the revolution is maturing in proportion to the growth of the Industrial and railway proletariat on the one hand and to the increase in the brutal terrorism of the British who are more frequently resorting to massacres (Amritsar), public floggings, etc. – on the other”¹⁰.

Gay Wint said in his introductory write up of “The Communist Party of India: A short History” that, “The contemporary history of Asia is strongly dramatic. In India, the Congress State succeeded the British Raj in 1947. In China, two years later the Communist Party became masters of the whole country, and professed the principles of Marxism, Leninism and Stalinism as interpreted by Mao-Tse-Tung. The systems in India and

China are opposite poles ... Though India and China are thus in contrast – India is the great example of Asian Communism”¹¹. Thus, Guy Wint said: “Inevitably and without intention, India and China have become symbols of the different methods by which economic and social change may be brought about ... Whichever country shows the more impressive economic progress. India and China, is likely to be accepted as the social, and perhaps the political, leader of Asia. All the countries of South-Asia are watching the competition”¹². Thus, he concluded by saying the fact: “Most of the current books on India described what the Indian Government is doing to resist all the threat of Communism”¹³.

Indeed, the Communist International directed the whole movement of Indian Communism at the rudimentary stage. The first part deals with ideologies inimical to communism. Amongst these is Gandhism and on this subject the programme says clearly: “Tendencies like Gandhism in India, thoroughly imbued with religious conceptions, idealize the most backward and economically most reactionary forms of social life, see the solution of the social problem not in proletarian socialism, but in a reversion to these backward forms, preach passivity and repudiate the class struggle, and in the process of development of the revolution become transformed into an openly reactionary force. Gandhism is more and more becoming an ideology directed against mass revolution. It must be strongly combated by communism”¹⁴.

II

After independence except a few bouts of impulsive adventurism by communists, they generally observed the Constitutional path. It has been correctly observed: “Before India attained independence, the Communists, together with many Indian nationalists had believed that self-government would come only after a violent revolution In April, 1957, the communists won the general elections in the State of Kerala and formed a government. It was the first time that they had ever held political power in India and the fact that this power was secured by

constitutional means ... The argument of the rightist in the C.P.I. – that under present conditions parliamentary tactics are superior to revolutionary tactics – have been immeasurably strengthened”¹⁵.

Therefore, “unlike its predecessor, the preamble of the new draft contained no reference to the dictatorship of the proletariat – Instead it stated the aim of the party to be the establishment of “people’s democracy” by ‘integrating the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Indian situation...”¹⁶ etc. The existence and characteristics of the two major Indian Communist Parties have been described neatly in a nut shell: “Two other political parties, the communist party of India (C.P.I.) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) or C.P.I.(M) had a common origin, and till 1964 a common history. The Communist movement began in the early twenties; and a Communist Party was formed in 1925... in the early sixties however there were serious differences inside the Communist Party over some questions, and the party split into two. Those who broke away from the C.P.I., formed CPI(M) in 1964. Now the two Communist Parties have come closer together, and works together quite often. Both the Communist Parties have formed or headed State Governments. At present the CPI(M) has a great deal of support in West Bengal, Tripura, and Kerala. In fact, it is the most dominant party in the front of leftist parties in these states”¹⁷.

India witnessed many ups and downs in the national scenario. After tensed and hectic period of the seventies the mandate of the people favoured the consolidated opposition and Janata Government came to the power at the centre in 1977. Although left felt their presence in Kerala and West Bengal considerably well, the coalition government in 1967 and 1969 was actually the path-finder in the search of the alternative approach to Indian government and politics. The evidence shows: “The Left Front Government assumed office in West Bengal on June 21, 1977 following the resounding victory of the Left-Front at the Assembly polls held on June 11 and 14, 1977. Of the Assembly seats polling was held in 292 seats of which Left Front secured 230 seats with

CPI(M) securing 177 seats. The party-wise position was, Janata Party – 29, Congress –d 20 and others – 14”¹⁸.

Despite alleged misrule for about long 30 years of the Congress regime in West Bengal, the Left Front immediately engaged to restore the democratic environment lost during the former rule. They wrote: “Democratic rights trampled by the previous Congress regime and the peaceful atmosphere destroyed by the Congress hoodlums were restored; freedom of speech, writing and of association as well as of democratic movement were restored and safeguarded under the Left Front Government. These were now being enjoyed fully not only by the Left and the democratic Parties, but also by parties who are identified as the enemies of democracy and secularism”¹⁹. About the state of affairs of economy they found: “The newly formed West Bengal Legislative Assembly began its first session on June 25 under the Left Front Government. From the previous Congress regime the Left Front Government had inherited a shattered and bankrupt economy and an authoritarian and repressive administration which indulged in sort of corruption, favoritism and nepotism. Economic imbalances created through decades of misrule and neglect was further aggravated during the period 1970-77. In the backdrop of such a situation, Chief Minister Jyoti Basu placed and explained the principles and programmes of the Left Front Government before the Assembly”²⁰.

The influence of chaotic socio-politico environment of the ‘draconian rule’ of seventies also spoiled the whole environment of academia. The total academic environment became vicious and was in a mess. To their opinion: “During the reign of terror between 1970 and 1977 the field of education became an area of special target. Educational institutions including the Universities were turned into a happy hunting ground of anti-social elements and hoodlums under the Congress rule. Academic atmosphere was destroyed. Examinations were reduced to a farce through mass copying and results were manipulated at the University levels. Classes were frequently disrupted”²¹.

The newly formed Left Front Government felt the urgency to restore and return normalcy in the academic atmosphere. "One July 5, the Chief Minister announced the decision of the Left Front Government to take firm stand against this and to stem the rot and put an end to all this, and restore normal academic atmosphere in the educational institutions"²².

In our ongoing discussion to put forth the Left perception of education in India and especially, in West Bengal, let us verify the education of India in world perspective. This backdrop may help us to understand India's educational achievements and the achievement of liberal democratic doctrine and side by side of the track record of achievements of left educational philosophy in India.

The indispensability of education has been correctly felt in all the ages. Because it helps to develop the human potentialities, uplift the standard of living, make the whole mass of the country conscientious and form and strengthen the rational outlook of the people. On the purview the subject has been considered and a comparative data of the utilization of resources on education head, all over the world is being placed here.

The UNESCO report on "Education in Asia and Pacific - 1982" shows that in 1982, 62,773 crore of dollars were spent for education all over the world. This expenditure is 5.8% of the Gross National Product (G.N.P.). African nations spend 4.9 per cent of their Gross National Product, Asian countries spend 5.1 per cent and the developing countries of the world spend 4.3 per cent for education respectively.²³ In our country the education Commission. (Kothari Commission) of 1964-66, recommended to spend at least 6 per cent of the Gross National product for education²⁴. But over six decades passed the amount now being spent in our country on this head is 'a bit lower than even 3 per cent'²⁵.

According to a report a United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, Nigeria a country with a population of 8 crores considers that the education is the most effective means to bring social evolution and national development. So Nigeria has decided to spend

8.33 per cent of the national income on education²⁶. That report has also mentioned that the countries viz. Belgium, Colombia, Chile, Finland, Ghana, Malaysia, Morocco, Mexico, Spain, Thailand, Uganda and Venezuela spend 17% to 20% of their national budgets for education. Countries like Maldives, Argentina, Botswana, Gambia, Cyprus, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Portugal, Zambia etc. Spend 11.8% to 15% on this head. Some African countries like Costerica, Tunisia spend 26% to 29% of their national budget for education²⁷.

It may be recollected here that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad former Education Minister of India and an eminent educationist, in his budget speech in 1949 in constituent Assembly expressed his grave concern and dissatisfaction over the proposal of spending only 1% of the Union budget on education and appealed to raise that amount immediately to 10 per cent²⁸. 'Kher' Committee also recommended to allot the same proportion of budget for education²⁹. But till today the amount, spent on education as allotted by the Central Government in national budget is more or less only 1 per cent of the total budget. On the contrary state governments spend 16% of their budget in average on this head. "The Government of West Bengal", says Sri Kanti Biswas, former Minister of Education (Primary and Secondary), West Bengal Government 'spends nearly 25% of its budget of the State. Still the allotment for education is 639 crore of rupees whereas the Union budget has exceeded 52,800 crore of rupees, but the allotment on education (except the allotted money for Navoday Vidyalaya is 645 crore of rupees"³⁰.

In Japan the Central Government bears 48% of the total expenditure on education. In Australia the Central Government bears the entire financial liability of the higher academic institutions like College. University etc. In Federal States like West Germany, U.S.A. etc. the Central Government bears the major portion of financial responsibilities for the expenditure on education"³¹.

III

Another important subject on educational analysis is the Administration of Education. The major debate in this sector is the question of centralization and decentralization. Sri Kanti Biswas writes: "In all Federal States of the world most of the responsibilities of educational administration is entrusted with the local self-government or organization. Even in the countries where unitary form of government is prevalent, the present trend is towards the decentralization of educational administration. In South American Countries the education system has been conducted centrally from time immemorial. But at present a radical change is found in it. As for example, in the countries like Argentina, Chile, Columbia, Mexico, Nicaragua and Venezuela the responsibilities of educational administration have been assigned to the local administration more and more. There the system of education is being decentralized.

In the same way the system of decentralization of educational administration is being pursued to a great extent in Spain, Sweden, France, Egypt, Morocco, Canada, Australia, Sri Lanka and even in U.K. Contrary to it our country at present the education system is being centralized gradually though ours is a country with full of diversities³². Thus, Sri Kanti Biswas former Minister of the West Bengal Government (Primary and Secondary), observed: "The founding fathers of Constitution rightly put education under the control of State Government, Kothari commission also appreciated the system and thought it to be the best in our country. But during emergency, education was brought in the Concurrent List (Which is as good as keeping the same in the Central List). The Central control has been more firmly enforced by the introduction of New Education Policy. But all the Non-Congress (I) State Governments are pressing their demand to put back education in the state list though the Union Government is following the opposite direction, in Indian education system is being guided surprisingly towards the opposite direction"³³.

For the noble cause of imparting education to each and every child, different countries have enacted compulsory primary education act. "From a survey of 200 countries of the world it has been revealed that 168 countries so far have enacted compulsory primary education acts for all the children of 5 to 12 years and they have implemented it also. In 30 countries primary education has not been made compulsory. Data collected from the remaining 2 countries are ambiguous" Thus Sri Kanti Biswas commented: "In our country, children of the age group of 6 to 11 years are brought under the purview of compulsory primary education in a few small pockets only. Other parts remain uncovered. Moreover, the cities which have passed this law, did not execute it fully. There is no provision for compulsory education in 12 countries out of 51 Asian Countries, in 12 out of 46 African countries and in 2 out of 45 countries of South America. Compulsory education act has been executed in rest of the countries; our condition in this respect is so miserable"³⁴.

In the international sphere, usually education is divided into three levels. First level denotes primary education, second level secondary education and third level graduation and Post-graduation level. Sri Kanti Biswas took some data of 1982 and analyzed in the light of availability of students and getting the facility of education and thus he compared among nations.

It transpires that girl students constitute 43% of the total. Total number of students in India is 9,88,21,581. Population of India forms 16% of the world population but Indian students compose a little more than 11% of the world-total.

	1st Level	2nd Level	3rd Level	4th Level
Total number of students	579217000	241164000	50162000	870543000
Number of girl students out of this total	257119000	96216000	21476000	374811000

Ratio of girl students in India is far behind the global average. This will be shown level wise afterwards.

Comparative rates of admitting students at different levels of education are shown below:

	Primary level	Secondary level	Degree level	Average of all levels
World average	91.3	43.0	17.7	53.6
Africa	78.1	21.0	5.6	35.1
Asia	84.8	34.9	10.1	45.9
Developing Countries	85.9	31.2	11.2	46.2
India (1981)	82.0	24.0	4.8	32.0

Percentages of students enrolled at different levels (1982) are shown below:

	1st level	2nd level	3rd level
World average	66.5	27.7	5.8
Asia	70.4	26.4	3.1
India	70.0	27.5	2.5

Sri Biswas specially mention: "it may be mentioned here that total number of Indian students studying at degree level including Engineering, Agriculture, Medical, Honours etc. is 21,15,257. That is they are only 0.3% of the total population. This is far below the world average³⁵.

According to the world-average,

Percentage of girl student at the 1st level of Education - 44

Percentage of girl students at the 2nd level of Education - 40

Percentage of girl students at the 3rd level of Education - 43

In African Countries,

Percentage of girl student at the 1st level of Education - 45

Percentage of girl students at the 2nd level of Education - 39

Percentage of girl students at the 3rd level of Education - 43

In Asian Countries,

Percentage of girl student at the 1st level of Education - 41

Percentage of girl students at the 2nd level of Education - 27

Percentage of girl students at the 3rd level of Education - 32

This picture in India

Percentage of girl student at the 1st level of Education - 38

Percentage of girl students at the 2nd level of Education - 33

Percentage of girl students at the 3rd level of Education - 26

Number of teachers: Total number of teachers in the world is 39,326,000.

Percentage of teachers at different levels are shown below:

	1 st level	2 nd level	3 rd level
World average	66.5	27.7	5.8
Asia	70.4	26.4	3.1
India	70.0	27.5	2.5

(Total number of teachers in India is 33,94,000)

First Level

21 students per teacher (in 56 countries)

21 to 30 students per teacher (in 43 countries)

41 to 50 students per teacher (in 20 countries)

Over 60 students per teacher (in 4 countries)

In India this ratio is 43 students per teacher. In 158 developing countries, number of students per teacher is lower than that of India.

Second Level

11 students per teacher (in 12 countries)

11 to 20 students per teacher (in 109 countries)

21 to 30 students per teacher (in 61 countries)

Over 40 students per teacher (in 2 countries)

In India this teacher pupil ratio is 1:19.

In 112 developing countries, number of students per teacher is lower than that of India.

Third Level

5 students per teacher (in 15 countries)

6 to 10 students per teacher (in 63 countries)

11 to 15 students per teacher (in 48 countries)

16 to 20 students per teacher (in 19 countries)

21 to 25 students per teacher (in 7 countries)

Over 25 students per teacher (in countries)

In India this ration is - 1:15.

And in 126 developing countries number of students per teacher is lower than that of India.

Percentage of lady teacher: In the whole world percentage of lady teacher to the total teacher in first level I 52%, second level - 36 and third level - 12.

In India, these percentages are 39, 32 and 19 respectively. And in developing countries, percentage of lady teachers for the first levels are 48 and 34 respectively.

Number of foreign students: In the year 1980, 8,60,585 foreign students enrolled in 45 countries, Out of this number.

3,11,882 students were enrolled in U.A.S.

1,10,763 student were enrolled in France

62,942 students were enrolled in U.S.S.R.

61,841 students were enrolled in W. Germany

56,003 students were enrolled in Lebanon

28,443 students were enrolled in Canada

27,784 students were enrolled in Italy

21,751 students were enrolled in Egypt

15,888 students were enrolled in Rumania

14,710 students were enrolled in India

Science by the countries of the world was 2.04% of the G.N.P., This rate for the Asian countries was 1.08% of the G.N.P. In India amount of such expenditure is 0.6% of the G.NP.

According to the World estimates of 1989, there were 709 scientists per one million of population.

Countries	No. of Scientists per Million Population
African countries	86
Asian Countries	273
Developing Countries	125
Out of these in: Indonesia	57
Pakistan	63
Philippines	97
Iran	159
Sri Lanka	169
India	47

Source: K. Biswas³⁶.

Thus one study of government expenditure in different levels of education.

	1 st level	2 nd level	3 rd level	4 ^{rt} level
India (1980)	36.0	24.0	13.5	26.5
Pakistan	39.0	32.6	19.7	8.7
Bangladesh	44.2	29.4	23.4	3.0
Afghanistan	43.2	22.0	19.3	15.5
Burma	87.1	-	-	12.9
Algeria	61.1	38.9	-	0.0
Zimbabwe	60.8	23.9	10.6	4.7
Cuba	22.8	43.3	10.6	23.3
U.S.A (1981)	63.4	-	-	36.6
Thailand (1982)	61.1	23.3	12.2	3.4
West Germany	16.0	53.6	15.1	15.3
England	26.2	40.1	22.4	11.3
U.S.S.R. (Erstwhile)	33.7	16.0	23.5	26.8 ³⁷

Sir Kanti Biswas thus pointed to the publication of Books. He said: "Just as book plays a unique role in the spread of education, similarly the standard of education in a country is judged by the quantity and excellence of the books. In 1982, 7,65,00 titles had been published in the world. Of these 10,391 had been brought out in India, 22,920 in China and 51,595 in (erstwhile) Soviet Union. It has been calculated that per one million of population of the world, 167 titles are published in average. In India 15 such titles are published. In Asian countries 58, in African countries 28, in American countries 255, in European countries 558 and in the developing countries 48 titles are published. Despite the fact that 16 per cent population of the world inhabit in India, only 1.3 per cent of the published books are brought out from here. Only 1.4 per cent of the translated titles of the world get published in India"³⁸.

He further adds, "But publication of children literature is an aspect of paramount importance in education. Form the latest available information (1984) titles under the children literature which are published every year in different countries are as follows - in Japan 3,702 titles, in Korea 3859 titles, in Spain 3745 titles, in a small country like Malaysia 668 titles and in our own country 459 titles"³⁹.

The critical assessment of education by the Communist Minister of the previous Left Front Government of West Bengal commented on the subject by the use of paper. To his words: "To ascertain the economic condition of a country the quantum of per capita use of iron and steel in that country is taken into account. Similarly to assess the extent and standard of education of a country the rate of use of paper in that country is treated as a measure. In the world (in 1982) per one thousand population 9,000 kg. of paper is used in average for writing and printing purposes. The rates are 18,908 kgs. In Japan, 2,657 kgs. In Cuba, 1462 kgs. In Sri Lanka and even in Nicaragua, 1875 kgs. Of paper is used. In African countries 1200 kgs. and in Asian countries 3200 kgs. of paper are used. In the developing countries 1800 kgs. of paper is used on an average. And in our India the quantum of the use of paper, stands to a meager amount of 329 kgs. How melancholy is our position in education"?⁴⁰

To him the number of reader of the newspapers is yet, another criterion of the extend of education in a country. "Out of every 1000 persons in the world 112 daily newspapers are sold". A comparative study of several countries has given by him, which we placed below:

Circulation of daily newspaper per one thousand people

World's average	-	122
Asian countries	-	158
African countries	-	18
European countries	-	311
Latin American countries-		86
Developing countries	-	40
India	-	22

Source: Sri K. Biswas⁴¹

Sri Kanti Biswas thus charged the whole state of affairs of education in India and tried to find out a fundamental question, why did Union Government in India (and certainly the ruling Congress (I) government) avoid carrying out the financial responsibilities for the

spread of primary and secondary level of education? He commented: "After ten years of the census in 1951 it was found in 1961 that the number of illiterate persons in India rose by 3 crores. After ten years in 1971 the number was further increased by 4 crores. This time in 1981 the numbers of illiterate person have increased by 7 crores. Whether this advancement has taken place in arithmetic or in the geometric rate we need not go into it. The apprehension that looms large is what is the destination? Where will be the termination of this trend? The number of illiterate persons in our country exceeds the population of India at the time of her independence. Today, in a world with a population 485 crores, India shares a population of 76 crores whereas 44 per cent of the world's total illiterate persons reside here. How much shameful it is; How much disgraceful: The theme of the new education policy (that we will view with a critique's eyes later on) however, is that we have entered into the twenty first century for which we must prepare ourselves. That was they in the first document of this education policy it was boastfully pronounced in a loud and obnoxiously complacent manner that when the world would enter the twenty-first century, 54.8 per cent of the world's total illiterate persons would live in India alone. That was why the Union government had refused to take financial responsibilities for the primary and secondary education. Instead, it resolves to circumscribe its entire duties in running a handful of model schools. And by hopelessly restricting its attitude towards the spread of higher education, this government decides to discharge its democratic duties by turning its eyes to the creation of a few educational centers of excellence"⁴².

One of the main focuses of the Eighth Five Year Plan was employment and human resourced development. The government proposal is on this line: "In line with the high priority accorded to human resource development in the Eight Plan, the budget has substantially stepped up "Social Sector" spending. The outlay for education (mostly meant for primary education) has been increased by 37.6 per cent to Rs. 1,310 crore. Within this provision primary education of girls and adult literacy have been given special emphasis. For health (mostly for

primary health care), the outlay has been increased by 60 per cent to Rs. 483 crores in the next year⁴³.

In the Eighth Five Year Plan more employment has taken as a major goal. It said: "The Government headed by Shri Narasimha Rao initiated a number of measures to revitalize the economy"⁴⁴. In highlighting the 'Eradication of illiteracy' - it said: "Education is an investment in Development"⁴⁵. Thus to fortify this developmental major target it has chalked out: "the target is to make all the people - some 110 million - in the age group of 15-35 years literate by end of the plan period.

This is to be achieved through involving people at all levels in literacy programmes.

There should be special efforts to be made to spread literacy among rural women; and special programmes for educating the tribal people.

Universalization of elementary education.

Diversification of vocational programmes; spread of computer literacy in schools, improving higher/technical education"⁴⁶.

On June 1992 the Government of India has published an informative booklet, "Times of Challenge Times of Change", highlighting its basic line of action. In its Chapter on 'Spread of Literacy' projects its future line of action on education: "The National Literacy programme has now become a people's movement.

Kerala; Pondicherry; Burdwan and Hooghly districts in West Bengal; Gandhinagar and Bhavnagar districts in Gujarat; Sindhudurg and Wardha districts in Maharashtra and Dakshin Kannada district in Karnataka have achieved total literacy through the campaign strategy during 1990-91 and 1991-92.

Literacy campaigns are in progress in about 150 districts.

Campaigns for total literacy have boosted up the demand for enrolment and retention of children in the formal school system, campaign for total literacy has also become campaigns for total

immunization, nutrition, maternity protection and child care, conservation of environment and small family norm.

For the first time country's literacy rate has crossed 50% mark.

Main endeavours in education will be:

- Universalisation of elementary education
- Equalization of educational opportunities
- Women's education and development
- Vocationalisation of school education
- Consolidation of higher education
- Modernization of technical education
- Improvement of quality, content and process of education at all levels⁴⁷.

For the upliftment of the women in our society the Union Government has declared: "Women should be brought into the mainstream of the country's economic development. To achieve this strategy will be: Providing education, awareness generation, vocational training and also to provide employment"⁴⁸.

We have seen earlier the left approach and attitude towards the educational development since 1947, and its achievements and position in different sectors of education in the world perspective. Here also we have produced the alternative approach and provisions made by the government of India, specially, in the Eight Plan period.

Here some comment of Gay Wint may help to understand the two approaches existing in our country. In the introductory chapter of Mr. R. Masani's work 'The Communist Party of India: A Short History' Gay Wint tried to point out the common sector between ideologically antagonistic countries, India and China, and he said: "they have one characteristic in common. It neither can be the aim of government simply to keep an existing social machine for smooth functioning. In each country the urgent need is for a radical transformation; and the governments are

under immense pressure to make them responsible for bringing this about... The demand of all the educated classes is that this state of affairs should be brought to an end. They want their countries modernized, made strong in relation to other countries, and equipped with industry. They want to end for ever the familiar sights of Asian penury – the beggar, the under nourished masses, the hovels and slums, the dirt, disease and squalor⁴⁹.

Thus Gey Wint said: "The prime interest is in material advance. If it appears, from the result of the test in India and China, that by sacrificing freedom there can be a quicker advance materially, much of the intelligentsia will not hesitate to turn communist. Even in India itself this may happen⁵⁰.

Gay Wint pointed out the real cause of conflict between the liberalized and radicalists with his analytical biasness. He said: "While the Indian Government pushes on with its plans of social and economic reform, while its planning commission supervises the monumental Five Year Plan, the efforts to make the present free system of success are under constant attack from the Indian Communist Party. They are boring from within, trying to frustrate all that is done by government in India. The more they succeed, the more they might tip the scale in China's favour in the international competition Though the total votes which is received are still a small fraction of those of Congress, ... by its energy and discipline, has since then been able to win general acceptance as the principal opposition to Congress – and a formidable opposition⁵¹.

Capitalist system had been imposed upon the pre-capitalist society. The final blow to destroy the pre-capitalist system was neither done by the colonial power nor by the Indian bourgeoisie. And it is the cause of all sorts of backwardness, in economic, social and cultural aspect in India. Its reflection is also explicit in Indian education in India. Its reflection is also explicit in Indian education system. Now, to get rid off, from this stalemate conditions, is only possible by the completion of the incomplete democratic revolution. Democratization of the educational

policy and system is an important aspect and agenda of the peoples democratic revolution. The incomplete tasks of democratic revolution can be accelerated by the expansion of educational right, evading superstition, and regionalism from the subject matter of education, on the contrary, developing scientific temperament, democratic and socialistic idea among the people through the content of subject matter.

The Left Front Government in West Bengal has adapted and fixed up its education policy keeping in mind these above mentioned tasks. In the presence of financial limitations, the government spent immensely on education, primary education has received due attention, inclusion of democratic and true scientific values in the text, addition to it. Democratic set up of educational administration is trying to abolish the remnant and conceptions of the pre-capitalist and colonial past. This democratization of administration of the educational administration will certainly cast impact and influence on the nation's education movement and also on the total educational policy of India.

During the freedom struggle movement the education movement was also expanded along with political and economic movement. In the beginning of this century widespread resentment was passed against the contemporary education system. "National Education Council" was established in Bengal. This Council formed an alternative education policy. This education policy provided education through mother tongue and includes matters for the development of patriotic feelings among the countrymen. Ample emphasis was also given for the spread of science and technology. We have already mentioned that Gokhale in 1910 raised demand for free elementary education in the National Legislative Council. But unfortunately that demand was discarded. Even some of the India delegates went against it. But nothing was unnatural and unexpected. A fraction of the stable and aristocratic section of the Indian society although urged for the spread of education, but they did not want its spread to that extent so that common people get the chance to become consolidated and work together to war out and surmount all the imposed and man-made impediments, because this dimension of education was

not in favour of their class interest. During the second decades of this century, the political and social movements became more pro-people with the effect of national and international eventualities. "Although political segments representing the vested interest of bourgeoisie and feudal sections of the society, but almost all the education commission in India deemed to establish a new and appropriate education policy, rejecting thoroughly the old and remnant colonial education system. This new education policy and system will enhance our national interest. To meet this goal they placed detailed policy perception. To complete this monumental task there was a need of certain provisions - education for all, imparting democratic values in the content of education, to adapt suitable programme of action to develop rationality and finally, to allot requisite finance to implement the educational policy. Sri Bhabes Moitra said: "A government's nature can be presumed by how much importance it is laying on education, how much money it is spending and allotting for the educational development. According to the Indian Constitution the basic sources and power rests on the Union Govt. to collect taxes. Thus, collection of money and the responsibility of national welfare also basically rest on it. As a result, the State Governments are too dependent on Central aid. The major economic setback of the state is coming from the inflationary effect due to fallacious economic policy of the Union Government. In this backdrop, the Union Government's fiscal and expenditure policy and its analysis will depict the backlash in the educational development in our country"⁵². Only the Statistics shows that less than 3% of the G.N.P. is being spent for educational development. Earlier, we have found that in comparison with other countries India spends a meager amount for education. After analyzing the yearly budgetary expenditure, on the whole, only 1% has been spent for educational development. But Sir Moitra has an opinion. "We should not conceive always that no development have been ushered in educational endeavour in India. Earmarks can be found in higher education, scientific and technological advancement. But his expansion of knowledge and science has failed to bring any major change in hopes

and aspirations as well as welfare of the common people in our country. Basically, this education is working on the limited sphere and hence preserve and articulates the interest of the monopolists and feudal in our society"⁵³.

Sri B. Moitra has opined: "Marxism gives us this teaching the prevailing political, social and education-culture condition can not remain in such a state permanently. The people of India have realized that they will not get immunity from this under-development, poverty, hunger and exploitation maintained by the bourgeoisie feudal government of theirs. It can be ruminated over, that the Indian pattern and form of capitalism is not matched with European or western kind of capitalist development. Despite its capitalism development, the factors and ingredients of pre-capitalist form of society are still active and working.

In advanced countries capitalism was developed upon the destruction and debris of pre-capitalist society. But this did not happen in India. The policy of 'movement, discussion and improvise' with the colonial rules, but change in the production system as well a change in national and international economic equilibrium and also increases in political consciousness of the working people and their resentment against the imperial rule and feudalism took vehement shape. As a result of it, in 1947, colonial rulers transferred the power to the representative of the bourgeoisie-feudal section in Indian society"⁵⁴.

But coming to power the new ruling class has failed despite promises to usher in any fundamental change and to perform the bare minimum tasks to complete bourgeoisie democratic revolution. Thus, it chalked the economic development, spread of mass-education and scientific and democratic norms and components have not been included in the overall education system. Sri Moitra observed: "The basic objective of education system is to develop man's power of thinking and consciousness, by partaking into the education system development of human potentiality increased. And as much as this scope and standard

increased so much the national wealth and potentialities increased – although by policy perception it has been accepted, time and again, but its reflection has not been shown in practical implementation. The new power regime has done that much which will not go against their interest. The exploitative class in power has tried to preserve the existing distribution system of wealth; likewise, they also try to preserve the existing system of education with its partial and limited scope of spread. In this decaying phase of capitalism, the capitalist have not any other way except to run the national economy in this fashion. Since the spread of education among the working class will destroy the existing status-quo of the social system. On the other hand, if education remains with a handful of people it strengthens the status-quo and it entices the people to that system to adjust with the same”⁵⁵.

But his education cannot match with the demand and requirement of the people. The common approach and interest of the people will be to acquire all the knowledge of all epochs to advance themselves. On the other side, the ruling class will try to use the education system for their means of exploitation. They will try to indoctrinate in their doctrine all the educated people.

In this respect the comment of the “Indian Education Commission – 1966” is worth mentioning. It has said: “It is detrimental to conceive that all education system is good for both individual and society. From the quantitative term, education can be used for the establishment and expansion of social- justice; it can also be used to curb it. There are ample evidences in history that various minority groups and aristocratic communities use education as a means to spread favourable values among people to perpetuate their position. On the other had, evidences are there by providing equal opportunity of education social and cultural revolutions have taken place. And by imparting education consciously in men, different problems of society and nations have been solved through the development of inner potentialities in them”⁵⁶.

The greatest difference between educated and an uneducated person is that the educated persons can read and write and understand on his own and his world is bigger than one who is incapable of reading and writing. He needs to live on the mercy of the educated people. In our time, people are being engaged with different and critical social organizations. The mode of production becomes day by day more critical so in the social life of the people. People need to join and participate in electoral and political systems of various levels and to judge and to take decision aptly on all these matter of public administration. Thus B. Moitra opined: "To do all these vital work efficiently and correctly, education and skill is required. If working people can be educated, they themselves can understand the ins and outs of the policy of each political party, their history, organizational pattern and agenda to reach to a correct decision with more confidence of his personal experience. They need not to depend upon to the mercy and words of other people"⁵⁷. Then he extended his ideas with this comment: "There are many impediments on the way to expand educational facilities to the working mass. The desired educational policy and system of the working mass cannot be established without capturing the political power and state machinery by the unified forces of labour and peasants. To achieve the goal as intermediary programmes on economic and political aspects are being taken, likewise, in the aspects of educational and social revolution intermediary programmes should be taken. The Education movement is a crucial part of the democratic movement"⁵⁸.

IV

Men express themselves by various ways. To lead a successful social life is the most desirable quality of an individual in society. The participation in production system is another cardinal aspect of successful social life by the individual. Here one finds his way to express himself in the highest form. And the relation between production systems and language is very keen. In the higher level of thought language plays a pivotal role.

Diversity of knowledge developed skill of language, extending its help to think big and profoundly and also to develop them materially. Actually the whole thinking process moves through language. The first and foremost condition of stable and free thinking is only possible by free a stable flow of a language. The human intellectual faculty develops through work and thinking process. The individual entity depends a lot on his capacity and power of intelligence and thought process. Naturally, a few questions come to our mind that when there is a deep interconnection between human life and individual development with language than how do we learn a language? How did men learn one or more than one language? Is there any difference among languages in human life? If there is a difference, what is it? And how does vocabulary of a language increase and develop the language? It can be said without going into details that the theoretical analysis of a language touches the chord of all the people everywhere in the world educated, uneducated, literate-illiterate. All normal human beings speak at least in one language. That is to say, all of them know at least one language and this language is his means of life-struggle. And to win these struggle men felt the need to express their idea. And finally we can quote an age-old cliché: "Necessity is the mother of invention". Men, thus create language. Through evolution man has developed his (mechanism for speaking) faculty to a particular stage. "As a result of it, men were able to create, develop a language and also learn to use it perfectly. Thus, through this spontaneous way when a child learns a language, we may call it his-/her mother tongue. So the mother tongue of all is as natural as one's breathing system. This power of mother-tongue adds new power in exchange of views, thought process and also in different activities of men in society. "And in which language should a child learn to read and write? The answer to this question is that the language he uses, exchanges his views, express his feelings, the language he uses in the play-ground and in the school. And certainly it is his mother tongue.... Teaching to learn a second language, whatever the practical use and glitter it possesses, creates impediments to his natural growth... the need

for a second language can be learnt in course of time"⁵⁹. Rabindranath Tagore said in his inimitable language: "The capacity to compose in mother language helps in course of time to learn another language and courageous application of it surmounts all obstacles"⁶⁰.

To support their language policy the Left Front in West Bengal projects Rabindranath Tagore. Rabindranath analysed his opinion of Education in "Sikshar Bahan", "Laksha O Siksha". "Sikshar Sangikar", "Sikshar Herfare" etc. he knew it well, although the role of mother-tongue in education was most natural as well as a rational phenomenon, despite counter arguments will be there. So he wrote in the essay "Sikshar Sangikaran" is 1935: "In education mother tongue is as natural food as breast milk to a baby: I told this universally recognized word long back: I will repeat it still to day. On that day, it was an ugly sound to those ears of men under the illusion of English language. Even today, if it misses the target, I hope, time and again appropriate men will be there to repeat this very simple and easy truth"⁶¹. But Ananda Bazar Patrika wrote: "it is very wise to use Bengali as medium of instruction in all levels of education. Unfortunately, there is no Indian language to carry out this responsibility at the high level of education"⁶².

But genius of Rabindranath knew this point of argument. He wrote in "Sikshar Sangikaran": "How long will we behave like a coward? Can we not tell with full determination that we will carry out the responsibility of higher education in our own Vernacular; we will make it our own?"⁶³ Citing the example of Japan Rabindranath wrote: "Japan was able to spread the best of Europe in her whole country, because she imparted and held education by her own mother tongue. But the capability of Japanese language is not parallel to major Indian languages. The capacity to create new words and vocabulary in our languages are infinite. Again at the intellectual level we are more near to Europe than Japan. But they said forcefully we will establish European knowledge in our academic set up and environment. But, alas, we can not tell it with confidence that we will impart higher education in Bengali and if it is possible and if it is fruitful then the fruits will be enjoyed by all the

countrymen"⁶⁴. Thus he wrote: "Imparting scientific education in Bengali is impossible – it is a lame excuse of a coward. I agree, it is difficult, for that reason we require strong determination. Standard text books are not available in mother tongue, I agree with this opinion, but if we do not provide education, how do we expect standard texts? Standard texts are not coming out in Bengali, if it is a point of limitation, the only remedy is to introduce higher education in our Universities based on Bengali language"⁶⁵. Sri Bhaves Moitra said: "Bengali language is incapable to impart higher education, is a vague term only. The real point is lack of good-will and good intention. But Left Front Government has shown that confidence and implemented the noble idea of Rabindranath in real practice"⁶⁶.

Men realized from their own experience that to win the life struggle, he needs a well built body, sufficient physical and working strength and thought power. He also realized that through vigorous muscular activities he can acquire all the above qualities. So to hold and to increase these powers and qualities it has become part and parcel of his daily activities. Thus through evolution the modern games and sports has got its present shape. Today games and sports and physical exercise are accepted wholeheartedly as social phenomenon. To take a glimpse to any Western and Eastern developed country, we see that ample arrangements are there for games and sports. In one hand it has taken place in general education; on the other hand, in society recognized agencies are taking initiatives to develop this sector of education. The success of socialist countries everywhere is no exaggeration of the fact.

Shri B. Moitra said: "Socialist countries have created ample scope for the people, specially, for the students and youngsters through schools and other organizations. Hundreds and thousands of programmes they have taken to ensure the health and joy of the future citizens. They took this colossal task to make the socialist concept successful and also for the fullest development of the people"⁶⁷.

The aim of general education is highly related with physical education and vice versa. But traditional concept of education is still dominating. Things should be changed for the sake of National interest. "For that reason we need to take a two-way expedition. In one hand, the scope of education should be taken to all and that education should be attached to life of the people. In this systematic arrangement of education, attention of all sections related to education should be given, so that the spread of physical education can be enlarged and expanded with integral part of general education. At present, in West Bengal "Physical Education" is a compulsory subject at the Primary as well as at the Secondary Education"⁶⁸.

Any one who is related with education, directly or indirectly, is familiar with the word "Universal Education", it is also a known fact to them that universal education has not been started in India full-fledgedly. Still today education is limited within a specific population. Universal Education carries a special meaning – it is meant 'Education for all'. There are two sets of education – Formal education and Informal education. "But neither Formal education nor Informal education is all perfect. The synthesis of them can take us to our cherished goal... In the modern world formal education has been recognized as birth right to all children. This right is a must in all socialist countries even in all the developed capitalist countries has tendered this right to their citizens... The absence and non-recognition of 'Formal Education' by the ruling class of our country and society is least advanced in the field of education... It is said education is a powerful weapon to change the society. It is no exaggeration of the fact. Real education develops mental power and flourishes human qualities. And human being is the real force for overall development and works as panacea to solve every kind of social problem. Thus, we need the spread of education and educational modernization for the total development of society as well as to solve national problems and crises"⁶⁹.

In an economically divided society, the poor young boys and girls can not get the light of education without the state entrepreneurship.

And for that reason allotment of huge money is required. Total literacy and education can not be obtained or materialized without money. "But who will take this responsibility? Guardians, State Governments or Central Government? Guardians are trying their level best. The roles of State Governments are also not miserly. Moreover, the direct pressures of the people are on the State Government. Even if they try to avoid, this pressure does not allow them to avoid the task. And States like West Bengal and Tripura with progressive governments in power spends on an average 25 per cent of the total budgetary allotment ... Union government has accepted that it spends a meager amount of its G.N.P. for the education in comparison with other countries"⁷⁰.

'Universalisation of Education' does not mean providing scope of education to all. It is closely related with the concept of equalization of education. Somewhere it has provided latest scientific equipment's method and somewhere minimum facilities have not been insured. This condition is incompatible with the concept of equalization of educational opportunities. Democratic and universal education system demands to obtain equal success for all, equal educational facilities should be provided or opened up. In West Bengal and in Tripura, two left governments are active to reach this despite economic limitations, to set up an alternative system almost in every sector. In the prevalent socio-economic structure considering the prospects and limitations of these programmes movement and struggle can be elevated to the next stage so that right to 'universalisation of education' can be enjoyed"⁷¹.

In 1968 UNESCO had declared in a report 'Inevitably the conception must be limited to an illiterate man with regard to state life and other greater aspects. The ways to enter in a coherent world of knowledge is closed to them. Illiteracy is thus standing as great obstacle to create endeavour to develop perfect citizens. There is nothing extraordinary that a State which likes to establish its rule on a profound basis of democratic foundation, that country will certainly literate her citizens"⁷². Since 1974 under the guidance of Asia-Pacific Programme of Educational Innovation for Development or APEID is conducting literacy

mission in 24 countries. This UNESCO sponsored organization has finished its 1st, 2nd and 3rd sets of literacy programmes in 1977, 1981 and in 1986 respectively. In this fourth programme it has stated its principle: "Education for all" and "To restructure education in accordance with social need". Thus, it has also stated: "Education is a fundamental human right and an important medium for the manifestation and development of the individual"⁷³. To Sri B. Moitra: "Its political implication is immense - world Communist movement also teaches us this lesson. The movement of the spread of education and literacy is a most powerful ingredient of democratic movement ... To ensure 'literacy for all' 'Universal education' is a must"⁷⁴.

V

It is an age long demand of the people of West Bengal and of India to make the subject-matter of education more life-centric and to make the educational opportunities easily accessible. In 1977, after coming into the power the Left Front Government had taken some measures to meet this age long demand of the people. To express his idea on this subject Sri B. Moitra said: "So far we have seen, it has reflected the idea that the Left Front is patronizing all sorts of liberal-mental faculties working out from the all limitations. The basic motive force of this government is to give priority to the desires and aspirations and needs of the majority people. For that reason, separatism, fundamentalism, repression of the Harijans are not being entertained. The education policy of Left Front is also based on this principle. And to implement this basic policy conflict is arising. This conflict can not be avoided without sacrificing the principle. The Left Front Government has taken the path of struggle, a better choice than to sacrifice the principle. It is the actual cause of headache of those people who believe in opposite principles"⁷⁵.

Let us go through some information. The Education policy of the Left Front Government has been explicitly described in the aims and objectives of the Primary Education. It has said: "There are certain aspects of human development, viz. Physic, knowledge, Activity and

Sensation. To follow this trend of development this can be said that way to acquire knowledge to develop thought-process can only be achieved by the help of mother-tongue and learning the skill of elementary mathematics, even development of sense, to develop good habits and aesthetics, to develop good habits about individual and social health and above all to develop democratic values free from exploitation and to develop mental-structure free from all kinds of social and natural or physical obscurantism and prejudices. And to habituate with this type of life pattern is the basic goal of primary education⁷⁶. It has also stated: "On the basis of this general goals of education with the stages of maturation appropriate knowledge, skill and other principles of desired intellectual faculties can be determined, these are -

1. To grow scientific temperament and views on natural and social phenomena i.e. emphasis has been laid on curiosity, spirit of discovery and observation.
2. To grow a correct and perfect mentality with regard to the contribution of the working people in the advance of human civilization and to create the wealth of nation.
3. To grow a sense of dignity about the productive and the contribution of the labour.
4. To grow patriotism in the light of humanism and universal fraternity
5. To grow regard for the democratic and humanistic values
6. To arouse aesthetic senses⁷⁷.

Thus, Sri Moitra argued: "Let a reader assess which article or part of this education policy announced by the Left Front Government is not at par with the National Education Policy; which statement of our education policy is against the principle of the Constitution? Even a staunch critic of Left Front will not tell that neither the Indian Constitution nor the education policy was drafted by the principle of Marxism.

The changes brought under the primary and secondary education of West Bengal if we analyze, the education policy and programmes have been adopted keeping parity with democratic principles of educational productivity of any country in the world ... The life-centralism is the greatest characteristics of this education policy. The difference between old and new lies here. If any one says it is an imitation of Marxian principle, then we must say the other name of Marxism is rationality and humanism⁷⁸.

All of us agree with this point that a nation cannot develop neglecting education. And in our modern age a state cannot play the role of a silent spectator in regard to education. Although, in state run education system, which percentage of people will be provided what type of education, it depends on the socio-economic condition as well by the character of the state. "In a class-ridden society, the constitution is the basic means to maintain a particular class rule. Written Constitution is an indispensable part of modern state-affairs. In a exploitation ridden society it constitutes Constitution to sub serve the exploitation interests of the state. The constitution makers projects the provision of equality, justice and neutrality to hide anti-people purpose ... This means attitude of the state can easily be understood by analyzing any one constitution of this model or state. It provides a particular right in a particular column of the Constitution, on the other hand, it takes away that right in other provision. It is no contradictory characteristic of that constitution – but it is the basic feature of that Constitution. For example, in the Indian Constitution in the column of the Directive Principles of State Policy, the Constitution categorically stated that the state administration should be directed in such a way that may ensure right to education and employment. It has also stated that free and compulsory education should be provided to each and every boy and girl of 14 years of age within ten years. But this right has not been placed under the Fundamental Right. Thus the whole thing became a loud sounding nothing⁷⁹.

After the introduction of the Constitution, "the Union Government tried to take away the 'Education' from the state list to the Union list. The reason put in favour of it was that "The Central Government has sufficient power to implement the education policy and the recommendations of different education commissions and committees cannot be implemented otherwise"⁸⁰. The Union Government has not placed yet the report publicly, about the initiatives taken in implementing the suggestions and recommendations of the Kothari Commission (1964-66). Since 1975, the Union Government has centralized the all power - since then what measures have been taken by them for the universalization of education, for the establishment of 'common school' for the total development of education and to eliminate discrimination, for the raising of the overall educational standard or quality of all teaching personnel's, for the increases of the professional perquisites, for liberalizing scholarships for the economically backward and meritorious students? What is their achievement? Who is holding their hands or curbing their powers? The reason put forth by the Union Government about the limitation of sufficient constitutional power to implement the recommendations and educational policies is a lame excuse. It is pretention on their part. Evocation of 'well-administration' by following 'steam-roller policy' can only suggest and favour the cause of concentration of power"⁸¹.

It would not be irrelevant to mention here the opinion of the Kothari Commission (1964-66) with regard to take away Education from the state list to the Union list. In the words of Kothari Commission - "We have examined the matter most carefully ... we do not hold the same view altogether. We differ on certain point with the members of the Commission. We do not agree with all their proposals, with regard to the transfer of education from the State list to the Union list. We hold the opinion of the constitution is the best to put the subject matter like education in the state list in a huge country like ours ... to take away education in the Union list will be the unnecessary concentration of power. And thus, the whole system of education will be stiff and rigid

specially, in a diversified society and country like India. Through rough analysis we have come to this determination that present rules and regulations have provided ample scope to formulate joint programme of action and their fullest implementation”⁸².

Thus, the total and even development of all sectors can only be possible by accepting the rights of the states. “Snatching all rights of the states and blatant concentration of power only creates grievances among the people of the states. Destroying the basic principles of democracy and federalism the tasks of total development and national integrity can not be carried out. “Unity in diversity’ this feeling of Indian can only be implemented standing firmly on the principle of federalism. Nanya Pantha Vidhate Ayanaya”⁸³.

As a matter of fact, the lack of proper and coherent education policy and system has increased the number of illiterate, on the other hand failed to use the proper personnel to engage them in the task for social upliftment. The statement of Sri P.A. Sangma, the Union Labour Minister, in the Parliament focused this picture. In the statement he said: “In the list of Employment Exchange there are names of 31,700 medical students and 95,600 engineers. Apart from this in list the total names of educated (Matric and above) unemployed is 20 lakhs and 90 thousand and the numbers of other employed persons are 12 lakhs and 50 thousands. It shows the record upto December, 1990”⁸⁴.

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61. Translated from Bengali, Tagore, R. N. *Sikshar Sangekaran – 1935*, Rabindra Nath Rachana Samagna, Vishva Bharati Publication, 1950.
62. Ananda Baza Patrika, 8th May, 1979.
63. *Shikshar Sangekaran – 1935*, Tagore, R.N., Complete Works in Bengali Version – Visha Bharati University, 1950.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*
66. Moitra, B., *Siksha Prasangae*, p. 47.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 56 & 57.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 59,60.
72. Annual Report of the UNESCO, 1968.
73. APIED Report 1987, p.3 (Sponsored and Published by UNESCO).
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75. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
77. *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
80. Dev Goutam, "Anaihya O Niti hinater Biruddha Abiram Sanbgram Chalete Habe, Chattra Sangaram, SFI Publication, 1980, West Bengal.
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82. Para 18, 30 pp. 829-30, Indian Educación Comisión Report, 1966.
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