



EDUCATION

AND

SOCIAL CHANGE

**RAJYA SABHA SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI
1988**

Proceedings of the Seminar
on
EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE
held as part of the
Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan Centenary Celebrations

on
Wednesday, the 7th September, 1988

in the
**Main Committee Room, Parliament House Annexe
New Delhi**

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Our Participants in the Seminar

1. Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma, Vice-President of India and Chairman, Rajya Sabha.
2. Shrimati Pratibha Devisingh Patil, Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha.
3. Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.P.
4. Prof. G. Ram Reddy, Vice-Chancellor, Indira Gandhi National Open University.
5. Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy, M.P.
6. Shri M. P. Bhargava, ex-M.P.
7. Prof. (Shrimati) Asima Chatterjee, M.P.
8. Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan, ex-M.P.
9. Dr. (Shrimati) Kapila Vatsyayan, Secretary, Department of Arts.
10. Shri S. Sethuraman, Journalist.

INTRODUCTION

The birth centenary of the Philosopher-Statesman Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan was celebrated this year from September 5—7, 1988 by the Rajya Sabha. To pay our humble tributes to this great son of India, a number of functions were organised as part of the centenary celebrations. One of the functions was a Seminar on 'Education and Social Change' which was held on September 7, 1988. Members of Parliament, Educationists, Journalists and other eminent persons participated in the Seminar which was inaugurated by Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma, Vice-President of India and Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. It was thought that the proceedings of this Seminar wherein a number of thought-provoking suggestions were made would be of interest to all, especially to those who are concerned with the formulation and implementation of the New Education Policy. The proceedings of the Seminar are, therefore, published in the following pages. I hope the readers will find them interesting and useful.

SUDARSHAN AGARWAL,
Secretary-General

NEW DELHI;
September, 1988.

SEMINAR ON 'EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE'
IN THE MAIN COMMITTEE ROOM,
PARLIAMENT HOUSE ANNEXE,
NEW DELHI

PROGRAMME

WEDNESDAY, THE 7TH SEPTEMBER, 1988

5.30 p.m	.	.	.	Welcome Speech by the Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha.
5.35 p.m	.	.	.	Speech by the Chairman, Rajya Sabha and inauguration of the Seminar.
5.45 p.m	.	.	.	Tea break.
6.00 p.m	.	.	.	Speeches by the participants
8.00 p.m	.	.	.	Vote of Thanks by the Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha.

[MR. CHAIRMAN IN THE CHAIR]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Hon. Chairman, Sir, distinguished guests and friends, it is indeed a pleasant duty to welcome you to this Seminar, the theme of which as you all know, is 'Education and Social Change'. We feel particularly happy over the fact that we have with us this evening our Chairman, Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma. Chairman, Sir, you are an educationist yourself. It is, indeed befitting that to honour the educationist Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, in whose memory this Seminar is dedicated, we should have an educationist of your eminence to inaugurate this Seminar. Sir, you had taught at various universities and I will not be surprised if some of your students are present here.

Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan whose birth centenary the nation is celebrating this year was a teacher himself. His birth day which falls on September 5 is celebrated every year all over the country as 'Teachers' Day'. This speaks eloquently for his love and affection towards the teaching community. A teacher throughout his life, Dr. Radhakrishnan was attracted towards philosophy because he found that philosophy had been of considerable help to him in giving him a purpose of life and in giving him a goal to work for.

Education bears a symbiotic relationship with social change. Faulty education leads to disorganised society. Narrow mindedness, parochialism, false pride, caste and class cleavages that exist in our society do indicate that all is not well with our educational system. We have today more schools, colleges and other centres of learning than 40 years ago but this proliferation of schools and colleges has not led to the desired change in our society. All this clearly suggests that in order to bring about a qualitative change in our society we have to revamp our entire educational system. Almost giving an agenda for reform Dr. Radhakrishnan once said:

We have men and women energetic and eager to do their best and we have vast natural resources also. In spite of all these things, what is it that prevents us from achieving

something great and glorious here? I say that it is the lack of proper education in quality as well as in quantity. When we look at the country and the vast problems which it is facing, it is the educated men, men who have competence and skill, who have a sense of direction, who have a social purpose, it is such people who will be able to transform our societies. If we are to achieve that, we have to tackle our educational problems more seriously than we have done hitherto. This must be regarded as the highest priority in any kind of social and economic reconstruction in our country.

Our participants in the Seminar are all men and women of profound learning. Some of them are dealing with educational matters directly, being closely associated with universities. Others are deeply interested in matters pertaining to education as potent medium of social change. We would certainly benefit from their views.

I welcome you once again, Chairman, Sir, and request you to kindly inaugurate this Seminar.

Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN*: Shrimati Pratibha Patil, Deputy Chairman, Members of Parliament, veteran leaders and friends:

As has been mentioned, it is proper that in this Seminar on the occasion of the birth centenary of Dr. Radhakrishnan, the subject chosen for discussion is 'Education and Social Change', because education has always been considered as an instrument of social change. A great deal can be achieved by proper education.

Bapu, while fighting for India's independence devoted time and energy to educate and had also worked out a system of basic education. He was very clear in mind that certain attitudes have got to be built up so far as children are concerned and they can be built up only when they are imbibed not by somebody telling, but automatically. He was a real

**Spoke ex-tempore. His speech contains beautiful quotations from Gandhiji, Dr. Radhakrishnan and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He has also quoted from various Sanskrit texts.*

teacher, I would say. Once a question was put to Dr. Zakir Husain, who also favoured the idea of basic education. He was asked what was wrong with the public schools. There also the hobbies of crafts like clay modelling were inculcated. He said Gandhiji had emphasised that children should be taught such crafts which are useful to the society. That is why the crafts that have to be chosen should be of social value. I have put this in a very vague manner, but that is the meaning behind it. Here I will just give a quotation from Bapu himself. He said:

"My plan to impart primary education through the medium of village handicrafts like spinning and carding etc., is conceived as the spearhead of a silent social revolution fraught with the most far-reaching consequences."

He chose the crafts to spearhead the social revolution:

"It will provide a healthy and moral basis of relationship between the city and the village, and thus go a long way towards eradicating some of the worst evils of the present social insecurity and poisoned relationship between the classes."

This he said in "Harijan" on October 9, 1937. That is the beginning of the whole concept of basic education that was worked out. Here we have got to remember that we cannot neglect education because it was considered vital and it is vital for bringing about the society as was envisaged by our freedom fighters, by Bapu himself and by his followers. Social change can be brought about by our change in attitude and understanding at an early age. But, it applies not only to that age, but later on also.

As I said in the beginning education is to remove mental darkness. Dr. Radhakrishnan himself used to refer to it from time to time. I would just give you a quotation from Dr. Radhakrishnan himself, who, you know, was a great teacher or Guru. Before I quote him, permit me to refer to the basic sense of the word 'Guru'. It has two letters—'Gu' and 'Ru'. 'Gu' stands for darkness and 'Ru' stands for light. So, Guru is one who takes you from darkness to light. Now, this is what Dr. Radhakrishnan said:

"We are demanding a more equitable social order. We can achieve it only if we plan our education properly and

strive to eliminate the sources of iniquities and injustice. Education is the means for the reconstitution of society."

This is the subject of today:

"If we are to prepare ourselves for a democratic order, our education must have in view the development of each and every individual as a producer, as citizen, as a human-being. He must have opportunity to develop to the utmost his innate ability and genius, physical, mental and spiritual. Equality of opportunity is the basic principle of democracy and that can be realised only if we have faith in the dignity of the human soul."

Here you will see that Bapu and Dr. Radhakrishnan in their expression—their language differed—had the same basic content in bringing about an economic or social change. Their emphasis was on change in attitude. That is also what was all the time emphasised by another great teacher—Vinoba Bhave. He also in his own inimitable way used to say that the object of education is not to give knowledge of facts. The real object of it is to give the individual the method by which he can enrich his knowledge. The student has not got to be made a store-house of information. That is not the purpose of education but he should be able to discern between what is good and what is not; if something is needed where he can get it. So that way it is a very important question and all of you who have gathered here, I know all are interested in social and economic transformation of our country and also, at the same time, in order that it may be real, bringing about a social order where every citizen of India will be a participant in bringing about the change with equal participation in deliberations and that is where we have problems and she has referred to so many things. Are we able to reach that? Are we lacking? I do not know whether it is within the purview of the seminar but I do feel that we will have to put our mind to this also that how we can bring about this particular change and I would suggest that whatever conclusions you reach here let them be known to others also. Here I see some Professors, I see one Acharya also. Acharya Rangaji. We have said:

"मातृ देवो, पितृ देवो, आचार्य देवो"

One meaning of "Acharya" is that one who makes the mind move, intellect move, thoughts move. Of course, I say it is also connected with "acharan". A guru has got acharan which

has its own effect. I am reminded of the old saying "शिष्यम् पापम् गुरुम् अजेत" The guru is also sharer in the sins committed by *sishtya*. Now, how all this can be achieved has got to be thought of. Here, Members of Parliament, you are the people who have got to frame and decide and work out an atmosphere. Now, all this is there and the work is difficult. We cannot afford to leave it because sometimes in the mind it comes, the problems are so large, what can we do? What one man can do? What a handful of people can do? So my answer here again is, I spoke about Bapu; Gandhiji said: "Give me one satyagrahi and swaraj is nearer." The same thing applies here also. But another thing is that we cannot afford to neglect it. So I hope in the seminar the various viewpoints will come and the speciality that is always important, of seminars is the coming together of different points of view that itself is something which makes one think. I hope and wish that your deliberations will be fruitful in the sense that different viewpoints will lead to this further movement in this and that has got to be achieved. Here I end with another quotation. I am not giving mine much. I am quoting because everybody will say: Who is this man? What right has he got to talk about these things? That is why I quoted Bapu, I quoted Dr. Radhakrishnan and I cannot resist quoting my "Acharya" and I am using the word "Acharya" in the sense which I have told you; my guru was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. "Education is means to free the spirit of man and not to imprison it in set frames." Here he has put it very pithily what has been the thought of India throughout because that is one thing where we have moved away and we have suffered and that is the continuous inquisitiveness. A man should continue to have inquisitiveness. That is why every time there is the *jigyasa* and, then, there is method that has been adopted and this is what was said by Pandit Nehru and the same thing I find was said by the great poet Kalidasa and that was "Every thing that is old is not gold." I think, that is how I put it. That is why it is for the younger generation to think as to how can this be done. It is easier where a large number of teachers are present, there could be personal contact. But we cannot leave it at that stage. How we can work out is something where serious consideration by the people and this combination which is here—is needed and I hope it will result in good results because we are in need of better education not for the students themselves but for the future society as a whole. Thank you very

much. You have permitted me to share not some of my thoughts but some of the thoughts that I have gathered from our gurus and where I included Bapu, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Radhakrishnan. Thank you very much.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the participants of the seminar and on my behalf I wish to thank our hon. Chairman for giving this inaugural address. We are really grateful to you, Sir, for your inspiring words. We would now adjourn for tea and will reassemble here after twenty minutes. Let us proceed to the banquet hall and be here in time.

(The meeting adjourned for tea at fifty-nine minutes past five of the clock).

(After the tea-break)

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN IN THE CHAIR]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Respected participants, before I request the four speakers to come over here and speak here or speak from their seats, I would like to bring to your notice that we have to be ready for dinner at 8.00 p.m. and there are about 8 to 9 speakers. So, approximately, the time would be about 10 to 12 minutes. I would, in the first instance, only request the hon. participants to be careful about the time schedule. First of all, I would request Professor N. G. Ranga to please start the Seminar.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Madam Deputy Chairman, it is a great privilege, for all of us, to be assembled today to pay our homage to 'Bharat Ratna' Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. He was a teacher of teachers. In our own parlance, we call him Maha-Maha Upadhyay and I met him in Oxford, where he came for the first time, to deliver Hibbert lectures. As you know, in England and especially in Oxford and Cambridge, teachers are not very eloquent, professors and speakers are not very eloquent. Students are not obliged to attend lectures but Dr. Radhakrishnan proved to be an exception. His lectures were overcrowded and that was when what was known as the Boat Race week when it was very difficult for students to tear themselves away from the excitement of boat race and yet all the other professors were surprised very pleasantly that here

was one professor and that too from the east, who came there for the first time, and whose lectures were overcrowded and that continued for six days. I think that was a time when I had the opportunity of knowing him as a teacher, as a lecturer and as a friend. As a friend, you cannot find a better companion. As a conversationalist, he was so lively and as a teacher, he was very inspiring. Then came the time when he became the Chairman of the UNESCO in Paris and he brought great credit for India and he brought the teachers of the world to the fore by insisting that their conditions should be improved, conditions of pay, of treatment, etc. and it was at his instance that the World Teachers' Day came to be adopted and implemented and ever since, it has been celebrated. That is how he brought credit for the teachers, put life into their profession and gave them an opportunity to make their best contributions to the society, without having too many cares so far as their own domestic things are concerned. Dr. Radhakrishnan, as a philosopher, is world famous and as a politician, he became a statesman and as Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, over which yourself and your chief have the honour today to preside, he brought prestige as well as wisdom. He ruled the Rajya Sabha not by the rules but by his personality and his sense of humour and he treated us all, the big and the small, the old and the young as if we were his students in a university. His call was never defied, his order was never questioned. He used to ask the tallest of us to sit down when he thought we have had enough time to speak and in that way, he regulated the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha. There were rules also. I was one of the Members of the Rules Committee over which he presided and we formulated them. We had not to think of the rules at all but we had only to look at him; we knew when to stop, we knew when we were being appreciated, and so on. Dr. Radhakrishnan gave a new turn to our teachers and to our education also. He presided over the University Commission and gave suggestions. Not all of them have come to be adopted. Not all of them could be adopted also. Nevertheless, he led the way to the formation or foundation of the University Grants Commission, which today, is looking after the interest of all the teachers and lecturers in universities and indeed, in all other educational institutions. What more can one say about Dr. Radhakrishnan except that even the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, had to take note of his resentment when the Chinese invaded our country and found us and our army in a very very weak position?

The country was humiliated. It was Radhakrishnan and his word and prowess which were responsible for changing the Cabinet, the personnel of the Cabinet and for changing the policy of the Government also. The policy was changed, but not adequately. Tibet is still suffering from the blunder which we committed at that time. But Radhakrishnan tried his best to maintain the prestige of our country in spite of that defeat.

As a statesman he ranks very high. Though he was not the Prime Minister, though he never held any ministerial office, he used to help the Prime Minister as well as the Ministers as if they were his students treating them decently, honourably. He respected them and, at the same time, when the need arose, he did not hesitate to admonish them. That was Radhakrishnan. And, as I said, when I was a Member of the Rajya Sabha, I worked under him.

There was also an occasion when we had to decide in favour of socialist-orientation of our planning. Radhakrishnan was all for it. But he would not allow, he would not countenance, any dictatorial turn or orientation to be given to our planning. He was in Russia for three years. And he was respected there although our Embassy was being neglected, ignored. Although his predecessor could not get any interview with their top leaders, he himself was able to get one or two interviews. He impressed upon Soviet Russia that India stood not by ancient ideals, but ideals which had come to be considered throughout the world as eternal and that is how he brought to light what is known as humanism, the cult of humanism. And it is that cult of humanism which our present-day teachers should try to propagate. He did his best to promote the cause of humanism and I hope the present-day teaching world would try to make their own contribution in such a manner that it would do credit to Radhakrishnanji and at the same time it would be befitting a country which has produced Buddha whom Radhakrishnan venerated.

Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you. Prof. G. Ram Reddy, Vice-Chancellor, Indira Gandhi National Open University.

PROF. G. RAM REDDY: Madam Chairperson and friends. In the beginning you said, Madam, that each speaker should not take more than 10 to 12 minutes. It is an excellent ruling. But some of the participants today are professional teachers and I am one of them and once you give the floor to a professional teacher, the minimum time he takes is 50 minutes! Not that I am going to repeat that performance this evening. I am also aware of the fact that there are several other colleagues who are also teachers. I shall try not to exceed 12 minutes, but the greatest punishment you can give a teacher is to ask him to speak only for 10 minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: In the class-room, the teacher is the master. But here, there is somebody else.

PROF. G. RAM REDDY: Thank you, Madam. I join the other distinguished speakers in paying tributes to Dr. Radhakrishnan on the occasion of his birth centenary. The topic chosen for the seminar is "Education and Social Change". Education is an instrument of social change. There is a close linkage between the two. This evening, I would like to look at it from the point of view of access to education. My proposition is as follows. If access to education is wider, it will lead to social change on a wider scale and *vice versa*. When we look at the trends in education during the last four decades in this country, vast expansion has taken place in the educational system of this country. For instance, the number of educational institutions has increased from 230,000 to 690,000. The student population has increased from 208 millions to 104 millions. There are now more than 5500 colleges and 170 universities. With all these Madam, access to education is limited. When we look at the educational scene in this country, certain factors are revealing and I mention some of them.

- (1) There are low retention and high drop-out rates at the school level.
- (2) The backlog of illiterates in absolute terms keeps on increasing.
- (3) Educational facilities are mostly being taken advantage of by middle and upper classes.

No wonder one social scientist has said and I quote: "Education in this country is like the God that has failed." Those interested in social justice have to ask the question

why this is so? It is because of the nature of the system itself. That is, the nature of the educational system. It is a formal system and the formal system has the following characteristics:

- (1) In a formal system, when we talk of education, it has to be pursued when a person is young.
- (2) Education has to be pursued on a full-time basis.
- (3) Teaching has to be done by a full-time teacher.
- (4) Teaching takes place in the class-room and there has to be face-to-face interaction.

In addition, a few other characteristics of the formal system are single-point entry—that is, a student enters at a certain stage and he goes on—and sequential annual promotion. Now, without these five or six characteristics, the assumption today is that there can be no education. One other distinguished educationist, J. P. Naik, has called it a one-shot affair meant for childhood and youth. Suppose a person cannot afford to go to school; suppose a person is not very young; suppose there are no full-time teachers; what does it mean? Does it mean that there can be no education? These are old concepts and I think we have to look at them critically now. A stage is now reached when even the most affluent countries are not able to provide education to people unless they abandon their exclusive dependence on the formal system of education. Further expansion becomes difficult where resources are scarce. Therefore, we are compelled to think in terms of alternatives in education.

What are the alternatives? One alternative is non-formal system of education. The other alternative is informal system. By non-formal education I mean any organised, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to broad sub-groups in the population, adults as well as children.

Informal education is a life-long process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insight from daily experience and exposure to environment at home, at work, at play; it is also called incidental education. Among the important alternatives in education is distance education. It is gaining in importance all over the

world in developed as well as developing countries. It is called by a variety of names: home study, external system, open learning, etc. But the main characteristics of this system are two:

- (1) There is to be a quasi-permanent separation of teacher and learner throughout the length of learning process;
- (2) Influence of an educational organisation both in planning and preparation of learning material and providing student support services. There are now more than twenty open universities in the world; In Asia itself there are about twenty.

This is being developed as an alternative system of education. It provides the maximum flexibility in the educational system; flexibility with regard to entry, flexibility with regard to learning process, flexibility with regard to the choice of courses, flexibility with regard to completion. One studies according to his own pace and convenience. Now in this country there is a move to start national open school. The New Education Policy, I am happy to mention, lays a tremendous emphasis on non-formal and informal systems of education. However, it needs to be strengthened further in the following areas:

- (1) We do not at the moment have sufficient trained manpower;
- (2) At the moment awareness about these systems is very weak;
- (3) Adequate funds are not made available;
- (4) The quality of the material in this system has to be very high if it is to have legitimacy.

I hope in the next Plan these aspects would be taken care of. To conclude, all these years we have put our eggs in one basket, that is, formal education. Now we must think of different baskets. For too long we have worshipped only one god. Now we need to worship different types of gods. Thank you very much.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I thank Prof. Reddy for his suggestions based on his personal experience as a Vice-Chancellor. I would now request the honourable Member of Parliament and leader of the largest Opposition group in Rajya Sabha, Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy, to speak.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Madam Chairman, on this auspicious day when we are celebrating the birth centenary of Dr. Radhakrishnan it is appropriate that you have chosen the subject, "Education and Social Change", for the symposium. I am not an expert on education. But as a student of public affairs I dabble in thoughts and ideas. So my colleagues here must pardon me if my thoughts and ideas are not up to the mark. Madam, I think India is a cavalcade of centuries. We see in India coexistence of many generations, coexistence of many centuries. Therefore, to bring all the people to one century, twentieth or twentyfirst, is a tremendous task. Though it is a tremendous task, in view of the prevailing compulsions we have to perform this any how. India is called a developing country. We lack many things which the advanced West possesses: talent, technology, resources, management and so on. We lack all these tools badly in India. But one thing we have which the West does not have. We have a reservoir of human energy. My complaint has always been that Indian planners and administrators have not fully tapped this reservoir of energy. This reservoir cannot be utilised effectively unless we plan for utilisation of that energy, and for making the people co-participants, co-sharers, and if I may use the word, fellow-travellers of development. We have to think in revolutionary terms. In the western countries we have seen renaissance, reformation and revolution. In India we can also have renaissance and revolution provided we are able to utilise, employ the human resources very effectively. Unfortunately we have neglected this problem for forty years. Education should have been the primary requisite of any development. I am one who believes that without education, relevant and appropriate education, we cannot bring about social change and economic transformation. In other developed or developing countries, where education occupied top priority, all sorts of advance have taken place. Whichever countries lagged behind in education also lagged behind in development and progress. That is why the remark of the great economist of Sweden, Mr. Myrdal, is relevant today. He said: "Investment in health and education is an investment in man."

Therefore, we should give top priority, adequate importance, to education. Because of paucity of time, I would like to touch upon four or five things briefly which, to my mind, are important.

Education has got to be relevant and appropriate and I have already said it. What does it mean? Most of our population live in the villages and so, education should have a rural bias, first and foremost. It should have, as its strategy, teaching of agriculture, allied activities, health, and so on. Secondly, nearly one-third of our population represents the work force, the labour force. Seventy-five to eighty per cent of this labour force, lives in the villages; and I am told that by 2000 A.D. we will be having nearly about 300 million workers. Therefore, our educational system should train these men and this work force. There are studies done in the West which have shown that when the workmen were educated, productivity had increased between 60 to 70 per cent. With a view to achieving economic progress and productivity, it is necessary to educate the working class in various skills.

The third point of mine is that the number of students between 5 years and 24 years of age is about 160 million in the country. They are the most productive class. I remember the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan in this context:

"Our educational system is so evolved or so formulated or so fitted that our young men go to schools and colleges and when they come out of schools and colleges, they find themselves in a blind alley, find themselves helpless, totally helpless."

Therefore, we must see to it that these young men do not feel helpless and do not feel frustrated. They do not know what to do because there is no practical or pragmatic bias in our educational system. My point, therefore, is that we must utilize and employ these youths who constitute a large segment of our population in productive activities.

My next point is this: We have universities and colleges attached to these universities, a number of them. But these universities have become islands by themselves. They are not involved in tackling the national problems. There is only a pretence of this exercise being made to involve the universities. I say it is pretence because no real effort has been made to

involve the universities in tackling the problems of the nation. Therefore, another vital element which should form part of the strategy of our educational system is missing. Our universities are not used for the socio-economic development of this country adequately.

Lastly, there is another problem. There is a study according to which nearly one per cent in any society, in any community, in any nation comprise talented people. It does not vary because of backwardness or forwardness of any particular community or any nation. In any community or in any society or in any nation, one per cent of the people represent the top class. You can call it the super talent, and they have not so far been identified in India. If we go by this study we will find that there may be seven to eight million super talented people available in the country.

Finally, I would like to say that education as an instrument of development has to be used more radically, more thoroughly and in a more revolutionary manner, and education can bring about a vast change in the attitude, in the behaviour, in the outlook, of the nation. Education, to me, is civilization. Therefore, when the Planning Commission prepares the next Plan, it should give the topmost priority to education and there should be a quantum jump in the funds for education and also a radical change in the curricula, in the methods and the strategy in the next Plan. Thank you very much.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: Madam Chairman, there could have been no better occasion than today to organize a seminar on "Education and Social Change" during the birth centenary celebrations of Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, whose life is a very shining example of what can be achieved by proper education being applied for social change. I just give two instances. While he was Ambassador in Russia, he came to know about the anti-national activities of one of the diplomats and he brought it to the notice of Stalin in his own manner, and within 24 hours the diplomat was recalled. The second instance: When India was facing food problem. It was not getting enough quantities of wheat, again Dr. Radhakrishnan as the Ambassador in Russia came to our help. He spoke to Stalin, and a shipment of wheat was despatched within 2 days.

Acquiring knowledge is, in my opinion, the main aim of education. Education is a life-long process for everybody. It is not merely studying in schools and colleges as education is

widely understood today. If we look back in Indian history, we find that the Britishers were not interested in developing proper education for our countrymen. They only gave such education to a limited section of people who could be instrumental in running the country in their own interest. Our Father of the Nation realised this. And he gave us the philosophy of non-violence and practice of truth even in fighting for freedom. India got freedom in 1947 and the process started for self-government. The Constituent Assembly was convened and our Constitution was drafted. And finally it resulted in the establishment of the Indian Republic in 1950. As Rashtrapatiji rightly remarked, India was fortunate in having a Gandhian Dr. Rajendra Prasad, as President, a scholar Dr. Radhakrishnan, as Vice-President and out and out democrat Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, as Prime Minister. This trio gave a proper start to the working of the Indian Republic and set proper precedents for running this great democracy. There was no dearth of great teachers in all fields of life, including politics, in those days. In our olden days—I am coming to the previous method of education—the grandparents gave moral education to the grand-children in the form of history from the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Gita*, etc. In schools and colleges the teachers did their duty in imparting proper education and since the number of educated people was quite small the students did not worry about their future in life for getting jobs according to their education.

Now, let us have a look at the present system of education. Joint families are disintegrating for various reasons into which we need not go today. The result is lack of moral training to children by the grandparents. In schools and colleges the teachers by and large do not take interest in teaching and are busy in other activities, with the result that the student gets no guidance in schools and colleges. Outside atmosphere is full of violence. The student has access to all kinds of pornographic literature. Parents are busy with their own life problems and they practically have no time to give to their children. We blame the present day students for indiscipline. How can a child in the formative age resist all these temptations given above and educate himself for being a good citizen and thus help in bringing social change through education. Moreover, the insecurity of his future life after completing the so called education creates the present day situation. Let us see what the Prime Minister has to say about Dr. Radhakrishnan and education:

"Dr. Radhakrishnan considered himself to be, first and foremost, a teacher. He stressed that education must impart both knowledge and wisdom. He said: 'It should not only train the intellect but bring grace into the heart of man.'"

"Our new education policy based itself on Dr. Radhakrishnan's maxim that 'a nation is built in its educational institutions'. We aim at bringing all the young minds in the country within the ambit of our school system, most importantly ensuring that our girls are literate and educated. We would wish to see education becoming the great inculcator of a modern scientific temper, combined with pride in our past and faith in our future. We would want to see schooling become the medium for the full flowering of the human personality. We would want our universities to be centres of excellence, where those with the aptitude for higher education find opportunity. We would also want different kinds of aptitude to move into the vocational stream, keeping open, however, their channels of communication to further intellectual growth through distance learning. We would like to see the process of education and training become a life-long experience, a life-long renewal of the mind and the spirit and the body. We would like to see education become the reservoir from which spring the streams of innovation and imagination, of bold new departures, of dynamism in thought and action."

Proper policies have been made as would be apparent from the quotation from the Prime Minister's speech. Due stress has been given to proper education. But the results have been unsatisfactory. Why? Because the machinery for the implementation of the policies remained the same and the entire system of education given to us by the Britishers changed, without changing the system in the new era. Lack of proper education is to be seen almost in every sphere. If education is not adequate, how can we expect it to apply for social change? Unfortunately, the media has not been properly used for bringing social changes through proper education. It would not be out of place to take into account the effect the Hindi serial 'Ramayana' had on the people not only of this country but also of some other countries. There have been some good educative serials displayed on the TV like 'Rajni',

'Hum Log', 'Khandan', 'Buniyad', etc. Such serials could be educative and helpful in bringing about some desired social changes. On the other hand, there have been other serials like 'Utlapulta' shown on the TV which have demoralising effect. It shows the malpractices indulged in by building contractors and the like. We have to be clear about the social changes we want to bring about.

It is not a very happy position to note that the overall literacy in the country is only about 12 per cent after four decades of independence. Similarly, it is painful to note that untouchability and *satipratha* are still practised in some parts of the country. The condition of the Scheduled Castes is not what it should have been; they are still harassed here and there in the country. Harijans are still not given entry in some temples. One of the problems at the moment is the killing of our women by greedy people for dowry purposes.

Social changes have to be brought about in all the above matters. Most of them can be solved by educative and persuasive methods. It would be wrong to think that social evils can be removed by enacting laws.

Well, at another place, Dr. Radhakrishnan remarked: "Democracy is more than a system of government; it is a way of life and regimen for the civilized conduct of human being."

Another problem to be solved is non-democratic functioning of the political parties and the use of money power and lately even muscle power in elections. To ensure safety of our biggest democracy allout efforts would have to be made for democratic functioning at all places. One of the causes of poor functioning of the universities is the political interference in their work although they are supposed to be autonomous bodies. In this connection, I would like to bring to the notice of this august Assembly the editorial of the "Times of India" in their issue of the 17th August, 1988:

"Having made a mockery of school education for the past three decades and more, this country now appeared to be all set to destroy universities and institutions of higher learning. How else can one understand the sacking of three Vice-Chancellors in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar in the course of two weeks? And how else can one explain the

palustine and blatantly partisan consideration that prevailed in each case? On the face of it, the reasons that led to the removal of three Vice-Chancellors from L. N. Misra, Mithila University in Darbhanga, Ranchi University of South Bihar and Sagar University in Madhya Pradesh appeared to be different. Dr. Shakeelur Rahman, of Mithila University, for instance, was sacked simply because he refused to kowtow the State Human Resource Minister, Mr. Nagendra Jha, who sought to run the University as his private fiefdom. Dr. R. D. Mundra, the distinguished scholar of tribal studies was removed from Ranchi University on the patently spurious ground that he had lent his support to 'anti-social elements' who earlier this month assaulted a group of striking teachers..." and so on.

We all accepted the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, the democratic functioning of Panditji, and the wise teachings and writings of Dr. Radhakrishnan. How far do we practise them in our daily life? If we simply resolve to implement them in words and spirit and if we want the country to progress rapidly, we have to walk on the path shown by our leaders and try to fulfil our obligations to the country along with the demands for our rights. I would be failing in my duty if I do not bring to the notice of the House the warning given by Dr. Radhakrishnan on the midnight of 14/15th August, 1947:

"Our opportunities are great, but let me warn you that when power outstrips ability, we will fall on evil days. We should develop competence and ability which would help us to utilise the opportunities which are open to us. From tomorrow morning, from midnight today, we can no longer throw the blame on the British."

Thank you for your patient hearing. Jai Hind.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Bhargava. Mr. Bhargava has posed a question before the august gathering: How can a child resist the temptations around him in the changing society. And I think, this is one of the biggest challenges that our educational institutions are facing today. Our educational and social scientists will have to give serious thought to this. Now, Prof. (Smt.) Asima Chatterjee.

PROF. (SHRIMATI) ASIMA CHATTERJEE: Madam Chairman, Mr. Aggarwal. Smt. Chopra, distinguished guests

and friends, on the occasion of the celebration of the birth centenary of Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan a seminar on "Education and Social Change" has been organised. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Organising Committee of this symposium for inviting me to speak on this occasion.

Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan had a dual contact with education. At the practical level, he had been an eminent professor of philosophy in colleges and universities, both in India and abroad. On the other hand, he had functioned as Vice-Chancellor and had been closely associated with many important educational commissions and committees. He was the Chairman of Education Commission for giving directive to reorient the education policy. Being an alumnus of the University of Calcutta I feel highly honoured for his active association with our University. He adorned the King George V Chair of Philosophy in the University of Calcutta for 17 years.

Dr. Radhakrishnan had a unique insight into the Indian educational problem and was deeply concerned with the social, political, economic and cultural issues. This was reflected in many of his lectures. I would quote from the Kamala lectures delivered in our University (1942). This lectureship was created by Sir Ashutosh Mookherjee in memory of his beloved daughter, Kamala—"We are at one of the most decisive moments in the life of mankind. There is a startling relaxation of traditions, of restraints and of established law and order. Ideas which until yesterday were regarded as inseparable from social decency and justice, which were able to direct and discipline conducts for centuries are being swept away". This is indeed a tragedy for a country like India which had preached and practised integrity, tolerance and universal brotherhood from time immemorial. This is due to neglect of meaningful education which gives an insight into the true nature of the relationship between all human beings and this is essentially a relationship of Love. To love people means according to Dr. Radhakrishnan "To see in them not competitors or rivals or obstacles to one's advance but co-heirs of the grace of life." This approach can create a spirit of tolerance and a universality of outlook which rejects parochialism and aggressive nationalism and helps one to take an active stand against them if they threaten to assume ascendancy over the hearts and minds of men.

Our thoughts today go out to him as a great emancipator of the human race, one who has given all his life to the liberation of human minds from political bondage, economic slavery, social oppression and cultural stagnation. With these words, I pay my homage to this great soul.

Dr. Radhakrishnan was a great admirer of Swami Vivekananda and insisted upon his countrymen to follow Swamiji's ideology and education policy. Swami Vivekananda laid emphasis on that education which would help to manifest the divinity already existing in man. He emphasised that such education of men and women without distinction would help in the social reawakening of our countrymen and help to catalyse the reform of our society and make it free from prejudice and social evils.

Education has to make a person the concrete embodiment of the higher reality which forms the basis of the material universe, of life in the world, of the expanding dominions of the mind and of the human community. It should aim at a balanced growth of the individual and insist on both knowledge and wisdom to get rid of mental slums. Young men and women should receive that education which would enable them to look upon others as the living images of themselves. It should also teach them that life has to be an incessant process of repair and reconstruction, of discarding evil and developing goodness. Sympathy, tolerance and love are the keys to all human understanding which would help to maintain the integration, coherence and unity of India and nullify the demonic forces which are now so predominant in Indian soil.

As the "social problems" multiply in number and increase in complexity, education has to adjust its pattern to meet them, drawing inspiration for the purpose not only from the immediate environment but also from experience and experimentation of ideas and ideology.

The present social order is the very negation of humility and love. Humanity has reached an evolutionary turning point. We have in the last three centuries plunged so deep into matter and the sense world that our perception of the inner world and the microcosmic minds has been totally lost. Society is, therefore, in the danger of splitting into pieces as the few who have the benefits of education do not share them with the less privileged and assume that there is no social problem so long as

their own interests are secured. Man does not live by bread alone. Freedom of intellect, of thought, expression and association is an essential element of free life. If we are to be able to cope with the changing society which cannot remain static we must have full freedom to think of new ideas, make experiments and rectify the errors.

The aim of education is to create humanists with vision, courage and generosity to enable them to create a better society. This should start from the grass-root level. Therefore, our education should confirm the spontaneous aims and ambitions of the child's mind which identifies with the whole of humanity. Education should help to liberate the growing child from narrow consideration of castes, communities, religions and languages. Hence value orientation in education should help to eliminate obscurantism, religious fanaticism, violence, superstition and fatalism. The word "social" has such an all-embracing connotation that it can include almost every aspect of human life for man can only be viewed as man in society. Hence everything human is at the same time social. Human qualities, i.e., qualities for developing higher faculties, could be cultured for better social order through appropriate education which may be termed as "Man-Making Education".

The relationship between the individual and society has to be rightly understood. Why should the individual serve others? What claims has the society on the individual? When we analyse these thoughts we find that the individual can find fulfilment only in society. Born in society, growing up in society, living in society, man ends his life in society. Hence man cannot exist for a moment away from society.

Let us study the present situation in our country. It is marked by population explosion, the imperative requirements of economic development, the fight against poverty, the struggle for survival against oppression and social evils, the multiplication of knowledge, the rise of the masses, the consequences and new expressions of democratic ideas, the extension and proliferation of information and communication media. To meet these social challenges there has been considerable spread of education in our country in the post-independence period. Special care and efforts are being made by the Government to spread meaningful education among women and the weaker and backward sections of our community. This would not only help them in their economic upliftment but would enable them

to control population explosion by adopting a small family. Population explosion has slowed the rate of progress in our country and is responsible for our reverse trend towards illiteracy and poverty. Poverty, increase in population and inadequacy of education have formed a vicious triangle which is now woven into our social network.

Unless illiteracy is eradicated, an unhealthy atmosphere in the society would prevail. Hence education for all remains a first priority in our country. So unless we are able to frame a universal education policy keeping in mind, not only the aspirations and demands and upliftment of a privileged few, but of the struggling masses of our country, our rate of progress in all spheres, no matter however large, will always appear miserably inadequate and the problems facing us would ultimately become unsurmountable.

It should be kept in mind that while framing a new education policy the traditional system should not be totally rejected. Unfortunately the trend today is to reject everything that is old. As a result some of the newer concepts have not been able to replace fully the older views and also have not been fully accepted or assimilated. This has created a confusion in our educational system which has failed to train the young generation to adapt to social adjustment. The twin purpose of education is to inculcate in the pupil "intellectual vision" and to impart to him "knowledge of technique" to make him know well what he does; but this concept is utterly lacking today. Schools and colleges are engaged in stuffing facts and fancies into the heads of the students who are not equipped with the values which would enable them to face the fortunes of life, to bring out the best that is lying dormant in them and place them at the service of the community. The results of the confusion in our educational system are reflected in our social life.

When India was freed from the shackles of colonial domination, endeavours were made to fight against mass ignorance which was viewed as an essential criterion for national development. Unfortunately investment made in education at the graduate and higher levels without giving any thought to the future "wants" of our country has not proved beneficial. As a result the production of educated and trained persons in-

creased much more than the economic structures which could absorb them. This has created today an acute problem of unemployment. We must, therefore, analyse in the foreseeable future our social requirements in all spheres before introducing a new policy.

Education can be used both for consolidating and furthering the objectives that a society has set for itself. These objectives may be progressive or reactionary and can make society surge forward or recede backward. Let us see how social changes in India have influenced education or *vice versa*. Well-established social traditions were confronted by the process of modernization. After independence a democratic republic based on universal franchise was established in India. The new Government of India set out in making serious efforts to wipe out the social evils prevailing in our country, like untouchability, oppression of the downtrodden, tyranny on women and the weaker and backward sections through education. The Government must be complimented for introducing free education from the age group 6-14 and for providing facilities for non-formal, adult and universalisation of education. It has been realised that education raises the earning potential and income, it increases occupational and regional mobility and it enhances social status. Education has helped to strengthen economic power at various levels which has enabled the people to cope with the social change to a certain extent. For those who belong to the lower and noorer sections of society such as the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward communities, education is the only means of elevating oneself along the economic and social ladder and to get rid of backwardness. The expansion of education to wider sections of population has thus brought in its wake changes in social stratification. Still today, we find that prejudices due to illiteracy are prevalent. We have observed in the recent past the atrocities committed on the Harijans who are even today regarded as untouchables and are not allowed to enter our temples. It is true that we cannot eradicate all these social ills overnight but I feel that there is still some lacuna in our educational policy. A careful self-analysis reveals too clearly that after independence the idealism of building up a better and healthier, illiteracy-free and poverty-free society prevailed and there was a time when these social evils seemed to have shown a downward trend. Today, however, we find the situation alarming due to erosion of the human values. Bride torturing and burning, evil acts due to greed for money and

power corruption, murder for political and social gains are almost everyday events. Dr. Radhakrishnan had foreseen these troubled times and had emphasised that to get rid of all social evils value orientation in education is a "must". If this aspect of education is neglected our children will become too materialistic and this would lead to grave consequences in the future. Human values cannot be learnt from lectures or textbooks. They are within each individual. We cannot, therefore, rest content with an educational system which is confined to academic achievements only. It has to promote human virtues which must be unfolded in the individual child by the teacher and the parents with whom the child spends the maximum time. The destiny of a country is decided by the ideals implanted by the teachers in the minds of boys and girls entrusted to their care. Hence it is essential that educators must pay attention not merely to the material and intellectual progress of the pupils but, even more, to their moral and spiritual progress which would help to wipe out social ills and prejudices.

Now, let me for a moment reflect on the educated elites. The new formation of the educated elites in India in the past 30 years is such an important element of social change that this deserves discussion. It is a pathetic truth, but a fact that the "super" elite of today is indifferent to the lot of the common people than its counterpart of the pre-independence days. There is hardly any feeling of social commitment and their only interests are their professional or service prospects that is money, career, influence and connections and their social life.

Being a university teacher for the past 44 years I cannot but comment on the state of affairs in the universities. The university constitutes the platform wherefrom our younger talents who form the foundation of our nation will receive their final training. They will then move out into the fast-changing social-world and enter the research institutes, the industries, the administrative offices, the schools and colleges. Their ideas will play a dominant role in the future shaping of our country. So as the universities are the backbone of scientific and technological training and university teaching and research still form the spearhead of scientific progress and provide a reasonably good barometer to the standard of science

and technology in the country. The universities should and must receive the highest national priority. In a developing country like India, the strengthening of the universities is of paramount importance. In this combination of teaching and research, education and discoveries, lies the real strength of the nation. Hence, we cannot afford to neglect our universities. The pathetic situation prevalent in the State universities which were once great centres of learning, due to dearth of funds does not speak well of our educational system. University teaching and research must not be interfered with by the "honoured few" who in their exalted positions as "advisers" and "policy makers" seem to feel that their way of thinking, which might be totally alien to our country, is only correct and other views must be rejected. Research projects and grants are sanctioned according to the areas these "policy makers" think as important without considering the social structure of the country as a whole.

Apart from intellectual freedom educationists and academicians must not be harassed. This would lead to despair and frustration in our talented young men and women and of course, would find reflection in our society. University education must be free from political influence. It is, therefore, the duty of each and every individual in our society to safeguard this highest citadel of learning. The students graduating from the universities must also realise that they are a few of our vast population who have had the privilege of receiving higher education. They must realise that this has been possible only through the sacrifice, blood and sweat of our masses who have possibly never had the opportunity of stepping into a school. So every student receiving higher education has a social commitment towards their less privileged brothers and sisters and to their country. Their careers and jobs must not be their only consideration. I should like to quote from Swami Vivekananda, "I consider that the great national sin is the neglect of the masses, that is one of causes of our downfall. No amount of politics would be of avail until the masses in India are once more well educated, well fed and well cared for. They pay for our education, they build our temples, but in return they get kicks. They are practically our slaves. If we want to regenerate India, we must work for them. So long as the millions live in hunger and ignorance I hold every man a traitor who having been educated at their expense pays not the least heed to them".

Another matter of deep concern is that the universities are producing a large number of science graduates. Their employment is facing a grave situation due to dearth of sufficient industrialisation. Three decades ago, it was thought that unless the country was prepared to expand higher education, continued economic growth was unlikely. With the expanse of higher education, there has been a surplus of science graduates who are not being able to provide themselves with suitable jobs. It points to the fact that we have combined a maximum opportunity in the past with a maximum of expectation in the present and depressing amounts of opportunity in the future. This has led to disappointment, disenchantment, frustration and even resentment amongst some of our ablest young citizens. This is now not only a problem for our students but has become a problem for society. The effect of increasing the number of graduates has led to more and more sub-professional jobs. The academicians and intellectuals who are our "policy-makers" should give serious thought to this matter.

Coming to primary and secondary education I should like to point out that the school itself is an organ of society, and as such it trains children in social living. It gets its sustenance from the society, both material and moral. Education can be made more meaningful, if the school operates as an agent for the improvement of society. This will require children and adults to cooperate and work together in community projects such as, literacy work, health campaigns, etc. The children must be brought to terms with reality. Children are the future of the nation. They tell no lies and do no wrong. They express their minds freely and spontaneously. However, as they grow this virginal outlook disappears. Our education system and educators are responsible for this change. The school should, therefore, teach children to discover, develop and use the resources of the local community. For this purpose the school has to develop its curriculum at least in the earlier grades around the social and natural environment of children.

In concluding I would like to point out that on analysing our system of education and ourselves, I feel that the time has come to fight for something infinitely more precious—the integrity, the decency and the salvation of our national soul. I have heard and read of the Shri Satya Sai Institute of Higher Learning in Andhra Pradesh where the education being imparted is based entirely on human values. Our hon'ble Vice-President, Dr. S. D. Sharma, who has addressed one of the

convocations at this Institute is perhaps better aware of this fact.

Teachers should remember, that if they approach their work in the right spirit, bringing every aspect of their educational activity to bear on the object in view they will be helping to bring about that psychological revolution in the minds and spirits of their pupils which is a necessary condition for the emerging of a better social order. Hence it is the duty and responsibility of each and every citizen to try to build up in this critical hour an India which Dr. Radhakrishnan had written so eloquently about, "India does not admit differences to be conflict, nor does she espy an enemy in every stranger. So India repels none, destroys none and strives to find a place for all in a vast social order. She acknowledges every faith and recognises greatness wherever she finds it. This attitude, therefore, sees all development as the unfolding of diversity in unity". The perception of this fundamental truth will evolve a better social order and would bring peace to our country.

PROF. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN: Madam Chairperson and friends, after the long and prepared speech of Madam Chatterjee, there is not much to add because she has spoken for all of us.

But still I would like to say a few words on this occasion essentially to associate myself in paying homage to the great son of India. Dr. Radhakrishnan who adorned not only the highest levels of educational creativity but also adorned positions of high national responsibility as a diplomat, a parliamentarian and a statesman. As Chairman of the Upper House of Parliament, he conducted its proceedings with consummate ability and skill, and with considerable wit and humour. After a distinguished tenure as Vice-President of the Republic he later became the President of the Republic and was known for his philosophical acumen, personal humility and wisdom and vision which was part of him as an integral enlightened being.

I am happy that we are reflecting on a very significant theme: "Education and Social Change", which was, of course, close to the heart and mind of Dr. Radhakrishnan and which, indeed, is close to the national interest of all patriots in India from the time India became free, that is, the problem of how

education ought to become the instrument of social change and national transformation. I am reminded that when the report of the University Education Commission of which Dr. Radhakrishnan was the Chairman, was submitted to the Government of India great hopes were raised about basic reforms, in the light of the thoughtful and constructive work that had gone into its making, including a very wide range of proposals for educational restructuring. But that report remained—as most reports remain in India and elsewhere—as a very important part of the archival material to be read occasionally by stray maverick scholars seeking specialized information as part of academic culture. So when he was asked: "What do you think of the report and action on it?" He said: "Now I realise that the report has received respectful indifference."

Madam Chairperson, education in this country has indeed received, if I may borrow the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan, 'respectful indifference'. I say this with some concern, bordering on agony, in my capacity as a life-long teacher, as an educationist if you please. We should recognise education not merely as a vocation or as just one part of human life. Unless we recognise education as the central lever of social engineering, as the main instrument of national transformation, as the spiritual edge of building new human beings around the ethos so beautifully spelt out in the Preamble of our democratic Constitution, education will always be treated as just one item on the national agenda, on par with agriculture, heavy industry, railways, communications, energy etc., etc. But one does not call that sort of a thing as real education. Should education be relegated to the level of non-importance in a Vedantic civilisation? That is the question. It is a pity that as of now, notwithstanding verbal acrobatics, education in India, has not received its due recognition as an organised endeavour for revolutionary change. India's acquisition of national independence is one of the world's greatest revolutionary episodes. It opened a gigantic opportunity. That opportunity is being lost because no revolution is complete without revolutionary education.

There is no doubt India has expanded phenomenally. There is a tremendous incremental revolution. Physically, education has also expanded. In industrial development, India is among the ten major countries in the world. Its economic transfor-

mation has been impressive. In the sphere of diplomacy, India holds its head high. But—and this is a very important 'but'—as the centre of the newly freed world which could have been the harbinger of new values of democracy, secularism, egalitarianism and justice, India still has not emerged as a model and a pioneer, largely because we have taken for granted that education, anyhow, will go on unchartered or badly chartered. To be objective I submit, that education has gone on partly on right lines but largely on wrong lines as a commercial enterprise, as a profitable avocation for philistines and money-makers. But it has not become an instrument of change which it was intended to be.

It can only become an instrument of change if the central premises of planning are attuned not to physical targets of growth but to building a civilisation around liberated human soul, groping for the realisation of well-recognised values of liberty, equality, justice, secularism, mass culture, scientific temper, open society, rule of law, etc. But all these values must become the focal point around which man has to grow. In other words, ends and means should be very clear. The ultimate aim must be the development of new human being in a variegated civilisation like India where multiplicity of languages, largeness of regions, diversities of religions and wide variety of ethnic formations make India an amazing intermixture of global culture. The eight hundred million people, comprising one fifth of mankind—an ancient but continuing and uninterrupted civilisation—by themselves constitute a micro-world. Educational transformation in India then acquires an incidental role of educational transformation of our contemporary world as well. No doubt the vision is available, but it still remains untranslated.

Maybe, when our successors meet, on another occasion, say, after 100 years from now to celebrate the next birth centenary of Dr. Radhakrishnan, their reflection on education and social change might end on a more optimistic note. At the moment I would say, the vision is clear, the ideology is well spelt out but there is inaction, hesitation and lack of vigorous breakthrough. There is a need for genuine 'Spiritual Development', spiritual development not in the abstract sense of the term, not in the other-worldly, mumbo-jumbo sense, but spiritual development in terms of the totality of enlightened human consciousness and mind. Radhakrishnan all his life taught us about that spirit and that sort of enlightened spiritualism. That

was also, with variation, the vision of Gandhi, Nehru and Azad. That vision of India, alas, still remains unfulfilled. The completion of the incomplete revolution can only be done when education becomes the central concern of democratic, secular culture. This thought comes spontaneously, when we honour a great mind like Dr. Radhakrishnan.

Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan, you have given food for thought for the policy-makers and implementors of policy. But you seem to have concluded with a note of pessimism. I would say, an educationist is always optimistic and we should all be very optimistic about the future. I would now request Dr. (Shrimati) Kapila Vatsyayan, Secretary, Department of Arts, to take the floor.

DR. (SHRIMATI) KAPILA VATSYAYAN: Madam Deputy Chairman, Secretary-General of the Rajya Sabha, Mrs. Chopra and distinguished friends:

First and foremost, considering that only fifteen minutes have been given, I would like, as Dr. Radhakrishnan said in a very different context—'Civilisation is not known by what it achieves but by what it surrenders'—to surrender my time. In that spirit, may I surrender my time to you and just pay my respect to Dr. Radhakrishnan? How does that sound?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can say a few words. You must have prepared. You have taken some trouble.

DR. (SHRIMATI) KAPILA VATSYAYAN: I have not. Madam, I say this very seriously because, as Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan has said, Prof. (Mrs.) Asima Chatterjee has spoken for all of us. She has spoken so eloquently that there is very little for us to add.

We are gathered here to commemorate the memory of this great man who, I think, was not a teacher made but a teacher born. As he walked, as he talked, as he sat, as he chatted, as he presided over the Rajya Sabha, as he proposed a toast, all the while he was teaching. He was teaching because it came out of the unified vision of his own integrity. He was teaching because it was not a question of oratory emerging from his words. He was teaching because he was what he was in his being. It was this being that emerged as radiance. That is

why, repeatedly, in forum after forum, he said that the future of a nation is known by the kind of men and women who become teachers. It was known by the integrity of men and women in society who became teachers. It would be known by their precept and conduct. Precept and conduct were the touch-stones of his whole life.

We can learn a lesson. Ideologies apart, *isms* over, paradigms incomplete. There is only one single paradigm, that is the paradigm of self, the integrated and the whole within, which is capable of reflection of spiritualism, moral and ethical values. It is this unified vision of inner silence and solitariness which makes for action, social action, which is responsible and which has the twin demands of discipline and freedom. The twin demands of discipline and freedom in the individual and in the society are what one would consider to be the essence of education. And in that, as Asimaji has rightly pointed out, all leaders of the world, both in the past and in the present—whether it was a Christ or a Buddha, or whether it was a Surdas or a Kabir, whether it was a Tagore or a Gandhi or a Radhakrishnan—taught love and compassion. And if we have not taught true education to know the other and to respect the other in his intrinsicness, what is this education for? If we have not known to make bridges of communication between religions and religions, between culture and education, between the oral transmission system of this country which has survived five thousand years and which has been now swept aside by printing machines and the textual traditions. What is education? We have to re-examine our perceptions on what constitutes illiteracy? Was *shruti* illiteracy? What is this system of oral transmission to which we all hark back in all international forums? Should we not take into account that in India textual and oral were parallel complementary streams? Also, the moment we accepted the system of education only through *kala akshar* we have denied the reality of India of 80 per cent of the "educated" cultural Indians who may be illiterate. We have not used this highly knowledgeable and skilled manpower for the educational system. Who are these women who make sarees which you and I wear? Who are the people who are making the Kolhapuri chappals that we display? Who are the people who are doing these fairs and festivals to which today we go, communists or non-communists? Who are the makers of our Kali temples, of our Dussehra effigies? What kind of social change we want to bring about?

Education to them will first make them negate their hereditary skills and make them aspire to be members of literate societies i.e. to become a fourth class employee in the Government or a university? The first challenge that educational system is to ensure is that education does not become a tool of deculturisation. This social equalisation and egalitarianism can only come into being in an inter dependent society with a plurality of skills, knowledge and wisdom, by the recognition of skills, knowledge and wisdom "as is where is" in an interdependent system. Empowerment of each as his own station is the only way in which eight hundred million people can be educated.

I say this, Madam, with some pain because one has been through 35 or 40 years of dabbling through, trying to implement an educational system which is the great legacy of a broken, fractured Macaulay on whom we have been putting "band aids". And those "band aids" have not worked. And this is what Dr. Radhakrishnan, in terms of that University Commission report says:

"Unless the higher education is restructured to mould the realities of India..."

And he believed that this is what would happen.

It is not cynicism or scepticism; it is optimism—optimism with the slogan, if I may say, to use the human resources of this country at their optimum best. And being a woman like a few of us here, may I just quote two sentences from Dr. Radhakrishnan before I end:

"Give us good women, we would give you a great civilisation. Give us good mothers, we will have a great nation."

Amen!

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan for a very brief but very significant observation and for giving a very inspiring note to this august gathering here. You said in your opening remarks that a teacher is not made, a teacher is born. But with the spread of education in our country what we see is that many people when they go for employment, they do not get it and, therefore, they prefer to be teachers because

there is no other gainful employment. So when the teachers are not born but are made, they have to come out with whatever it is within this.

I am reminded of a story where a woman had to go back to her village in the evening after completing her day's work. There was a river which she had to cross. There was only one boat. There were many passengers who were waiting for the boat to come back from the other bank of the river. When the boat came to the bank, there was a great rush. This lady had a very small child in her arms. She also rushed into the boat. Others also tried to rush into the boat to get a seat. In between some noise came. Everybody started looking around, as to what the noise was about. They saw that a small child had fallen into the water. One man immediately jumped into the water and brought the child out and gave it to the mother. Everybody was happy that the life of the child had been saved and as the Indians generally do on such occasions there was a celebration on the boat. The child had been saved and everybody praised the man's greatness and courage in taking the risk and saving the child. When everybody had finished speaking, he was asked to reply. He said: "I am very thankful to all of you for praising me, but tell me first who pushed me into the water". So now teachers are pushed into this profession because they cannot do any other thing.

Now I would request Shri Sethuraman, a journalist, to speak a few words.

SHRI SETHURAMAN: Thank you, Madam. Quite frankly I came here more to listen than to participate as such and I feel myself a misfit in a gathering of intellectuals, educationists and seasoned politicians.

Some of the points that I wanted to raise have already been raised by my esteemed friends, Shri Gurupadaswamy as well as Shri Bhargava. Maybe I have been chosen for this symposium probably because of my long association as a humdrum reporter of forty years, about twenty years of which I spent in the Rajya Sabha reporting its proceedings since the time of Dr. Radhakrishnan and his successors. I am grateful to the organisers from the Rajya Sabha Secretariat for giving me this opportunity to participate on this occasion to honour the memory of one of the greatest Indians of the twentieth century.

I would rather deal with this subject from the side of economic development. I do not question the crucial importance of education as a vehicle of social change. But in our development over the last 40 years, as was also referred to by other speakers, we gave primacy to economic development over education and other social services, thinking that by economic development we would generate forces of change. Unfortunately, it has not happened. For long we have been talking of reforming our educational system, right from the time of Independence, but neither have we achieved it nor have we brought about a certain change through economic development. It has not helped the country to achieve social transformation. Indeed there have been widening disparities both in terms of incomes and access to opportunities for advance through education, health and other social services in an adequate measure. But the inherent problems of Indian society are far deeper as it developed through centuries, with caste, communal and other divisions. Since economic development has been urban-oriented, it bypassed large sections of rural masses where poverty is deeply ingrained and social divisions have aggravated. Earlier beliefs about economic development doing the magic have not proved valid.

In the race for modernization our priorities are now tending to get focussed more on technology rather than on more basic problems of economic and social transformation, especially of the countryside. So, how do we learn from the past and develop a strategy for the future where social change is brought about peacefully and in an enduring manner?

It will not merely do to rely on economic measures, even if corrective measures, like the IRDP, are applied in the case of tackling poverty. A fundamental change in our attitude and social relations has to come, that is, our society has to become very homogeneous, without remaining divided by class, caste and communal compartments. Thus education becomes the key instrument of social change.

No doubt, as has been referred to very eloquently by my predecessors, there has been a vast quantitative expansion of education. But we have really not brought about a qualitative change and it is in the young minds that we have to implant ideas of respect for all religions, equality of opportunity for all in the country and the direction in which we want the country to move in the coming generations.... (Time-bell) ...

The bell has rung and I will end here, though somewhat abruptly. I entirely agree that in the Eighth Plan there are indications that we will now begin to give more attention to education and I hope it really gets a big push in this Plan, as also the idea of decentralization where many of the things hinging on social change have to take place. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will be failing in my duty if I do not express my heart-felt gratitude and thankfulness to all of you for your cooperation and to the speakers for their active participation in this seminar to make it a success. I would also like to thank the honourable Members who have contributed articles to our publications. Yesterday, I could not do that, but I think you will please excuse me for that. I would once again like to thank all of you.

Now the honourable Chairman and the honourable Prime Minister, both, have already arrived. So, let us go to the Banquet Hall.

(SPEECH BY SHRIMATI M. CHANDRASEKHAR, M.P.*)

This seminar on the occasion of the centenary of Dr. Radhakrishnan will necessarily recall to one's mind this august person's simplicity, humaneness and affable manners which endeared him to one and all who came in his presence. His personal qualities added to the dignity of the offices he held—Professor, Vice-Chancellor, Ambassador, President.

What Jawaharlal Nehru said about Gandhiji in his foreward to D.G. Tondalkar's *Mahatma* is true of Dr. Radhakrishnan today. "...succeeding generations will remember him and pay honour to him. As is India's way, we shall add him to our pantheon and celebrate the day of his birth and the day of his passing away. We shall shout Jai when his name is mentioned and perhaps, feel elated that we have done our duty to him." We celebrate Dr. Radhakrishnan's birthday as Teachers' Day in our country and we feel we have done our duty to 'The Teacher' in particular, and teachers in general.

*Hon'ble Member could not attend the Seminar due to her preoccupation. She had, however, sent the text of her speech which is reproduced here.

Education, Society, Politics, Religion and Culture are inextricably interwoven. Social change is a continuous phenomenon. We are now living in a society which is rapidly changing. The miracles of science and technology have changed the way of life and attitude to life so much that we do not know how to keep pace with it and make proper adjustment. The social values, human values, ultimately determine the health and sickness of a society at a given time.

It is generally believed that the students do as the teachers do; people follow the rulers—the politicians and the bureaucrats; children are moulded by their parents, the faithful followers by their religious leaders. Today, however, there is turmoil and confusion in every walk of life. Children who are spoiled by their indulgent parents, are ordered to be disciplined and obedient when they become adults. There are different values and norms prescribed for girls and boys, women and men. Hypocrisy has not succeeded in impressing any of our young people. So they throw tantrums as adults. Character which is the basic requirement of an individual, is ignored in childhood both in the family and in society. "Character is that on which the destiny of a nation is built." Jawaharlal Nehru describes how people were influenced by Gandhiji during the Freedom Struggle. "For people compelled by circumstances to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back to even lower levels than before. We see something like that today...What is worse is the general lowering of these standards for the raising of which Gandhi devoted his life." Many times politics sets the tone. Corruption and nepotism are rampant in every strata of society. Population, poverty, disease, malnutrition, illiteracy need immediate attention. Dowry, bride-burning, Sati terrorism, are the order of the day. Women's development is the focus of politicians, but not men's development. "One cannot have a nation with men and women of small character." Laws passed in parliament are not implemented properly because most of the common people are not aware of their rights, and they are exploited by publicity-seeking social workers and power-hungry politicians. There is lack of coordination, comprehensive planning and management and most important the concern for the people. Even after Independence, reservation of seats for SC/ST have not yielded expected results. None seriously exerted for the

upliftment of the poor and the down-trodden. Resources which are limited are frittered away. I.I.Ts, prestigious engineering and medical colleges, have trained the best of students, 80% of whom migrate to developed countries. Children of people in high places, have no concern no obligation for the people whose money goes into their education and training. They are neither proud of their country, nor does the country provide incentives to retain them. These days the government is trying to reverse the brain drain; let's hope it succeeds. The higher the education, the more the number of degrees a man acquires, the higher is the demand for dowry. Degrees are only a means for self advancement in material matters, to raise one's status and to make quick money. For all these ills, education is regarded as panacea. Scholars, scientists and technicians are required to fight against poverty, unemployment, disease and human degradation.

The present system of education has some defects. Sciences are necessary for raising our standard of living but it is costlier to train students in sciences, engineering and technology than in humanities. National tradition has been ignored. The present generation is rootless. What is needed is general education. The National Council of Education was interested in inculcating the national spirit, by educating the students in understanding their great national heritage and traditional values, along with sciences. "The world of truth and falsehood, right and wrong, beauty and ugliness, is different from the world of science." Religion is another binding force though it seems to be dividing society. "Our epics, our literary classics, our religious pilgrimages, proclaim the unity of the country." After all "Religion is right belief, right feeling and right action...", it is not intellectual conviction, emotional ecstasy, or social service... The transition from *vignana* to *ananda* is a leap from one orbit to another.

Any good system of education should aim at developing the personality of the individual, to enable him to acquire knowledge and wisdom. The study of literature, religion and philosophy helps him to acquire wisdom. Then only can he understand the laws of the Universe, else he will suffer from greed, anxiety, etc. "Mental slums are more dangerous to mankind than material slums." Many ages, many races, many religions have contributed in building up our rich culture. The more

the Indian culture changes, the more it remains the same." Information, knowledge, wisdom are futile if an educated person does not have the capacity to look at things calmly.

Politics is now a part and parcel of educational system. It is particularly conspicuous in Teachers' Unions, Students' Unions, etc. Money and power play havoc during strikes and elections. Even promotions depend on others' whims of those in power. Committed teachers, therefore, are ignored in the process, demoralized and frustrated. The politics of fear prevails. The academic atmosphere is vitiated, though somehow educational institutions still manage to impart knowledge.

Decrease in allocation of grants to education, (for education was not a priority in the Budget) resulted in the decline of standards. In a society where respect depends on material assets, the respect for teachers vanishes. Teaching is no longer the first choice of a scholar. The result is the best brains are no longer attracted to this profession. Politicians, educationists and social reformers pass the buck on to one another for the chaotic conditions in society today.

"Education is for the whole man to think, to feel, to do, to be... without thought nothing could be achieved." Equipments, libraries, buildings are no substitutes for the great teachers. The best of the scholars should be in the teaching profession. "The university teacher should be helped to live in comfort if he is to devote himself to learning, teaching and research. As the young recruits to the universities are paid low salaries, they fail to appreciate intellectual values and get interested in writing textbooks or obtaining examinerships. I hope the University Service will become as attractive as the All-India Services, for that is the only way to recruit and retain some of the ablest persons for the universities. As the example of the teacher has great influence on the pupils, we cannot evade our responsibility to the teaching profession. A more enlightened public attitude is essential", says Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the teacher, the philosopher and the statesman.

Universities are one of the strongest influences for peace. The present state of the world is bewildering and alarming to thinking people. Science and technology have dominated the skies and stars. To meet this challenge, we need new means. "Politics is the art of the immediate. Statesmanship rests on

longer and deeper views." "Universities should teach us a sense of proportion and perspective, for they insist on the universal super-national values, acknowledging a world community and strive to enclose national groups within a stable equilibrium... The universities of the world form a great fraternity binding together their members all over the world".

Dr. Radhakrishnan has made unique contribution which will remain for ever as beacon light in the field of education and social development. It is our duty to march along the path of progress shown to us both through precepts and practice by this great son of India.