

an essential prerequisite in tackling the menace of insurgency more effectively.

I would also request the Central Government to sanction two more battalions for which the proposal is pending with the Home Ministry. The strength of the BSF along the international border should be augmented and the present deployment should be re-oriented to check the cross-border movement of the extremists. I would also request the Central Government to immediately start the work of border-fencing under a time-bound programme. The State Government has also submitted proposals for modernizing the State police. These proposals include the provision of sophisticated weapons, bullet-proof vehicles and other logistic supports like the use of helicopters to tackle the insurgency situation of the State. Of late, it has been noted that the extremists have been using improvised explosive devices.

Lastly, I would once again urge the Central Government to deploy additional forces. The State had asked for 54 companies of forces additionally for counter-insurgency operations. Since the terrain in the State is difficult, there should be more and more deployment of the army and Assam Rifles which are familiar with the situation.

Thank you, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Bratin Sengupta. Do you want to associate yourself?

SHRI BRATIN SENGUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, both the issues are very important. Will any concerned Member of the Union Cabinet kindly react to them?

MR CHAIRMAN: That is all right. Next is Mr. Sundaram. He is not there. Now, Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta.

#### Exclusion of Marxism from Text Books

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, it is with a deep sense of indignation and anguish that I seek to bring to the notice of the House and of the nation a recent decision of the Central Board of Secondary Education which is not an autonomous body, which is a Government-controlled body. We are given to understand that through a circular, they have informed schools, in a most clandestine way, that from next year, from the curriculum for leading political theories that used to be taught at class XII, Marxism will be deleted and dropped.

There is something more shameful than this. While fascism remains to be taught, while history of Hitler remains to be taught, while the number one enemy of the world's civilization remains to be adorned as a civilized hero of the world, Marxism has been dropped. Let the Foreign Minister tell the

House about its implication. Sir, the point is, all the leading political theories were made a subject of teaching which includes Gandhism, which includes socialism, which includes liberalism and which includes fascism. Earlier, Marxism was also a part of it. After the new Government has taken over, many political changes have taken place in the country. But after the new Minister of Human Resource Development has taken over, suddenly, the Government-controlled Central Board of Secondary Education has decided to drop Marxism from being taught in schools. This is the beginning of a new era. I call it an era of regimentation; I call it an era of unprecedented discrimination. Sir, this cannot be tolerated. This is intellectual barbarism. *(Interruptions)* This is intellectual fascism. Fascism never allows public protest to be tolerated, fascism never allows protest. Marxism is a part of our political theory. You may disagree. I respect disagreement. You may have your own opinion. I respect your disagreement. Disagreement is a part of the pluralistic theory. In a pluralistic society, disagreement is a part of political life. But while you speak of pluralistic society, while you speak of transparency, while you speak of democracy, while you speak of respecting other's opinion, while you speak of consensus in this broad national forum, you have taken the terroristic decision to delete Marxism in a most clandestine way. This is a new era of regimentation. This will not be tolerated. We shall not take it laying down. It will have its consequences. We do not want confrontation. But the Government that would like to function on the basis of consensus, cannot resort to this terroristic method, cannot resort to this fascistic method, and that too, in a clandestine way. If the Government has the political courage, let it come to the House and inform the House about the whole thing; let the nation be told that you shall never allow different political theories to be taught in schools. The Government wants our children only to know some stories of Hitler but not about Marxism. Let them inform the House about the whole thing. We are ready to discuss this matter, we are ready to fight with the Government on this issue, we are ready to express our disagreement. But you are going to suppress disagreement, difference and dissent by deleting a subject. What is this? This is a dangerous step. I do not know whether this is the beginning of a dangerous step. I would like to know from the Government whether such a decision has been taken in pursuance of the Government policy. Let the Government make it clear. Let us know the truth. Let the Government say that it has been done in consonance with the Government policy, let there be no hush-hush; let there be no cover up. Let us know the truth.

Secondly, let us know whether the Government has decided to bring about more changes in the education world in order to forge upon the educational system its own agenda, its own hidden agenda. Sir, this is intolerable, this is unforgettable, this is unbearable, and we are going to protest in all possibly

ways, in a democratic way. We want the support of all the democratic sections. Marxism is not the property of the communist alone. Pandit Nehru used to say that he was a communist. Mahatma Gandhi used to refer to Marxism. The 1917 October socialist revolution had inspired the patriotic liberation movement of India. It is part of the Indian history. We appeal to the democratic conscience, we appeal to all sections, to be aware of the danger. If Marxism is suppressed, in the second stage, those of you who are speaking of "Swadeshi", will also be suppressed; democracy in your party will be suppressed. If it is allowed to succeed, then that will also be bad for those in the ruling party. ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, the parliamentary decorum I am not to learn ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, I can speak looking at any direction. I am addressing the hon. Chairman. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am addressing the hon. Chairman; that does not mean I shall fix my eyes on him only. I can look at the faces of all ideologists. Don't be afraid of my looks. ...*(Interruptions)*... Don't be afraid of my looks. Therefore, Sir, I appeal to the Government to change the decision. We appeal to the Government to inform the House whether this is a decision according to its policy. While doing so, I appeal to my countrymen to understand the significance and the inherent danger of such a decision and I also appeal to all sections of the House, including all those who are in the ruling partnership, for their support.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Balanandan. Others can only associate.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO (Goa): Sir, all of us have been Marxists at some point of time. ...*(Interruptions)*... Let it remain so ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: please, please, please. ...*(Interruptions)*... Only the speeches of those Members whom I have asked to speak will be noted. Mr. Balanandan. You can only associate.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN (Kerala): Sir, the issue which has been raised by Shri Gurudas Das Gupta shook the world all through this century. Karl Marx has been named by the world as the best intellectual of this millennium. Now we are seeing that from the curriculum, Marxism is taken out while fascism is allowed to continue. I do not know as to how the rulers of the country thought of doing so; especially my friend, Mr. Joshi, is doing these things. While fascism is allowed to continue in the curriculum, Marxism is cut out. This shows something serious. Those democratic-minded people of the country know what is going on. Fascism can be taught, Marxism cannot be taught; this is the way the new Government's philosophy is working! In the educational curriculum and in the educational system, so many steps have been taken, surreptitiously, not known to the public, by some so-called experts supposed to be scholars of the BJP or the RSS. They are doing this kind of a thing. There is no theory in the world, which has such an insight into social relations, societal changes, and economic changes. Nobody, no

theoretician, has done such a thing. The contribution made by Marx is said to be the best intellectual contribution to this millennium. Our students name in.....(*Interruptions*). Why do you shout?

MR. CHAIRMAN: No interruption will be recorded. (*Interruptions*). No interruption will be recorded. Please carry on.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: This kind of shouting is called fascism. They do not want any kind of dissension, and dissension will be shouted upon. This is what is called fascism. Therefore, Sir, the point I am now raising is that India is going through a cultural deviation from a democratic polity to a fascist polity. For that, surreptitious steps are being taken. Everybody, including hon. Members from the BJP, should think about this. This is not a point to be taken lightly. Cultural introduction or induction of fascism through the educational system is dangerous for the country as a whole. So, I would like to know from the hon. Member, representing the Government, whether this has been decided officially. I would request the Chairman that this subject should be listed for discussion under the cultural head. This issue should be discussed in the House for a full day. I would request you to consider this. I also request the Government to clarify their position with regard to the withdrawal of fascism from curriculum.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Smt. Jayanthi Natarajan. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI B.P. SINGHAL (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I am on a point of order. Mr. Gurudas Dasgupta said 'IF'—"IF", that is, 'If such an order has been made'. Would we not be wasting the time of the House in case the order is not being made at all? If it is asserted that this has been done, we may discuss it not only through Special Mentions, but we may spend Half-an-Hour on it. (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Smt. Jayanthi Natarajan.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): I rise to associate myself in the strongest possible words with the sentiments expressed by Shri Gurudas Das Gupta and Shri E. Balanandan. We are all seriously concerned about this attitude to subvert the education process in the country. This has been going on for over the last 13-14 months; even during the last tenure of this BJP Government. Even more serious attempts at changing the curriculum, at rewriting history, at rewriting textbooks and substituting certain individual freedom fighters names—I will not mention their names here—are also being made. All these things have caused serious concern. Even more important is the appointment of certain individuals to very important positions in the education system. Take, for example, the appointment of an individual—I will not name him—as the Chairman of the NCERT Selection Board. He has justified the assassination of Mahatma

Gandhi. He has, in his own autobiography, proudly claimed that he shot a Muslim woman during a riot and killed her. The Government has appointed such a person. (*Interruptions*).

SOME HONOURABLE MEMBERS: Shame, shame. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Do you want me to name that person? He is Mr. Rastogi. (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please confine yourself to the point.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I will confine myself to the point, Sir. I would call it Talibanisation of Education. Last time, in the Union Territory of Delhi, an order was passed restricting the uniform to girl students alone. It is a clear attempt at Talibanising education.

We also know about the attempt that was made to hijack the Education Ministers' Conference by a person who is known to have very close connections with the Sangh Pariwar. This attempt to subvert the educational system in the country, this attempt to place Fascism above Communism as some kind of philosophy which the innocent young children in our schools should follow, is highly authoritarian and is not justifiable. It strikes a blow at the principle of diversity that is so precious to our country. Therefore, I call upon the Government to immediately withdraw the circular which is being issued and stop their attempts to saffronise and calibanise education.

DR. MANMOHAN SINGH (Assam): Mr. Chairman, Sir, all those who believe in the values of an open society must deplore the reported decision of the Central Board of Secondary Education to debar the study of Marxism as a serious academic discipline on the part of students of class XII. Whether we agree with marxism or not, nobody can deny that Marxism has been in human evolution a very influential doctrine. It is a theory of history which has had a profound influence on the course of human history. It is a theory of social action which has brought out significant changes in the world's political and economic system. It would be a sad day in our country if our children were deprived of an opportunity to study in an objective manner all the various ways of looking at human evolution, all possible theoretical structures for analysis of social events and historical entities. Therefore, as one who strongly believes in the values of an open society committed to freedom of expression and thought, I feel that this circular smacks of thought-control and regimentation which is not consistent with the values which we hold very dear in our country. It is time that all of us woke up to the fact that such attempts, accompanied by attempts to rewrite textbooks and attempts to rewrite history, are attempts which can prove very dangerous and if not checked in time, can bring out an outcome which will not be in the best interest of our country. With these words I fully associate myself with

the sentiments expressed by the hon. Member, Shri Gurudas Das Gupta, and those who followed him.

SHRI R. MARGABANDU (Tamil Nadu): Sir, it is unfortunate that the Government of India had issued this circular withdrawing the subject of Marxism from the syllabus of CBSE system. Marxism is being followed in the whole of India. There is not a single country which is an exception, which is not following the system of Marxism. It is an ideology to ask questions. The students have to be taught how to ask right questions and this system has been followed from the independence of India. How did it dawn on this Government to withdraw the study of Marxism from the syllabus, especially, when Fascism is allowed to be on the syllabus?

This is a dangerous position. Is it a fact that a Minister drawn from that particular party was given this position? As a matter of fact, one NCERT expert has said that this is nothing but a sneak preview of the BJP's agenda to saffronise education. So, this dropping of Marxism has been done clandestinely. Why has this Government not come forward before deleting Marxism from the study? Why have they not informed this House and what is their hidden agenda for withdrawing this system? So, while associating myself with my other friends, I strongly demand that it should be re-introduced and the way in which the present Government is acting is dubious and clandestine.

SHRI MRINAL SEN (Nominated): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I don't claim to be an accomplished Marxist, for the simple reason that I am not that much knowledgeable. But the first thing I feel is that the Government must come out with a statement to tell us very frankly whether or not they have done it. This dreadful circular which is alleged to have been issued by them, is yet to be confirmed by the Government. And before that, I would like to ask the Government: aren't we an open country, a democratic country? And is the Government scared of Marxism? Could it be that the Government is scared of knowledge itself? These are my questions. And confess that till today, I am not a card-carrying member of any Marxist party. But even then, I have been enormously benefited by Marxism, in many ways. Even if you are an anti-marxist and you want to cut Marxism to pieces, you have to know Marxism. This is what I say and if this is the truth—what is being discussed now—I must say that the country is becoming openly fascistic. That is all I have to say. Thank you.

SHRI KULDIP NAYYAR (Nominated): Sir, I am grateful to Mr. Gurudas Dasgupta for raising this point. When I was a student, I was a member of the Students' Federation in Lahore. I think the Chairman will also remember that. The Students' Federation was led by Marxists and it also participated in the movement for Independence. It gave the students some

kind of guidance not only in understanding what the issue of the freedom struggle was but also what it meant to defeat feudalism. Sir, Marxism has given me a historical perspective of things. I am not a Marxist. I had differences with Marxists earlier also and I still differ. But I think it has given birth to the concept of a welfare society. The very fact that in our Preamble we have socialism shows that it is really a product of marxist philosophy. We do agree that we must have some kind of an egalitarian society, or, what Panditji used to say, a socialistic concept of society or socialistic pattern of society. And if we do away with the basic philosophy from which we draw this kind of a thing, I do not know how we will be able to realize our dream which we have spelt out in the Preamble. The last thing I would like to say, Sir, is this. Lastly, if that circular is correct then it is very unfortunate because it really dictates to me what to read and what not to read. In a democracy, the basic thing is my right to know. If anybody or any Government or any system takes away that right from me, I think we will ultimately be going in the direction of fascism. Thank you.

प्रो० रामगोपाल यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश): थैंक यू सर। गुरुदास जी ने जो प्रश्न उठाया है, मैं उससे अपने आप को सम्बद्ध करते हुए केवल एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया में जब तक गैर बराबरी है, विषमता है, धन का अनईक्वल डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन है, तब तक किसी सरकार की बात छोड़िए, अब दुनिया में ऐसी हैसियत किसी की नहीं है कि मार्क्स के नाम को खत्म कर सके। मैं एक अध्यापक के रूप में कह रहा हूँ। मुझे फिज़िक्स और पोलिटिकल साइंस पढ़ाने का मौका मिला युनिवर्सिटीज़ में और मैं जानता हूँ कि वे थ्योरीज़ भी हम पढ़ाते हैं जो बिल्कुल आउटडेटेड हो गई हैं। छात्र जब तक जानेगा नहीं किसी चीज़ को तब तक क्या अच्छाई है, क्या बुराई है, रीज़निंग कैसे है, कैसे एर्नेलिसिस कर सकता है? हम फासिज़्म को भी पढ़ाना उचित मानते हैं तभी तो हम जानेंगे कि हिटलर ने क्या गलतियाँ की थीं? मार्क्स से अगर हम सहमत न हों तब भी उसमें गलतियाँ क्या हैं, यह तभी जान सकते हैं जब मार्क्सवाद को पढ़ें। हम फैबियनवाद को पढ़ाते हैं, हम गिल्ड सोशलिज़्म को पढ़ाते हैं। हम अरस्तू से लेकर अब तक जितने विचारक हुए हैं, उनसे सहमत हों या न हों लेकिन उनकी अच्छाइयों और बुराइयों को छात्रों को पढ़ाने की कोशिश करते हैं ताकि लोग समझ सकें, उनमें रीज़निंग हो, बच्चे के मस्तिष्क का विकास हो, इसलिए मैं जानता हूँ..... हो सकता है कि सरकार के इसकी जानकारी न हो। कई बार बहुत महत्वाकांक्षी और चापलूस किस्म के अधिकारी अपने आप को सरकार के नज़दीक साबित करने के लिए भी कुछ ऐसे कदम उठाते हैं, जनता जिनके खिलाफ होती है, लोग जिनके खिलाफ होते हैं, जिससे गवर्नमेंट की बदनामी हो सकती है। अगर ऐसा होता है तो मैं चाहूँगा गवर्नमेंट से कि अगर उसकी जानकारी में है तो यह बहुत दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण है लेकिन अगर जानकारी में नहीं है तो ऐसे लोगों को दंडित किया जाना चाहिए जो अनावश्यक रूप से सरकार को भी परेशानी में डालने का काम करते हैं। थैंक यू सर।

SHRI S.R. BOMMAI (Karnataka): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by hon. Members on this issue. Sir, there are a number of instances where this Government has tried to stealthily change the education system to suit its hidden agenda. I can give

one instance where they wanted to change the history itself. During the freedom struggle our books were published by the National Historical Research Institute. After the new Government came to power, they filled the vacancies naturally by persons who were committed to their political philosophy. They wanted to change it. There was a debate. The Chairman and the members said, "If you take a decision by a majority, we will resign". The Chairman requested them to go through the documents which were published after the year 1947. Those documents are a collection of the correspondence during the freedom struggle from—the Superintendent of Police to the Head of the Police Department, from the Governor to the Governor-General and from the Governor-General to the Government of Britain. These were correspondences wherein the names of some persons who were helping the British Government against the freedom fighters have been mentioned. In the correspondences, in the letters, how can it be changed? When the Members questioned about this, after a long discussion, this matter was closed. Still they are continuing to change history. They want to rewrite history. I have no objection if it is done on a rationale basis and in a proper method.

One more thing is that, education still remains a concurrent subject. But, without any discussions, without any consultations with the State Governments, if such circulars are issued, then it marks the beginning of a fascist era in this country, which is what the people here are afraid of. Fascism has set in. Thank you, Sir.

DR. Y. LAKSHMI PRASAD (Andhra Pradesh): Sir,.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: No....(Interruptions) Now, the Leader of the House,....(Interruptions) Please (Interruptions)

श्रीमती सरोज दुबे (बिहार): सर, गुरुदास दासगुप्त जी के विषय से हम अपने को सम्बद्ध करते हैं।

श्री सभापति: आपने सपोर्ट कर दिया काफी है।

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI JASWANT SINGH): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am greatly benefited by this unintended discussion on Marxism and various other issues that have been brought into the pale of an issue of concern, arising from a newspaper-report. Really, Sir, the way it was done,—of course, if there is any newspaper report that concerns any of the Members, then the Government is...(Interruptions)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: It is not a newspaper report. May I inform you that it is not a report of a newspaper? It has been collected from different schools, and a number of educationists including the head of a leading school had been quoted. Therefore, it is not from wild sources that we are collecting the information for you.



SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Sir, let me make this very clear. I, personally, have no knowledge of any such circular. Secondly, I do belong to this Government...(Interruptions)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Again, it is not a circular. You are always misunderstanding it. It is a decision of the Central Board of Secondary Education....(Interruptions) It is not a circular. It is a decision...(Interruptions) Sir, I never referred to a circular. I said, "A decision is sent from the Central Board of Secondary Education, which is a Government-controlled institution....(Interruptions)"

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: Sir,...

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is all right. Let him reply.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: Sir, the only thing which, I think, he should assure us is that the withdrawal of the study of Marxism from the curriculum will not be done.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: In whatever form it is, whether as a circular or as an instruction, I would like to inform the hon. Members that I have no knowledge of it, and the Government has not taken this decision. I can tell you this. Therefore, what I was saying was this. Of course, we can't shut the doors on knowledge. I will take a minute or two to express my thoughts on this subject. Here is a dominant political thought which rose in the century and dominated large parts of the world. Within one life-span, we have seen the rise of a political thought and also its decline. How can it not be a matter of study in political science? I am a student, a student of current history. The rise and decline of such a dominant thought is, indeed, very much a part of our concern, and it must continue...(Interruptions)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Its decline is a matter of interpretation.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: There have been all kinds of charges, imputations, all kinds of coloured interpretations. Almost an hour has been taken on mythical fears. Let me assure the hon. Members that this Government subscribes, without any doubt, unequivocally and unambiguously to the view that knowledge cannot be contrived, cannot be restricted, simply by Government dictats. We don't believe in that. We will not work on that basis. If any hon. Member has any difficulty. आपने सही कहा कि आप शब्द विद्या की सीमाएं कैसे बांधेंगे? S. the word is 'education' The Latin root of education is 'educere—I lead out.'

जहां आप सबने इतना सब कुछ कहा मुझे भी कहने का कुछ अवसर दीजिए और हम सहमत हों या नहीं हों इसका फैसला तो विचार करने के बाद ही होगा किंतु आप तो विचार ही नहीं करना चाहते। अध्यक्ष जी, चर्चा हो गई, बिना विचार किए आपने आरोप लगा दिया, आरोपों के बाद सेटेंस सुनाने लगे,

ऐसा मत कीजिए। हमें आप अवसर तो देते कि ऐसा हुआ है या नहीं हुआ। हम सारी बात आपको स्पष्ट करते, दूध का दूध और पानी का पानी हो जाता और जिस प्रकार से एक माहौल पैदा हो गया है। And I want to assure the hon. Members...(Interruptions)....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please hear the Minister....(Interruptions)....

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, I am on a simple point. Will the Government review the decision of the CBSE?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let him reply....(Interruptions)... Let him complete.

श्री जसवंत सिंह: आपको इसकी बधाई देता हूँ, इस तरह से आप बेताब न होईए, आप काहे को बेताब हो रहे हैं। इसीलिए चेयरमैन साहब....(व्यवधान)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: You become the Education Minister; that is better.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I started by saying that this is not in the government's knowledge, this is not in my personal knowledge. The Minister of Human Resource Development is not in Delhi. I have consulted my colleague who is the Minister of State in the Ministry of Human Resource Development; it is not in her knowledge. Still I will establish the facts, and if.....(Interruptions).... You don't want me to...

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is all right...(Interruptions)...

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I will establish the facts. I wish to assure the Members that this Government has no intention of shutting the windows and doors of knowledge on any subject. Why should you worry about it?

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[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Adhik Shirodkar) in the Chair]

**THE CONSTITUTION (EIGHTY-FOURTH) AMENDMENT BILL, 1999**

**THE MINISTER OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS**  
(SHRI RAM JETHMALANI): Sir, I beg to move:

“that the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India, as passed by Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration.”

Sir, it is a wholly non-controversial measure. Hon. Members must have known that the Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha yesterday by more than a two-thirds majority of the Members present. In fact, it was passed unanimously, without a single dissent. Almost every political party supported it fully. Sir, may be, it is a reflection of my old age that I am these days producing before the House only non-controversial measures.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal):** It is unusual of you.  
(Interruptions)