

EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

An Inquiry into objectives and achievements.

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*See skulking Truth to her old cavern fled,
Mountains of Casuistry heap'd o'er her heap!
Philosophy, that lean'd on Heav'n before,
Shrinks to her second cause, and is no more.*

.....
*Religion blushing veils her sacred fires,
And unawares Morality expires.
Nor public flame, nor private, dares to shine;
Nor human spark is left, nor glimpse divine!
So! Thy dread empire Chaos is restor'd;
Light dies before thy unceasing word;
Thy hand, great Anarch! lets the curtain fall.
And universal darkness buries all.*

*(Alexander Pope, The Dunciad
Book iii, 1.641)*

Upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends.

Disraeli
(Speech in House of Commons
15 June 1874)

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PREFACE

Very little fundamental thinking has been done on education in Pakistan. There are, however, two main exceptions. Fazlur Rahman touched upon a number of basic problems as minister of education in his various addresses which were later brought together in his book *New Education in the Making in Pakistan*. The Commission on National Education (Sharif Commission) also has discussed some of the questions relating to education in this country. Of these two, the former is more related to the basic ideals which should have inspired educational reform in Pakistan. However there has been precious little of academic writing on the direction that education should have taken in this country. In contrast Indian authors have been prolific in their analysis and constructive criticism of the educational processes, ideals and policies in their country. In Pakistan education has been more the concern of bureaucrats and equally ill-informed politicians than of academicians. No wonder, therefore, that there has been little meaningful thinking on reform. This book is an attempt to discuss the various facets of education concerning Pakistan in an academic manner.

I am grateful to the Managers of the Smuts Fund in Cambridge for electing me to their visiting fellowship for the year 1972-73. This enabled me to devote myself to the collection of materials which are normally not available in Pakistan. There is no possibility of studying Indian writings for a Pakistani except by a visit to a third country. As India and Pakistan started from a common base in 1947, an examination of the Indian experience is highly relevant in the context of education in this country. I am also under a deep obligations to the Master and Fellows of my *alma mater*, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge for extending to me facilities without which it would have been difficult for me to pursue my studies. I must also record my appreciation of the kindness of the authorities of

the Institute of South Asian Studies Cambridge and Cambridge University Library in helping me with the location and use of the materials in their possession. And finally, I thank my publishers, MA'AREF Ltd., for undertaking the publication of this book. The printers MA'AREF Printers have shown inexhaustible patience in their dealings with the author.

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The following system has been used:—

ph	ق	ر - ر	ا
th	ک	ز	ب
jh	ل	س	پ
chh	م	ش	ت - ٹ
dh	ن	ص	ث
kh	و	ض	ج
gh	ہ	ط	چ
	ء	ظ	ح
	ی	ع	خ
	ے	غ	د - ڈ
bh	بھ	ف	ذ

The short vowels have been transcribed as a, i, u; the long vowels as ā, ī, ū.

Words which have found their way into the English Dictionary have not been transliterated.

Names of places have been transliterated in the manner in which they are familiar to the students of history and geography of the Subcontinent. Unfamiliar names have been transliterated. Uniformity has not been observed in the transliteration of the names of those persons who wrote them in English, e. g., Mohamed Ali for Muḥammad 'Alī, etc.

CHAPTER I

The Heritage

The areas now under the effective control of Pakistan have a hoary tradition of culture. Crude instruments made of split pebbles and large flakes chipped mainly on one side with large 'bulbs of percussion and small striking platforms' found in Rawalpindi District known to historians and archaeologists as Pre-Sohan take us to the formation of the topmost gravels of the Second Glacial Period which perhaps corresponds to the *Mindel* of Europe. This was followed by the Sohan industry which was slightly more sophisticated and which began to appear in the succeeding second interglacial period. There is a slow but constant growth until the third and possibly the fourth glaciations, perhaps corresponding respectively to *Riss* and *Wurm* of Europe. This would give them an antiquity of approximately four hundred thousand years. The lowest layer of occupation at Kile (Qal'ah-i) Gul Muhammad near Quetta represents a lithic village culture without pottery which may be nearly 4,500 years old. The neolithic phase gradually developed into a chalcolithic civilization and the transitional village life had produced a coherent cultural complex before 3000 B.C.

Its primary links were with the Iranian Plateau and it spread from the heart of the plateau through the glens of Baluchistan into the Indus Valley and from there eastwards into Bahawalpur. Here the village communities emerging from Baluch hills found a new geographical environment and, taking advantage of the riverways and the rich alluvial soil, developed both commerce and agriculture. They no longer possessed stone, hence they took to making bricks which they could bake with the ample quantities of fuel available locally. This was the beginning of the famous Indus Valley Civilization, with its municipal organization, disciplined government and achievements in art and artefacts. It extended from the foots of the Simla Hills to the coast of the Arabian Sea, with the two metropolitan cities of Moenjodaro and Harappa, either complementary capitals of a large consolidated empire or the seats of two independent governments. This civilization endured for a thousand years from 2500 B.C. to 1500 B.C. and was destroyed by the Aryans who were superior fighters and better equipped. The static political organization broke down, but the culture of the vanquished did not die and influenced the Aryan conquerors deeply, because the conquerors were not as sophisticated as the people they had defeated.

It was from modern Panjab, the Sapta Sindhu, the land of seven rivers, of the Aryans, that they started on a career of the conquest of the rest of the Subcontinent. It was in West Pakistan that the hymns of Rigveda were mostly written and the beef eating warriors who sallied forth eastwards on their career of conquest and expansion resembled more the Pathan and Panjabi soldiers of Pakistan in their physique and outlook than the Hindu population of India.

West Pakistan also saw the efflorescence of a Buddhist culture in Swat and Peshawar areas. The Gandhara school of sculpture was but the outward expression of the refinement and creativeness of the genius of the local people. The Buddhist monasteries were not only places for a disciplined devotion to the Buddhist traditions of asceticism but also educational institutions where all the disciples did not intend to take the monastic vows. The senior monks had in their ranks scholars whose learning

commanded respect in a society where pre-Buddhist Hinduism had previously made a mark in religious and mundane learning.

It would be incorrect to assume that the well entrenched traditions of academic pursuits had no influence upon the intellectual activity of the Muslims who established their supremacy in these areas a few centuries later. The concrete examples of the influence of Indian science on the Arab scientific tradition as a result of the contacts established in Sind are well-known,¹ but Muslim learning in West Pakistan is indebted to the efforts of the pre-Muslim scholars in another manner. Both in Sind, and a few centuries later, at Lahore in modern Panjab, there was almost a sudden spurt of cultural and intellectual activity,² in which the foreign Muslim scholars played the role of catalysts and men of local origin were, as the result of their conversion or curiosity, inducted into the traditions of Islamic learning which was thus saved from becoming an exotic plant in an unfamiliar climate. Men of local origin gained sufficient eminence to become famous in the entire Muslim world. This would not have been possible without a strong local tradition of scholarship. Lahore became famous as a centre of learning under the Ghaznavids, and it seems more probable that its fame was based on local effort, because the scholars of the lands where Islam had established itself earlier would more likely congregate at Ghaznih.

With the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi, it became possible for Muslim scholars to spread their influence into the rest of the Subcontinent, but Lahore and Sind were not denuded of learning. As the result of the Mongol inroads into the Muslim world which began soon after the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi, there developed a situation that was disastrous for the Eastern lands of Islam. Educational institutions and libraries were destroyed and scholars were dispersed. Many of them, who could escape slaughter, took refuge in Delhi, thus laying the foundation of a tradition of excellence in scholarship which made Delhi famous. From being a mere outpost of Islam in a far

¹ For a brief recapitulation, vide I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, (The Hague, 1962), pp. 36, 37.

² Muḥammad 'Awfi, *Lubāb-u'l-albāb*, edited by E. G. Browne and Mirzā Muḥammad ibn 'Abd-u'l-Wahhāb Qazwīnī (London, 1903-1906), chapter IX.

flung corner of the Muslim world, it suddenly rose into the position of being one of its famous academic centres.³ It rightly earned the title of Qubbat-u'l-Islam (the Dome of Islam) where Islam not only found a shelter from calamity but where it also was able to establish a nucleus of endeavour. The light that emanated from Delhi did not leave the areas of Pakistan in darkness and they became full participants in the intellectual activity of the Empire whenever they were included in it.

In fact no political frontiers prevented travellers from going from one Muslim state to another. Sometimes actual warfare also did not stop travel, because it was pointless to maltreat travellers. Scholars occupied a privileged position and were treated with consideration and respect wherever they went. Famous teachers attracted students from distant places. Thus Islamic learning was international and was not limited even to Muslims. Non-Muslim scholars made no mean contribution to Muslim lore and all over the Muslim world non-Muslim students and scholars thronged the seats of learning. Islamic learning thus developed a universality and though Islamic theological and legal studies ever remained at its centre, it was by no means insular as the keenness with which Greek disciplines were studied would demonstrate. Every land that came under the dominance of Islam contributed something to its intellectual wealth and in turn received in exchange all that Muslims had produced or assimilated. But the influence of every centre was naturally greater within the same state and this was true of Delhi as well in the context of the territories of Pakistan.

What was the content of the Islamic learning in the Subcontinent?⁴ It was nothing short of the main corpus of the literature produced in different disciplines by Muslim scholars. It embraced not only the Qur'ān, its exegesis, the **Hādith** and its subsidiary disciplines brought into existence to test the probable

³ Muḥammad Qāsim Firishah, *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*, edited by John Briggs (Poona, 1832), v.i, pp. 131-132. Diyā-u'd-dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz-shāhī*, edited by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Bib. Indica, (Calcutta 1890), pp. 46, 47.

⁴ G. M. D. Sufi, *Al-Minhāj* (Lahore 1941) gives a history and a description of the syllabi used by such institutions during Muslim rule and later.

authenticity of every tradition, jurisprudence, apologetics and comparative religion, but also medicine, mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, botany, zoology in the sciences, mechanics, engineering, architecture and horticulture on the applied side and in liberal arts, history, logic, philosophy, literature and other cognate subjects. The theories of social, political and economic organization as well as administration were studied with considerable interest. And despite the purely rational basis of all these "secular" subjects, significantly grouped as *ma'qūl* (rational) as opposed to whatever truth was accepted on authority and therefore known as *manqūl* or 'transmitted' including the revealed truth and tradition, they were not totally divorced from the Faith, because the aim of Muslim scholarship was to achieve an integrated view of the universe and man's place in it.

The facts that some of the subjects studied were not Islamic in origin and that many a savant was non-Muslim encouraged a free and purely rational discussion of many subjects including metaphysics and philosophy. There did emerge strong rifts in the attitudes for instance of the theologians and the philosophers, the former disliking the employment of rational philosophy for the purpose of understanding the revealed truth. Indeed battles royal were fought between the two and yet the theologians themselves had to use philosophy for developing their apologetics. Even the mystics had to seek the help of metaphysics and philosophy to explain the nature, significance and relevance of their experience. Like all intellectual systems Islam also bred its non-conformists, heretics and rebels. And in spite of the tremendous power enjoyed by orthodoxy, it discovered everywhere that the sole effective arm against unwelcome and objectionable opinions and beliefs is rational persuasion.

All this goes to show that intellectual activity was neither restricted nor stunted. Its strong Islamic flavour was due to a sincere and enthusiastic acceptance of the truth of Islam. Despite the heretics, non-conformists and rebels, the Muslim society as a whole, did not deviate in its beliefs or actions from the tenets of Islam in any serious manner. There were periods when laxity threatened to undermine the general loyalty to the doctrine

and its practice, but there grew up movements, even heresies, to fight it.⁵ The faith had sufficient resilience to withstand any shock. It was not cowed down by the flights of Hindu speculative philosophy even though it was studied by several keen scholars. Even the first impact of the West did not create the problems that Islamic societies face everywhere today. The reason was that the Muslim intellectuals were educated in a tradition that they themselves had created. They still had not lost self-confidence. When they met a Westerner, they met him on a basis of equality and suffered from no inferiority complex. Western visitors also did not find them inferior in any way.⁶ When the great missionary assault came in the nineteenth century, it found the Muslim scholars fully prepared for polemics based upon reason as well as the knowledge of the Christian scriptures and doctrines. And they were able to defend their faith and beliefs.⁷ Gradually all this changed, but before we trace that development, it would be useful to describe briefly the organization of education under Muslim rule.

There were three main principles on which education and its institutional organization were based. The first of these was that the acquisition of knowledge was a religious duty of every Muslim. The performance of any religious duty in Islam is an act of worship. Both as a logical corollary and on the basis of a clear tradition of the Prophet, teaching also was in the same category. The second principle was that education should be free and uncontrolled. It, therefore, should be free from the control of the state. Government must not be permitted to use education for its purposes. The third principle was also derived from the conception of the freedom of education. If education was a religious duty and if it was not to be organized by the state, it followed that individuals should come forward

⁵ The Mahdawī Movement is an example, for details vide I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, op. cit., pp. 134-137.

⁶ Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, (London, 1844), p. 339; W. H. Lees, *Indian Musalmans*, (London, 1871), pp. 52, 58.

⁷ Imdād Şabirī, *Firangyon kā jāl*, (Delhi, 1949) gives a description of polemics between Muslim theologians and Christian missionaries. Mawlānā Raḥmat-u'llah Kairānawī, *Izhār-u'l-ḥaqq*, translated into Urdu as *Bible se Qur'ān tak*, (Karachi, 1973) is a solid work in Muslim polemics against Christianity.

voluntarily to further it. Such a system depends ultimately on a general social awakening to the importance of education. As it was a virtuous and pious act to teach, every scholar tried to join in the common effort. Many men holding high positions tried to find some time to teach at least a small number of students. Many a lady of leisure collected a small batch of girls in her home and taught them. Men of means founded and endowed schools, colleges and seminaries.

The state, despite the fact that it had no say in the organization or content of education, was not totally unconcerned. It helped the educational effort in several ways. It built and endowed educational institutions. Then it gave grants of land or cash to deserving scholars who were thus enabled to devote themselves to scholarship and teaching.⁸ All this was done untrammelled by any conditions or interference. And, finally, monarchs and other dignitaries of the state showed the utmost respect to scholars and scholarship.⁹ All this created remarkable traditions of academic freedom and independence. There have been instances of some scholars indulging in sycophancy and even prostituting their knowledge for gaining wealth or power, but such men thronged the royal courts, not the cloisters of teaching institutions. Similarly there are examples of individual scholars having been victimized or even persecuted for their views or hostility to the policies of some monarchs and all of these have found mention in contemporary writings,¹⁰ but one would search in vain for any incident where the monarch or any of his subordinates tried to influence the views of any teacher or the syllabus and the outlook of any institution.

Education was absolutely free. No fees were charged, on the contrary students were provided with books, accommodation and food without any charge. Indigent students could rely upon private munificence even for their clothes. If an institution did not happen to be adequately endowed for meeting the expenses of the students, the people of the locality combined

⁸ I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, (Karachi, 1958) pp. 176, 177.

⁹ e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 184, 185

¹⁰ E.g. I. H. Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics*, (Karachi, 1972), pp. 65-67.

together to help them. Thus there was nothing to stop a keen or ambitious student from prosecuting studies to the highest levels. There was no red tape involved in student affairs. Migration from one institution to another was easy, even the choice of a teacher from among those who taught the same discipline depended upon the inclination of the student. There seemed to be a general permission to audit any course in which the student or even a stranger felt interested. Discipline was not imposed so much as it was ingrained in the general attitudes. The teacher was respected and the student was tied to him by feelings of respect and gratitude, because the teacher received no emoluments. The theory was that a scholar was supported by the state, by his institution or by the society to devote himself to academic pursuits and teaching was not compulsory. Indeed every educational institution was an association of senior and junior seekers of knowledge working together for a common purpose. A necessary ingredient of this system of discipline was that the teacher had to earn the respect of his pupils through his learning as well as character, because in that society character was assigned the same importance as learning. It speaks volumes for the sense of duty and vocation of so many persons engaged in a common effort, it is true, but knit together in a purely voluntary and nebulous organization, that the system did not break down and continued to function successfully for several centuries.

Primary education was provided by *maktabs* where the child was taught to read and write. These schools introduced the student to the classics and many of their graduates did not see any necessity of going to a higher institution. Their education was good enough for employment as government servants of lower cadres. There are strong reasons to believe that literacy was high among the Muslims¹¹ especially among those who lived in large cities and towns of various sizes and even in villages large enough to possess a proper mosque. Western travellers were impressed with the common urge among the people to educate their children.¹² The services under the Sultans as

¹¹ Lees, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹² "Perhaps there are few communities in the world among whom education is more generally diffused than among Mohammadans in India. He who holds an office worth twenty rupees a month commonly gives his sons an education equal to that of a prime minister". Sleeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 523-24.

well as the Mughuls were organized on the basis of merit, hence the quality of education one received and the standard achieved provided access to employment and advancement.¹³ Thus education had an obvious economic and social value.

But all this changed with the establishment of British rule. The higher cadres of service became inaccessible to Indians. However well educated an Indian resident in British India might be, he could not hope to be appointed to any high post because higher positions were all reserved for Britishers.¹⁴ As if this were not dampening enough, in the lower cadres as well, quite often preference was given to Hindus, whose progress was not solely the result of their greater enterprise.¹⁵ A greater blow was dealt to the old Muslim system of education by the abolition of Persian as the language of the law courts.¹⁶ This was followed by the abolition of the posts of Muslim advisers on Muslim Law in the courts.¹⁷ The resumption of grants made by Muslim rulers and the misuse of Muslim endowments for education accelerated the process of destruction of the traditional system.¹⁸

Macaulay made scathing remarks about the entire body of literature in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit and advocated, with all his eloquence, the introduction of English as the medium of instruction at the higher levels and as the official language of the British Empire in the Subcontinent. It is obvious that Macaulay's objectives were not purely academic. He rightly hoped, through the introduction of English in the administration and educational institutions, to subvert the Indian religions as

¹³ I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, *op. cit.*, p. 67; I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughul Empire*, (Karachi, 1966), p. 112.

¹⁴ Colonel Walker's reply to the ninth question of the Directors in *East India Papers*, v. ii, pp. 183, 184; Sir Richard Temple, *Men and Events of My Time in India*, (London, 1882), p. 502.

¹⁵ W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, (Calcutta, 1945), p. 167.

¹⁶ I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, *op. cit.*, p. 215, Vincent Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (Third edition) (edited by Percival Spear), (Oxford, 1958), p. 588.

¹⁷ Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 158; Lees, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-21

¹⁸ Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 178 ff; Temple *op. cit.*, pp. 410, 411, 'Abd-u'l-Haqq, *Marhūm Dehli College*, (Delhi, 1945), pp. 10, 11. For resumption proceedings, Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-178.

well as cultures.¹⁹ If the new system had been pushed methodically and enthusiastically, Macaulay's dream of seeing the Subcontinent inhabited by a race of brown Englishmen who would have differed from the real Englishmen only in race and complexion would have almost come true. Whether these *ersatz* Englishmen would have acquired all the characteristics of their rulers is very doubtful indeed, but they most certainly would have ceased to be their old selves. The Indian Government was in no mood to make education universal, because it soon discovered that among other effects of the new education was the creation of a desire for participation in the authority and work of the government.²⁰ Liberal ideas could not possibly be expunged from the text books, not only of Politics and Law, but also of English prose and poetry. Indeed there was regret in many government quarters that "babbling babus" had been enabled to roll off inspiring prose by British authors about liberty. It seems that this development had not been foreseen by those who initiated the change. However the Government maintained its interest in the new education to the extent it was able to get a steady supply of clerks and subordinate servants for running the machinery of its administration.

The need was extensive at the very start and was continuously expanding; therefore more educational institutions had to be established. To start with, the three presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were chosen for the establishment of universities.²¹ Later the needs of the Western areas of the Indo-Gangetic plain also were taken into consideration and the Universities of Panjab and Allahabad were brought into existence.²² The problem of huge distances and a large number of cities and substantial towns was somewhat met by making the universities examining and affiliating bodies with exclusive "territorial jurisdictions" so that within the prescribed area of

¹⁹ Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt, *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, (London, 1934), p. 319.

²⁰ E.g. Lovat Frazer, *India Under Curzon and After*, (London, 1911), p. 188.

²¹ The Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were incorporated in 1857, W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Empire*, (London, 1882), p. 365.

²² The University of Panjab was established in 1882 and the University of Allahabad in 1887.

jurisdiction no other institution had the rights of affiliation. The universities exercised a strict control over their affiliated institutions, which had to follow the syllabi prescribed by them.

The rules of affiliation ensured that sub-standard institutions would not be able to send up candidates for university examinations and this was a serious matter because all candidates were examined by the university which alone was in a position to award degrees recognized by the Government and other employers. This ensured a uniformity of training and standards which was useful, because the diploma did convey something to the Government as well as the public. However, from the very beginning the examinations established such a stranglehold upon education that teachers taught and students learnt only what was likely to be useful from the examination point of view. The colleges were in fact little better than schools and cramming and its resultant evils soon raised their ugly heads. Every effort was made to make the system impersonal to prevent corrupt practices. Hence a wall of secrecy and anonymity was raised between the examiner and the examinee. In such a system the element of luck played a larger role than it would in more humane and less impersonal systems. On the whole performance and ability and preparation were not totally divorced, but in a few instances surprises were not uncommon.

So long as the demands of the employers were modest and they required clerks with a basic knowledge of English with little responsibility for making decisions, the system worked satisfactorily. But it was not designed to produce anything different. Its shortcomings were patent to any one who had seen some better system elsewhere or who could reflect upon the quality of the graduates of these universities. The first to cover them with ridicule were British administrators themselves. They did not hide their thorough contempt for "babbling babus" who raised their voice in support of more liberal policies and opposing British attitudes which they thought inimical to Indian interests and progress towards self government. The British critics forgot that they themselves had created a system which was not conducive to the creation of the qualities of leadership or the development of the capacity for decisive action.

Another shortcoming was that it was frankly unscholarly. Teachers were expected to teach the prescribed topics, quite often from prescribed or recommended textbooks and students saw no reason for venturing beyond them. The idea of extending the frontiers of human knowledge through research and discovery was neither mooted nor understood. The universities and the colleges were not seats of learning; they were just teaching institutions like schools. The textbooks in all important subjects were mostly compiled in England, sometimes for the benefit of English students, and thus the results of the researches of British scholars did ultimately percolate down to Indian teachers and students. Because of this higher education in the Subcontinent was so tightly tied to the apron strings of British scholarship that any independent venture was impossible. Even in subjects where local talent might have made some contribution like Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and History, the field was left to Britishers and upto the close of the nineteenth century, Indian contribution was negligible. The earliest stirrings of a desire for research came in the first decade of this century, but then, opinion began to veer round to the idea that higher education in the Subcontinent could no longer satisfy the new cravings and therefore needed overhauling.

But before we turn to these new developments, it would be useful to assess the results of the working of the new educational system in the period before reforms. It has been mentioned that there was no attempt at creating scholarship. Hence all that was taught tended to be taken on trust, because real criticism was not possible. This created a strongly entrenched respect for the printed word. It was beyond the resources of the local teachers and students to question the facts or the opinions included in the textbooks. And because Indian standards were consequently definitely inferior to those obtaining in the West, the educated classes of the Subcontinent developed an unshakeable sense of inferiority. From academic matters it extended itself to other fields as well. Such a feeling is inhibitive of effort, because it does not permit the development of self confidence. Not many products of the system achieved eminence and those who did, would have broken through any shackles or inhibitions. The wider effects of a general stunting of the genius of the in-

telligentsia were so harmful that they have snowballed into a disaster today. The foundations of the evil were laid at the lower stages of education. The universities were reformed and became more productive, but the fundamental ills of the system could not be cured.

The weaknesses of university education in British India were correctly discerned by Lord Curzon. He studied carefully the entire system of education.²³ Then he convened a conference of the officers who were concerned with educational policies. His speech inaugurating the conference shows that by then the inherent weaknesses of the system had begun to assert themselves.²⁴ The fact that the universities were merely examining bodies had pushed the examining method to undesirable extremes. This was partly due to the fact that success in university examinations had been made "the sole avenue to employment in the state" and then the examinations became "the sole test of education". This necessarily led to cramming and Lord Curzon rightly held that "a people could not rise in the scale of intelligence by the exercise of memory alone". He inquired whether the Indian universities "could be gradually changed from purely examining into teaching institutions". He also took cognizance of the fact that university government was cumbersome, unwieldy and by no means principled. Hence powerful interests were able to secure affiliation for some sub-standard institutions, thus pulling down standards all round.²⁵

He appointed a Universities Commission which submitted its report in 1902. On the basis of that report a Bill was drawn up for the central legislature which, in the words of Lord Curzon, was intended to improve the system. "Its main principle is" he asserted, "...to raise the standard of education all round and particularly of higher education. What we want to do is to apply better and less fallacious tests than at present exist, to stop the sacrifice of everything in the colleges which constitute our university system to cramming, to bring about better teaching by a superior class of teachers, to provide for closer inspection of

²³ Lovat Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-186.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 187

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 184, 189-190

colleges and institutions which are now left practically alone, to place the Government of the universities in competent, expert, and enthusiastic hands...to show the way by which our universities can ultimately be converted into teaching institutions; in fact to convert higher education in India into a reality instead of a sham."²⁶

The Bill was enacted into law despite the storm of agitation and protests that it raised. The merits of the reform were obscured by the fact that Indian opinion saw in the reformed senates and syndicates, an effort to diminish non-official influence in the governance of the universities and in more stringent conditions for affiliation, a desire for restricting the spread of higher education.²⁷ After the lapse of almost three quarters of a century it is possible to take an objective view of Lord Curzon's effort. There is little doubt that the reform of the Senates and the Syndicates did lead to a reduction in the number of the non-official members, but then it is equally true that formerly nominations had been indiscriminate and even illiterate persons had been made members, at least, of the Senate.²⁸ Any introduction of more expertise at that time could not but result in increasing "official influence", because a large proportion of adequately qualified persons were servants of the state, mostly Britishers.

There has always been a clamour in the Subcontinent for easier standards and any attempt to stiffer admissions or examinations creates discontent.²⁹ Public opinion has yet not awakened to the need of maintaining higher standards, even though today there is a surfeit of educated unemployed. The result is that the end products of the system have been poorer than the graduates of Western universities. But so long as one's hope of employment depended upon securing a certificate, a diploma or a degree from a recognized university, it was too idealistic to think that the enforcement of more demanding standards would be popular in any quarter. Despite the good features of the proposed reform it was mainly opposed because it increased governmental control

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 193, 194

²⁷ Vincent Smith, *op. cit.* p. 758.

²⁸ Lovat Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 190

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 186, 187

over the universities which had come to value their autonomy, even though it had been abused in many respects. The Indian public opinion did not like that Government should appoint the vice-chancellors, and that it should control affiliation of institutions and the appointment of teachers. The inclusion of the Director of Public Instruction in the Senate and attempts to control the number of admissions through the imposition of higher fees also was strongly disliked.³⁰ It is interesting to note that the attempts to gain greater control of university administration by independent Indian and Pakistani governments have gone unopposed and even unnoticed.

It goes to the credit of Lord Curzon that he studied the problem in depth, came out with feasible solutions and incurred unpopularity by making efforts to remedy the situation. And yet, it must be admitted that he failed in his attempt. His greatest aim, that of rescuing universities from being merely examining bodies, was realized not by him, but by others in course of time, so that universities became teaching institutions with well qualified teachers and research came to be prized and respected. The Sadler Commission found that most of the abuses mentioned by Lord Curzon were still restricting university education.³¹ Lord Curzon's commission had done the real spade work, but Sadler Commission was more successful because, by now, Indian opinion had come to realize that university education needed drastic reform. Even though Sadler Commission was concerned with Calcutta alone, its recommendations found greater application. Old universities were reformed: some shed their affiliation systems altogether, others concentrated more on teaching and relegated affiliation and examinations of candidates from outside their teaching departments to their external sections. New universities of teaching and residential type were established.

In spite of all this, the central problem of cramming has not

³⁰ Percival Spear, *India*, (Ann Arbor, 1961), p. 318, Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 757, 758; P. E. Roberts, *History of India under the Company and the Crown*, (third edition completed by T. G. P. Spear) (London, 1952), pp. 547, 548. Lovat Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 194, 195; Edward Thompson and G. T. Garrat, *op. cit.*, pp. 572-573.

³¹ *Report of the Calcutta Commission Report*, (1917-18), v.i. Chapter

been eliminated. And what is even more disturbing for Pakistan is that Lord Curzon's speech, with a few topical adjustments is today as relevant in this country as it was in the beginning of this century. The only significant change under the present government has been that all educational institutions have been "nationalized", in other words, taken under official control. This measure has not resulted either in higher standards of education or better management of the erstwhile private institutions.

Lord Curzon also applied his mind to school education. A good deal of what he said about the standards in the universities applies to school education as well during his period, because schools also were tied to the apron strings of the universities. The final school examination which was the prescribed lowest qualification for many posts was at that time a university examination and was generally known as Entrance Examination, implying that those who passed that examination were eligible for admission to university standard education. For this reason the universities were also responsible for the affiliation of high schools.³² It was mostly here that all attempts at raising standards were resisted.

Lord Curzon stoutly defended the introduction of Western education in India, and there is considerable force in the argument that if the British had not brought Western knowledge to the Subcontinent, the people would soon have demanded it.³³ But then Western knowledge should have been integrated into the existing systems and not imported as an exotic plant that has in fact never taken real roots in the hearts of the people. Lord Curzon himself realized that education could penetrate the masses only if it were imparted through a native language. He wisely remarked that "Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian textbooks, the elementary education of the people in their own tongue has shrivelled and pined."³⁴ If he had not confused Western knowledge with Western languages, he would have reached the same conclusion about other sectors of education as well.

³² Lovat Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 186, 190

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

There was no excuse indeed for this fallacy. The system of vernacular middle schools flourished in the United Provinces within the memory of the present author. They taught Mathematics, including Mensuration, History, Geography, elementary Science and Urdu or Hindi. In the beginning when the supply of even matriculates, much less of graduates, was not so plentiful, the graduates of these schools staffed all the lower cadres of the secretariat and even executive posts under the collectors and the tahsildars. There never was a complaint against their efficiency. This, however, was not the entire story. They completed in six years what the English language school students took ten to do. All the subjects were taught in Urdu or Hindi, their proficiency in Mathematics was remarkable, though, of course, higher mathematics was not taught. All the textbook history and geography was familiar ground to them. There was no difficulty about text-books which were produced by competent persons and approved by the Government, nor did technical terms—all translated into highly Arabicised and Sanskritized language—offer any problem. Nobody complained that the terms were too difficult, because the children soon got used to them. If English had been taught only as an additional or a compulsory language without the blight of the medium of a foreign language settling upon the entire educational system, the history of intellectual development in the Subcontinent would have been different.

The wastage of four years of every school boy's life who read upto the Matriculation or High School standard for the doubtful benefit of learning the various subjects through the medium of a foreign language was so criminal that only a foreign government motivated by a senseless cultural imperialism could reconcile itself to it. The successor governments of India and Pakistan have thoughtlessly continued the practice in the prestigious English medium schools. The more plebeian institutions, like many public schools of the United States of America, have been permitted to plod their own weary way because they have seldom attracted the benevolent attention of the elite and officialdom. The result is that school education has never caught up with world standards. A good deal could have been achieved if education through the native languages had not been given a

secondary position and later totally scuttled by the British. If a more imaginative approach had been made to the entire problem, we would not have inherited the terrible handicap of poor standards. There are better methods of imparting proficiency in the use of a foreign language than using it as the medium of instruction in schools.

The Muslims were placed on the horns of a dilemma by the educational policies of the Government. They had possessed an educational system of their own. It seemed to answer their needs quite well. It is not correct to assume that it had grown rigid and unprogressive. The syllabus, it is true, was not changed everyday, but then the advancement in knowledge in the East had ceased to be dynamic for some time. Nevertheless the latest books written by eminent authors did not find much difficulty in getting into syllabi if they were considered suitable. For a few decades before and even after 1857, it was still capable of producing men like the famous scholar of a towering height, Mawlānā Mamlūk 'Alī, the statesman, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and a bevy of men of learning like Mawlānā Shibli Nu'mānī, the historian, literary critic, poet and theologian, Mawlānā Abu-'l-Kalām Āzād, the Indian politician, litterateur and rhetorician and a host of others.

The great experiment of the Delhi College which produced a mathematician like Ram Chandra and where the teachers were mostly Indian proved a success and played an important role in removing barriers between the old and the new knowledge, but the lessons learnt there were forgotten in the zeal to destroy the old so that it might be replaced completely by the new. The loss sustained by the education of the Subcontinent in the matter of standards alone can be judged by comparing the output of Delhi College with that of the colleges and universities established under the new dispensation upto the first quarter of this century and in Pakistan, if you please, upto the present time. The Muslim community of the Subcontinent has been criticized by all writers, Eastern and Western, Muslim and non-Muslim, for shunning modern knowledge but no one has taken cognizance of their support and enthusiasm for Delhi College.³⁵ Among its more

³⁵ 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq, *Marḥūm, Delhi College, op. cit.*, pp. 5, 156, 157

famous graduates one may count the mathematician Ram Chandra who was taken on the staff and whose contribution in Differential Calculus received recognition in the United Kingdom. His book "*Maxima and Minima*" earned the appreciation not only of scholars but also of the Board of Directors of the East India Company.³⁶ Similarly Shams-u'l-'ulamā Nādhir Aḥmad, the novelist, exegetist and translator of the Indian Penal Code into Urdu (which earned him the degree of L.L.D. from Edinburgh),³⁷ Shams-u'l-'ulamā Mawlawī Dhakāu'llah, the historian,³⁸ Shams-u'l-'ulamā Muḥammad Husain Āzād, the critic and historian of Urdu poetry³⁹ and Shams-u'l-'ulamā Dr. Diyā--u'd-dīn were the graduates of the same institution.⁴⁰ No other institution can boast of such alumni produced within the short period of its existence.

The college possessed two sections side by side—one taught through the medium of Urdu and the other through the medium of English. Again and again the students of the former showed their superiority over those of the latter, in their knowledge of the Western disciplines.⁴¹ The Urdu medium students learnt Astronomy, General Science, Philosophy, History and Ethics. They could also specialize in Science, when they were taught Differential Calculus, Euclid, Mensuration, Geometry, Trigonometry, Mechanics, Dynamics and other cognate subjects.⁴¹ The Muslims took eagerly to this knowledge.⁴² Thus it would be clear that their opposition to the system established by the British was not inspired by their dislike of non-traditional knowledge or the scientific content or methodology of the new learning but to the deliberate British policy of subverting the religions and cultures of India as initiated by Macaulay who was remarkably clear about his objectives.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 162, 163

³⁷ Ibid., p. 158

³⁸ Ibid., C. F. Andrews wrote a book about him later. His book *Tārikh-i-Turktāzān-i-Hind* is well known.

³⁹ Ibid. His *Āb-i-Ḥayāt*-the most important of his works-is a classic.

⁴⁰ Ibid., Not to be confused with Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, a famous Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 25, 26, 59.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 75 ff.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 54, 85.

The British policy regarding education has played a fundamental role in developing the psychology of the Muslims of the Subcontinent. They came to possess two systems of education, one traditional and close to their hearts and the other alien to their genius, invented purposely to wean them away from all that they held dear. The two drifted apart, one pining away because it had no worldly rewards to bestow and withdrawing more and more into its shell, until it isolated itself from life and continued to exist only as an exotic plant in an increasingly hostile climate. The other was nurtured both by Government patronage and private support, daily adding to its popularity, because the acquisition of all worldly blessings depended upon its certificates and diplomas. This bifurcation has dealt such a severe blow to the unity and moral and psychological integrity of the community and the mental and spiritual health of the individual that it poses the biggest problem to the continued existence of the Muslim community in India and even more so in Pakistan. It also seeks to challenge the very *raison d'être* of this country.

By the time of the establishment of Pakistan the old type institutions had been reduced to mere shadows of their former selves. From imparting a broad based general education that permitted specialization in the theological sciences, their field became more and more restricted. They still continued to teach the non-theological disciplines, but the zest was gone and the standards became increasingly poorer. The bifurcation cut them off completely from modern developments because the new knowledge, even of a moderately advanced level, was available only in English. Their knowledge and teaching of non-theological subjects became too antiquated to be of any worth. The result was that they gradually turned into theological seminaries. Religious education was thus divorced from general education and lost touch with social and political developments. Religious thought was consequently stunted.

On the general side the greatest achievement of the Muslims of the Sub-continent was Aligarh. There can be little doubt that it played an important role in moulding the ideals and outlook of the Muslim elite. It contributed in no small degree to the creation

of a feeling of unity among the Muslims of various provinces speaking different languages. The Muslims were in a desperate position after the failure of the Rebellion of 1857. Their effort to topple the British government, even though it seemed to be limited to a few areas, commanded deep emotional response from the most sensitive sectors of their population. It was the fighter and the rebel who represented the innermost yearning of the Muslim soul, not those who weighed the possibilities and preferred to side with the British or remained neutral. After the defeat and persecution that followed there seemed to be no way out, no hope of a reasonable framework of life. Sir Syed's work brought a glimmer of hope, not of glory or revival, but some adjustment with the stark reality of complete subjugation that would not make life too much of a burden. The philosophy of Aligarh suited the impoverished Muslim nobility and the upper classes because they could not reconcile themselves to perennial poverty and deprivation. The sole method of warding off penury in the new circumstances was to get the kind of education that would secure them reasonably paid employment. The rewards were not great but they could ensure a comfortable life. As Aligarh provided this education in a congenial Muslim social atmosphere and also provided some religious instruction, parents fondly believed that the evil effects of an alien system of education would be neutralized thereby. For that reason Aligarh became the most popular institution of the new education among the Muslims and students flocked to it from all parts of the Subcontinent. This produced a community of views and outlook among the educated classes of the Muslims in all the provinces. It strengthened the bonds of Islamic brotherhood and paved the way for Muslim nationalism which asserted itself in the demand for Pakistan.

Sir Syed was inspired by the example of Cambridge.⁴⁴ It must be remembered that until very recently both Cambridge and Aligarh had an aristocratic outlook. A residential institution was not a novelty to the tradition of Islam, but an upper class institution where equal emphasis was laid upon academic performance and a standard of living visibly higher than that of

⁴⁴ I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent*, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

the rest of the community and Western oriented style of dress and behaviour was. Aligarh now set the pace of fashion and good manners. Academically the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College was as good as any other college in the United Provinces but when it became a university, for a time it fell a victim to the generally held fallacy that the main business of a Muslim institution was to produce a sufficiently large number of graduates so that the community might not suffer from a dearth of supply of manpower in the educated employment market. This inhibited a real concern for academic excellence and, for some time, it led to a cheapening of standards which was fatal for the reputation of the University. At no time before independence did the Muslim University become a real seat of learning, not even to the extent that some other Indian Universities did.

In course of time a large number of schools and a few colleges were established by Muslim effort. Indeed it became an index of public spirit to found and run an educational institution for Muslim children. The basic philosophy of all of them was similar. They were intended to enable Muslim youth to compete in the employment market. They all provided, in varying degrees, a Muslim social atmosphere and some background of religious instruction. The main aim of all those who entered the portals of these institutions was to qualify for as good a post as luck might bring their way, but the secondary aim was to do this in such a manner as not to lose a sense of belonging to the community. It did not seek to produce religion oriented men, but it did endeavour to train men who would be basically loyal to Islam and the Muslim community. In this effort they succeeded remarkably well. In their way of thinking personal and communal interests were not only integrated but became identical so that if a student obtained a desirable post, it was as much an index of success and a source of gratification as the satisfaction of some communal demand. A necessary corollary of this attitude was a strengthening of loyalties to Muslim interests in the political and economic fields without any corresponding accretion to adherence to the Islamic code of ethics and observance of religious duties. This created a psychology which was peculiar to the Muslims of the Sub-continent. They came to possess an intense loyalty to the world brotherhood of Islam as well as to the Muslim community in

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the Subcontinent and this emotion percolated to the common people as well. These feelings naturally found an ever increasing expression in politics, so much so that the real *patria* of an average Muslim of the Subcontinent became Islam.

It was forgotten that unity of sentiment and its political expression are the consequences of a faith in the doctrine of Islam and have little permanence in themselves. The Muslims may be united because Islamic brotherhood is a doctrine of Islam, but they need not remain united if unity alone is sought to cement the structure of the Muslim community. A consequence however compelling cannot be made the prime mover in the life of a people. In the world of today Muslim unity has to face many challenges. Time and again, specially in this century, competing allegiances based in race, language and geography have proved so strong that they have broken the bonds of Islamic unity. The emotional loyalty to Islamic brotherhood has been challenged even in the Subcontinent by regional loyalties which have been fanned by interested parties. Recently pro-Soviet communism and Indian influences have been successfully active. The basic fact that emerges is that the sentiment of Islamic brotherhood or an emotional attachment to its political manifestations cannot prove lasting without a firm faith in Islam itself. Islam can provide a basis for political unity if its teachings are taken seriously. It is not intended to allege here that all who were educated in the Aligarh type of institutions were lukewarm in their faith or lax in its practice, nor, for that matter, as became quite clear during the movement for Pakistan, all those who were educated in the old tradition became aware of the political corollaries of their faith, but it can be asserted confidently that among those who had had the benefit of a "modern" education, there was a tendency to think that the political expression of Islamic unity was all that mattered and among those who had been educated in the old fashioned institutions, there did not exist much understanding of the political complexities that faced the Muslims in the Subcontinent.

All systems of education have a basic philosophy which cannot but permeate its entire spirit. The aim of the traditional Muslim system of education was to produce pious, practising Muslims

and it was hoped that the qualities of character engendered by Islam would enable the graduates to play their proper role in the creation of a moral society. It was further expected that the morality of the society would ensure the social, economic political and spiritual welfare of the people. It is significant that a decline in social values has always heralded political disintegration in the Islamic world. And the social and moral values have declined wherever laxity and indifference have crept into the observance of the injunctions of Islam. The two have not only been simultaneous but in fact identical. Even after the destruction of the political power and, what was more serious, the disintegration of the Muslim entity, the alumni of the old style educational institutions sought to recapture the lost glory. They failed not because of any lack of enthusiasm or sincerity, but for the reason that they were no longer fully cognizant of the interplay of different forces in the new circumstances.

The Aligarh type of institutions had also a basic philosophy. It was the acquisition of the material benefits that the new education was expected to confer, benefits which have been briefly mentioned above. These benefits were all material, employment, better salaries and a more comfortable life. These are fairly laudable ends, but they are incapable of being exalted into an ideology or even sublimated into moral motivation. The philosophy of self aggrandizement demanded that the individual and the community alike should strive for a betterment of their worldly prospects and that was all. The loyalty to the world community of Islam and Muslim nationalism were projections of the same philosophy. In its essence it was not moral, and only remotely religious—merely in the sense that it did concern the welfare of the Muslims. Such education is not calculated to evoke any spiritual or religious fervour, nor does it create any true yearning for knowledge and learning. If knowledge helps to get into a competition or secures promotion, it is cultivated assiduously, but beyond that there is no urge to participate in the grand work of expanding the frontiers of human knowledge.

The serious limitations of such a philosophy were neither studied nor understood. For instance it was not realized that a "secular" kind of Islam divorced from a fundamental attachment to its spiritual and moral code could not survive for long.

Even if its existence were not challenged by competing philosophies pushed with greater vigour and much larger resources by interested parties and if it had been left to exist without any outside interference, it would die of inertia, because it would lack the vigour which could come alone from a burning conviction that Islam involved not only the material welfare of the community but its spiritual and moral wellbeing as well and that the only guarantee of the continual existence of a community based in religion is a strong faith in that religion itself and a commitment not only to its philosophy but also to its doctrine and its code of life.

When Pakistan came into existence, its educated elite was not clear in its mind about the direction that the state policies should take. Should it stand for the type of a polity that would be the natural product of the philosophy that had permeated the education of the Muslim institutions dispensing so called Western knowledge and creating an emotional basis for Muslim nationalism or should it go a little deeper and try to strengthen the basic loyalties to Islam as the foundation of the allegiance to the new state? This proposition was seldom brought out in the open by the Western oriented elite. Indeed they were themselves confused, not knowing the difference between the one and the other. This is not surprising because the Muslim politics in the Subcontinent had trodden a path in which the two had commingled without a clear definition of the aims. The alienation between the products of the two systems had almost dried up all channels of communication between them. Whenever circumstances brought them together as in the Khilafat Movement, it was the aim that was common to the thinking of both of them, that is, the necessity of the advancement of the political interests of the Muslims that was emphasized, the religious argument only strengthened this conviction, and went little further.

The stage was, therefore, set for the predominance of the view that political strength was the real aim and religious sentiment was merely its bulwark and subsidiary. But it was most definitely a subsidiary. Material strength, material progress, and individual and national advancement in terms of prosperity were to be the targets. Morality, spiritual fervour, religious conviction and even patriotism were to take back seats.

The Problem of Guidelines

The Qā'id-i-A'zam was not an educationist himself, but he was fully aware of the importance of laying down correct guidelines for educational policies in Pakistan. He appointed, in his capacity as the President of the All India Muslim League, a committee in 1946 of some educationists to prepare an outline of the system of education that should be adopted in Pakistan if it came into existence because it was still doubtful whether the Muslim dream of an independent homeland would find some fulfilment. The committee did meet at Aligarh and invited a number of eminent Muslim educationists from all over the Subcontinent to help it in its deliberations. It was obvious to those who had assembled there that it would be necessary to impregnate the various disciplines with the philosophy and ideology of Islam. This was the most pregnant idea and at that time it was naively believed that even though the task was stupendous and bristling with difficulties it would not be outside the resources of Pakistan to undertake it in all seriousness. This possibly fruitful idea could not be pursued much further for various reasons, the most important of which was that its basic importance was not grasped even by most of

those who participated in the deliberations. The other reason was that the work of the committee came to a premature end because the law and order situation in various parts of the Subcontinent deteriorated to an extent that any serious effort of that nature became impossible. In particular, the holocaust of Bihar, the killings in Calcutta, the massacre at Garh Mukteshwar and the conflagration in East Panjab made it impossible even for those who were at Aligarh to concentrate upon the study of any serious problem. The committee was, therefore, unable to draft a report or to make any recommendations.¹

The question of formulating a good education policy for the new country remained very much alive in the mind of the Qā'id-i-A'zam. It was the first social function arranged by him for the members of the Constituent Assembly in Government House after 14 August 1947 when a group of members interested in education and possessing an academic background, partly because they had been acquainted with one another before their election to the Constituent Assembly and partly because of a community of interest, gravitated towards a corner of the spacious lawn and were engrossed in conversation. The Qā'id-i-A'zam, who, as the host, was moving among the guests, walked towards them, and said, "Well here are birds of a feather flocking together". Then in a more serious mood he said, "Now that we have got our own state, it is upto you to establish a viable, productive and sound system of education suited to our needs. It should reflect our history and our national ideals. You shall have ample resources for all promising schemes. Never hesitate to come up to the Government with ideas and suggestions. I am confident that they will receive earnest consideration."²

It was perhaps, the Qā'id-i-A'zam's interest that led to the Government's decision to hold a conference of educationists and others concerned to lay down the guidelines for the future educational policies of Pakistan as early as 27 November 1947.³

¹ The author was coopted by the group. This paragraph is based on his personal recollections.

² The author was one of the group

³ Fazlur Rahman, *New Education in the making in Pakistan*, (London, 1953), p. 3.

The young state was beset with such grave difficulties that many foreign observers were doubtful if it could overcome them. Apart from the absence of such ordinary necessities as a properly equipped secretariat, qualified civil servants and armed forces, the country was faced with the problems created by the incursion of a large number of destitute refugees which strained its almost non-existent resources. Only the courage and determination of the leaders supported by the marvellous spirit of the people enabled the polity to survive. The portfolio of education at that time was held by Fazlur Rahman whose remarkable ability and foresight were somewhat obscured by his rugged manners. It is remarkable how his native intelligence was able to overcome his lack of any serious training as an educationist. His association with the Senate and the Syndicate of Dacca University was the only link that he ever had with education before he was entrusted with the portfolio of education in the first cabinet of Pakistan. He was too strong, sincere and independent to tow the line of a powerful group within the cabinet and, therefore, he was maligned openly and was made the victim of whispering campaigns and undeserved accusations of Bengali parochialism and lack of understanding of elementary problems. This is no place to write at length about him or to offer a proper defence on his behalf at the bar of history; but because it would be necessary to refer to his policies and views in several contexts in this treatise, it has been found necessary to dispel some of the prejudice that was created around his personality by his opponents and persists even today among Bengalis and non-Bengalis in equal measure. It is perhaps a tribute to his real patriotism that he was accused of Bengali bias by non-Bengalis and of having become an instrument of West Pakistani chauvinism by Bengalis. It is quite often a fair, though not an infallible test of a person's impartiality if he is accused of lack of it by the two opposing sides in a controversy.

His address to this Education Conference is of great value to a student of the history of education in Pakistan. The importance attached to the need of laying down a new policy would be apparent from what has been said above as well as from the following passage in the address:

“The overriding concern of the Government of Pakistan is naturally the speedy rehabilitation and resettlement of the refugees, but overriding as the national calamity is, we are determined that it should not obscure from our view the long term objectives of national development of which education is one of the most important. It is, therefore, a matter of profound satisfaction to me, as it must be to you, that we have now before us the opportunity of reorientating our entire educational policy to correspond closely with the needs of the times and to reflect the ideals for which Pakistan as an Islamic state stands. This is a great, indeed a unique opportunity, but even greater is the magnitude of the task which it imposes upon us.”⁴

This is a clear and unambiguous statement. It emphasizes the importance of education as a part of national development and does not divorce one from the other. Indeed Fazlur Rahman thought that education was so integral to development that it was its most important sector. It is doubtful whether the sentiment expressed by Fazlur Rahman did represent the views of the Government of Pakistan, even though he claimed to be speaking on its behalf. There are strong reasons to believe that there was a strong dissident view inside the Government as can be proved by reference to subsequent events. This was the unimaginative and bureaucratic view of the Ministry of Finance which was headed by a former bureaucrat, Ghulam Muhammad. In all probability, Fazlur Rahman had been able to make such a statement because he had the support of the Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan and the Qā'id-i-A'zam himself, whose interest in education has been mentioned above. It goes to Fazlur Rahman's credit that he was able to see the problem with such clarity and, having found the opportunity, took care to commit the Government of Pakistan so firmly and unambiguously. We shall have to revert more than once to the attitude of the Ministry of Finance towards education. It would suffice here to say that the thinking of the bureaucracy was mostly identical with the philosophy of the Ministry of Finance. Fazlur Rahman had never been a bureaucrat, nor was the Ministry of Education at that time manned by hard boiled bureaucrats. The statement does not stand for any obscurantism and fully recognizes the fact that no

⁴ Ibid.

country can march forward without taking constantly into consideration the demands of changed circumstances but it does emphasize the need of tailoring the education to be imparted to the youth of Pakistan to the ideals of Islam which formed the basic philosophy of life for those who struggled for and achieved Pakistan. Here Fazlur Rahman was speaking not only as an ardent Muslim that he was but also as the representative of the people of the country of which he was a minister and as the spokesman of the most substantial part of the Government of which he was a member. The statement also displays a cognizance of the greatness of the opportunity that had come into the hands of the people of Pakistan and their leaders at the very start of their career as an independent sovereign people. It does not minimize the difficulties inherent in such a task. We shall discuss the difficulties later.

There was no doubt in Fazlur Rahman's mind about the aims that education in Pakistan should have kept in view all this time. He believed in the necessity and importance of religious instruction in schools. He viewed this not only as a Pakistani need, but looked upon it as essential all the world over if the human race is to survive. "I attach the highest importance", said he, "to the spiritual element (in education), for its neglect, which has characterized modern education, has had disastrous consequences, and the experience of two world wars as also the vast technological inventions of recent years, fraught as they are with incalculable possibilities of destruction, have brought home to us the realization that unless the moral or spiritual growth of man keeps pace with the growth of science, he is doomed to utter extinction. It is surely a profoundly disturbing thought that every step forward in the domain of knowledge should be attended not with a diminution but with an increase in barbarism and frightfulness, so that the pursuit of knowledge becomes a self defeating process. To arrest this process, to purge man's minds of barbarism and turn them to humanitarian purposes is the great task our education must attempt if we are to help mankind survive. The provision for instruction in the fundamentals of religion in schools is, therefore, a paramount necessity, for

without religious insight we cannot hope to build up character or lay foundations for an adequate philosophy of life.”⁵

The fears regarding the dangers of an unbridled use of technology have been expressed by so many persons belonging to different cultures that the sentiments expressed in Fazlur Rahman’s statement may seem trite, but repetitions of the expression of such fears only emphasize their reality and the probability of an impending disaster not only for humanity but all life on our globe. The fact that the fear is so widely shared makes the appeal of the argument more effective. It was necessary to emphasize it in the context of Pakistan, because all underdeveloped countries link their backwardness with their lack of knowledge of technical know-how and technological processes. There is a tendency in all the underdeveloped countries—and Pakistan is no exception—to think that all the wisdom of the world is concentrated in science. The dangers to which science has, despite its acknowledged contribution to the material prosperity and well being of the human race, exposed mankind are generally forgotten even by sophisticated minds; if those who are materially deprived think that the key to the paradise of well being is provided by science and science alone, they can be excused. But our empathy in this regard should not lead us into believing that for that reason they are less in danger.

As we shall see later the craze for material development so gripped the ruling elite for Pakistan that even without achieving much in the way of scientific progress it has already broken the country into two parts and threatens further disintegration.

The breakdown in public morality is generally a consequence of the crisis of character at the individual level. Fazlur Rahman was thus able to foresee that an education which has no moorings in morality would spell disaster. He also seemed to be aware of the futility of achieving lasting or deep adherence to a moral code without the emotional and spiritual mediation of religion. This was not merely the affirmation of a philosophical opinion, but a solemn political statement made before a conference summoned for developing a new educational policy, hence its importance. If it had run counter to the general sentiment of the

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7.

Government, he would have been pulled up by the cabinet for making a pronouncement as a spokesman of the government which was not shared by his colleagues and politicians have ways and means of resiling from positions taken up publicly, but Fazlur Rahman never had the need to do so. That seems to be a sufficient proof of the fact that he was not running counter to the views of the Government as a whole in this regard.

He also mentioned another aim of education which has a fundamental importance. This was its relationship to nation building. In the same address he said, "Next in importance is the training for citizenship. The possession of a vote by a person ignorant of the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship is like the playing of a child with dynamite and is responsible for endless corruption and political instability. Our education must, therefore, instil into the young mind the fundamental maxim of democracy that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance; it must aim, also, at cultivating the civil virtues of discipline, integrity and useful public service."⁶ Then he moves on to the question of national integration, now certainly the most crying need of Pakistan but discerned by him even at a stage when the overwhelming enthusiasm for Pakistan had prevented the problem from raising its head to any noticeable degree. He lamented, "we have been far too prone in the past to think in terms of Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis and Pathans, and it is to be deeply regretted that our education has failed to extirpate this narrow and pernicious outlook of provincial exclusiveness which, should it persist, will spell disaster for our new born state. There cannot be a greater source of pride and a better object of undivided loyalty than the citizenship of Pakistan."⁷

He showed awareness of the problem of the incompatibility between responsible democracy and illiteracy. He told the conference that "our first and foremost concern must inescapably be a determined and vigorous attack on the formidable problem of illiteracy and its evil consequences. It goes without saying that the existence of a large bulk of illiterate population constitutes a grave menace to the security and well being of the

⁶ Ibid., p. 7.

⁷ Ibid.

state. There is now general agreement that in its own interest the state should provide for its boys and girls universal, compulsory and free basic education which is the primary requisite of training in democracy... No less important is the provision of facilities for adult education which should aim at banishing ignorance through literacy, improving the general standard of living and breaking the centuries old isolation of our vast rural community.”⁸

The British established educational systems of their own design in all non-English speaking countries which came under their rule and introduced English as the medium of instruction as well as the language of administration. None of these countries has been able to shake off the dominance and all pervading influence of English after gaining independence. The problem has been further complicated in multilingual countries like India and Pakistan. The latter being smaller and possessing a smaller number of languages found itself in even greater difficulties. Here the situation was complicated by the fact that a smaller area of the country, East Pakistan, was not only separated from West Pakistan by a thousand miles of unfriendly territory but also was more homogeneous than the bigger geographical unit of West Pakistan which speaks several languages in well demarcated contiguous areas. On the top of all this East Pakistan had absolute majority of population. No less than fifty five per cent of the population of Pakistan spoke Bengali and only a small proportion of this monolithic linguistic block had any liking or taste for Urdu. The rest was hostile to it, as transpired later. Hence Fazlur Rahman had to commend this problem as well to the care of the conference. His own suggestion was that the provincial languages should be used as media of instruction and that Urdu be taught in all the provinces of Pakistan.⁹ About English he opined that English could not be given up because of its international importance and also because it is the repository of science and knowledge. He was aware of “the injurious effects of making an alien language the medium of instruction.”¹⁰

⁸ Ibid., pp. 8, 9.

⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 13.

This was a fairly full bill of fare for the conference. It included practically all the important questions that could be posed to it. In fact, but for the variations in the details of languages and cultures, these problems are common to all underdeveloped and newly emancipated countries. Was it possible for such a conference as had been summoned to find answers to questions of such import? It is true that practically every one who mattered in the educational world of Pakistan was invited and the response was good. As a matter of fact invitations were also sent to the top Muslim educationists of India in the hope that they might be able to participate in a non-political effort, but they declined for obvious reasons. It may be mentioned that the Pakistani educationists who attended were mostly men and women who had some official positions, like vice-chancellors of universities and officials of the Government. Prominent non-officials also were not ignored. Representatives of the minority communities were specially included, the most important of these was perhaps the Anglican Bishop of Lahore, a Britisher who was intimately connected with Christian institutions. The participation of the leaders of the religious minorities was considered necessary to secure their cooperation in the framing of the guidelines for the new educational policy. In particular because the question of giving an Islamic orientation to the entire educational system was to be raised, it was necessary to have their reactions and views. To what extent they desired safeguards? It was feared that there might be strong objections from their side in which case it would have to be ascertained how they would like to get their special interests protected. It was no use to impose upon them an education that they disliked or resented.

At the time of its inception, Pakistan was very liberal in its sentiment and outlook, so that any fascist notion of binding a minority to the will of the majority was anathema both to its rulers and the people. This is also borne out by the remarkable absence of communal disorders after 14 August 1947 despite the harrowing experience of many of the refugees who continued to pour in from India because of the programmes there. There had been disturbances in the days preceding independence but as soon as the new Pakistani government took over, communal tensions mostly became the nightmares of the past. The Qā'id-i-

A'zam himself dealt firmly with the situation and exercised all his moral influence in favour of peace and tolerance. This is proved by the fact that an attempt to launch a pogrom against the Hindus was suppressed within a couple of hours in Karachi and no serious loss was sustained by the Hindus, even though Karachi was full of Muslim refugees from India. Next day the ministers of the Government of Pakistan visited the localities in which some Muslims had looted some Hindu homes and even though who had been guilty of robbing the Hindus of their belongings were practically destitute themselves, they were shamed into returning all that they had taken away. This was not only ample demonstration of the determination of the Government not to permit any infringement of law and order but also a strong indication of the fact that the leaders of the new country considered it morally wrong that any minority should be harassed or persecuted. Many Hindus did leave Pakistan after the restoration of normalcy, but they were able to depart in peace without any molestation and with such of their movable belongings as they were not able to dispose off or which they wanted to carry. In such circumstances the anxiety of the Government not to impose their moral or ideological notions upon the minorities can be taken to be sincere. The minorities responded so far as the deliberations of the conference were concerned. The Anglican Bishop of Lahore made a clear and forceful statement that put the seal of approval upon the Government's contention that education in Pakistan should be oriented towards Islamic Ideology. Indeed it should be based in it, because every educational system needs a fundamental morality and basic philosophy to sustain it.

The Bishop's statement seems to have determined the attitude of the minorities who endorsed the Government's idea in this regard. Fazlur Rahman said on a later occasion, "It is a tribute to the sagacity and clear-sightedness of the leaders of the various communities who attended the first educational conference that they unreservedly accepted the policy whereby the educational system in Pakistan is to be based on Islamic ideology.¹¹ The attitude taken up by the Bishop also silenced some of the Muslim

¹¹ Ibid., p. 28.

secularists in the conference who had earlier held that education should be "absolutely objective" and not "tainted with any ideology or a priorie assumptions". The number of persons who had this view was too small to have any serious impact upon the thought of the conference. It may be mentioned that such views were also expressed by one or two persons in the meeting of the committee appointed by the Qā'id-i-A'zam as President of the Muslim League and which had met at Aligarh.

In a way the conference was successful. It endorsed the point of view advanced by Fazlur Rahman on behalf of the Government. It, however, achieved little more.¹² It did not come out with any suggestions which were not implicit in the presidential address delivered by Fazlur Rahman, the main points of which have been mentioned above. Surely the Government could not have been anxious merely to get an endorsement of the narration of the main problems that confronted the young country in the field of education. In matters like the orientation of education the endorsement was, so far as the Muslim members were concerned, fairly certain. The support of the minorities was a real achievement. It put the Government and its capacity to bring about a fundamental change of such great significance to test. We shall discuss later what success was achieved by the Government in this regard.

The question of the desirability of the introduction of Islamic Ideology as the basis of education in Pakistan received so much attention of the conference because it was a matter of vital importance to the minorities who, perhaps, had a greater insight into the problem than the Muslim participants of the conference. The other topics do not seem to have received more than a cursory attention of the conference, because the issues raised by Fazlur Rahman were of a nature that they could not have been examined in depth by a conference. These were matters on which a commission of experts could have worked for a much longer period and then come up with substantial recommendations. It is doubtful whether the conference possessed the necessary expertise for the task that was assigned to it. It was a hastily

¹² The author was a participant in the conference and the comments and details are based upon his personal recollections.

summoned conference in which most of the invitees had been included because of the offices they held, when the number of universities was small and those which existed, were in too disorganized a state to function properly. The newly founded university of Sind, which at that time was located at Karachi, was still in the process of drafting its statutes, ordinances and regulations. It possessed no teaching staff and had not started teaching. The two older universities of the Panjab and Dacca had been disrupted because of the migration of Hindu teachers who had formed an overwhelming majority of the staff. Some had indulged in wanton vandalism destroying a good deal of the scientific equipment and had carried away quite a number of valuable books.

It would have been difficult to replace the Hindu teachers within such a short time under any circumstances. But now the posts left vacant by the Hindus could not be filled so easily by the appointment of Muslim teachers because they were in short supply. The number of Muslim teachers in the Panjab and East Bengal before independence was almost insignificant and, for that matter, in the Muslim minority provinces as well it was meagre except in the Aligarh Muslim University and the Osmania University of Hyderabad, Deccan. And yet arrangements had to be made to carry on the classes, because there was no decrease in the number of students. A large number of Hindu students had departed, it is true, but a larger number of Muslim students had come from India. The result was that in the beginning the vacancies were filled by inadequately qualified teachers. Men who possessed the barest minimum in academic qualifications had to be taken because men of learning and experience were just not available. There was a shortage of personnel all round and many persons were recruited to the various government services. Hence the universities were not properly staffed and could not possibly supply the necessary expertise to the conference. The same conditions prevailed in the administrative, advisory and secretarial services so far as education was concerned and much contribution could not be expected from them either.

The more noted educationists amongst the Muslims in the Subcontinent who had had an opportunity to apply their minds to

educational problems were Dr. Zakir Husain, who later rose to be President of the Indian Union and K.G. Saiyidain, who later became a member of the Indian Education Commission. Both of them remained in India. In any case, they were not in sympathy with the philosophy that created Pakistan or that the Government wanted to inspire education in Pakistan. Men of lesser eminence as educationists who did come to Pakistan had a routine understanding of general educational problems and, at that stage, were not equipped to come out with any quick answers to the questions that Fazlur Rahman had raised. Given time for reflection and a commensurate forum of discussion, they could make a worth while contribution. They should have been constituted into a commission and given ample time to ponder over the issues that had been raised. And they should have been asked to think of new issues that were likely to arise in the near future. They might not have come out with answers to all the questions, but they might have succeeded in focussing attention on the problems that were already coming to the forefront and others that were not likely to tarry long around the corner.

It was almost inevitable that the resolutions of the conference would be mere generalizations, as they proved to be. Such generalizations seldom break new ground and have a tendency to degenerate into platitudes. The response of the conference was, as expected, that Islamic ideology should form the basis of Pakistani education, that the training for citizenship should be kept in view, that universal compulsory primary education should be provided for, that English should be gradually discarded as medium of instruction. All these were reiterations mostly of general feelings, though in certain matters, like the question of language, there were reservations in the minds of the people of East Pakistan which were also lurking in some other areas and had not come out in the open. Constituted as the conference was, it could not unearth fully all the aspects of the problem of languages at that stage. Even if it had been a commission of experts instead of a hastily called conference, it could not have anticipated later difficulties at that time, for the expert only reacts to a situation that confronts him or, at best, anticipates some difficulties if history provides him with some indications. During the early years of the existence of Pakistan these difficulties

had not started asserting themselves. The reason was that a generation that had tasted the bitter fruits of foreign rule and Hindu domination was still alive. Besides the tradition of looking upon the Muslims of the entire Subcontinent as a single community had not grown weak. Nor had the disruptionists of that unity had had the time and the opportunity to make any impact upon the popular mind anywhere. The only exception had been an incident in the University of Dacca where the Qā'id-i-Azam had said emphatically that the national language of Pakistan could be Urdu and Urdu only and a handful of students had shouted, 'Bengali! Bengali!' At that time little importance had been attached to the incident. In any case so far as the conference was concerned, Fazlur Rahman did make an inevitable concession in favour of the regional languages which went far beyond the existing practice in the whole of West Pakistan except Sind.

It would not be idle speculation to raise the question if either the Government or the Conference fully understood the importance of the problems that came under discussion. There was not the kind of earnest debate that the problem of education should have raised, no endeavour to probe deeply into the difficulties facing education even at that early stage, no realization of the fact that it was faced with a crisis, a successful resolution of which was necessary not only for economic stability but also for the very health of the young polity. Minds do not seem to have travelled beyond the frontiers of tradition to have tried to tread any but the trodden paths. The discussions and, therefore, the resolutions of the conference did not betray even a stray ray of originality. The entire exercise was looked upon like any routine meeting called to have a look at commonplace questions of short term interest. The historic nature of the occasion did not strike the participants. The conference did not realize at all that its function was to lay down guidelines for the development of a forward looking education policy for a new country that liked to look upon itself as an ideological state. It is true that the structures, forms and contents of education cannot be changed overnight, but the question whether these were sacrosanct in the changed conditions or admitted of change and reform was neither raised nor answered. It is true that there has grown up an international framework of education, but that does not

mean that no deviations are possible. This applies even more to the contents, because whereas the substance of human knowledge is the same, its presentation and utilization as well as the approach to the total impact it should have upon human life can be vastly different. And then there is the need to understand the limits of objectivity and subjectivity. There is also the pressing need for a culture, which has been driven, as it were, to the wall in its struggle for self-preservation, to develop the ability to isolate the objective truth from its subjective trappings acquired because of its association with a different culture either at the time of its inception or during the entire period of its nurture and growth. One would search in vain for any inkling of the realization of these problems in the deliberations and the resolutions of the conference. It is necessary to mention that they should have been examined before the unfolding of the tendencies of disintegration. They are basic to education in all Muslim countries which set a value upon their beliefs and historical urges.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the proceedings of the conference soon found their way into oblivion. One does not find any reference to them in the records of the subsequent meetings of educational bodies like the minutes of the Central Advisory Board of Education or the proceedings of the Inter-University Board of Pakistan. There is not even a passing allusion to them in any convocation address, ministerial statement or the speech of any educationist in any assembly, saving a reference by Fazlur Rahman regarding the endorsement of the basic decision that education in Pakistan should be based in Islamic ideology. The national press also did not give much coverage to the conference.

Despite its failure, perhaps it is unfair to put all the blame on the conference. No one had the vision to suggest that education in Pakistan needed a firm commitment to its ideology. There was only a vague feeling that Islamic ideology should be its basic philosophy. Such vague feelings lead nowhere. There is a world of difference between a firm commitment and an undefined acceptance of the desirability of the introduction of some particular philosophy. The former leads to a search

for ways and means and culminates in action, the latter only produces generalizations and platitudes resulting in nothing better than a sop to the conscience, the satisfaction of pleading for the right cause and self deception. As there was no real commitment, the question of a serious effort to give a sense of direction to education in Pakistan was never mooted. The people of Pakistan at that time thought—and rightly too—that their loyalty to Islam was unshakeable. But they did not pause to think whether that was any guarantee of the certainty of their children following in their footsteps, specially when they were not likely to be placed in such close proximity to non-Muslim domination in the daily business of life.

Fazlur Rahman referred to another important matter in his presidential address to the Conference. This was the question of the integration of provincial groups into a real nation.¹³ As subsequent events have proved, this was potentially the most sensitive and difficult problem. The Subcontinent has never been free from group feelings of varying strengths and dimensions. These have created horizontal as well as vertical fissures in society and have always asserted themselves in social, political and cultural domains. Fazlur Rahman linked this question with the general need for training in citizenship. This was to minimize the danger. A training in citizenship is the aim of all education today, but it generally means the inculcation of that sense of social and political responsibility which enables a people to function smoothly and profitably as a political unit. It tries to root out antisocial tendencies and to create habits, instincts, patterns of behaviour and norms of conduct which eliminate antisocial and selfish tendencies. In countries with no traditions of political maturity, there is a greater necessity of conscious efforts to create a proper understanding of the working of society as well as political institutions.

This is even more necessary in case the intention is to build up a democratic polity and a free society. That was the hope of the founder of Pakistan. But it remained only a hope, because the democratic way of life is not limited to legislatures and constitutions. It is possible, as has been demonstrated so often

¹³ Fazlur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

in so many countries, to maintain the forms and corrupt the spirit. This happens mainly when the spirit of democracy is not understood and democratic government is considered merely a matter of ballot boxes and majority rule. Then selfish tendencies find their opportunities in multifarious ways. Ignorant electorates, a faulty understanding of democratic institutions and lack of experience in judging the worth of electoral promises, all are the meat on which cynical and selfish leaderships thrive. And the distance between securing power through unethical means and anti-state treachery is not too great as has been the experience in Pakistan. All this was of vital importance and was connected directly not only with education but also a programme of removing the millstone of large scale illiteracy from the neck of the bewildered electorate that was to be the master of the destiny of the young nation. Education in citizenship, therefore, had a deeper and broader significance in the instance of Pakistan, because here its absence could and did produce dangerous results more quickly than in older or well established countries.

Fazlur Rahman was right in thinking that in Pakistan this problem was closely connected with the danger of the disintegration of the nation, because subversion is always easy when the people are ignorant and gullible and lend their ears to all kinds of whispers and promptings. Older countries like Iran and Afghanistan have remained immune from this danger hitherto only because their neighbours have not shown such keenness in disrupting them. Pakistan's situation, however, is different. Its relations with India have never been happy. India has never forgiven Pakistan for its act of secession. India is a large country with far greater resources than Pakistan. The Indians possess much greater political consciousness, are better educated and their total population is overwhelmingly more numerous in comparison to any possible dissident groups. Then, because of their political consciousness the Indians are much more vigilant against possible subversion. They have built up almost a fascist mass power against the minority groups which they suspect might one day side with their enemies. There is a powerful party, in some states second only in strength to the ruling Congress, which is openly fascist in its philosophy and aims and all the

time smells rats even in modest demands of political and administrative nature advanced by the members of any minority group. Then no great power is interested in breaking India. The United States of America looks upon India as a bulwark of democracy against possible Communist expansion and though there has been a certain amount of cooling down of relations because of India's accord with the Soviet Union, yet it is obvious that American interests cannot be served by India's disintegration. India is now an ally of Soviet Russia, because they have common interests both against Pakistan and China. China does not want any entanglement in India because she is afraid of the Soviet Union. A China with some entanglement would suit the Soviet Union but China is not willing to oblige.

Being placed in such a happy position, India has developed a great power complex. She had this complex even before she attained independence. The first result of this complex is that she wants to be supreme within the Subcontinent. She may tolerate, if necessary, a dependent and autonomous Pakistan, at best a satellite Pakistan, but a viable and strong Pakistan is anathema to her. India is not pragmatic in its policies. It has a long range policy and has been consistently pursuing it. First she succeeded in occupying Kashmir and stifling the demand of self determination there. Then she supported the demand of Pakhtunistan and has never ceased to take interest in it. She encouraged Kalat to delay accession to Pakistan so long as the hope of an independent principedom was not frustrated. She successfully used the Hindu minority in East Pakistan to sow seeds of discontent on the basis of language and economic backwardness until sufficient support had been canvassed for secession. Then the final drama was enacted and East Pakistan became a satellite state of India. The Sindhi Hindus were utilized and are still used to enact the same drama in West Pakistan. Radio programmes in Sindhi language carrying Indian propaganda were broadcast for six hours a day. A large number of Hindus who were never Pakistani citizens and others who had left Pakistan when the areas in which they lived were under Indian occupation have been settled in sensitive border areas under the Simla Agreement. The Pakistani Press has been publishing allegations that many who have been re-settled are trained

guerilla fighters. And this does not end the story of Indian attempts of subverting Pakistan. Several communist authors who did not believe in Pakistan or its ideology were encouraged to migrate to Pakistan where they gradually began to write openly against the need of partition.

The Soviet Union has a large Muslim population under its domination. The leaders of what at one time was Russian Turkistan did not want their country to be fragmented. They were promised a united independent republic by Lenin, but soon this promise was forgotten and the country was split into tiny republics, only one, Uzbekistan, is of a reasonably large size. Both Islam and nationalism have shown surprising resilience in the Soviet Union. Decades of discrimination, persecution and indoctrination have killed neither and Soviet authorities complain quite often that the 'superstition' of Islam and 'bourgeois' nationalism are not only alive but secretly active. Of course they have no chance of successful rebellion against the leviathan of the Soviet Union which has built itself up into a super power, yet discontented populations concentrated in contiguous areas are potentially dangerous. The planting of large dominant Russian populations in the main cities has been an effective instrument of espionage and information. However the location of Muslim population in the Soviet Union in areas contiguous to the lands of Islam invites Russian chauvinism in the neighbouring Muslim countries.

Hitherto the propaganda in Soviet Muslim territories was that progress was possible only under a communistic system. The Czars did neglect the development of their Muslim dominions which were even less advanced and prosperous than the Muslim peoples under British and French empires. Russia has developed these areas to an extent that today their contribution to its economic strength is considerable. Indeed that is a contributing factor in her determination to keep their rich lands within her grip. The progress and development of any Muslim country vitiates the effectiveness of Russian propaganda in her Muslim territories. If a Muslim country can be prosperous or make some progress under its own steam, it raises doubts in the minds of the subjugated Muslims in the Soviet Union whether the

bondage has a brighter side at all and if the loss of religious liberty and political freedom have brought any compensation. Such thoughts, however futile at present, may prove dangerous in a crisis of grave proportions. Therefore, if possible, the neighbouring Muslim countries should be brought under some kind of tutelage which may be tightened as opportunity occurs. Pakistan did make some modest progress until it was dismembered in 1971 with Russian help. During the time it could hold its head high, its very existence was bad propaganda for the Soviet Union's hold on Central Asia. But that was not the only argument against Pakistan's prestige and integrity.

Ever since the withdrawal of the Western Powers from Asia, there has been a power vacuum which Russia has tried to fill by various means. In particular the rising wave of isolationism in the United States of America, because of the set-back to her influence in Indo-China has given Russia a unique opportunity. She has an effective presence now in the Mediterranean, in the Arab countries of Syria and Iraq, even in Egypt despite its disenchantment with Russian tactics and in Afghanistan. She wants to control the Indian Ocean which would guarantee her an upper hand against the West in case of a conflict because both West Europe and the United States of America cannot do without the oil of Gulf States and Arab countries. All the routes to the Indian Ocean are circuitous for Russia and even bases would be too far away except one, in Karachi. It commands not only the Indian Ocean, but is also almost right at the end of the Persian Gulf. It is not too far away from the Suez Canal which can give the Soviet Union easy entry into the Mediterranean Sea and thence to her own Southern sea coast. Then it is easily approachable, because of the reasonably well developed railway system of West Pakistan. If the country can be brought under Russian domination, the Soviet Union can practically rule over the whole of the Near and Middle East and a considerable area of South and South-East Asia. Its interests in East Pakistan have already been secured and in Chittagong it has obtained an excellent spring board for action in South-East Asia as well as China. Karachi will fit neatly into the picture which the Russians have in mind.

After the separation of East Pakistan, the game has become easier in West Pakistan. There has been mounted a three pronged attack. There is direct encouragement to Afghanistan to undo the historical Durand Line and to claim the entire Pakhtun area on the basis of linguistic and racial affinity. Of course Afghanistan forgets that it is itself living in a glass house so far as linguistic and racial composition of its people is concerned. The Tajiks living in the north are akin to the Soviet Tajiks, Qandahar and Herat are more Iranian than Afghan and there are Turcoman tribes in proximity to Turkmanistan of the Soviet Union. Even the Pakhtuns of Afghanistan are less numerous than the Pakistani Pakhtuns. The second prong was subversive work through the pro-Russian group of communists who wrote not only against the entire conception of Pakistan, but, through their workers and agents, worked among the different linguistic groups to wean them away from loyalty to Pakistan. The third prong is that when the pro-Russian communists have sown the seeds of disaffection in the minds of the leaders and are convinced that separatism has been firmly planted in the area, they act as intermediaries and introduce the leaders to the Russian diplomats who officially promise them all kinds of help. Money and later arms and training will be no problems while the struggle is on and when the aim of independence has been achieved, the Soviet Union will see to it that the smallness of the natural resources or even of population are no handicaps because there would be a total development of the natural resources and what may be found to be lacking would be supplied out of the immense resources of the Soviet Union. Of course the victims of such promptings do not know how dependent their 'independent' state would be on the tender mercies of the super power which is extending such a helping hand to them. Nor are they aware that similar and even more attractive promises were made to others as well who have walked into the spider's parlour and are not able to get out. Nothing suits the Soviet Union more than the break up of a country into smaller insignificant units so that they can be easily converted into satellites, because they are too small to make viable groups. Then, one after another, they can be absorbed into the Soviet system. Unfortunately Afghanistan which has

become a willing pawn in the hands of the Soviet policy makers does not realize that if Pakistan goes under, its own value would greatly depreciate in the eyes of Russia. And it also will go the way of Turkistan.

For a long time the United States of America, for its own ends, worked in East Pakistan prompting it to break away. It was the Harvard School of Economics which first of all persuaded East Pakistan economists to study the feasibility of a separate economy. They walked into the trap and came out with exaggerated notions of the economic strength of East Pakistan which have been exploded at the first touch of reality. Then the idea of an independent state of Assam and Bengal was propagated but the clever Hindu Bengalis and Assamese could not be enticed into disloyalty against India. At that time the search was for another theatre for a thrust against communist China. As events turned out the gainers ultimately were India and Russia and not the United States of America. The role that the United Kingdom played in encouraging the revolt of Bangla Desh is too well known to be described in detail. The main mentors of Shaikh Mujib were the British and the United Kingdom became the main centre of Bangla Deshi activities before the defeat of Pakistan. Pakistan, because of the emotional attachment of its people to Islam has, despite occasional rebuffs from some Arab countries, always sincerely supported them against Israel. Hence Pakistan has earned the wrath of world Jewry and the Zionists. Their influence is enormous in the United States of America and the United Kingdom and Pakistan has cultivated the bitter harvest of disintegration through their machinations. Indeed many Jews came to Pakistan under the umbrella of American advisory services and propagated sedition. The British Jews were more discreet but just as active.

The various forces of disintegration in Pakistan have their roots in history and geopolitics and no government has been unaware of them. It is true that when Fazlur Rahman summoned the conference the entire picture was not so clear nor had the situation matured as it has today, but the main factors were present. In the presence of such dangers lurking in the background

the foundations of education in loyalty to Pakistani patriotism should have been laid firmly and deliberately. This was impossible without a clear definition of the aims and objects of education in this country. On the contrary the entire system has been pragmatic and aimless. In other words, there have been no guidelines and in the quarter of a century of our existence we have succeeded in nurturing all tendencies that are destructive of our culture, our beliefs, our ideals and those historic urges which hitherto had made of us a people with a will and a purpose. And all this we have permitted to happen oblivious of the grave dangers which have all this time surrounded us. The British system of education had not done to us what has been done by our own thoughtless and blind policies. Education is always for a purpose. Only one of its aims is to provide adequately trained manpower. That can never constitute the be all and end all of education. If it becomes its sole purpose, disaster is only round the corner.

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CHAPTER III

The Genesis of Aimless Education

Despite all that was said by Fazlur Rahman in his address to the First Education Conference held in Karachi mentioned in the previous chapter, education continued to remain aimless in Pakistan. The famous French essayist Montaigne¹ has wisely said in his characteristically pithy manner that "no wind maketh for him that hath no intended post to sail unto."² And education in Pakistan never defined its aims clearly. It was necessary for the country to build up a reservoir of inner strength which alone could counter the machinations of its enemies and their agents. How did its leaders expect it to withstand the onslaught of foreign intrigue and internal subversion inspired by it? If there is a country where the situation demands purposeful policies in the field of education, it is Pakistan. Without such policies it could hope neither for peace nor stability. It did purchase, at the cost of more active participation of its people in the political

1. Michel Eyquem, Seigneur de Montaigne (1532-92) is well known to English readers through several translations. His essays "are generally considered the finest examples of the Essay ever written."

² Quoted in Godfrey H. Thomson, *A Modern Philosophy of Education*, (London, 1929), p. 11.

affairs of the country and thus gaining experience and maturity, stability for the brief period of a decade, but it was soon destroyed by the forces which had been building up during this brief respite. The real problems have persisted all this time and after the traumatic experience of the secession of East Pakistan and the discovery by Pakistan's enemies how easy it is to subvert and disintegrate it, their intrigues and activities have increased and the Pakistani nation is confused, bewildered and demoralized.

The manner in which its rulers and their interested allies succeeded in betraying the country in 1970 has created a creditability gap between those who wield power and a suspicious, ill informed, ill educated and immature public opinion. No one seems to be certain of the direction in which the policies of Pakistan are moving. When the average citizen feels that he has been once cheated by the very people who solemnly appealed to his patriotism, he no longer knows whether that patriotism will save him or his country from disaster. He did not even know what dangers were lurking where and who were the real actors in the drama that he had been called upon to watch helplessly. A small coterie of cynical and selfish men—or, may be, a single individual—seemed to draw the strings, no one knew at whose bidding and to what dire end in a grand puppet show that seemed to portend disaster. In such an atmosphere of foreboding, accusation and counter accusation it is impossible even for men of education and intelligence to form sound judgments for they have no solid information to go by and of course a large illiterate and immature electorate is in a far worse position.

Such a situation arose because the intelligentsia had not been vigilant. It had taken no interest in the affairs of the country because it had been too selfishly engrossed in the pursuit of material advancement. It would be hard to come by, any where in the world, the example of a so called educated class that is so selfish, shortsighted and suicidally ambitious as in Pakistan. This is not a class feeling, because the individuals who constitute it are much too engrossed in furthering their own interests to have any real group feeling, even though they would exploit and even further any prejudice, if it serves their interest. If this sounds too harsh or sweeping a verdict, one has to remind the critic that the intelligentsia of Pakistan has shown little interest in social service

or the defence of democratic rights and norms. The only exception perhaps was the agitation against President Ayub Khan when teachers, lawyers and other educated men and women did come out into the streets and organized or participated in political demonstrations. Otherwise, they were not stirred when the First Constituent Assembly was dissolved or when the First Martial Law was declared or on any subsequent occasion when there were sufficient provocations to arouse their feelings. It is not pleasant to pick holes even in the solitary endeavour when the intelligentsia did show some concern for political welfare but the truth has to be discovered in national interest. Was the action calculated and in accordance with a well planned strategy with defined aims based in intelligent patriotism, or did those who formed the bulk of the demonstrators respond to the call of "a leadership whose real intentions they were not able to divine properly? This is not to doubt the sincerity of those leaders who did not know the full story and who did feel motivated by a genuine desire to bring direct democracy back to the country. The fact, however, remains that the more sincere demonstrators fell into the trap of a few designers. Unfortunately the intelligentsia did not act with circumspection. The patriotic demonstrators did not act as soldiers in a cause, conscious of what they wanted to achieve and only responded to a mass hysteria of grave proportions created by a few clever persons under foreign inspiration. If they had in fact been inspired by conscious and intelligent political aims, they would not have become quiescent immediately after the negative achievement of bringing a selfish, unpatriotic and treacherous government into power through Martial Law. Why did they spurn the golden opportunity of restoring democratic institutions through negotiations in a constitutional and orderly manner?³ And why no disaster that followed, no violation of legal propriety or fundamental rights, no diminution of civil liberties stirred them again? What happened to the legal acumen of lawyers when they calmly swallowed

³ President Ayub had conceded in a conference with the opposition leaders (early 1969) the introduction of adult franchise, direct elections and a parliamentary form of government. The reasons why the compromise was not permitted to work are partly revealed in G. W. Choudhury, "What happened in '71", *Outlook* (Karachi) 7 July, 1973. The article has been reproduced by *Outlook* from *International Affairs* (London) April 1973. It is obvious from the article that the military chiefs did not want the agitation to subside, because that would have prevented their taking over on 25 March 1973.

the Legal Frame Order which spelt out a diabolical scheme of disintegrating the country?⁴ And why did professors of political science remain somnolent after the publication of that sinister document at which every disruptor of national unity must have rejoiced secretly?

The fact of the matter is that those sections of our intelligentsia which were drawn into the movement acted on an impulse created cleverly by those who stood to benefit by their poorly thought out action. This is not to deny the existence of a deep desire for a broad based democratic polity among a fairly large section of the intelligentsia. It goes to their credit that they produced workers and agitators, but they cannot be praised for the kind of circumspection or foresight that is generally expected from educated men and women. And the fervour created by their dislike of "a guided democracy" and bureaucratic highhandedness fizzled out too soon to prove of any constructive worth. But for the persistence of a few strongly motivated persons interspersed with some well chosen agents who were acting for a great power and were being paid well for their efforts,⁵ the movement could not have gained the momentum that it did and having gained it by some fluke of circumstances would have lost it in no time.

An insight into the developments that confront us every day and some of which are of grave consequence to us and our future generations comes only if we are sufficiently interested to study them. This interest is created by a long term view of our own welfare which in the last analysis depends on the well-being of our nation for the simple reason that the government which orders the complex affairs of a people draws its power from the

⁴ The Legal Frame Order, 1970 (President's order No. 2 of 1970) spells out the details in which the majority for East Pakistan in the Constituent Assembly and the lack of any provision to safeguard the interests of the provinces of West Pakistan are notable. Yahya Khan made a policy statement on 28 November 1969 laying down the break up of the province of West Pakistan into four provinces and giving East Pakistan a majority. See Government of Pakistan *White Paper on the crisis in East Pakistan* (5 August, 1971). The policy statement of 28 November 1969 is on pp. 2-5 and the Legal Frame Order on pp. 18-35.

⁵ It is interesting to note that two teachers of a college were enabled to travel in and out of Pakistan without passports and visas and were later taken on the staff of the embassy of the power that had utilized their services in creating the political crisis of 1968-69.

sovereign authority of the state. It is the realization of this truth—either consciously or unconsciously—that forms the basis of all patriotism. Human conduct is governed only partly by reason; therefore for all our immediate and primary needs we develop appetites and desires and for those which are a little removed from us in time and involve many others like ourselves we develop an emotional attachment. It ties us to our culture, our beliefs, our traditions and our history because these endow us with our identity without which there would be no basis for common interests and joint action. The national identity alone is the guarantee of liberty because without it we would not defend our sovereign existence. Patriotism, therefore, has a strong emotional element which is its most important constituent, because even though the remoter well-being is of greater importance than immediate interest, whenever there is a conflict, the immediate interest would win if a patriotism strongly entrenched in our emotions does not motivate us. Whenever emotional patriotism gets weak, selfish interests come to the top and motivate human actions to the extent of destroying all thoughts of long term well-being and even the fabric of national existence.

It is perhaps slightly erroneous to argue that education in Pakistan has been entirely aimless. It would probably be more correct to say that its sole unconscious aim has been to produce manpower for running the administration and the economy. When the British established their system of education in the Subcontinent, they had much broader aims. One of these was to wean the people away from their religion, tradition and culture.⁶ Macaulay had hoped to produce a race of Indians who would be English in everything except their race and colour. He was also aware of the evangelical possibilities of the new education and

⁶ W. W. Hunter says, "I do not permit myself to touch upon the means by which, through a state of indifference, the Hindus and the Musalmans alike may yet reach a higher level of belief. But I firmly believe that that day will come, and that our system of education, which has hitherto produced only negative virtues, is the first stage towards it." W. W. Hunter, *Our Indian Musalmans*, (Calcutta, 1945), p. 205. Charles Grant argued in a pamphlet dated 1798 that English education was desirable because it would eradicate the superstitions inherent in the religious thought and philosophy of the Indian people, Fazlur Rahman, op. cit., pp. 21,22.

expected large scale conversions to Christianity.⁷ Some important conversions did take place as the result of the new education.⁸ And European manners and material culture did expand in the form of dress, domestic architecture and furniture.⁹ It is true that after the large scale revolt of 1857, the British became more careful and began to observe religious neutrality in the field of public education, but it would be wrong to assume that the system became colourless or neutral at any time. Language and literature are not neutral in their import, they are vehicles of thought and, because they directly affect the subconscious, they are more potent than polemics which produce resistance. When Pakistan took over the system and continued it with no fundamental changes, it thoughtlessly undertook to further the aims of its erstwhile rulers. As an independent and sovereign country working amidst its own unsuspecting people Pakistan was able to complete the mission more effectively because rightly, it could not be suspected of any ulterior motives. The assault on Pakistani beliefs, traditions, culture and historical entity not only continued unabated but in fact became much more effective. Therefore what the British had not been able to achieve in a mere decade less than two centuries Pakistan did more effectively within quarter of a century. The inculcation of national loyalties could not be the goal of an imperialist power but nationalism did develop in response to the humiliation and disadvantages of alien rule. The same education given under the auspices of an indigenous government could not but succeed in weakening or even uprooting all vestiges of national pride and patriotism.

The process was accelerated by yet another factor. The governments of Pakistan began to talk fairly early of economic development, which, of course, was essential for fighting poverty. They concentrated all their attention on it as if it were the only

⁷ Macaulay said, "We must at present do our best to form.... a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but Englishmen in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." Macaulay's Minute of 2 February 1835 in H. Sharp (Editor), *Selections from Education Records* (Indian Reprint) Delhi, 1965), p. 109. He wrote in a letter to his mother that within thirty years of the introduction of the new education, not a single idolator would be left in Bengal, Edward Thompson and G. W. Garratt, *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* (London, 1934), p. 319.

⁸ Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian*, (New York, 1951), pp. 180, 181.

⁹ Ibid, pp. 388-390.

vital concern of the nation. They, occasionally, when fancy seized some leader or circumstances demanded it, did talk of other matters and particularly of ideology and Islam, but all their effort was concentrated upon economic development. Even political instability and frequent changes in the government did not alter this. Despite the creation of some imbalances, the effort produced palpable results and there is little doubt that the benefits percolated down to the masses though not as much as they would have with better planning, sensitiveness to the hardships of the poor and vigilance against the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few would. The greatest benefit certainly went to the major entrepreneurs, industrialists, bankers and commercial magnates, but the educated middle class also prospered beyond its dreams, because the building up of the economy needed qualified personnel. Those who possessed good qualifications and showed some promise were able to secure lucrative employment and set the pace for most of those who sought advancement in life. All this was natural and unobjectionable. But what was objectionable was the spirit in which it was done.

The same and perhaps better results would have accrued if the motives of those who reaped the benefits had been less mercenary. And it was not only the individual climbing up the ladder who was concerned, it was the entire class to which he belonged and which had produced him. If affluence is the only god that is worshipped, no other consideration—moral or patriotic—is permitted to block the path towards it. At the levels where such activities were possible, corruption of every kind became rampant and money making became the sole pursuit irrespective of its social consequences.

Education was very deeply affected. The old evil of limiting teaching and studies to the requirements of the examinations, to pass which as well as possible became the primary aim, not only persisted but became more vicious. Hence the adoption of unfair means became common¹⁰ and has now increased to

¹⁰ This would be apparent from the large number of examinees running into more than a couple of hundred every year punished by the University of Karachi alone. The PPP Government gave a general amnesty in 1972. It is alleged there was more widespread cheating in the following examinations which the invigilators made little attempt to stop.

such an alarming extent that no result is a sure indication of the candidate's performance or ability. The disease affected many students, their parents, a fair number of teachers and quite a few examiners. As the sole aim of education became to pass examinations, there was continuous pressure that they should be made as easy as possible. Any effort to raise the standards was resisted. After every examination the newspapers are full of complaints by angry students criticising the stiffness of question papers. Examinees even object to "unexpected" questions. If they do not like a question paper, they walk out of the examination hall and disrupt the entire examination by moving from centre to centre and forcing those who are not dissatisfied with the question paper and want to continue with the examination to leave the examination hall. If too many candidates fail, the examining body is the target of harsh criticism.

In such circumstances all efforts to raise standards of education are frustrated. As a matter of fact any education that becomes merely the hand maiden of narrow economic advancement of an individual or a class, which is not enlightened even to the extent of understanding that in its own interest it should increase its competence, the standard sinks to the lowest depths of mediocrity and barrenness. This gloomy picture is relieved by the existence of a large number of scholarships available for higher studies abroad, but then that is no part of Pakistani education nor can it inculcate the virtues and emotions that a national system of education should. After quarter of a century the general standard has deteriorated to an extent in the schools and the colleges that their graduates can scarcely be called educated in any sense of the term. An unimaginative and thoughtless utilitarianism has over reached itself and defeated even the limited purpose of producing employable young men and women. And because the products of the indigenous educational institutions are the only people available and must be employed in the lower cadres if the administration and the economy are to be kept running, the inefficiency encountered everywhere is indeed appalling. As they are not motivated beyond earning their salaries, they make no effort either to improve their methods or to increase their output.

This takes us to the question whether education in Pakistan has any orientation towards development. It is now considered a truism that it is not possible in any non-totalitarian country to link education entirely with development requirements, yet development needs should be taken into consideration in educational administration. This has never been done in Pakistan. The appointment of a Man Power and Education Commission in 1968 was a recognition of the need, but, for reasons to be discussed at the appropriate place, the commission felt obliged to wind up its affairs without any concrete achievement beyond the compilation of some useful statistics. Its work had not progressed to the stage of writing a report when it came to a premature end.¹¹ Thus education has all this time been going on mainly in response to economic demands in a blind manner without ever cultivating a conscious understanding as to what those demands were likely to be even in the immediate future. Even within the limited sphere of meeting economic and administrative needs of the society and the government, education has been playing blind-man's buff with employment opportunities and changes in them.

Pakistan set for itself the course of democracy when it came into existence. It was felt that democracy alone could ensure the welfare and freedom of all individuals, classes and groups. Besides the Qa'id-i-Azam and his fellow workers were deeply committed to constitutionalism, the rule of law and democracy. Throughout the period of British rule all educated classes had been nurtured on the ideals of democracy. After the Communist Revolution in Russia some young men had started believing in Marxism, but their number and influence were very limited. Though Communists joined the Pakistan Movement, when they could see the strength of Muslim determination, with an eye upon the future, during the earlier days, they did not have much impact upon the intelligentsia or the masses. Even today when some of them have climbed to positions of power and authority, they have to pay lip service to Islam to disguise their intentions. They also talk of democracy, sometimes in the sense in which the word is used in communist countries—that is, the dictator-

¹¹ The chairman of the commission was Mr. G. Ahmad. The author was a member.

ship of the proletariat for the purpose of creating an economically egalitarian society, and, more often, in terms of liberal democratic institutions, suiting their meaning to the occasion. All this is done to prevent the people from being alienated from communism and its leaders. There are others who talk of socialism and democracy but are out to establish a fascist government, confusing democracy with the tyranny of the majority. With all these competing forces working in the midst of an unsophisticated, illiterate and immature electorate, the prospects for proper democratic verdicts resulting from elections and the observance of democratic principles in the running of elected governments are not bright. This should not be taken as an argument against broad based elections, because such elections are themselves instruments of political education. The principle of full adult franchise was accepted fairly early by the Basic Principles Committee as it was regarded as the very foundation of democracy and in accordance with the aspirations of the people.¹² However, the dangers of taking such a step without simultaneously recommending large scale educational effort to sustain the system which should have been only too obvious were not even taken into consideration.

It is true that Fazlur Rahman's address to the First Educational Conference in Karachi does raise this question forcefully. He said, "our first and foremost concern must necessarily be a determined and vigorous attack on the formidable problems of illiteracy and its evil consequences. It goes without saying that the existence of a large bulk of illiterate population constitutes a great menace to the security and well-being of the State. There is now general agreement that in its own interest the State should provide for its boys and girls universal, compulsory and free basic education which is the primary requisite of training in democracy... No less important is the provision of facilities for adult education which should aim at banishing ignorance through literacy, improving the general standard of living and breaking the centuries old isolation of our vast rural community..."¹³ This statement is important because it does reveal that the

¹² Vide the Report of the First Basic Principles Committee of the First Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (Karachi 1951).

¹³ Fazlur Rahman, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

Minister for Education was aware of the danger to the freedom and integrity of a nation from illiteracy. This should not be taken to be an unequivocal declaration of Government policy because it was followed by no action. Fazlur Rahman had the support of the Qa'id-i-A'zam and the Prime Minister but it was known even then that the Minister for Finance and his bureaucrats thought otherwise. If the argument had been taken seriously, education would have received the same priority as defence, but it never did, neither then nor at the hands of any subsequent government. Even Fazlur Rahman's statement betrays a fundamental misconception which has been the characteristic of all government policies relating to education in Pakistan. It has been tacitly assumed that all education would produce a liking for democracy—and an understanding of its working and implications. Whereas governments in Pakistan have made reluctant and half-hearted attempts at teaching some aspects of Islam, none has ever thought it necessary to make any attempt at encouraging national integration or democracy through education.

A country that claims to have been brought into existence on the basis of an ideology and in which official pronouncements extolling that ideology pour out in fairly rapid succession has shown little understanding of the basic relationship between education and ideologies. The fact that one generation does believe in an ideology or a set of fundamental values is no guarantee of the possibility that its succeeding generations will continue to do likewise. Faiths, religions, philosophies and moral codes all are kept alive through various media of education. The pulpit when used intelligently—and which thoughtful person would assert that it is being properly utilized in Pakistan?—can play an important role in the preservation of a religion, but it is helpless when it receives no assistance from the home and the school. Here again Fazlur Rahman was quite clear in his mind about the necessity of including religious instruction in the schemes of studies in Pakistan.¹⁴ That was the reason why the First Education Conference spent so much time discussing the question whether Islam should play a role in education in the country. The decision of the Conference pleased him im-

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 6.

mensely.¹⁵ Yet here also we find the same failure to work out a method. No government tackled the problem in a serious and business like manner and despite a general recognition of the fact that education should reflect the ideals of Islam, nothing was done to give this feeling a concrete shape. In spirit and form the children of Pakistan received their education in the same secular and amoral manner as they had been doing under alien rule.

The indifference of the successive governments of Pakistan to give a sense of direction to education and their total failure in understanding that the new factor of sovereignty posed a challenge in the field of education reminds one strongly of what A. W. Whitehead, the well known philosopher, had to say about the attitude of a much more enlightened government. "I have no doubt", he wrote, "that unless we can meet the new age with new methods, to sustain for our populations the life of the spirit, sooner or later, amid some savage outbreak of defeated longings, the fate of Russia shall be the fate of England. Historians will write as her epitaph that her fall issued from the spiritual blindness of her governing classes, from their dull materialism, and their Pharisaic attachment to petty formulae of statesmanship."¹⁶ Whitehead was writing about the elite of a country which is intellectually alert, which knows the arts of adaptation and assimilation of all new ideas to a perfection so as to avoid polarization and conflict. England has upto now tided over her difficulties with considerable ease. It has brought about a social and economic revolution of great magnitude through democratic processes and without violating the inherent respect for law and propriety. Is Pakistan capable of doing that? In answer it might be said briefly that the sophistication needed for such capacity comes only through a well cultivated tradition, the roots of which run deep into history.

So far as Pakistan is concerned it has inherited no mature traditions of democratic behaviour and norms. Its only tradition is that of Islam, which could be developed to embrace political

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 28.

¹⁶ A. N. Whitehead, *The Aims of Education and other Essays*, (London, 1929), p. 65.

behaviour with some effort and correct orientation of education. That has not happened and unless attitudes change, that tradition will continuously weaken or become, as indeed, it has for a good many years, a fertile source of national schizophrenia.

The phenomenon that no attempt was made to give education in Pakistan a sense of direction deserves a little closer examination. It is obvious that such an attitude of indifference could not have developed in a day. Further it was part of the general failure to take the responsibilities of independence seriously. The psychological impact of independence was conspicuous by its absence. The main reasons are not difficult to delineate. The Constituent Assembly took too long a time in framing a constitution. It would be out of place to discuss why a constitution could not be framed earlier. Indeed there were good reasons for the delay and the first government cannot be justly blamed for it. The consequence was that there was no general election on a broad based electorate for many years. The people were not involved in the business of governing themselves and to many it seemed simply a change of government. The first leaders like the Qa'id-i-A'zam, Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar were popular and people had confidence in them. But this was not the same thing as the people's own involvement in the business of running the affairs of its country. A good deal of alienation was bound to develop between the government and the masses in course of time, but the process was accelerated when less known men came to occupy places of authority. And when these men began to indulge in petty intrigue and squabbling at the expense of democratic propriety with the help of the services, decent men felt disgusted and the people could not be blamed for feeling that the men at the top were not their representatives. After all that was the main characteristic of British rule—the rulers represented nobody except their own imperial and economic interests. With no real liason existing between the average citizen—even if he happened to be educated and intelligent—and the government, there could be no feeling of identity between the nation and its rulers. How could, then, they feel that sovereignty imposed any responsibility upon them?

The framework of the administration did not change with independence. The average citizen had to deal with the same

system of organized bureaucracy as he had to under the British. During the agitation against the British Government Mahatma Gandhi had repeatedly emphasized the fact that the freedom movement in the Subcontinent was not aimed at replacing a white bureaucracy with a brown one. But this is precisely what happened in Pakistan. The brown bureaucrats did not show any sympathy for the people, nor did they behave in their transactions with the public with the courtesy and consideration due to fellow citizens. It was tragic to see officers behave with gross indifference—even contempt—with men of the same stock only because they were poor or humble. So long as an officer was misbehaving with the people of his own province, even though it was reprehensible enough, it did not create the impression of his holding an entire community in contempt. It did not create inter provincial tensions. The earliest rumblings of discontent came from East Pakistan where the number of non-Bengali officials was large and the hauteur which would have created only personal resentment among people of the provinces where the officers came from was misunderstood by people who were racially and linguistically different. If all administrative business continued to flow in the channels built by the British, the average citizen can be excused for thinking that nothing had changed fundamentally beyond the opening of new vistas of gainful employment. So long as the continuation of the British system of education under Pakistani auspices could provide sufficient competence for getting good posts, it was good enough. Improvement in this context meant a change for the better in the capacity of the system for training the students for posts with better salaries and in new fields where competition would not be too tough in the beginning. And to a point the system went on “improving” from this strictly utilitarian point of view, because new disciplines were added from time to time which created new job opportunities.

As a part of the general willingness to continue with the traditions established during British rule, the attitude towards the educational system falls in line with the general pattern of policies adopted by the Government. It is generally an imaginative politician who thinks of giving a new orientation to the policies of a state. Bureaucrats are seldom good policy makers. Even in the

earliest days of independence too much power was vested in the services. The politicians had a natural aversion for routine administrative work which was just and proper because that is not their responsibility. Besides they were not expected to be administrative technicians. They, however, went wrong in relying too much upon the civil servants in the formulation of policies. In the nation building departments this proved fatal. Even when correct policies were enunciated, they bogged down in execution because the bureaucracy was too powerful and was strongly entrenched in privileges. A public servant should be immune from undue and illegal pressures in the performance of his duties, but he should not be in a position to frustrate policies laid down by representatives of the people. The leaders of the bureaucracy gained undue power also because they often had the ear of the head of the government, who then relied more on their advice than that of the politicians. Besides, fairly early after independence, a number of bureaucrats were introduced into positions that rightfully should have been occupied by imaginative politicians. This was disastrous because the bureaucrats were so enmeshed in the cobwebs of their technicalities inherited from the British days that it became impossible for the country to chalk out a new path. Red tape and a rigid adherence to notions is the hall mark of a bureaucracy not distinguished for any great talent beyond the most ordinary one of running the machinery in accordance with stereotyped notions.

Nor did the intelligentsia possess much in the way of educational thought. Pakistan did not produce any original thinker in the field of education. There were quite a few with degrees or experience in pedagogy but they were circumscribed entirely by the knowledge contained in the Western textbooks on the subject. Even the best of them were experts only in techniques. The community had been told since the days of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan that education as introduced by the British was the main source of enlightenment. Sir Syed had the imagination to see that it should be tempered with Islam, but even he did not quite see how. He set the fashion for all subsequent builders of Muslim institutions of the new education when he provided for religious instruction in addition to teaching in the other subjects prescribed by the official universities and, later, boards of education.

Wherever there was accommodation for the residence of students, arrangements were made for formal prayers as well. This, it was thought, would inculcate Islam in the intellectual and emotional make up of the graduates. In this respect Sir Syed's inspiration had not come from any traditional source, nor was it the result of any philosophical understanding of the problem. He had seen it work in Cambridge¹⁷ where every college has its chapel and chaplain. Sir Syed thought that the content of education in Cambridge in "secular" disciplines was similar in nature to what was taught in the Subcontinent and the religious requirements were met by the arrangements for worship and preaching in the colleges where the undergraduates resided. And in those days there was little backsliding from Christian belief and practice. The same system could work at Aligarh, so Sir Syed must have argued, with the mosque and the imam replacing the chapel and the chaplain. To buttress the system he had in his mind further, he would also instruct his undergraduates in some aspects of Islam. But he forgot that the mosque and the chapel are similar only in being places of worship. The imam, of course bore no resemblance to the chaplain. The latter belonged to a church which took great pains to train him for parish work. The imam was an isolated individual with no organization at his back to guide and help him and possessing no equivalent of a parish. The imam could lead prayers and preach but had no training or inclination for the kind of work that a parish priest does in Christian communities. Besides, the chaplain of a Cambridge College had the same educational background as the Cambridge undergraduate, because before the priest could enter holy orders, he had to be a graduate and receive special training. The imam could not speak the language of the Aligarh undergraduate because he had no education in the modern knowledge. Therefore he could not possibly cultivate the same kind of relationship with the students as the Cambridge college chaplain. Sir Syed's greater error was in thinking that the content of education comprised merely objective truth like the formulae of mathematics. Even higher mathematics has profound philosophical implications that cannot go unnoticed by those who

¹⁷ I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent* (The Hague, 1962), p. 239.

study the subject. As we shall see in a subsequent chapter the dominance of materialism in science in the nineteenth century gradually seeped into the general thinking of Europe. Even the Church which was so well equipped intellectually as well as in the matter of organization and financial resources was not able to meet the challenge fully. Indeed it has never recovered completely from the assault. But next to materialism the dominant influence in Europe was that of Christianity. The entire culture of the West has a strong flavour of Christianity. The content of education that Sir Syed tried to persuade the Muslim community of the Subcontinent to accept was by no means neutral. It posed no problem to Cambridge and for that matter to any Western educational institution. But Aligarh was a different matter. There was no question of Cambridge being torn between two worlds, but Sir Syed was sowing the seeds of schizophrenia at Aligarh.

There is not the least doubt that the Muslims of the Subcontinent had to take to the new education if they wanted to survive; but the precautions adopted by Sir Syed were highly inadequate and grossly injurious. In the Aligarh scheme of education religious education was tagged on to the rest of the syllabus as a mere irrelevance. And from the first day it was treated as such by the students. What were they to do with an extra subject that helped them in no way in their examinations or careers, for was it not precisely for these things that they had come to Aligarh? How could they take a subject seriously that was not to affect their success or failure in taking a degree? In Sir Syed's defence as well as to put the record straight, it must be mentioned that Aligarh had no control over the final examinations which were administered entirely by the University of Allahabad before Aligarh, very much later, became a University. But he could have done one thing. He, with his knowledge of Islam, could have made the teaching of religion sufficiently incisive as well as comprehensive to enable the students to integrate it with the rest of their intellectual training. This was never attempted and the community did not expect Aligarh to do it. Sir Syed was fortunate in the fact that his students came from good Muslim homes where Islam was a vital influence. They remained good Muslims not because the religious instruction was inspiring or even

adequate, but because their homes were Muslim. If the first, second or even the tenth generation of Aligarh students had openly revolted against Islam, the pernicious effects of the kind of educational system introduced there would have shocked the Muslims into finding some solution. That, however, did not happen. The process was fatal and sure, but it was slow and was building up cumulated effects in the system. Slow processes of change seldom build up reactions. Aligarh was fabulously successful so far as appearances were concerned and so were the institutions that were set up in imitation. The students remained staunch Muslims, at least emotionally; if there was a growing laxity in the observance of the Islamic ritual and code, it seemed to be amply compensated by a vociferous adherence to the communal and international welfare of the Muslims; the graduates got good employment and lived, comparatively speaking, in reasonable comfort, thus enhancing their personal influence and the influence of their community. Was this not all that Aligarh had catered for? And the Muslim community asked for nothing better.

It is not possible to have a full understanding of Sir Syed's educational policy without turning to his essays in *Tahdhib-u'l-Akhlāq*,¹⁸ which afford a rare insight into the working of his mind. Sir Syed was not afraid of the acculturation that was bound to happen in the culture conscious Muslim community as the result of the impact of the West and his educational effort. He ridiculed many Muslim habits and mores and advocated the adoption of their Western counterparts.¹⁹ He enforced a uniform upon the Muslim undergraduates that was in fact a compromise with Western dress—the fez, which was of Greek origin and adopted by the Ottoman Turks when they began to reform their dress—and an adaptation of the European frock coat, buttoned upto the neck and single breasted. It was given the name of 'Turkish coat'—an euphemism, to soften likely

¹⁸ Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's well-known Review. The more important articles published in *Tahdhib-u'l-Akhlāq* have been collected in four volumes and published at Lahore, n.d. The first volume contains articles by Muhsin-u'l-mulk, the second those by Syed Ahmed Khan, the third by Mawlāwī Chirāgh 'Alī and the fourth by different prominent contributors.

Many of the articles by Sir Syed published therein (and elsewhere) have been collected by Mawlānā Muḥammad Ismā'il Pānipatī in *Maqālat-i-Sir Saiyyid Ahmad Khān* published by Majlis-i-Adab (Lahore, n.d.)

¹⁹ Pānipatī, op. cit., Part V, pp. 35-39.

opposition to the adoption of a European garment. Sir Syed was the originator of the Westernization of the Muslim elite of the Subcontinent. The course had been set; the rest was to follow.

Sir Syed was aware of the importance of science and, in order to popularize its study, he organized the Scientific Society.²⁰ He was cognizant of the fact that science had come into conflict with religion in the West. Hence he tried to prevent such a development among his own people. Therefore he rightly worked to remove any seeming contradiction between Islam and science. His task was easier because of the innate rationality of his faith. Even then such an effort can go too far, because it is an endeavour to encompass reality within the human reason or, in other words, to comprehend the wisdom of God with the limited vision of human reason. It has a consequence which is not conducive to the building up of the real reservoirs of faith and inner strength. Sir Syed did not enunciate the proposition, but if all matters relating to faith can be understood through reason, reason alone can become the touchstone of faith. This is not averred by Islam, which fully recognizes that the final source of faith is not reason.²¹ However, if reason is permitted to be the final arbiter in matters of faith, its superiority tends to be established in the mind in a surreptitious and a subtle manner. Men will always try to understand their beliefs in the light of their knowledge and wisdom, but wisdom is not always logic. The difficulties in the way of apologists and scholastics are real and almost insurmountable because they may defeat the very end they seek to serve. In the classical Muslim tradition it was recognized that apologetics can serve only a limited purpose.²² Sir Syed's

²⁰ I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, op. cit., p. 239.

²¹ The Qur'ān does ask the believers to contemplate the phenomena of nature which would help them to strengthen their faith, but faith comes from believing in the unseen (chapter ii, verse 1).

²² There is a story commonly related by students of Muslim apologetics. A great apologist put together one thousand and one philosophical arguments to prove the existence of God and was once approached by a young student to satisfy him on some points as he could not bring himself to believe. The master put forward his arguments which were successfully refuted by the humble looking student, who in fact was Satan himself. When the last argument had been proved to be faulty, the student demanded that the scholar should be intellectually honest and accept that God does not exist. The beleaguered philosopher said thereupon that his belief was not based upon those arguments. "I believe in God through conviction without any argument". To that Satan had no answer.

plea was different. In fact he did not stand for rationalism as such but for the acceptance of the results of scientific investigation as valid and held that revealed reality and scientific facts cannot contradict each other. He, therefore, appealed for the interpretation of verses dealing with natural phenomenon in the light of proved observation. In this plea it would be difficult to quarrel with him beyond pointing out the difficulties inherent in accepting the general proposition that revealed reality and scientific conclusions regarding nature, a word that he was fond of using, arrived at through observation and experiment are equally valid, because revelation claims finality whereas science does not, as it is a part of the scientific process to question the correctness of previous observation and experiment. However the psychological impact of Sir Syed's arguments was not to increase faith in revelation but to create greater confidence in science. If the "word of God" is to be understood in the light of the "work of God",²³ the primary importance obviously would attach to the latter so far as the process of comprehending reality is concerned. And whether Sir Syed was conscious of the dilemma or not, his effort was bound to have the undesirable consequence of setting up science on a somewhat higher pedestal than revelation. Of course if Sir Syed had not come out with his arguments, the results would have been more disastrous. Many would have rejected revelation altogether as materialists rejected Christianity in the West.

Sir Syed's influence upon those Muslims who received the new type of education was profound. The old fashioned orthodox ulema nicknamed Sir Syed and his followers '*necharis*', believers in Nature rather than in revelation. The crop of graduates produced by Aligarh and other institutions of the new education came more and more to the forefront as the ulema and those educated in their *madrassahs* withdrew into their shells. It did not take too much time for the new elite to emerge as the leaders of the Muslim community. Their opinions came to be accepted while anything that the ulema had to say was considered old fashioned,

²³Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, *Akhari Maqāmin*, 3rd edition, (Lahore n.d.), p. 84. He wrote "I am fully convinced that the work of God and the word of God can never be antagonistic to each other; we may, through the fault of our knowledge, sometime make mistakes in understanding the meaning of the word".

retrograde and reactionary. The cleavage between the views of the new elite and the ulema and their followers was so great that all dialogue stopped between the two wings of the community and in such circumstances, there could be no hope of the rise of a synthesis. Indeed they spoke two different languages, mutually incomprehensible. Such a cleavage had not developed even between the Christians and the materialist rejectors of religion in the West. And because the new elite created by Sir Syed's philosophy and new education did not cease to believe in Islam and rejected the ulema as its true interpreters, they sought either to create their own body of interpretation or learnt to live with a vague understanding of Islam without making much effort to study it. A new kind of literature, of limited bulk, grew up which was in fact a superficial exercise in apologetics, rather than the result of deep religious feeling. This literature only occasionally produced a good study like Ameer Ali's *Spirit of Islam*²⁴ and Iqbal's *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*.²⁵

The general level, however, was not good because the writers lacked profundity. Such lack of effort can be ascribed to poor facility in English prose, even less knowledge of the works of classical writers on Islam and a readiness to be content with scanty knowledge. It was sufficient to be acquainted with the cardinal principles of Islam and to know how to carry out its injunctions relating to prayers, fasts and other matters that concern a Muslim in his daily life. Religious instruction in Muslim institutions seldom went beyond that and wherever it did, it gave a somewhat superficial acquaintance with the general attitude of Islam towards life. So superficial was this instruction that there was little difference in this respect between those who had been educated in Muslim institutions and those who had belonged to Government or missionary schools and colleges. Except for those who went to the old fashioned seminaries and received education in the religious disciplines of Islam like the exegesis of the Qur'ān, the *Hadith*, *Fiqh* and cognate subjects in a comprehensive and regular albeit antiquated manner,

²⁴ Ameer Ali, *The Life and Teachings of Muhammad or The Spirit of Islam*, (London, 1881). This book is more widely known by the shorter title of *The Spirit of Islam* and is found in several editions.

²⁵ Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (London, 1934).

the new educated sections of the community learnt their Islam outside the educational establishments. It has been customary for local communities to hold gatherings on special occasions where ulema are invited to give lectures on the life of the Prophet or other topics of Islamic religious lore. With the emergence of the new educated class and its altered tastes a new type of lecturer came to be invited. He had some acquaintance with modern knowledge as well as Islam and spoke in an idiom that was liked by the new class of audience. Some old fashioned preachers also picked up the technique and stole a march upon those who kept up their old style. Thus the platform and occasionally the pulpit performed the task of the school room in a disorganized and perfunctory manner. But for the services rendered by them, the people would have been plunged into ignorance about their faith. They also succeeded in keeping alive the innate loyalty of the people at large and of the educated classes as well to Islam, its ideals and its community.

The extent and depth of their influence, however, can be over-rated. Without a sound basis of proper education, such functions cannot go on influencing the intelligent mind for any length of time because they tend to be superficial and do not provide real material for thought. What is even worse, they do not create a taste for earnest reading, on the contrary they tend to inhibit it. The results of neglect had started showing themselves in the early thirties of the century when Indian nationalism and, to a considerable degree, Marxism started claiming the adherence of Muslim young men. It was the Pakistan Movement that weaned most from Indian nationalism and some from Marxist materialism. The enthusiasm for Pakistan created the feeling that all was well with the Muslim youth. Even earlier that was the general sentiment. A generation that had pursued the aim of economic welfare through the acquisition of the new education and had remained Muslim in sentiment because of tradition and the influence of its parents and homes thought that what had happened to it would happen to its children as well, forgetting that the Islamic influence grew more and more diluted every day because of the ever increasing impact of new influences percolating through literature and an amoral and religiously neutral education. The nature of the education was such that the

potentially positive influence that could have been exerted in favour of the Islamic code of morals and beliefs was eliminated and the subtle European suggestions conveyed through literature and textbooks were permitted to play their role unhindered. This, however, was not realized. On the other hand it was believed that the Muslim youth would have the best of the two worlds in which he was asked to live. One—that of the new education—was all the time working steadily and surely and the other—that of Muslim tradition and sentiment—was not receiving any kind of reinforcement and was, therefore, getting weaker and weaker. Such an unequal contest could not go on interminably and could result only in the elimination of all Islamic influence and loyalties.

This, however, was not realized at all. In all the literature of the period, even when aberrations from Islam came to the surface, one does not find any mention of the danger or any reference to the situation as it was developing. When Sajjad Zaheer²⁶ and his associates published the first really outspoken collection of stories²⁷ questioning the values of Islam, the general response was extremely subdued and even the religious circles did not raise any hue and cry. The false sense of security was so entrenched that no one was alarmed. The book was treated as an isolated phenomenon and not as a symptom of a disease that gradually was to corrode all that the community had held dear throughout its history. The alarm bell had rung but the sound fell on deaf ears.

Much earlier, there were two persons who had sensed the danger. One of these was the poet Akbar²⁸ whose satires on the changes taking place in the Muslim society as the result of the new influence were telling but they were not effective for the

²⁶ Sajjad Zaheer, well known communist leader of India. He visited Pakistan in early days and went back to India when he was suspected of being one of the inspirers of the Communist conspiracy to assassinate Liaquat Ali Khan which resulted in the conviction of several communists like General Akbar Khan etc.

²⁷ *Angāre* in which some communist writers of Muslim origin made their debut as "progressive fiction writers" in the thirties.

²⁸ His name was Saiyid Akbar Husain Ridwī, Akbar was his nom de plume. For a short biography see Babu Ram Saksena, *A History of Urdu Literature*.

reason that he was too conservative and opposed all change. Such opposition is seldom effective. The other was Shibli Nu'māni²⁹—the historian and critic—who tried to reconcile the old education and the new by supporting the Nadwat-u'l-'ulamā, which was taken over by him soon after its foundation. Being a product of the old system, he knew its inadequacies and his association with Aligarh as a professor brought home to him its shortcomings. As an isolated experiment the Nadwat-u'l-'ulamā could not alter the general trends created by the new education in the community. As it had to rely on teachers belonging to the old school of thought, it was not able to break through the conservatism of that class. But for the eminent Mawlānā Sulaimān Nadwi it did not produce notable men who could create a good general impression about the standards of the institution. The general attitude, therefore, remained of complacency and the continuation of adherence and loyalty to Islam was taken for granted. It was this complacency that was inherited by the people and leaders of Pakistan. The movement and the achievement of Pakistan bolstered this false sense of security. If almost two centuries of foreign rule and one of the new education had not weaned the Muslims from their loyalty to the community of Islam and its ideology, surely both would prosper in the new country. It was not realized that the impact of the outside world had increased greatly. And that world itself was in a state of flux. It was either losing or changing its moorings. The youth of this world was in revolt. This is not the place for discussing the causes of these developments, but their importance and the certainty of their impact cannot be ignored. The attitude of the Pakistani people towards it will have to be defined, because a matter so vital for the future course of the history of the nation cannot, at least should not be left to take any direction it takes of its own accord. Nations do not live by being merely playthings in the hands of dumb forces, they can live only if they assess the potentiality of such forces correctly and mould them to their advantage. A policy of laissez-faire in education and to let it drift aimlessly is to invite disaster. One of its results has been the breaking away of East Pakistan. That should have been enough to teach us a lesson.

²⁹ Saiyid Sulaiman Nadwi, *Ḥayāt-i-Shibli* (Azamgarh, 1943) is the standard biography.

Western Philosophy and Religious Education

It is unfashionable in many quarters today to speak of religion. It is even more unfashionable to talk about religion and education in the same breath. Quite a few eyebrows are raised even in Pakistan when it is suggested that education in this country should not be divorced from religion, because there is no dearth of "progressive intellectuals" in the ranks of our elite. For them all who talk of such "antiquated" notions as religion are reactionaries and positively a source of danger to the progress of our society. And yet the problem of religion cannot just be pushed under the carpet even by those who are its sworn enemies. It troubles the rulers of the Soviet Union which has taken all steps to extinguish its flame and worked consistently for six decades to lead the benighted believers into the "light" of "scientific atheism". It has baffled ardent Maoists in China which not only accuses the Soviet Union of being "revisionist" because it has occasionally to come to terms with Islam but which finds that within China itself religion refuses to die. Of all the sectors of the population of these two leviathans, the Muslims are the most incorrigible believers. In Pakistan itself the most ardent Marxists are obliged to sugarcoat their materialist dialectics with Islamic notions so that it may become agreeable to Muslim palates. (If religion is

so deeply embedded in the emotions of a substantial sector of the population, how can the educational policies of Pakistan ignore it? For this reason alone it is incumbent (upon a writer) on education in this country to discuss the role that religion should or might play in it. But this is not the only reason. The country likes to call itself the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Surely this nomenclature cannot be based in some idle whim of those who first used it in the written constitution of the Republic and subsequent legislatures who refused to reject it as a meaningless phrase. If it has not been all this time an exercise in make-believe and therefore a piece of disreputable chicanery and hypocritical fraud upon the people, effort has to be made to give substance to the title. That amongst other things means positive endeavour in the field of education.)

Those who sneer at the inclusion of religion in the educational programmes of Pakistan generally fall into two main categories. The first consists of those who have been deeply influenced by the Western non-Marxist disbelievers in the validity of religion. The other includes Marxists who look upon religion as the opiate of the people. For the first religion is stupid and its study shall be waste of time, for the second it is positively injurious. The two are, however, united in being the product of materialism. It would, therefore, be instructive to examine its origin and its influence upon the thought of Western philosophers and thinkers on education and also to examine Western reactions to it and other competing Western philosophies.

Materialism is a system of thought which holds that the nature of the universe is entirely dependent on matter and motion. This view has found a large number of adherents in philosophy. Matter, according to them is the fundamental reality; no search for reality is necessary or feasible beyond matter because it is the final, the ultimate reality.¹ A person who tries to push his search for reality beyond matter has been compared to a blind man in a dark room on a dark night searching for a black cat which is not there. There has been a close relationship between natural and physical sciences and materialism, because science is solely

¹ *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, Second Edition, (New York, 1950), p. 1241. Article on materialism.

concerned with what is palpable and can be made the subject of experiment, observation and testing. For that reason certain periods of history which have been marked for scientific activity and progress in the West have also been known for a wider acceptance of materialism in the field of philosophy. Democritus was perhaps the first philosopher to build up a system of materialistic philosophy in which he explained, in the fourth century before Christ, all physical phenomena in terms of atoms and their motions in space.² Some other early Greek philosophers also conceived of reality as material in nature. The Epicureans and the Stoics were materialists, so far as their basic conceptions of reality were concerned.³ Materialism once again came to the forefront in the 17th century when Pierre Gassendi and Hobbes accepted its concepts and related consciousness to the corporeal world or the senses. Materialism received a great impetus in the 18th century and was specially vigorous in France. There was a reaction towards the end of the 18th century but the middle of the 19th century brought about a great revival because of the greater interest in natural and physical sciences.⁴

It was in this century that materialism took a new form because of the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, specially Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* is rightly regarded as the Bible of Dialectical Materialism, on which is based the theory of modern communism. According to this doctrine social and economic change is the result of materialistic forces and human beings indirectly produce their very form of life because of their economic needs. Dialectical materialism was developed by Karl Marx in his effort to find a philosophic basis for his economic theories and socialism. He borrowed dialectics from the German idealists whose philosophy held the field at that time. The term which originally means "the art of critical examination into the truth of an opinion," and in earlier English was used as a synonym of logic, was "applied by Kant to the criticism which shows the mutually contradictory character of the principles of science, when employed to determine objects beyond the limits of

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

experience (e.g. the soul, the world, God)". Hegel took the concept a step further when he applied it "(a) to the process of thought by which such contradictions are seen to merge themselves in a higher truth that comprehends them; and (b) to the world process, which, in his view, is but the thought process on its objective side, and develops similarly by a continuous unification of opposites."⁵ These opposites or contradictions are "thesis" and "antithesis" and their unification is "synthesis", which in its turn becomes a new thesis and leads to the development of an antithesis and then produces, once again, a synthesis and thus, the world-process goes on.⁶ Kant and Hegel both used dialectics to demolish materialism. Marx was a materialist and an atheist. He identified religion with the Church in which he saw an instrument of exploitation and an ally of capitalism and tyranny. As the church preached doctrines that created content and indifference to the social effects of exploitation, he called all religion an opiate of the people. Apart from his own conviction, his need to find a philosophical ally against religion led him to materialism.

It has been mentioned above that materialism is of considerable antiquity. In its simplest form it is a philosophy of negation—the denial of the existence of any reality beyond matter. It embodies two principles which are not conducive to human progress. One of these is necessity—that we are helpless marionettes in the hands of matter and the second is pessimism about the final destiny of humanity. Says Bertrand Russell, "That man is the product of causes which had no prevision of the end they were achieving, that his origin, his growth, his hopes and his loves and beliefs, are but the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms; that all the labours of the ages, all the devotion, all the inspiration, all the noonday brightness of human genius, are destined to extinction, in the vast death of the Solar system, and that the whole temple of man's achievement must inevitably be buried beneath the debris of a universe in ruins—all these things, if not quite beyond dispute, are yet so nearly

⁵ *The Oxford Universal Dictionary on Historical Principles*, Third Edition (Oxford, 1955), p. 500 Article on Dialectic.

⁶ *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, op. cit., p. 536, Article on Dialectic.

certain that no philosophy which rejects them can hope to stand.”⁷ Earlier the same pessimism characterized, Lord Balfour’s philosophy who says, “Imperishable monuments and ‘immortal deeds’, death itself and ‘love stronger than death’ will be as if they had not been. Nor will anything that is be better or worse for all that the labour, genius, devotion and suffering of man have striven through countless ages to affect.”⁸ It is needless to point out that such a philosophy is destructive of all human effort and is even worse than the fatalism taught by some passive religions, because however deep their fatalism, they yet inspire some hope about the future either in this world or the next.

Materialism suited Karl Marx because it denied the validity of religion. Therefore he could not abjure it. Yet as it stood, it did not serve his purpose fully because as a philosophy it did not promise anything. Marx could not inspire any hope of success among those who were to struggle against the prevailing order. Materialism postulates an inevitability, but it is the inevitability of total destruction; Karl Marx wanted an inevitability of ultimate success. In claiming that economic growth has a direction which cannot be resisted and therefore the conflict of classes is inevitable, he was also creating the doctrine of the success of the proletariat in overthrowing the dominance of its enemies and establishing its own dictatorship. For this argument to be made convincing and forceful the introduction of dialectics was almost necessary; because in the continuous succession of thesis, antithesis and syntheses there is an inevitable predeterminism. Dialectic materialism claims to have discovered the inevitable course of human history and predicts the final synthesis of a stateless society resting upon a system of production and consumption that banishes further interplay of thesis and antithesis. Thus Hegel’s dialectics that had been used as an instrument for demolishing materialism was pressed into service to convert it into a gospel of hope and success for the worker of the world. Ordinary materialism and dialectic idealism both lead world-process to a logical conclusion. In the former

⁷ Bertrand Arthur William Russell, *A Freeman's Worship*, (Portland, 1923), p. 6.

⁸ Lord Balfour, *Foundations of Belief* (London, 1895), p. 30.

the process ends in the total destruction of the universe that it had built up in a long stretch of time; the latter takes the process out of the material world at a stage when matter hardly remains relevant in the process of development. But dialectic materialism accepts the continuous changing nature of human society through a dialectic based upon the economic needs of man, but makes the process stop when it thinks that it has produced what the worker desires.

Dialectic materialism has served Karl Marx and his followers very well indeed, but thinkers have always found it unsatisfying as a system of consistent philosophy. It has found large scale acceptance because of a few basic and undeniable facts. Human intelligence applied to natural resources has extracted more and more of these for human use, hence there has been economic progress in the sense that better methods of production have been continuously discovered, in the beginning very slowly and with the coming of the Industrial Revolution more and more rapidly. As these methods have developed, larger units of production have come into existence. The number of workers increased as the units grew in size and they found new opportunities of association and organization of joint action for the purpose of bargaining. This power of the proletariat is increasing constantly, bringing them larger benefits all the time. It has also become possible for the workers to capture political power and bring into office governments that are sensitive to their demands. In all this there seemed to be an element of compulsion—that the changed patterns of production would vest the proletariat with more and more power. But the process has its own limitations and whether a method of government is established which runs a country as a dictatorship in the name of the proletariat or the workers prefer to have liberal institutions for acquiring their goals, in all cases they come to the limits imposed by the economic and political realities of their country.

The course of necessity envisaged by Karl Marx has not emerged in prosperous Western liberal countries where the workers are more affluent because of the greater efficiency of the new liberal Capitalism and they have benefited by exercising their right of bargaining and industrial action. They have shown

unmistakable preference for liberal institutions and participation in the government rather than losing the right of collective action under a government established in their name and run on totalitarian principles. The liberalization of the Soviet system to some extent seems to indicate a weakening of adherence to the pure doctrine of Marx by its leaders which is borne out by the fact that brother Communists in China call them deviationists and revisionists. When China has reached the same level of development as the Soviet Union did about a couple of decades ago, it will be interesting to see whether she still swears by the purity of the Marxist doctrine. Whatever happens in China in the future, the developments in the Soviet Union have demonstrated that Marxism, even when it gets the fullest control over a vast territory which gains eminence as a super power, can and does deviate from orthodoxy. This deviation is significant in the sense that it disproves the theory of the necessity of history following a particular course. This should be sufficient to shake one's faith in the infallibility of the Marxist philosophy of dialectic materialism.

Even though dialectic materialism is a greater force in the world today and therefore exercises a good deal of influence upon the youth, materialism, pure and simple, as it was before the rise of Marx and Engel has a greater appeal for those who would limit their vision to the material world. We have quoted Bertrand Russell in this context earlier and have pointed out that materialists believe in the inevitability of the destruction of the material world in which we live today. The main religions of the world also believe that all creation is mortal. But the materialists go further and agree with Bertrand Russell when he says that "the whole temple of man's achievement must inevitably be buried beneath the debris of a universe in ruins" and also with Lord Balfour when he says, "Nor will any thing that is, be better or worse for all that the labour, genius, devotion and suffering of man have striven through countless ages to effect". No religion can agree with these views, even if it does not believe in a hereafter; because a religion is meaningless if it does not believe that human effort can make life better and that the results are lasting and worth the endeavour. Those who believe that life does not come to an end after physical death will most

certainly say that though the material world will come to an end, the results of all sincere and good effort will, not. However before bringing religion in, let us see what philosophy has to say in this respect. Godfrey H. Thomson says "It is profitable to let one's mind dwell on the paradox that those studies which have led many to materialism and the most rigid form of determination are in point of practical fact the same studies which have enabled man to interfere more in the course of events, and have put into his hands the possibility not merely of changing his environment to an extent hitherto undreamed of, but of changing himself by selection and suitable mating, so that events may have made him what he is, he will have a hand in making the man of the future."⁹ Robert R. Rusk commenting upon Lord Balfour's remarks says, "Such philosophy with its pessimistic conclusions, had it persisted and become universal would have tended to atrophy human effort; fortunately it has been generally abandoned and disintegrated from within mainly by the developments of physical science itself. By the analysis of modern physicists matter has become so refined, so etherealized, so as to be hardly distinguishable in the popular mind from spirit; and it can now be regarded as a fitting vehicle for the most spiritual activities, and this is considered to be its main function by certain modern physicists."¹⁰

Some of the conclusions drawn from the nature and working of the physical world have been questioned by competent scholars. For instance, regarding the views of Bertrand Russell quoted above, William Ernest Hocking says, "That is not Science. Science doesn't say those things, though they present themselves as conclusions from Science. Who says them? Any person is likely to say them who gets his first impression of the scientific method as applied to human beings. One of the reasons so many of our college boys get, with all their enthusiasm for science, a certain sense of desolation about their own place in the world is that we have never helped them to face the fundamental fallacies of this kind of conclusion, particularly in psychology which has

⁹ Godfrey H. Thompson, *A Modern Philosophy of Education*, (London, 1929), p. 117.

¹⁰ Robert R. Rusk, *The Philosophical Bases of Education*, (London, 1929), pp. 25,26.

the justified job of applying the physiological and mechanical method to man. Particularly in science it is easy to forget that a technique is not a philosophy and that a scientific result is not necessarily the whole truth. This pessimistic conclusion is a suggestion and not a proof. There are other fields of evidence which ought to be brought to mind."¹¹

Perhaps the limitations of physical sciences can be explained more easily by pointing out that every scientific experiment has a limited purpose. It concerns itself with that purpose alone. This does not mean that equally purposeful experiments cannot be performed for discovering the properties of the same substance. And if conceivably all the properties of all the substances were the subject of scientific investigation, even then the conclusions howsoever faultlessly arrived at, would be limited to those substances alone which are material in themselves. When this process is extended to the actual projections of those properties which these material substances or objects possess to other substances or objects, still the investigation remains confined to material substances and the projection of their properties to other material objects and substances. Thus the scientific method cannot break the iron bonds with which it is tied to matter. To conclude from this that nothing extends beyond matter and its properties and their projections is not sound logic or reasoning.

Science at any time can say positively about any thing of which it is sure," "we know this about this substance or process," but it cannot assert that what it does not know or has no means of finding out does not exist or has no importance. Because what lies beyond the sphere of natural science may be of real importance. To quote Hocking again, "Philosophy, quite apart from utilities and necessities, is the enjoyment of the peculiar human capacity for reflecting upon himself, for no animal reflects upon itself. No animal considers his own life or death. No animal writes diaries, or makes pictures of himself. No animal paints a portrait. There is no self viewing and self judging,

¹¹ William Ernest Hocking, "The Role of Philosophy" in Franklin L. Burdette (editor), *Education for Citizen Responsibilities* (Princeton, 1942), pp. 79, 80.

within the picture of the entire world, except as characteristic human activities and human enjoyments. The conspectus of life, bringing things together from a point of view beyond space and time and beyond self—that is the real happiness of the human spirit. It is taking courage in our estimate of the calling of the human being, believing that we are destined ultimately to know the world in which we live that we can get some conception of the truth about things, about ourselves, and about God."¹²

This is a plea from an eminent professor of philosophy to reject unwarranted conclusions that are dished out for the unwary in the name of science and sometimes philosophy. An unwarranted misrepresentation of science and philosophy has resulted in the growth of materialism and the weakening of religion. That in itself would be a serious matter for all who would like to see a balanced development of the human personality through education. But unfortunately the repercussions of the rejection of faith are wider and more tragic. The conviction, arrived at through faulty reasoning and fallacious processes, that nothing exists—and it is just one step to say that nothing can exist—beyond matter and palpable objects results in the rejection of all values. That is the end of personal morality and the sense of social responsibility. In societies where respect for law is deeply engrained these aberrations raise their ugly heads only slowly but even their individual and social ethics comes under a heavy strain. In societies where a secular ethics has not developed, this loss of faith plays havoc. Mature opinion in developed and developing countries alike watches these developments with almost helpless consternation. Some thinking persons, affected by the theory of inevitability in historical processes, console themselves by the thought that they are watching the disintegration of a civilization and a social order created by it. If that is what is happening before our eyes, is there any justification for helpless inactivity? Is it beyond human resources with all the understanding imparted by modern social sciences to make the transition easier and constructive?

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¹² *Ibid.*, p. 81.

History has one lesson to teach humanity. The death of all civilizations is brought about by the loosening of its moral fibre and an indifference to social responsibility. And when a great civilization disintegrates, the period between its demise and the birth of a new order which is sustained by vigorous qualities of character, is marked with distress and agony. Change should be engineered so that it leads to a better future; it should be based on a sense of values; it must not lose a scale of references; blind forces of change working through the destruction of all sense and conception of right and wrong can spell only disaster. We need light for venturing forward; we can only stumble and fall if we walk in darkness. That light sure enough can be provided by our reason, but only if reason is fortified and illuminated with faith. The loss of faith does not make life easier. There is a common fallacy that if we remove all inhibitions of moral codes created by religion, we shall be freer and happier. This is a mere illusion. because such freedom only leads into the bondage of untrained passions, habits and commitments which are worse than bondage, even though they may ensnare us with pleasure in the beginning. We are driven by senseless and harmful urges which must be satisfied at the cost of our mental, physical and moral health. And if through good luck or some little but persistent whisper of dormant religious or moral sense, we escape such a fate and are able to save our moral integrity, we have no resources of inner strength to face a crisis. Then our personality cracks and we are reduced to a pitiable state of inner torture and misery. It is not a mere coincidence that the rate of suicide is the highest in the societies which are materially well off and apparently should be happy with their affluence and freedom from want. These are the societies which have lost faith. Their members fall easy victims to psychological diseases which cannot be resisted without hope and faith. If indulgence were the real cure for mental diseases, there should have been no mental diseases in permissive societies; or at least there should have been a marked decrease. But that has not happened. An eminent American psychologist, J. Burnett Rae says, "If a man has striven and given all to possess what he thought was of supreme value and finds it is not really genuine, despair may follow upon the disillusionment. In such a case, I ask you, how is it possible to effect the cure except by the restoration of faith and hope

by giving him a new point of view, a different outlook on life?"¹³ What can this new outlook be except to look upon this corporal life as a brief moment compared to the life that is to follow wherein all wrongs will be righted and all endeavours properly rewarded?

Mental diseases are said to follow the formation of complexes. Rae, once again, is of the opinion that "There are three ways of resolving any conflict. First victory of the higher over the lower resulting in peace and a strong character. Secondly there may be adaptation through the acceptance of the lower, again peace, but deterioration in character. Finally, there may be no real decision at all. The will is divided and the conflict merely side-tracked and removed to a lower structure of mind. It is this last that so often leads to nervous trouble and loss of power."¹⁴ Thus the method of avoiding a complex is not to succumb to the temptation that raises a conflict; the possession of a sufficiently strong moral sense that rules out the temptation as an utterly impossible demand upon character provides the requisite strength to avoid the conflict fully. Religion not only can impart an invulnerable moral consciousness that defies the encroachment of temptations but also creates such an emotional attachment to the convictions that encroachment is strongly resisted and overcome. In any case mental disease is not the only problem that worries mankind. Indeed many men are in search of something deeper than merely physical existence. The famous psychiatrist C. J. Jung found that all of his patients above thirty years went to him because they did not know the meaning of life. They had lost the meaning of their lives. He confesses that as a psychiatrist he had nothing to say to them. He says that these people expect to get the meaning of life from science, but "science cannot give it to them, for science deals with facts, not with meanings. Religion and philosophy are concerned with the meanings of things and these people do not know how to consult or use them."¹⁵

There are, apart from materialism, two schools of philosophy

¹³ J. Burnett Rae, "Psychology and Religion", E.A. Burroughs, *Education and Religion* (London, 1924), p. 162.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 154.

¹⁵ Hocking, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

which, more or less, produce the same attitude towards religion. One of these is pragmatism. A competent American professor of Philosophy has this comment to make on it: "Pragmatism is a type of philosophy which is critical of philosophy and indicates that we could better find out what energy is by dealing with it than by trying to make a preliminary survey of the world and nature. There is an obvious danger in wasting time on foundations . . . But when we see that there are many men who spend no time on foundations until the superstructure begins to crack, we see that the slow minded inquirer has his uses. To have a warped or twisted philosophy is a radical misfortune."¹⁶ This "warped philosophy" is the result of indisciplined thinking. Many people have neither the capacity nor the inclination to sort out the differences between the different ideas in the field which press themselves on their generally inert minds. They accept or reject them at random and consider themselves intellectually alert and discriminating. In fact such people "patch up a ramshackle philosophy out of odds and ends of ideas picked up from random talk or reading or the social atmosphere."¹⁷ The young fall easy victims to this kind of cheap intellectualism. "The growing boy between sixteen and twenty (and the growing girl somewhat earlier) begins to shake the bars of received ideas; he begins with the normal conceit of his years, to feel able to think things out for himself. He is probably more confident at this time than he will be later, he needs a few falls to convince him how large an undertaking of reaching well founded judgments is."¹⁸ It is obvious that the danger in inculcating the ideas of pragmatic philosophy is that the unwary might equate it with unsystematic thinking and the freedom to pick up ideas and attitudes that might catch their fancy without a critical study or examination.

Pragmatism is not connected with materialism in its essence, but naturalism is. "It is the philosophical position adopted wittingly or unwittingly by those who approach philosophy from the purely scientific stand point . . . , they tend to reduce the distinctively human experience to purely physical or biological

¹⁶ Ibid., p .71.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 79.

functions . . . The first steps towards naturalism are easy and convincing. Naturalism takes the present results of the positive sciences at what appears to be their face value, and from there it professes to obtain data sufficient for the establishment of a comprehensive philosophy. When, however, this philosophy is applied in interpretation of the more intimate aspects of human experience, it becomes ever increasingly unsatisfactory."¹⁹ The reason is that like the natural sciences, naturalism is not equipped to deal with anything that does not pertain to the material world and suffers from the handicaps of materialist philosophy which ignores important aspects of human life that defy attempt at physical interpretation and analysis. Even more destructive is scepticism which prevents its adherents from taking up a positive attitude towards the deeper problems of life. It does not differ from pragmatism, materialism or naturalism in this respect. And when we are dealing with education, our primary aim is to build up an integrated personality with deep convictions that create inner strength that might come to the rescue in face of challenges of grave import. Besides, scepticism is of no use in education, for it tends to paralyse action and "the educative process being essentially a practical activity resolves the perplexities propounded by the sceptics simply by ignoring them."²⁰

From these schools of philosophy we may turn to existentialism and see if it offers a greater scope for the development of an integrated personality. It treats human existence as the major problem. The universe is full of enigmas and reason by itself is an inadequate method for explaining them; the problems of life are so complex and enigmatic that when men face them they are filled with anguish. The atheistic existentialists, the most prominent of whom are Heidegger and his pupil, Sartre, deny the existence of God. So far as man is concerned, his existence is explained in the phrase, "I think, therefore, I exist." This according to Sartre is the absolute truth of atheistic existentialism. There is no set pattern of human behaviour. Man becomes what he wills himself to be. He is confronted with the paradoxes of the universe and when he tries to resolve them and discovers the futility of such efforts, he finds the world absurd. He sees

¹⁹ Rusk, *The Philosophical Bases of Education*, op. cit., p. 29.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

himself alone. His aloneness gives him freedom of choice without obligation, dependence or justification. This freedom, however, entails anguish, forlornness and despair. Apart from this being a highly pessimistic view of life, it is also anti-social. If man follows the dictates of society, he has no being and is nothingness.²¹ Atheistic existentialism, however is only one, of the existentialist schools of thought. There is the Christian existentialism of St. Thomas Aquinas as presented by Jacques Maritain. In Kierkegaard's view there does lie escape from anguish in the transcendental plane of faith. In God no tensions exist. Maritain thinks that the only authentic existentialism is that of St. Thomas Aquinas. The desire for being and the anguish over the possibility of nothingness are resolved by faith in God, the Free Existent. Through faith in God is reborn love of humanity and manifests itself in charity and selfgiving.²²

It is now opportune to turn to the school of idealist philosophy. It places special value on ideas and ideals as products of the mind and does not attach the same importance to the world as perceived through the senses. The predominant forces are spiritual. The real aim of human effort is to attain perfection in terms of some absolute. Plato conceived a world in which eternal ideas constituted the reality of which the ordinary world of experience is a shadow. Today idealism has largely come to refer the source of ideas to man's consciousness.²³ According to the earlier philosophers ideas had a reality of their own and existed independent of the human mind. The present day idealists think that there are certain principles, like creativity, a force for good, an absolute truth which possess a permanent reality.²⁴ From this may be deduced the idea of absolute values. That is the reason why most philosophers of ethics have been idealists in their metaphysics. For that reason the idealist school of philosophy has also been popular with educationists who find it difficult to divorce education from ethics based in a sense of values. "Unlike naturalism, the first steps are more difficult

²¹ *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, op. cit., pp. 645, 646. Article on Existentialism.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid*, pp. 943, 944. Article on Idealism.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

in idealism, because they need a greater insight into reality.²⁵ Its final conclusions exceed the insight yet yielded by the positive sciences but do not contradict them, and it may be claimed that they are based upon a more thorough study of those features of experience which have not yet been subjected to scientific treatment."²⁶ Idealism is more comprehensive than naturalism because it does not stop short in its explanations at what can be reduced to scientific form and leaving unaccounted for such factors as man's creative faculty and his capacity in the intellectual sphere. Idealism seeks to explain man's freedom in the moral field. Idealism "shifts the gravity from the natural or scientific sphere to the spiritual aspects of experience. Instead of asking, why has the body a mind? it asks, why has the mind a body? It contends that in the elements which differentiate man from the rest of creation is to be found the key to the riddle of the universe, that in the specially human experience, the nature of reality is permanently disclosed, that culture, morality, art and religion are the ultimate realities."²⁷ Spiritual life is a new stage in life and thus evolution assumes a new appearance.

The process of evolution "does not itself give rise to all progress, the higher does not arise as a mere product of the lower, but new forces belonging to a greater whole enter into the movement. Then our reality acquires background and depth; it must adjust itself to the larger whole which includes it. Change is then no longer a mere race without goal or meaning, but moves within the realm of eternal truth, and is borne on by its inspiration."²⁸ If on the other hand, spiritual life is a mere byproduct of nature, there remains no possibility of providing a counter-poise for change and wresting a content from life, but humanity and the whole world with it are in headlong flight towards the nothingness which is their sole destination."²⁹ On the other hand, what man acquires from his intellectual and spiritual effort has a lasting value. J. Ward says, "Not only does man's cultural environment differ from his material environment in being

²⁵ Rusk, *The Philosophical Bases of Education*, op. cit., p. 29.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ R. Eucken, *Main Currents in Modern Thought*, English Translation by Booth (London, 1922), p. 278.

²⁸ Rusk, *The Philosophical Bases of Education*, op. cit., pp. 30, 31.

²⁹ Ibid.

self created, but it also follows from this that it is free from some of the limitations of a material environment. Material goods are restricted in quantity and their possession is governed by competition, whereas it is a sublime though obvious truth that the highest goods are not diminished by being diffused."³⁰

Sir Percy Nunn holds that "a scheme of education is ultimately to be valued by its success in fostering the highest degree of individual excellence of which those submitted to it are capable."³¹ For this it has to be understood what are real human capabilities. "Man is not to be conceived as Descartes conceived him" says Sir Percy Nunn. "—namely an automaton plus a soul" or as Epictetus, put it, 'a ghost bearing up a corpse'. He is through and through, a single organism, a 'body mind', the latest form of an evolutionary process in which living substance has developed ever higher and more subtle functions. This view is as remote as possible from materialism, for though it invites the psychologist to push as far as he can his physico-chemical analysis, it refuses to regard perception and thought, feeling and will, as superfluous additions to a machine that would be complete without them. It preserves to the psychical all that ethics and religion require. It spiritualizes the body; it does not materialize the soul."³² If this is a correct appraisal of the human personality, it follows that the human environment has to be divided "into natural or physical and psycho-social or cultural, the former again into the physical and technical, the latter into intellectual, aesthetic, ethical and religious. We must conclude that any system of education which claims to be comprehensive must prepare the child to appreciate them as parts and that a system of education which ignores any one is necessarily incomplete."³³ Spiritual life cannot be ignored, because it is a part of evolution, it is a new stage of life, the highest stage.³⁴

The famous educationist Froebel wrote in the opening paragraph of his well-known book, *The Education of Man*, "In all things there lives and reigns an eternal law. To him whose mind,

³⁰ James Ward, *The Realm of Ends*, (London, 1925), p. 112.

³¹ Sir Percy Nunn, *Education, Its Data and First Principles* (London, 1945), p. 12.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 21

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 109.

³⁴ Rusk, *The Philosophical Bases of Education*, op. cit., p. 30.

through disposition and faith, is filled, penetrated, and quickened with the necessity that this cannot be otherwise, as well as to him whose clear, calm mental vision beholds the inner in the outer and through the outer, and sees the outer proceeding with logical necessity from the essence of the inner, this law has been and is announced with equal clearness and distinctness in nature (the external), in the spirit (the internal), and in life which unites the two. This all-pervading law is necessarily based on all-pervading, energetic, living, self-conscious, and hence eternal Unity. This fact as well as the unity itself, is again vividly recognized, either through faith or through insight, with equal clearness and comprehensiveness; therefore a quietly observant human mind, a thoughtful, clear, humble intellect has never failed and will never fail to recognize the Unity. This Unity is God. All things have come from the Divine Unity, from God, and have their origin in the Divine Unity, in God alone. God is the sole source of all things. In all things there lives and reigns the Divine Unity, God. All things live and have their being in and through the Divine Unity, in and through God. All things are only through the Divine effluence that lives in them. The Divine that lives in each thing is the essence of each thing.”³⁵ This is a convincing explanation of the difficulty faced by pure materialists. It also offers a solution of the apparent dichotomy of matter and spirit. From this Paul Monroe argues that “to come into a realization of this unity, to develop the interconnection, to expand the germ of the Universal that lives in each one, to develop this divine essence until one partakes of its fullness—that is education.”³⁶

All societies need a scale of values without which it would be impossible to avoid chaos in life. Jose Ortega Y Gasset rightly holds that “There is no culture where there are no standards to which our fellow men can have recourse. There is no culture where there are no principles of legality to appeal. The concern for the highest feasible standards with determination to live up to these contributes the best single criterion we have for judging the quality of a civilization.”³⁷ An important role is played by

³⁵ Fredrich Wilhelm August Froebel, *The Education of Man*, (London, 1966), opening paragraph.

³⁶ Paul Monroe, *A Textbook on the History of Education*, (New York, 1905), p. 648.

³⁷ Jose Ortega Y. Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses*, (New York, 1932), p. 79.

religion in laying down these standards. For this reason it has been defined "as the spirit with which one holds one's supreme value—the value in terms of which one values all else—plus the outworking this attitude appropriately in life."³⁸ Arguing in favour of the necessity of religion, the same author says that life on any large scale faces inherent uncertainty, and the events may develop in a precarious manner. Many scientists still believe in the law of causation which means that the process of development is determined. This rules out the idea of the freedom of will. However this attitude has changed to a certain degree after Einstein and it is conceded that effort counts to a limited extent. The main reason is that Einstein's researches altered the theory regarding the inertia of matter. There has always been and still exists considerable difference of opinion regarding the scope of the possibility as well as the success of any effort that can be made. In education a belief in rank determination would completely frustrate endeavours to produce active and useful citizens. Fortunately, contrary to strong prejudice in many quarters that religion breeds fatalism, it can prove a strong ally for the educator. An eminent Western educationist, when he comes to the point of events developing in a precarious manner, finds the solution in intelligent effort. He says, "In many situations the decisive factor is the degree of intelligent effort. This, then is the place and function of faith, that a man see clearly what basis there is for hope and by his resolved will make the most of that hope through determined effort. Such a faith furnishes an effective attitude for life's efforts. We conclude (that)... some inclusive philosophy of life is necessary to give the needed faith to life as a whole, and that this kind of faith becomes thus a necessary part of any adequate religion."³⁹

Religion is commonly known to be the best agency for creating individual as well as social ethics, because there is no religion that does not look upon private and social morality as the foundation of religious life. However as another writer points out "no religious teaching can be adequate which only aims at providing a base for social virtues without satisfying the individual soul.

³⁸ William Heard Kilpatrick, *Philosophy of Education*, (New York, 1961), p. 158.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

It must be metaphysical and emotional as well as ethical.”⁴⁰ Some educators were frightened of the sectarian feelings which were sometimes aroused because of faulty religious instruction. Horace Maine was one of these and he was accused of efforts to secularise education. For that reason he was a target of attacks from religious leaders. But he was anxious that children should have religious faith of a deeper and more meaningful nature. He sent a letter to school children in which he wrote, “More than the tongue of man or angel can describe is your Maker, and he who does not know Him, though he may know every thing else, is ignorant of the greatest and best part of knowledge. There is no other conceivable privation to be compared with an ignorance of our Creator. If a man be blind, he but loses the outward light... But if he is without God, he is a wanderer and solitary in the Universe. with no haven of hope before him when beaten upon by the storms of fate; with no home or sanctuary to which he might flee, though all the spirits of darkness should have made him their victim.”⁴¹ Horace Maine’s work lay in the fourth decade of this century, hence he is not too far removed from our times, nor are most of the writers and philosophers to whose writings references have been made above.

However one may refer in particular to the most recent great philosophers. We have already had occasion to mention Bertrand Russel. Being a scholar of Mathematics he has been greatly attracted by its perfection and this has deeply affected his philosophy. He has tried “to answer the problems of philosophy in the same rigid and abstract manner. He emphasizes the importance of the creative activity of man as contrasted with his possessive and acquisitive activities. The creative instinct constitutes the principle of growth and can be developed through universal education which should be based on complete freedom of thought and speech and should use the scientific method in its quest for truth and knowledge.”⁴²

A philosopher who has had great impact on American

⁴⁰ E. A. Burroughs, op. cit., p. 37.

⁴¹ Robert Ulich, *A Sequence of Educational Influences*, (Cambridge Mass, 1935), p. 80.

⁴² Columbia Encyclopedia, op. cit., p. 1718. Article on Bertrand Russell.

education was John Dewey. His philosophy is closely related to pragmatism and utilitarianism and is known as instrumentalism. It holds that the different modes and forms of human activity are instruments developed by man to meet his individual and social needs and problems arising from them. As these problems are changing constantly, the instruments for dealing with them also go on changing. He held that truth partakes of no transcendental or eternal reality and is evolutionary in nature. It is based on experience which can be tested and shared by all investigators. He revolted against authoritarian education and abstract learning and believed in the acquisition of learning through experiment.⁴³ The Project Method is an outcome of Dewey's views on education. His work *Democracy and Education* is based upon his *Reconstruction in Philosophy*.⁴⁴ Turning again to his basic philosophy, we find that it is so close to pragmatism that some have called Dewey a pragmatist.⁴⁵ It is believed that he became a pragmatist under the influence of William James and was converted from idealism.⁴⁶ It is interesting, however, to note that Dewey's philosophy had no place for religion or God though James accepted the conception of God and the validity of religion.⁴⁷ Dewey, in fact, was opposed to the acceptance of any comprehensive principle or end. Though he recognized the part played by utilitarianism in producing humanitarian results in the nineteenth century, yet he rejected it because it recognized a summum bonum, a principle and an end or aim, that of pleasure or happiness. His opposition to aims and ends was so strong that he would not only not accept a single aim but also a limited number of aims.⁴⁸ To him every specific situation was to be considered for itself without any reference to any common principle or aim. In dealing with a specific situation, the particular vice found in it should be attacked and the worth of the procedure adopted should be judged by the particular consequence in that particular case.⁴⁹

⁴³ Ibid., p. 535. Article on John Dewey.

⁴⁴ Godfrey H. Thomson, op. cit., p. 77.

⁴⁵ Robert R. Rusk, *The Doctrines of Great Educationists*, (New York, 1969), p. 308.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Robert R. Rusk, *The Philosophical Bases of Education*, op. cit., p. 32.

⁴⁸ Godfrey H. Thomson, op. cit., pp. 78, 79.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 79, 80.

Godfrey H. Thompson's comment is worth quoting in this connection. He writes, "This seems very much like living from hand to mouth, very much like deciding at each fork of the road, which appears to be the best road at that point, without having any wish to go, in the long run, north or south. The trouble about deciding cases on their merits is that one finds that one has let oneself in for a good deal more than one realized at that time. I. . . for one cannot for the life of me see how one can talk of a specified good in each specific situation unless some general idea, or, at least, some few ideas, of what things are good can be appealed to."⁵⁰

It is necessary to mention that Dewey's refusal to accept any set of comprehensive goals was applied to education and resulted in his stand that the child is a real, living member of society and not a novitiate for life. The aim of education was so narrowly defined that the emphasis was completely shifted from the acquisition of knowledge in the accepted academic disciplines, because they were authoritarian or belonged to the realm of abstract learning. The result was such a deterioration in standards in the United States of America that Adlai Stevenson angrily remarked, "If a nation wants driver education and bachelor cooking instead of Latin and Mathematics, it will get it."⁵¹ As a reaction against the deficient education, a Council for Basic Education came into existence to resuscitate the serious academic disciplines to their old status in the curriculum. It denounced the trend of education towards trivialities.⁵² The greatest condemnation came from a Californian Committee set up to revise curricula. Its report says that "recent pedagogical theory has tended to make education 'for life in a democracy' the primary purpose of public schools, interpreting and applying the phrase in a way profoundly hostile to excellence in education". It laments that the result has been "to skimp academic subjects, to lower standards and to confuse and retard the whole educational process". When Russia stole a march over the United States of America by launching the

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 80.

⁵¹ G. Ramnathan, *Education from Dewey to Gandhi*, (London, 1962), p. 18.

⁵² Ibid.

Sputnik, the revolt against Dewey gained considerable momentum.⁵³

The British philosopher, Alfred North Whitehead, like Bertrand Russell, started as a mathematician and, like him, he viewed philosophy at the start from the standpoint of Mathematics. He wrote in cooperation with Russell *Principia Mathematica*, though he had already written books on Mathematics and the nature of the world.⁵⁴ But unlike Bertrand Russell he criticized positivistic anti-religious science. He called his philosophy the philosophy of organism. This name has been derived from the fact that he views Nature as organic and the world process as the adjustment of interrelated organisms to an environment which changes continuously because of these adjustments.⁵⁵ His philosophy is far removed from materialism. It is idealist and he believes that universal concepts are eternal objects.⁵⁶ God is the principle of union and the ground of all rationality.⁵⁷ Religious experience and the concept of God as the ultimate good are fundamental to Whitehead's philosophy. Three great traditional concepts of Philosophy, God, freedom, immortality figure prominently in his thought. Immortality is explained in the following manner. Every occasion arises as an effect facing the past and as a cause facing the future. For this reason man is immortal when his work is done, is incorporated in the general scheme of things, for better or for worse, and affects every thing that happens thereafter.⁵⁸ Man is not separate from Nature. "It is a false dichotomy to think of Nature and Man. Mankind is that factor in Nature which exhibits in its intense form the plasticity of Nature."⁵⁹ Whitehead thus resolves the dualism of mind and matter that has plagued philosophy since the days of Descartes. For Descartes the conservation of existence lay in continuous creation; Whitehead believes that "certain of the actualities exhibit a stability which causes us to regard them as relatively

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ *Columbia Encyclopedia*, op. cit., p. 2141. Article on Alfred North Whitehead.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Alfred North Whitehead, "Essay on Immortality" in *The Interpretation of Science* (New York, 1961), pp. 248-267.

⁵⁹ Alfred North Whitehead, *Adventure of Ideas* (Pelican Books, 1948), p. 98.

permanent; they are self-sustaining (not depending on the process of concrescence). Such constancy or permanence is not the result of a static condition but of continuous recreation."⁶⁰ Whitehead regards *eternal objects* as fundamental to complete his cosmology. "Negatively defined, any entity whose conceptual recognition does not involve a necessary reference to any actual entity of the temporal world is called an eternal object." Their characteristic feature is that they remain themselves in whatever mode of intervention they are involved... The ultimate source of such eternal objects or potentials, as Whitehead alternatively designates them, in God."⁶¹

God is all the time creating; creation is a continuous process. "This process is an actuality, since no sooner do you arrive than you start on a fresh journey."⁶² Being a theist Whitehead attached importance to religion, which is "among the data of experience which philosophy must weave into its own scheme."⁶³ He was strongly of the opinion that the essence of education should be religious. "Even though the religious spirit is always in process of being explained away, distorted, buried, yet since the travel of mankind towards civilization, it is always there."⁶⁴ He held that religious education is an education which includes duty and reverence. Duty arises from our potential control over the course of events. Where attainable knowledge could have changed the issue, ignorance has the guilt of vice. "And the foundation of reverence is this perception, "that the present holds within itself the complete scope of existence, backwards and forwards, that whole amplitude of time that is eternity."⁶⁵ Moral education is... impossible without "the habitual vision of greatness."⁶⁶ He was fully aware of the importance of modern technology." The life of man is founded on technology, science, art

⁶⁰ Robert R. Rusk, *The Doctrines of Great Educationists*, op. cit., pp. 337, 338.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 338.

⁶² Lucien Price, *Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead*, (London, 1954), p. 336.

⁶³ Alfred North Whitehead, "Process and Reality" in *Science and Modern World* (New York, 1964), p. 120.

⁶⁴ Alfred North Whitehead, *Adventures of Ideas*, op. cit., p. 203.

⁶⁵ Alfred North Whitehead, *The Aims of Education and other Essays* (London, 1929), p. 23.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 22.

and religion.”⁶⁷ Knowledge must not be permitted to get stale. He says, “knowledge does not keep any better than fish.”⁶⁸

“The mind is never passive, it is a perpetual activity, delicate, receptive, responsive to stimulus,” It is necessary to begin “the process of conscious education early because the life of the mind cannot be postponed until it has been sharpened.”⁶⁹ “How the child emerges from the romantic stages of adolescence is how the subsequent life will be moulded by ideals and coloured by imagination.”⁷⁰ The weakening of ideals is sad evidence of the defeat of human endeavour. Ideals should not be confused with existing practices which are supposed to embody them fully, because that would curtail further endeavour and result in stagnation.⁷¹ Knowledge in itself is not sufficient, because “the importance of knowledge lies in its use, in our active mastery of it—that is to say, it lies in wisdom... In a sense knowledge shrinks as wisdom grows, for details are swallowed up in principles.”⁷² Hence real “education is the guidance of the individual towards a comprehension of the art of life, and by the art of life I mean the most complete achievement of varied activity expressing the potentialities of that living creature in the face of its actual environment. This completeness of achievement involves an artistic sense, subordinating the lower to the higher possibilities of that indivisible personality, and culture, art, religion, morality take their rise from the sense of values within of being.”⁷³

It has been necessary to make so many references to Western philosophers of repute and their philosophies to show that it would be a serious mistake to think that religion is considered to possess no value in the seats of the material and scientific progress and sophistication. Besides the great thinkers on education in the West have all been well known philosophers and their philosophies have influenced their theories of education. Fichte, the famous German philosopher has rightly said that “the act of

⁶⁷ Robert R. Rusk, *The Doctrines of Great Educationists*, op. cit., p. 342.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Whitehead, *The Aims of Education and other Essays*, op. cit., p. 9.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 34.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 45.

⁷² Ibid., p. 58.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 61.

education will never attain complete clearness in itself without philosophy.”⁷⁴ “There is probably no worker whose practice is more affected by his philosophy than the teacher’s “says I.E. Miller.⁷⁵ For this reason it is necessary that the teacher should be guided by an adequate philosophy. Can the choice of this philosophy be left entirely to the choice of the teacher? In a world where diametrically opposed philosophies compete for general acceptance, nothing but chaos would result if a community does not consciously choose a philosophy for its way of life. Some nations cultivate it almost unconsciously by having lived and developed in a particular manner over a long period. Then they discover that their way of life has a philosophy behind it and thenceforth consciously develop it further. But its influence quite often seeps into the society so thoroughly that not much effort is necessary in propagating it. Those societies which adopt some philosophies consciously have to make much greater effort in making it a part of the people’s conviction. Whether there is a philosophy that actually motivates a community or its effective leadership wants to propagate an old or a new philosophy, the best means of preserving or disseminating it is education. Indeed if it is true that an individual or a community that has no philosophy of life lives only aimlessly, as perhaps is clear from the above discussion, a system of education that lacks a positive philosophy is futile. The argument has been very well put in Sir Walter Moberley’s summary of Plato’s educational creed which contains the following: “of all the activities of national life, education is the most fundamental” and “What commonly purports to be education for life is a sham, for it is based on no coherent philosophy of life” and this gap must be filled by “a true philosophy of life”.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Robert R. Rusk, *The Philosophical Bases of Education*, op. cit., p. 314.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Sir Walter Moberley, *Plato’s Conception of Education and Its Meaning for Today*, (London, 1944), p. 7.

CHAPTER V

Education and Religion in the Subcontinent

The inferiority complex developed by the so called modern elite in our society regarding religion is embedded in their credulity and ignorance. They are willing to believe that it is old fashioned to put any credence in the claims of religion, any religion. For one thing they do not tarry to think that though all religions are ultimately based in faith, yet, beyond this common feature, they are as different from one another as the lily of the valley is from the mighty oak of the forest. It is absurd to reject the validity of all religion and no discerning mind can say that if one religion has been found wanting in some respect, every other religion must share the same failing or failings. The last chapter contains plenty of evidence that the West from which our fashionable folk of superficial learning and deep seated prejudices pretend to draw their inspiration does not hold religion in all that contempt, nor does it consider spiritual values irrelevant. This is not the proper place for discussing the causes of the sliding away of our powerful social elite from Islam, but it is obvious that if the disease is rampant among our educated classes, our education must be the main culprit. This is also apparent from what has been said about the traditions that Pakistani education has

inherited from Muslim educational effort in the Subcontinent. And above all there has been no thinking worth the name in this country since independence.

The injurious effects of the British policy to divest education of all religious and moral content became apparent quite early after its enforcement and yet that policy was not changed. The reason for this attitude was not a genuine impartiality of the alien rulers in religious matters as is generally believed. The British could not have been accused of any partiality or sinister designs if they had made provision for the education of the students professing a particular religion in that religion, except when the number of the students did not justify public expenditure on their instruction. This was not done because it was hoped that, to the extent that they were alienated from their own faith, they would be attracted to Christianity which impregnated English literature. This subtle method was adopted because the missionary zeal of the earlier British administration had created difficulties for the East India Company.¹ The statements made by influential persons in Great Britain regarding the desirability of converting the Indians to Christianity had perhaps not percolated widely to the Indian masses, but the small number of those among the leaders of Indian opinion who had access to the views expressed in this regard by officials could not have been so indifferent as not to talk about British intentions in their own circles. More potent in arousing public apprehensions were the activities of the missionaries in the field and officials who came into contact with the people.² These are relevant to this discussion only in so far as the outcome of these fears was the violent outbreak of 1857 which made the British cautious and led them to give up the crude methods of an earlier period. So far as the impact of the earlier zeal upon educational policies is concerned we have had occasion to note Macaulay's enthusiasm as well as optimism.³

¹ S. Moinul Haq, *The Great Revolution of 1857*, (Karachi, 1968), p. 23

² *Ibid.*, pp. 23-27

³ *Vide supra*, pp.-9,10

The latter was justified; as we have mentioned, by a crop of conversions among students as well as some teachers.⁴ These had resulted in the cooling off of the enthusiasm among Indian parents for the new education. Therefore a little more caution had been introduced in educational methods, which was criticized by the advocates of a more vigorous policy. For instance Alexander Duff giving evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Lords on 3 June, 1853, said, "while we rejoice that true literature and science are to be substituted in place of what is demonstrably false, we cannot but lament that no provision whatever has been made for substituting the only true religion—Christianity—in place of the false religion that our literature and science will inevitably demolish."⁵ Alexander Duff was by no means the only person who advocated the use of political authority for enforcing an educational policy that would openly try to convert the Indians to Christianity. They did not succeed because the opinion of those who had a better realization of the difficulties and dangers involved in such a policy prevailed. However it would be a mistake to think that the two opinions differed about the desirability of the Indians being converted to Christianity. The difference was only regarding the methods. Those who advocated caution thought that minds do not nurture vacuums. If belief in the student's own religion could be eliminated, he would naturally turn to a religion that was being somewhat naively presented as being in full accord with science in total disregard of the conflict that was inherent between the two. Miller rightly remarked that "there is no such thing as a purely secular education." In an address given in 1893 under the title 'Educational Agencies in India' he expressed the opinion that the education given in Indian colleges and universities was in itself *praeparation avengelica*.⁶ The extremist pressure upon the Government continued. Lord William Bentinck asserted that "the fundamental principle of British rule to which the Government stands solemnly pledged is strict neutrality... In all schools and colleges supported by Government... all interference and

⁴ Nirad C. Chaudhari, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 181

⁵ Quoted in the *Report of the Education Commission (December 1948-August 1949)*, Delhi, 1950. v.i.p. 238

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 303

injudicious tampering with the religious beliefs of the students, all mingling of direct or indirect teaching of Christianity with the system of instruction ought to be positively forbidden.”⁷ This statement was endorsed by the Board of Directors of the East India Company on 13 April 1858.⁸

It was felt within two or three decades that the earlier optimism about the minds of the students turning towards Christianity of their own accord as the result of the new education was not justified. A little prodding would seem to be necessary. Yet it must look innocuous. Any attempt to preach Christianity openly in educational institutions and make it a part of the syllabus would produce unwelcome reactions, therefore some brains thought that a code of morals fundamentally based upon Christian ethics could be introduced without difficulty and if the students accepted the validity of the thinking embodied in the textbooks prepared for the purpose, they would become more receptive to missionary effort. The Education Commission of 1882, therefore, recommended “(a) that an attempt be made to prepare a moral text book, based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion, such as may be taught in all Government and non-Government colleges (and) (b) That the principal or one of the professors, in each Government and aided college, deliver to each of the college classes in every session, a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen.” Reviewing the report of the Commission in its Resolution No. 10/309 dated the 2nd October 1884, the Government of India, said on this particular point,⁹ “It is doubtful whether such a moral textbook as is proposed, could be introduced without raising a variety of burning questions; and strongly as it may be urged that a purely secular education is imperfect, it does not appear probable that a textbook of morality, sufficiently vague and colourless, to be accepted by Christians, Muhammadans and Hindus would be able, especially in the stage of collegiate education, to remedy or supply the shortcomings of such an education.”¹⁰ It may be argued that there is no justification for questioning the motives of those

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 238

⁸ *Ibid*,

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 269

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

who, once it was realized that Christianity could not form a part of the school and college syllabi in the Subcontinent, advocated the introduction of some moral instruction in place of religious Education. The suspicion, however, is not entirely baseless. The inculcation of the Christian code of morality has been a well known technique in the missionary programmes in the Subcontinent. Besides, is it not curious that the idea of instructing students of different persuasions in their own religions was neither mooted nor considered? The Government of India Resolution itself betrays unconsciously its understanding of the recommendations of the Commission when it refers to the reactions of the people if the proposal regarding the preparation of a textbook was accepted and enforced. Then the textbook was to remove the shortcomings of a *secular* and not *amoral* education, and these could not be removed by a textbook based upon those moral concepts which were generally accepted, because it would be too colourless. In fact the spectre of popular opposition to an overt or covert attempt at proselytization always raised its head whenever the question of the new education being given a positive sense of direction towards Christianity was considered. There were, however, quite a few eminent Christian missionary educationists who were satisfied with the slow but certain impact of the "secular" system of education functioning in the Subcontinent under the British. It was not winning easy or quick converts to Christianity, but it was certainly weaning the educated classes away from their religions. The ideas and the mores that they were accepting as valid were saturated with Christianity.

The question of the provision of religious education was considered by the Education Commission of 1902 which recognized the inadequacy of a purely secular education but found it impossible to come out with a solution.¹¹ The Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919) whose recommendations brought about fundamental changes in the universities of the Subcontinent did not consider the question of religious education at all.¹² Nevertheless the question of religious and moral education continued to worry educationists, because a system of completely secular and amoral education had been producing undesirable results

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

in the shape of a visible deterioration in the character of its products. The *Memorandum on the Post-war Educational Development in India* published in 1943 agreed that "religion in the widest sense should inspire all education and that a curriculum devoid of all ethical basis will prove barren in the end."¹³ The Central Advisory Board considered the Memorandum in January 1944. It recognized the importance of religious and moral instruction and appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Rt. Reverend G. D. Barnes, the Anglican Bishop of Lahore, to examine how far it was desirable and practicable to provide religious instruction in educational institutions. The Committee submitted an interim report in 1945 and a final report next year. The Board considered it in its 12th meeting in 1946. "After fully considering all aspects of the question the Board resolved that while they recognized the fundamental importance of spiritual and moral instruction in the building of character, the provision for such teaching, except in so far as it can be provided in the normal course of secular instruction, should be the responsibility of the home and the community to which the child belongs."¹⁴ This does not deny the importance of religious education, on the other hand it recognizes its need. The recommendation of the Board, however, is extremely vague. It does not say specifically that arrangements should be made for religious instruction along with "secular education" and implies that the main responsibility lies upon "the home and the community to which the child belongs."¹⁵ A pertinent comment on this has been that "if we are not prepared to leave the scientific and literary training of pupils to the home and the community, we cannot leave religious training to them. The child is robbed of its full development if it receives no guidance in early years towards a recognition of the religious aspects of life."¹⁶

The Wardha Scheme of Education prepared under Mahatama Gandhi's inspiration occupies an important place in the history of education in the Subcontinent. It had several facets, all of

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 270

¹⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁵ *Ibid*

¹⁶ *Ibid*

them of considerable importance if the experiments advocated therein had proved successful.¹⁷ The idea of linking education with handicrafts is not new in so far as manual work has been considered of considerable importance if it is added to the normal education in three Rs. at the primary level, but assigning to it a disproportionate part of school hours is educationally unsound. Then the emphasis upon spinning did not provide the kind of manual activity that has been found helpful. The idea of making education self supporting through the output of students while learning and practising handicrafts was put forward emphatically by Mahatama Gandhi when he wrote, "I have, therefore, made bold, even at the risk of losing all reputation for constructive ability, to suggest that education should be self-supporting. By education I mean an all round drawing out of the best in child and man—body, mind and spirit. I would, therefore, begin the child's education by teaching it a useful handicraft and enabling it to produce from the moment it begins its training. The child should know the why and the wherefore of every process."¹⁸ Some of the best known educationists of India were put to work to try to translate these ideas into a feasible programme and produced the Wardha Scheme.

However, Mahatama Gandhi's idea was not merely the initiation of a self supporting system of education. He was a religious man and was deeply interested in the spiritual development of children along with their physical and mental growth, as he points out in the passage quoted above. In a different context he said, "All education must aim at the building of character. I cannot see how character can be built up without religion."¹⁹ Mahatama Gandhi was also convinced that "India has to flourish in her own climate... We and our children must build up on our own heritage. If we borrow another, we impoverish our own."²⁰ Thus it was impossible that any scheme of education based upon Mahatama Gandhi's ideas should ignore religion and culture.

¹⁷ K. Y. Shrimali, *The Wardha Scheme* (Udaipur, 1949).

¹⁸ *Harijan*, 31 July 1937

¹⁹ Quoted in K.S. Acharlu, "Religious and Moral Education", in A.B. Shah (editor), *Higher Education in India*, (Bombay, 1967), p. 52.

²⁰ Quoted in T.S. Avinashi, *Gandhiji's Thoughts on Education* (Delhi, 1958), p. 44

And it is a well known fact that he was a pious Hindu believing firmly in the tenets and philosophy of Hinduism. In the field of culture as well, he sought inspiration from Hinduism, as well as the Hindu past of the Subcontinent. Therefore, the Wardha Scheme, apart from being technically unsound, had strong Hindu religious and cultural overtones. He was aware that this would arouse opposition among the Muslims who were, at that time, vehemently religion and culture conscious. He, therefore, with his characteristic farsight included two eminent Muslim educationists in the team that was to draw up the scheme. Dr. Zakir Husain and K. G. Saiyidain were given a prominent role in the task. Despite this and because of the nature of the proposed system which would be dominated by Hindu religious and cultural ideas, the Wardha Scheme proved extremely unpopular among the Muslims. An overwhelming number of Muslim educationists expressed grave concern and condemned the report in the strongest terms calling it subversive of Islamic religion and culture and designed to wean children away from Islam. It was adopted by the Provincial governments in the Congress majority provinces and implemented in a crude and offensive manner. It was given the name of the Vidya Mandir scheme and the schools established under it were called Vidya Mandirs—the temples of knowledge. The name was disliked by the Muslims because the word *mandir* was associated in their minds with Hindu idol temples. Muslim children were made to stand in front of Mahatma Gandhi's portrait with folded hands in a posture of worship and sing songs that sounded like hymns of devotion. Then the contents of the instruction were also objectionable from the Muslim point of view. Dr. Zakir Husain and K. G. Saiyidain incurred tremendous unpopularity among the Muslims. Of course they had been selected because they believed in the ideal of a united Indian nationhood and as such were committed to work for a "national culture and outlook". This, in fairness to them, could be achieved only through a good measure of syncretization and that has always been anathema to the Muslims. However, the scheme was not abandoned because of Muslim opposition which the Congress governments took in their stride, but because of its internal weaknesses, the greatest of which was the basic philosophy as defined by Mahatma Gandhi himself on which the entire system was based.

Before we turn to Pakistan, it would be useful to examine the development of Indian thinking upon religious education in the post independence period. India proclaimed herself a secular democracy. The question of religious education in the Indian Union, therefore, had a different status than it had in "the Islamic Republic" of Pakistan. The Indians had to walk warily because of the apparent contradiction between a secular state and the introduction of religious education in the educational institutions established, maintained or aided by the State. The difficulties were not reduced by the fact that India had not been able to bring about any drastic changes in the system as inherited from the British. As J. P. Naik points out, "Unfortunately educational planning in the post independence period has neither had a clear vision nor a definite direction and forms one of the weakest sectors in national planning."²¹ The result has been, in the words of the same author that "By and large, the educational system built up under the British rule has been merely expanded further with minor changes... This has led to considerable frustration and heightened the divergence between the educational system and national aspirations."²² We have seen how the British never really got down to solving the problem of religious education and the British tradition was so strong that India also did not turn its mind to the problem for some time, but Indian writers and thinkers soon became aware of the havoc caused by a totally secular and amoral education. As there was, to start with, no sense of direction and little original thinking, all ideas coming from more developed countries either through foreign advisers or through Indian students returning home after training abroad were widely accepted. But soon there was a reaction. Gopalakrishna Ramanathan remarked, for instance, that "We are on the lookout not only for help in the form of material equipments but also for ideas that would help us in overcoming the difficulties confronting us. India has thus become a good market for ideas from abroad. Our needs are so vast and our impatience so great that we rarely exercise any adequate discrimination in buying these ideas from abroad. Education has been the worst sufferer in this respect, so that, while our

²¹ J.P. Naik, *Educational Planning in India*, (Delhi, 1965) p. 15

²² *Ibid*, p. 101

system of education on the eve of Independence gave fair satisfaction so far as it went, the system we have now on our hands after strenuously building it for over twenty years is one we would scarcely miss were it to be totally abolished one fine morning.”²³ There could be no greater condemnation of a system of education by an educationist and the main reason for this verdict is that the writer feels that education is no longer in harmony with the true needs of India.

The Ministry of Education in India felt worried by the fact that education was not producing sentiments of true patriotism, therefore it set up a committee to examine the problem of emotional integration among the people without which a sense of nationhood is difficult to attain. The committee wisely postulated that “it should be remembered that nationhood is not merely a product of geography or politics. To be strong it must have a solid basis in the mind of the citizen.”²⁴ Inevitably the committee found the real villain in the Indian system of education. It argued that “education is not an end in itself, but a means to an end.”²⁵ And is religion relevant at all? Can it enter education even though India calls itself a secular country? As religion has a place in life,²⁶ it cannot be ignored in education. Indeed there can be no purposeful education without possessing a basic philosophy. “The philosophy of education,” said the committee “is, therefore, only another name for the sum total of those philosophical assumptions which must be made if teaching is to be effective in developing the full personality of the pupil, otherwise he will leave school and college with a heavy load of learning to find himself rudderless in the ocean of life.”²⁷ An Indian educationist, A. Mujib, also, emphasized the need of having a philosophy of education suited to the needs of a country. He says, “Perhaps there is nothing intrinsically wrong with importing a knowledge system from outside if it does not exist in our own (country)... But it is a different matter to import

²³ Gopalakishan Ramanathan, *The Quest for General Education*, (Delhi 1966), p. 77.

²⁴ *Report of the Committee on Emotional Integration* (Government of India, Delhi, 1962), paragraph 3.3

²⁵ *Ibid*

²⁶ *Ibid*, paragraph 3.7

²⁷ *Ibid*, paragraph 3.11

educational philosophies and get generations of teachers to memorize and reproduce them without even paying any thought to the fact that an educational philosophy arises out of a system of values, traditions and way of life and is a product of the particular economic relations obtaining in a country. Educational philosophy is a generalised system of ideas and a body of directive principles to guide educational policies for people who share a certain way of life or who agree to reconstruct their pattern of life in a particular way."²⁸ The author then proceeds to argue that Indian education is like a rudderless ship lacking a sense of social direction. Arguing that intellectual and spiritual values are higher than merely material and sensuous aims, another Indian educationist, Dr. Zakir Husain who rose to be the President of India, postulated that "education in the truest sense of the word is helping the mind of the educated to experience the moral and intellectual values, so that they may in turn urge him on to be committed to realize them, as best as he may in his work and life."²⁹ Of course such commitment will have social results of a highly beneficial nature. "One of the most significant defects of modern education" writes another author is, "the absence in it of any clear objective and programmes promoting religious and moral education... It is not full and complete education if a discipline through which the mind can receive illumination is excluded from serious attention and critical study. This is a denial of the human right to know all that is of value for human understanding. Moral and spiritual values cannot by any logic be excluded from the educative process. The education of the total man is meaningless without answering his spiritual needs."³⁰ Opinion in India generally tended to turn more and more in favour of religious education, and there grew up a consensus of a most impressive nature among the eminent educationists of India that religious education is a dire necessity.

Of course there was a little dissent but this came mostly from

²⁸ A. Mujib, "Task before Education," in A.B. Shah, op. cit., p. 116

²⁹ Zakir Husain, *Educational Reconstruction in India*, (Delhi, 1958), p. 6

³⁰ K.S. Acharlu, op. cit., p. 51

persons who had ceased to have any religious convictions themselves or who considered religion the cause of all conflicts. For instance, M. Mujeeb wrote that "Belief has had the choice of living as a mouse in a hole, scampering away at the approach of every intellectual, or turning political and criminal."³¹ The last phrase is obviously an unfriendly reference to the Pakistan Movement to which the author was violently opposed. He also represents the point of view of a religious minority which was suspicious of religious instruction as advocated or planned in India for reasons that we shall see a little later. But he finds himself in a dilemma because he also bemoans that "modern seems to mean sophisticated; considering all values to be utterly relative; impatient of any tendency to insist upon accord between belief and practice; suffering from dizziness because of the stupendous technological development in the West, passionately desirous of reproducing in India all the ideas and educational practices of all countries that provide travel and maintenance grants..."³² It is difficult to see how it is possible to have a scale of values without belief and how if there is to be belief, it can be prevented from social and, therefore, political expression.

Such views about religion, however, do not seem to be held widely among Indian educationists. The Education Committee set up by the Indian Ministry of Education dealt with the question whether modernization necessarily meant the scuttling of moral and spiritual values. It opined that "modernization does not mean—least of all in our national situation—a refusal to recognize the importance of necessary moral and spiritual values and self discipline. Modernization, if it is to be a living force, must derive its strength from the strength of the spirit. Modernization aims, amongst other things, at creating an economy of plenty which will offer to every individual a larger way of life and a wider variety of choices. While this freedom to choose has its own advantages, it also means that the future of society will depend increasingly upon the type of choice each individual makes. This would naturally depend on his motivation and his sense of values, for he might make the choice either with

³¹ M. Mujeeb, *Education and Traditional Values* (Meerut, 1905), p. 19

³² *Ibid.* pp. 295, 296

reference entirely to his personal satisfaction or in a spirit of service to the community and to further the common good. The expanding knowledge and the growing power which it places at the disposal of modern society must, therefore, be combined with the strengthening and deepening of the sense of social responsibility and a keen appreciation of moral and spiritual values. While a combination of goodness with ignorance may be futile, that of knowledge with a lack of essential values may be dangerous.”³³ This puts the case for including moral and spiritual instruction in the educational system of developing countries well. Many such countries put so much emphasis upon economic development that they tend to forget that “man has never lived by bread alone, and the standard of a nation’s economic activities is a very incomplete measure of its progress in civilization,” as has been aptly pointed out by Sir Percy Nunn.³⁴ It was this realization that led Carlyle to say that “of all the quacks that ever quacked, political economists are the loudest. Instead of telling us what is meant by one’s country, by what causes men are happy, moral, religious or the contrary, they tell us how flannel jackets are exchanged for pork hams and speak much of the land last taken into cultivation.”³⁵ The Committee was thus in good company when it recommended that “central and state governments should adopt measures to introduce education in moral, social and spiritual values.”³⁶

This question had been earlier examined by the (Indian) University Education Commission in December 1948—August 1949. It had said emphatically, “If we wish to bring about a savage upheaval in our society, a *raksasa raj*, all that we need to do is to give vocational and technical education and starve the spirit. We will have a number of scientists without conscience, technicians without taste who find a void within themselves, a moral vacuum and a desperate need to substitute something, any thing.

³³ *Report of the Education Committee* (Government of India, Delhi, 1966), paragraph 1.74

³⁴ Sir Percy Nunn, “Education as a Biological Experiment”, in J. I. Cohe and R. M. H. Travers, *Educating for Democracy* (London, 1939), p. 9

³⁵ Quoted in J. Lowe, N. Grant, T.D. Williams, *Education and Nation Building*, (London, 1971), p. 106

³⁶ *Report of the Education Committee*, op. cit., paragraph 1. 35

for their lost endeavour and purpose. Society will then get what it deserves."³⁷ Despite this excellent analysis and the intention to save the Indian society from the kind of disaster envisaged in the above passage if the religious side of education was neglected, the Commission could not find a device to implement its idea in a multi-religious society. The reason was obviously not that the solution lay outside human ingenuity, but the fact that like the British, the Hindus are chary in recognizing the need of giving religious instruction to pupils of other faiths than their own has stood in their way. The British shrank from giving a general type of moral education because they were not certain about its impact on public opinion. Besides they had fondly hoped with considerable justification that a so called neutral education, loaded with ideas originating in a Christian society, would work in favour of the acceptance of Christian ethics and later of the Christian faith. The Hindus could hope for the pressure of social factors to impregnate young minds with Hindu ideas, but they soon discovered that a Hindu intelligentsia soaked in Western ideas could not generate influences that would penetrate the non-Hindu sectors of the society. Besides, Western influences were affecting the minds of the Hindu educated elite in a manner that they were gradually losing their own moorings.³⁸ Therefore some positive action was necessary for the preservation of the Hindu way of life and philosophy and its propagation among non-Hindu Indians. The University Education Commission, therefore, went much farther than the idea of a text book on ethics advocated by some during British rule. It said, "To prescribe dogmatic religions in a community of many different faiths is to revive the religious controversies of the past... The philosophical attitude which Indian religion emphasizes lifts us above the wrangling of dogmatists."³⁹ With this basic assumption the Commission proceeded to make recommendations which were as follows:—

- (1) that all educational institutions should start work with a few minutes for silent meditation;

³⁷ *Report of the University Education Commission, op.cit., p. 66*

³⁸ *Ibid., p. 56*

³⁹ *Ibid., p. 296*

- (2) that in the first year of the degree course lives of great religious leaders like Gautama Buddha, Confucius, Zoroaster, Socrates, Jesus, Samkara, Ramanuja, Madhava, Mohammad, Kabir, Nanak, Gandhi be taught;
- (3) that in the second year some selections of a universalist character from the scriptures of the world be studied;
- (4) that in the third year the central problems of the philosophy of religion be considered.”⁴⁰

All this makes interesting reading, and its import will be fully understood by those who are acquainted with Hindu philosophy and religion, because the Commission proposed nothing short of including instruction in Hinduism for all in the University syllabi. Hinduism unlike Islam, Christianity, Judaism and some other religions does not possess a credo. Actually it does not insist upon any belief; for instance it can hold within its fold theists and atheists alike. It is not a religion in that sense of the word; it is a way of life. A Hindu may cease to be a Hindu only by conversion to another faith; it is of the utmost importance for a Hindu to observe all the caste rules; but if he violates them, he only becomes an outcaste but remains a Hindu. He may be taken back on the performance of certain penances or form a new subcaste if he collects a group of similarly placed families. The Commission's argument would place the people of other religions in a disadvantageous position because all religions with definite beliefs and codes would be branded as inferior in view of the Commission's opinion that the absence of dogma places Hinduism "above the wranglings" of different religions.”⁴¹ The recommendations intended to give a concrete shape to the Commission's ideas would not appeal to Muslims and Christians, not even to Buddhists and Jains, even though the basic philosophy and cosmology of the last two have been derived from Hindu notions, because Muhammad, Jesus, Buddha and Mahavira have been taken off their pedestals as founders of great religions and placed at the same level as the Bhakti saints like Ramanuja, or theologians

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 303

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 296

like Samkara or thinkers like Mahatma Gandhi. However much these latter might be respected by non-Hindus, they would not like their children to think them as equal to the founders of their religions in spiritual greatness. Little wonder that even the most ardent upholders of Indian nationalism among the non-Hindus found it difficult to swallow such a proposition. They often sought safety in ostensibly opposing belief in any form despite the devastating effects of a purely secular and amoral education. They perhaps preferred straight forward statements by orthodox thinkers like Mayadhara Mansingha who held that "a national system of education should aim at preservation, through successive generations, of those precious values which have made a particular nation great and unique among all nations,"⁴² and advocated the inculcation of "faith in Dharma and greatness of India as the land of Dharmic values."⁴³ There is no basic difference between the thinking of this writer and the University Education Commission, only the former is forthright and outspoken, the latter seeks to adumbrate its ideas in seemingly neutral garb. It is, however, a tribute to the clear thinking of the Indian educationists that they realized the gravity of the problem and discussed it in all seriousness.

Here in Pakistan, despite the fact that our difficulties were not so great, we have devoted no attention to this vital question. The *raksasa raj* (demon rule), of which the Indian University Education Commission was afraid, has established itself in Pakistan. We are not referring to the politics of this unhappy land but to the social, intellectual and economic malaise that has seized it in a vicious grip. It has been mentioned earlier that the intelligentsia of Pakistan has not shown the spirit of responsibility or social sense that should be the hallmark of a proper education. Its selfishness and lack of true patriotism have led this country to this sorry state. Of course such people cannot possibly be expected to show the courage of their convictions even if they, by some mysterious chance, come to possess any. Our educated elite is the most spineless, the most unscrupulous

⁴² Mayadhara Mansinha, "A national system of Education for the Indian Republic", in S. P. Chaube, "A Survey of Educational Problems and Experiments in India", (Allahabad, 1965), p. 139

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 140

and the most mercenary in the world. Let us not be misled into any wishful thinking by the example of the occasional act of devoted courage of the stray man of determination and principles. This is a sad state of affairs. Only a generation has passed since the struggle for and achievement of Pakistan. What has gone wrong during this quarter of a century that has eaten into the vitals of our society and the grit of its leaders, except the continuation of a faulty, aimless and diseased system of education that has bred no social virtues, no depth of feeling, no sense of responsibility, nothing except selfishness, corruption and cowardly lack of initiative and courage? Anybody who knows the conditions prevailing today in this country will not consider this picture to be overdrawn or the judgment too harsh. The reason is that men make sacrifices for what they consider of higher value than whatever they may be called upon to sacrifice. Comfort, money, prospects in life, gains in status and emoluments, power and authority can be sacrificed for principles if we attach greater importance to the higher values of life. Life can be sacrificed galdly if we hold certain things dearer than life. An education that does not inculcate the conviction that there are things higher than material gains is worse than worthless, because it is positively injurious. It is possible for an unbeliever to be highly moral; indeed there are and have been unbelievers with a devoted adherence to principles, but such unbelievers are rare. Besides the true function of religion, apart from spiritual solace and exaltation, is to create that emotional attachment to a moral code that makes its observation a pleasure rather than a trial and a chore. Religion has been rightly defined "as the spirit with which one holds one's supreme value—the value in terms of which one values all else—plus the outworking of this attitude appropriately in life."⁴⁴ Besides "life on any large scale faces inherent uncertainty, with the development of events always precarious. In many situations the decisive factor is the degree of intelligent effort. This then is the place and function of faith, that a man see clearly what basis there is for hope and by his resolved will make the most of that hope through determined effort. We conclude (that)... some inclusive philosophy of life is necessary to give

⁴⁴ William Heard Kilpatrick, *Philosophy of Education*, (New York, 1961), p. 158.

the needed faith to life as a whole, and that this kind of faith becomes thus a necessary part of any adequate religion."⁴⁵ Thus it would be seen that religion is essential both for the cultivation of a sense of values, hence principles, and also for inspiring the seriousness of purpose that alone can ensure continued effort. As Robert Bridges puts it:—

“The high goal of our great endeavour is spiritual attainment, individual worth,
at all cost to be sought and at all cost pursued,
to be won at all cost and at all cost assured.”⁴⁶

Individual worth is essential for all social stability and progress. However, it is necessary to insure that it finds fulfilment in social action. Religion, therefore, cannot be an instrument of progress unless it concerns itself as much with society as it does with individuals. It would be a fallacy to think that a congregation of good individuals necessarily makes a good society. Whereas a good society is impossible without good individuals, it needs a sense of responsibility among them and social action arising out of it to make a good, effective and progressive society. It is, therefore, necessary not to neglect the social aspects of religion in education. Spiritual fervour and the cultivation of individual morality are important, but religion is not, and must not be confined to them. It is, therefore, important to emphasise that merely the cultivation of the spirit may lead to the isolation of the religious person from the social and political needs of a country and make him a useless member of a community which can thrive only if it is consciously active in the task not only of the preservation of its existence and entity but also of material and intellectual progress. Besides the isolation of the truly religious persons from social action would tend to corrupt society because, then, its social action could be deprived of a proper sense of direction and values.

The little religious education that has survived the ravages of neglect and short sighted policies in Pakistan now fails to serve any purpose. Perhaps it is a source of weakness rather than

⁴⁵ *Ibid*

⁴⁶ Robert Bridges, *The Testament of Beauty*, II, 204-7

of strength. It has already been mentioned that specialization in the religious sciences has become, more or less, the monopoly of the old fashioned madrasahs which have converted themselves almost completely into theological seminaries. They have neglected modern knowledge to an extent that there is no scope left for a dialogue between those who have received a modern education and the graduates of the seminaries. The masses also are amenable to the leadership of the former, not only in political affairs, but also in matters of outlook and philosophy of life. The seminaries are doing useful work in the preservation of the classical theological learning and providing ill paid, ill educated and ill informed imams of the mosques. It is quite obvious that such education cannot help the growth of religious consciousness. An experiment has been made in Jāmi'ah 'Abbāsiyah of Bahawalpur which is run on the lines of a modern university and combines religious instruction with some branches of modern disciplines. The graduates of this institution have yet to make their mark and establish a reputation for themselves.

So far as ordinary schools are concerned the content of religious education is meagre and unsatisfactory. It hardly goes beyond telling the students the way the different rites incumbent upon a Muslim should be performed. Apart from being elementary by its very nature, this kind of instruction takes it for granted that the pupil already is sufficiently religious to be keen on the performance of those rites. The main purpose of religious instruction should be to awaken spiritual yearning, rather than telling the pupil how to satisfy it if it is awakened. The questions that arise in the mind of the adolescent when he naturally passes through a period of earnest doubt and inquiry have to be answered, he is to be helped in discovering for himself the reward of belief; his intellect has to be satisfied about the validity of religion in his conscious or unconscious quest for a path through the perplexities of life. Those who provide a place for religious instruction in the general scheme of education in response to public demand are not serious minded; sometimes one suspects that they deliberately plan to make religious instruction useless. It has never occurred to the central or provincial ministries or departments of education to consult psychologists regarding the ways and means to be adopted for making religious

instruction effective. Text books have been prepared in a haphazard manner without any understanding of the problems that are involved in religious instruction in a world where little value is attached to religion.

The picture hardly changes at the college and university level. Many universities (and colleges affiliated to them) have no provision at all for religious instruction. The colleges and universities for professional disciplines like medicine, engineering or commerce do not think that they are concerned with anything except imparting a knowledge of their own disciplines. Several attempts in the meetings of the Inter-University Board of Pakistan to impress upon the heads and representatives of the various universities the desirability of religious instruction proved barren despite some interest shown by a few vice-chancellors. The results of this neglect have been disastrous and a general indifference not only towards religion but also towards the fate of the Muslim community within Pakistan and the world has become common. An elite has been created that scoffs at religion and the idea of a community based upon it. If there had not existed a student organization deeply committed to Islam which propagates Islamic values and an adherence to the moral code and religion of Islam, the picture would have been even more dismal. A notable exception has been the University of Karachi which introduced a course on Islamic Ideology in Part-I of B.A. Pass and Honours classes. The course proved popular and had a remarkable impact upon the students. Both the teachers and the students praised its effectiveness. The course was carefully designed and it meticulously avoided every detail that could create any sectarian feelings or objections. A basic textbook was prepared which was examined with great care and purged of all allusions or open statements that could arouse controversy. Teachers of all Muslim denominations were asked to teach the subject to classes including students of the various sects and schools of thought in Islam. This ensured the cooperation of students and teachers belonging to different denominations and also eliminated all possibility of any narrow interpretation of Islam. The course did not seek to give detailed or comprehensive instruction in the tenets and philosophy of Islam but concentrated upon the attitude of Islam towards the social, economic

and political problems which confront the world today. It sought to interest the student in trying to discover what his reactions should be as a Muslim towards the various trends and forces at present demanding attention of educated and intelligent men all over the world.

The universities of Pakistan have been tardy in devoting attention to Islamic learning. Some thought it sufficient to establish Departments of Islamic History and Culture which is not the same thing as Islamic learning. Their instruction is superficial and does not cover important subjects like exegesis, Hadith and other basic subjects. One or two universities have departments of Islamic studies, but these also are no better. If one seeks depth and learning in the theological sciences of Islam, it will have to be sought outside the universities in the old fashioned madrasahs. Naturally Islamic learning tends to become quaint, static, sterile and antiquated, losing all contacts with life and, therefore, for no fault of Islam, suffering from an increasing diminution in relevance to the contemporary world. This is a serious matter and has not escaped the notice of the world Muslim community, though few serious efforts have been made to remedy the situation. One of these was made in India decades ago by some theologians headed by Mawlānā Shibli Nu'mānī as has been mentioned earlier. A little more successful effort is that of the hoary Al-Azhar University of Cairo which has introduced the teaching of some modern disciplines. When the University of Karachi was established by an Act of the Central Legislature, provision was made for the creation of a Faculty of Islamic Learning, but that part of the Act remained unimplemented for several years. Then in the early sixties steps were taken to organize a faculty. Financial stringency did not permit the University to divert sufficient resources to Islamic Learning, but the Faculty was able to do some good work. Some students were able to obtain doctorates, a few of which produced excellent dissertations. The Honours and Master's course could not be raised to the desired level because of the paucity of students with an adequate knowledge of Arabic. Hitherto the graduates have filled the posts of teachers of Islamic studies in schools and colleges. The desired level would be attained when the graduates can match their scholarship with the learning

of the better products of the madrasahs. Then they will be properly equipped, because of their more adequate background of modern disciplines, the reason being that it is compulsory at the Honours level for every student to study at least two branches of modern social sciences upto the B.A. level. In addition their school background is more solid. Their membership of the student body of a modern institution and the influence of the academic atmosphere of a university are constructive factors of great value in the formation of their outlook as well as character.

Initially, however, such programmes run into grave difficulties. One of these is that it is not easy to get the right kind of staff. Men with real insight into Islamic learning and also possessing some knowledge of modern disciplines are rare. Even persons learned in Islamic sciences with some experience of teaching in modern institutions so that they understand the working of a present day university are not easy to find. These difficulties are real and cannot be overcome in a hurry. But the establishment of such faculties is the only possible solution. Even if the kind of the teaching staff that exists for teaching other subjects is not available, this is the only way of creating it. If a small nucleus of the right type of teachers is brought together in a university, it can, in course of time, train others. Even if such a nucleus can not be created the establishment of such faculties should not be postponed. Men of real learning available in the madrasahs should be sought out and appointed on the teaching staff. They will be able to give depth to the teaching and their presence and work will bring about a happy reunion of the old and the new. Such processes always take time, but the beginning has to be made as soon as possible. The Muslims have waited too long for a properly integrated and balanced system of religious education and the problem can be postponed only with disastrous consequences.

This raises the important question of the reform of the madrasah system. Can it be left to fend for itself and go on getting more and more outdated every day? The madrasah, in spite of the terrible deterioration that has taken place because of neglect and lack of resources, still enshrines in itself some valuable traditions of independence and dedication which are rare commodities in our universities today. They are not averse to improvement and

change, provided they are not asked to scuttle all that they have held valuable for so long. But they cannot bring about reforms without help from the Government and intellectuals who have an understanding of the problem and are aware of the need of improvement and of its nature and scope and the limitations of change. The madrasahs cannot muster resources that are needed for the right kind of balanced education and the reforms can be brought about only through Government grants, but the government will have to understand that the madrasahs will be loath to barter away their freedom. Departments of Education that look askance at the autonomy of well established universities and are not above endeavours to turn them into instruments of political support for the government in power are not likely to be helpful and unless the problem is understood in all its dimensions it will baffle all attempts at solution. So far as the organization of this kind of education and its content are concerned Pakistan would be well advised to study the system of the Imam-hatip schools which functioned successfully in Turkey until quite recently and its higher institutes of Islamic learning. If the madrasahs are reformed and begin to produce properly trained graduates, the community will have to be educated to contribute more generously to the mosques to be able to pay a decent salary for employing them and the Government Department of *awqāf* (religious endowments) will have to lay down new scales of pay and qualifications for the staff of the mosques managed by them. Other avenues of employment also will have to be opened for madrasah educated personnel, so that it is not branded with a seal of inferiority. Education is such a complex matter that its reform needs a large number of social and economic adjustments.

The Preservation of National Identity

(The relationship between education and the preservation of national identity is recognized in all enlightened countries. Education can never be a neutral factor in the life of a nation: either it conserves and builds or destroys national identity. It may work slowly or rapidly, depending upon the inertia latent in the character and outlook of the people. A wide awake nation, therefore, tries to ensure that its educational system helps to build up its solidarity and inculcates an emotional loyalty to its existence, its outlook and its ideals. This at least is the ostensible aim but success in achieving it depends upon a number of circumstances, all of which need not be discussed here. The most important of these is a conscious and intelligent endeavour which has to be sustained at all levels with a full understanding of the educational processes. The biggest obstacle in the way of nations, in so far as the adoption of well directed policies in this regard is concerned, is quite often a failure to understand the true role of education in the creation of loyalties. It is quite often not realized by the less sophisticated peoples that education is always building up some loyalties and destroying others. Sometimes the process is far too subtle and unless continuous appraisal and analysis keep the policy makers alert and informed, the trends of thoughts

created by a system of education in the minds of the pupils may not be easily discernible until they accumulate and result in an explosion or widespread unwelcome manifestations. Then there may be a hectic search for remedies, which may elude those seeking them totally or which may be found to be slow working and time consuming, whereas the results of neglect may be working havoc every fleeting moment. This may happen even in societies and nations where a scientific watch is kept upon all changes in opinions and attitudes. In countries where such studies are neglected, the occurrence of unwelcome changes is more frequent. There is yet another difference: countries with long traditions and continuously developing systems of education which have in course of time, been saturated with patriotic feelings run only a marginal risk of unpatriotic sentiments infiltrating into the thinking of their student bodies. The changes in their opinion are not likely to be basically unpatriotic, whatever else may be thought of them in conservative circles. Nor is the pride of the student in his country and its traditions likely to be corroded by an inferiority complex which is the most common product of the new systems of education introduced into countries whose culture and civilization are not of Western origin.

Does education concern only the individual or the society and the state as well? This seems to be an idle question because if education is intended to develop the intellect of the student—and this is perhaps the narrowest view of the aim of education that can possibly be taken by any one—to what use shall that intellect be put after it has been developed? From whichever angle education is looked at, its social implications cannot be ignored. Indeed they thrust themselves into the observation of even the most superficial investigator. Human society finds its apex in the state, an apex that institutionally guarantees the continued existence of an orderly society. That was the reason that led Plato to say that “education is for the good of the individual and the safety of the state.”¹ Education concerns ‘the safety of the state’ in several ways. It enlightens the citizens regarding the bonds that hold a society together, and also instils into them an

¹ Quoted in Robert R. Rusk, *The Doctrines of the Great Educators*, op. cit., p. 36

understanding of the fact that their true interests are served only if the society to which they belong is healthy. This creates a sense of social responsibility which ensures the smooth working of all social and political institutions. That in turn protects the state from the danger of inner disorders and upheavals. (Education should also acquaint the citizen with the history of his people and of the triumphs and tribulations it has shared in the course of its existence which have knit his fellow citizens into an entity. The fact of having lived together in history creates a sense of community and a deeper knowledge of this history makes the ties of fellow feeling stronger, which is the basis of patriotism. Through the inculcation of patriotism education works for the safety of the state.) Patriotism, however, can be misguided or exaggerated, if it exalts the state above the individual to an extent that his liberty is curtailed and his dignity sacrificed at the altar of absolute authority exercised on the pretext of safeguarding the interests of the state from subversion. True education builds up resistance against such fascist tendencies as they are the antithesis of patriotism, because they destroy the very fabric of the society and the state. In this manner also good education works for the safety of the state.

The relationship between education and national well-being is so obvious that it would not have deserved mention if the issue had not been clouded in several developing countries. Indeed it does not attract too much notice of Western writers because they take it for granted. Educationists in developing countries who borrow their thinking mostly from Western textbooks also tend to ignore this basic consideration. But occasionally statements are made by men in authority and others which show that it raises its head whenever a polity seeks to canvass the loyalties of the people. "We created Ghana," said a political leader of that country, "now the university should create Ghanians."² This pregnant remark is based upon the realization that a country is a mere shell and as such highly vulnerable and open to subversion if it is not peopled by a patriotic and politically conscious population and that it cannot hope to survive

² J. W. Airan, "Possible Reorganization of Higher Education" in J. W. Airan, T. Barnabas, A. B. Shah, *Climbing a Wall of Glass: Aspects of Educational Reform in India* (Bombay, 1965), p. 27

unless it takes vigorous steps to create both patriotism and political consciousness. This probably was the idea that prompted the Indian authoress Sister Nivedita to say that "Education in India today has to be not only national, but nation making."³ Even in countries which have a long history but which have achieved independence after a considerably drawn out struggle against alien rule, sometimes a true sense of nationhood does not exist and is to be created, which can be done only through proper education. (A struggle for freedom unites a people for a purpose that is intrinsically negative in character, because people are motivated by the desire of getting rid of foreign domination.) That issue is so overwhelmingly important that it clouds all other issues and quite often covers up internal tensions and conflicts which raise their heads soon after the irritant of subjugation has been removed. They can be overcome only by strengthening the sense of national identity, by emphasizing or creating an entity that is not only larger than the competing groups but is also capable of appealing to their loyalties; otherwise fissiparous and centrifugal forces disrupt the unity of the country. In particular those countries which are multilingual or multicultural are more exposed to these tensions. There are even countries which are multinational and with the growth of nationalism in the world such countries face the threat of dissolution. Specially in the states that have been built on the ruins of great empires the tendencies of dissolution are endemic and persistent. The reason is that before the march of democracy and nationalism, large empires gave protection against invasions and internecine warfare, therefore, their authority was seldom questioned by their populations. The long periods of comparative stability also encouraged the mobility of various groups within the empire creating the problem of linguistic and cultural minorities in its constituent parts. Therefore, when new states emerged out of these empires, they could not be carved out neatly to avoid the creation of minorities.

Quite often, as in the instance of the Muslim Empire of the Subcontinent the ruling community spread out and settled down in different areas. Its proportion to the local population varied

³ Sister Nivedita, *Hints on National Education in India* (Calcutta, 1950), 4th edition, p. 30

from area to area and depended mainly upon its success in gaining converts to Islam. If the number of converts was large, the local Muslim community adopted the local language, otherwise the language of Delhi (with local variations) remained the language of the local community as well. This explains to some extent, though not fully, why Urdu spread among the Muslims of modern Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and the Deccan, but was not able to replace Panjabi, Bengali, Sindhi Gujrati and various other languages. Another factor was that if the local Muslim community was already substantial at the time of the expansion of the power of Delhi and that community had adopted the local language earlier, the authority of Delhi was exercised through that community and very few persons were sent from the centre—too few to affect the language of the local Muslims. If Urdu had not established itself so strongly in the Deccan or in the Marathi speaking areas, it would have been an easy conclusion that Urdu prospered wherever the local language had some affinities with it.

The reason of the spreading of Urdu in certain areas and its failure to make headway in other regions have been mentioned here because language has played an important role in breaking Pakistan and creating tensions between some provinces of what is left of the country. Confusion is being created in these areas by identifying culture with language. It is true that language is an important constituent of culture but it is not identical with it. If the two had been identical, there would have been no such things as European or Western culture, or Islamic culture or Hindu culture. None of these cultures is unilingual. Besides each of them has local variations, which are the results of history. The Subcontinent has witnessed several centuries of Muslim rule and long periods of the rule of Muslim imperial polities which brought large areas under a single government. This also provided opportunities of social and academic contacts, which at no time depended entirely upon the political set up in any part of the Muslim world, but which nevertheless were closer among the inhabitants of the same state. The Indo-Muslim culture, therefore, became a reality and developed some common features which distinguish it from the similar cultures of the other parts of the Muslim world. These

distinguishing characteristics being material were—and still are—more noticeable. For instance the similarities in the cuisine of the Muslims of the Subcontinent and particularly its northern part are striking. In particular, West Pakistan, because of its river system and long established routes of communication has been a compact geographical unit. This has worked for bringing about a unity of culture throughout recorded and unrecorded history. The contacts of the plains with the adjoining mountains and table-lands have been close all the time and there has even been commingling of the social groups. Only Baluchistan has preserved an island of a Dravidian language that in all probability was spoken in a large area before the Aryan inroads. Of course the population in the plains as well as the table-lands was mainly Dravidian before the Aryan conquest. It is absurd to think of cultural differences among the various parts of Pakistan because the culture is so uniform having been moulded by the same influences and continuous contacts: even the linguistic differences are not fundamental, because the languages all belong to a common family, except for Pushtu and allied dialects which are of Aryan origin but collateral. The only exception is the Dravidian Brohi which also has absorbed a fair number of Arabic and Persian words.

And yet there is no difference that cannot be exaggerated, specially when trained disrupters are active in destroying a country. The victims of these activities seldom ponder on the motives of those who seek to enslave them after weakening them by creating disunity and centrifugal sentiments. It has been mentioned in a previous chapter how certain interests have been active in this connection and how their dupes have been willingly working at their bidding. Of course many sincere persons who are not able to see through the game become converts and begin to believe in the truth of the evil promptings without even analysing either the premises of the argument or the consequences to themselves. if they succeed in breaking away.

However, all this could and should have been foreseen. Even when ugly symptoms began to come up to the surface, proper steps were not taken. Here we are concerned with educational policies which have been blind in this respect.

The sentiment of national identity is invariably embedded in history. This is recognized throughout the world. The Report of the University Commission says "One of the serious complaints against the system of education which has prevailed in this country for over a century is that it neglected India's past and that it did not provide the Indian students with a knowledge of their their own culture. It has produced in some cases the feeling that we are without roots; in others which is worse, that our roots bind us to a world very different from that which surrounds us."⁴ This is the feeling of the educationists of India despite the fact that ancient India and Hindu achievements have found ardent admirers in the West and European scholars have vied with one another in the appreciation of Hindu art and philosophy. Indeed it was in the interest of the British rulers to create among the Hindus a pride in their history and aesthetic and intellectual achievements to wean them away from Islamic influences. Even this was not considered enough. Muslim history was purposely distorted and Muslim rule was painted as the darkest period of Indian history.⁵ Muslim achievements were ignored or down graded and Muslim administration was painted as oppressive, extortionate and inefficient. All this was a sheer perversion of the factual position. Those Muslim monuments which had escaped the ravages of vandalism and neglect and whose grandeur and

⁴ *Report of the University Education Commission* (December, 1948—August, 1949), v. i., (Delhi, 1950), p. 55

⁵ For British writings on Hindu philosophy etc. see I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo Pakistan Subcontinent*, op. cit., pp. 213, 214 f. n. 4. For attitude towards Muslim history vide Sir Henry Elliot, *Bibliographical Index to the Mohammadan India* (London, 1849) (Original preface) says about Sir Henry Elliot and John Dowson's, *The History of India as told by its own Historians* (London, 1867), which formed for long the main source book for English works on Indo-Muslim history that "they will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule. If instruction were sought for from them, we should be spared the rash declaration respecting Mohammadan India, which are frequently made by persons not otherwise ignorant. Characters, now renowned only for the splendour of their achievements and a succession of victories, would, when we withdraw the veil of flattery and divest them of rhetorical flourishes, be set forth in a truer light, and probably be held up to the execration of mankind." This effect was achieved by clever editing through which all that could throw some favourable light was eliminated.

beauty could not be denied gave the lie direct to the detractors of Muslim history. Hence after the initial acceptance of their greatness, some like Aldous Huxley dismissed even the Taj Mahal as unworthy of praise,⁶ and others like Havel tried to discover Hindu patterns of design and construction in them despite the obvious truth to the contrary.⁷

In the beginning the Hindus were total converts to British misrepresentation of Muslim history which suffered as much at their hands as from British writers. All the prejudice inherited from the days of the Crusades was brought into play along with the dictates of imperialism by the British and the Hindus found satisfaction in becoming apt pupils because they thought they could, in this manner, settle scores with those who had subjugated them. Academic honesty came to the rescue of some prominent Hindu historians a little later, who began to discover and tell the truth. The harm, however, had been done, and Indo-Muslim history has yet not recovered from the injuries inflicted upon it. The worst outcome has been that generations of Muslim students having been taught the textbooks prepared by British and Hindu historians cultivated a deep inferiority complex and their descendants today are no better, because surprising as this may seem, they have been taught the very same textbooks as were in use in India for many years and even today those books have not been discarded. Even more astounding is the fact that some books prepared under the auspices of a particular provincial textbook committee are far more destructive of Muslim solidarity and nationhood than anything written by non-Muslim writers. A movement has been started by some Pakistani historians themselves—and it has received official encouragement—that would like to look at history from a regional point of view as if history and truth can be carved up into mutually exclusive sections. In short, history is in a poor state of health in this country and that being so, how can it hope to play a role in the creation of an image of the Indo-Muslim past which would be simultaneously true, comprehensive and inspiring?

⁶ In *Jesting Pilate*.

⁷ E. B. Havell, *Indian Architecture* (London, 1927). The entire section on Muslim buildings is replete with such comments.

Let there be no misconception on the point that if Pakistani nationalism is to survive it can find its true moorings only in its total past and it cannot cut itself adrift from the history of its ideals, attitudes and thinking which have created its culture and moulded it into what it is today. How can the very existence of Pakistan be understood without knowing how it came into being and how history had created the sense of uniqueness and entity among the Muslims that demanded expression in statehood, because even though Pakistan came officially into being on 14 August, 1947 and had been envisaged in the Lahore Resolution of 1940, it had existed in its essence in the subconscious yearnings of the Muslims of the Subcontinent ever since the days of their subjugation. And the foundations of these yearnings were laid when the Muslims set their foot for the first time on the soil of the Subcontinent either as settlers or as conquerors. The history of a part cannot be separated from the history of the whole without serious violence both to its spirit and its content. The history of Pakistan originates in the history of Islam in the Subcontinent and even in the world. Those who would build the history of Pakistan on any other foundations undertake an impossible mission because historical forces flow in channels cut out by themselves and cannot be diverted into artificial canals constructed in response to passing whims or senseless narrow-mindedness. True history is full history, not its chopped up portions dressed and served to suit irrational appetites. And no nationhood can be moored to partial or false history; nor can it live without a consciousness of history, because history makes nations. There is no exaggeration in this statement, because history provides the record of experience that has created the necessary sense of unity. A common experience of life lived together over a period of time creates common feelings, hopes and fears, and, what is more important, a sense of common destiny. This can be fragmented only at great risk; it is like a glass vase that can be broken into worthless splinters but cannot be divided into several vases. Nation-making history consists of broad sweeps of human action, it is made of innumerable little events concerning individuals and small groups, but none of these taken individually or grouped into small portions is nation building.

It is necessary to have a true conception of history and hold fast to it, because the first attack of the disrupter of national unity is upon an integrated view of history and to divide the totality of experience into segments. One can look with alarm at the recent endeavours in Pakistan to distort its history. It has been wisely said by an American writer that "education in all its manifold forms .. is the instrument by which a nation transforms itself from what it is into what it hopes to be."⁸ In this process the teaching of history plays an important role, because it shows what a nation likes to think about its past and its attitude towards its past is determined by its vision of the future. This is an inter-dependent process because the one continuously affects the other. The recent history of Pakistan would illustrate this truth. Our aimless education has created a nation which has trained itself to live only from day to day, just existing but not really living because life is higher than mere existence in so far as the former implies a continuous motion forward and the latter is an abdication of will power in the face of unintended developments, which is mere drifting without "a port of call". And, as a result, we see no point in taking a positive and purposeful view of our history, which in turn is bound to add to our aimlessness.

A nation has to possess a clear conception of what it wants to achieve. Without this there can be no sense of destiny. History also becomes meaningless without a sense of destiny because history has always been building up an end, which is the destiny of a nation. This destiny has to be assessed from the consistency in the working of history, because in the confusing plenitude of events and the multiplicity of directions that the events might be following there is always discernible, despite some movements in a contrary direction, an underlying goal or tendency that is an indication of the nation's destiny. This should not be taken to mean that there is, at the back of a nation's role in history, some kind of predetermination at work which forces it to act in a specified manner. All that is being suggested is that a nation is impelled by its ideals, whether conscious or unconscious, towards certain goals which seek intermediate fulfilments at different stages but never succeed in achieving the end. If the

⁸ W. J. Cooper et al, *National Survey of School Finance* (Washington 1932-33), p. 2

final end is achieved or if a nation thinks that it has achieved it, the endeavour comes to an end and deterioration sets in. Real destiny is continuous endeavour in a chosen direction, but the choice implies an understanding of possibilities as well as the potentialities of the nation. These potentialities are moulded by history, as also the predilections which must necessarily determine the choices. The great mistake that the Pakistani nation made after the achievement of Pakistan was that it thought that the final destiny had been achieved. It forgot that in human history no victory is final. If it had remembered the message of their great philosopher poet, Iqbal, they would have known that endeavour is life and there is no such thing for nations even after a great triumph as resting upon their cars. Because the search for a greater destiny was abandoned, the nation fell a victim to internal dissensions and was almost destroyed by the traitors that it had bred in its midst, because patriotism begins to wilt when it sees little scope for fruitful expression. A continuous search for fresh fields of endeavour of a truly meaningful character keeps the people inspired and builds up noble traits of character in it because degeneration is the child of inactivity. The quality and direction of the search will depend upon the ideals that inspire it. They will depend upon the quality and direction of national education. Here also we get into a circle, education determines the nature and scope of the search and the search will inspire educational policies that help and further the search. Neglect, indifference and ignorance of the entire process would turn the circle vicious because education will then become stale and will fail to inspire proper search. If the entire process gets into a vicious circle, a nation, like a defeated and demoralized army loses its pride in its existence, traditions and culture, and begins to disintegrate, especially if it is multilingual or consists of ill integrated groups which then begin to develop tensions among themselves. These tensions are the real grist for the disrupter's mill.

Pakistan is multilingual, but, as has been mentioned earlier, the various major languages of Pakistan belong to the Indo-European group. Brohi, spoken in certain areas of Baluchistan, unlike Bengali, is a Dravidian language. Punjabi, Saraiki, Sindhi and Urdu along with some minor languages have a similar gram-

matical structure. All languages including Pushtu and Baluchi have a common fund of vocabulary which comes from Persian and Arabic. This brings the languages of West Pakistan into close proximity to one another. All this similarity has been gained without any conscious effort and comes from the people being Muslims, therefore, having been exposed to the influence of Arabic through religious scriptures and literature; and having lived for long periods under Muslim governments where the official language was Persian. Besides Persian was the language of belles-lettres as well as of the bulk of writings on various subjects. Very little was written in the local languages. In all the areas, except in Sindh, Urdu has been taught as a language and has remained the medium of instruction at the school level. Therefore the linguistic differences are not in fact deep or insuperable. Besides all the languages in West Pakistan are written in adapted forms of the Arabic script, hence, because of the similarities in script, vocabulary and grammatical structure, it is quite easy for a person speaking one of these languages to learn another. Urdu provides a medium of communication to all the groups when visiting or dealing with people of other groups. Thus there are no insuperable barriers so far as language is concerned.

There are some different racial traits but these also do not create sharp distinctions. Generally speaking one might discern a stronger Dravidian influence in Sindh and more pronounced Scythio-Aryan traits in the Panjab. The Pathans betray some Semitic traces. However, because of migrations as well as inter-marriages no type is absent from any area and therefore there are no differences or tensions based upon a racial feeling. So far as culture is concerned, reference has already been made to it and only minor peculiarities exist in various provinces which can be exaggerated only with some effort. As a matter of fact, mischief-mongers have been doing precisely that ignoring the essential unity of the people. Nevertheless, despite the realization of the dangerous possibilities of the exploitation of the situation by the enemies of the country, no Government took remedial steps in the field of education. Fazlur Rahman's address to the First Education Conference contains a clear reference to this question: "We have been far too prone in the past to think in terms of Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis and Pathans, and it is to be deeply regretted

that our education has failed to extirpate the narrow and pernicious outlook of provincial exclusiveness, which, should it persist, will spell disaster for our new born state. There cannot be a greater source of pride and a better object of undivided loyalty than the citizenship of Pakistan."⁹ The first Prime Minister of Pakistan once said in a public speech that external enemies could never destroy the country but if interprovincial jealousies and suspicions went unchecked, they could break Pakistan which would result in the enslavement of the Pakistani people.¹⁰ Thus it is obvious that the leaders of Pakistan were aware of the dangers of internecine quarrels.

How could, for instance, any political leader ignore the implications of the Pukhtunistan demand of a small, yet well led minority of the Pathans and Afghanistan's sponsorship of the demand and its hostility from the first day of the establishment of Pakistan. Nor could the geographical distance between East Bengal and the rest of Pakistan be forgotten, particularly when the Bengalis, in spite of being good Muslims, had not cut all their roots in Hindu culture and ideas. The emergence of Pakistan also saw a reversion among the Bengalis to Sanskritic vocabulary and Hindu art forms in music and dancing. The extremists went even further and because they belonged to the ruling elite, they were more effective than a minority of that size could have been in any Muslim community. The presence of a large, well knit, politically motivated and Indian inspired Hindu minority played its role cleverly. All this was known to the central government as well as the Muslim League leadership of East Bengal. Both did precious little to combat the danger. Indeed the latter succumbed to the temptation of sailing with the provincial wind. The solitary person who took a positive step was the much maligned Fazlur Rahman who sponsored and aided a movement in favour of the use of the Arabic script for Bengali.¹¹ This was not such a radical step as it sounds, because during the days of Muslim rule when the Bengali elite had vied with the Muslims of the

⁹ Fazlur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 7

¹⁰ Speech delivered in a public meeting on 14 August 1948, *Dawn*, 16 August, 1948.

¹¹ The movement was called 'Hurūf-u'l-Qur'ān'. It attracted no attention of the press.

rest of the Indian Muslim Empire in the use and promotion of Persian, scholars had prepared books in Bengali for the less educated converts and their descendants which were written in the Arabic script. This literature is even today known as Pothi literature and is fairly extensive. But Fazlur Rahman's movement failed because of the lukewarm support of the central government as it never took the movement seriously and of the total indifference of the Provincial government since it never realized fully the dangers inherent in East Bengal's dependence on West Bengal for literary and artistic inspiration as well as materials and the clever propaganda of the Hindu community. The Muslims of East Bengal did not realize that their hostility to the Arabic script could cut them asunder from the Qur'an, from all the religious and theological literature of Islam, from Islamic culture and eventually from Islam. Nor did they realize that they could never rival the Hindus as writers of what they persuaded themselves to believe was "chaste" language, which was only another name for highly Sanskriticized and Hinduized Bengali.

They almost worshipped Tagore and tried to set Qazi Nazrul Islam up as a rival to Iqbal in their pride because they found it difficult to accept a non-Bengali as the premier poet of the Muslims of the Subcontinent even though he had created a new consciousness of national identity among his people leading to the demand of Pakistan. The Islamic content of Qazi Nazrul Islam's poetry stands no comparison with the volume or the quality of Iqbal's contribution to building up an emotional loyalty to Islam. Nazrul Islam was too deeply influenced by Hinduism to stand forth in any sense as the spokesman of Islam or the interpreter of its philosophy. No stretch of imagination could possibly discover any relationship between him and the idea of Pakistan. After the establishment of Pakistan he was living in Calcutta with his Hindu wife and no one can tell what his attitude would have been towards Pakistan if he had been mentally healthy. As the result of public pressure and also in full accord with their own feelings, the provincial government of East Bengal paid to him a handsome pension regularly. In itself it was laudable to look after a prominent man of letters who had made an outstanding contribution to Bengali poetry and now was incapable of looking after himself, but that was not the

reason that motivated East Bengal government. It was more a demonstration of regarding Nazrul Islam as the national poet of East Bengal. Little wonder, therefore, that Bengali was put up not as a regional language, which it was but natural for Bengalis to hold in high affection, but as a rival to Urdu and then to demand and secure for it the status of one of the two national languages of Pakistan. The result was that English not only maintained its primacy as the official language of Pakistan but made greater incursions into the life and culture of the country than it had ever been able to do under the British. This has shattered the confidence of the people of Pakistan in their own culture and has weakened that sense of pride in being Pakistanis that alone can nourish the sentiment of national identity.

However, the problem of languages will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. Here we are concerned with the nature of the national effort in resolving the tensions that provincial jealousies have sometimes caused in the past and are likely to do so in the future. Most of the attention, remained rivetted on the relations between West and East Pakistan. It is obvious that the efforts proved futile and East Bengal is no longer a part of Pakistan. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to trace in brief outline the efforts of successive governments in finding some solution to the difficulties that raised their heads from time to time. When Pakistan was established, even the first flush of enthusiasm was not able to hide the existence of difficulties. When the Qā'id-i-A'zam made his first visit to East Bengal, and declared in a Dacca University function that Urdu and Urdu alone could be the official language of Pakistan, a small number of Hindu students shouted "Bengali! Bengali!" Subsequently, as we have noted, this became the war cry of Bengali nationalism. The political difficulties began to come to the surface mainly because East Bengal was treated as one of the five provinces of the country. The situation, however, was complicated because it was not only the most populous of all the provinces, but had also a population that was larger than the total population of West Pakistan. The Bengalis, therefore, claimed a share in the resources and services of the country proportionate to their population. A formula was,

therefore, devised by which East Pakistan and West Pakistan achieved parity in the combined strength of the two houses proposed in the Nazimuddin draft of the basic principles of the future constitution. This was achieved by giving East Pakistan a majority on the basis of their population in the lower house and grouping the provinces of West Pakistan into three zones and treating East Bengal as a single zone and giving all the zones equal representation in the upper house, thus neutralizing the effect of the Bengali majority in the lower house. A joint session was provided in case of a conflict between the two houses. This was a sensible arrangement, but the Panjab revolted against it and contrived the downfall of the Nazimuddin ministry. The work of constitution making, however, proceeded under Muhammad Ali Bogra until Ghulam Muhammad dissolved the Constituent Assembly. A new Assembly was elected and constitution making started again resulting in the constitution of 1956. Its main feature was the consolidation of West Pakistan into a single province. Parity was retained in a unicameral legislature by limiting the representation of East Pakistan in it to a half of its strength. The main idea was to present a consolidated West Pakistan to challenge the claim of East Pakistan to special consideration because of its larger population. Besides, there had grown up a tradition of an alliance between East Pakistan and one of the smaller provinces of West Pakistan in the national legislature. The consolidation of West Pakistan failed to achieve its main purpose of solving what had come to be treated as the problem of East Pakistan. How could it prevent East Pakistani legislators, if they were bent upon presenting a solid front to West Pakistan, from seeking support from some members from West Pakistan and breaking its superficial unity? West Pakistan was not unilingual and could not hope to achieve the kind of unity that was East Bengal's quite naturally.

There was no change in the position relating to East Pakistan but the consolidation of West Pakistan, which was brought about by questionable methods so far as Sindh and the North-West Frontier Provinces were concerned, raised other problems. Inter-regional (the old provinces of West Pakistan came to be called 'regions' in official and administrative jargon) tensions increased and instead of bringing about a unity of sentiment, it

only created fear and bitterness. Thus an additional danger to the conception of a united Pakistan was created thoughtlessly without much gain in return. President Ayub Khan's constitution with its "breakwater" of indirect elections maintained parity, which was emotionally accepted by East Pakistan. His government, however, decided to shift the capital from Karachi, a cosmopolitan city to Rawalpindi, at that time a provincial town in the Panjab. This created fears in the minds of the Bengalis that the government would thereby come under greater influence of the Panjabis. President Ayub placated them by building a subsidiary capital at Dacca. This not only provided the Bengalis with a ready made capital in case they decided to secede but also aggravated the psychological feeling that Pakistan consisted of two equally viable units which, it might be concluded, could break asunder under some stress or strain. Another serious mistake made by the Ayub government was that it transferred all members of the civil service of Pakistan serving under the two provincial governments to their province of origin or domicile: thus both West Pakistan and East Pakistan were deprived of the services of Bengali and non-Bengali civil servants respectively. Even more serious was the fact that the bureaucracy in East Pakistan could range itself with the secessionists with impunity and without the central government being even aware of their activities. A start had been made fairly early in the recruitment of Bengali officers and men to the armed forces, even though under the British such recruitment had been looked upon with disfavour. So far as the central civil services were concerned East Pakistan had been given a generous quota of posts reserved specially for candidates coming from that province. Ayub's government also started making allocations of more than fifty per cent development funds to East Pakistan.

When Yahya Khan and his coterie seized power, they announced general elections in the country. As they abrogated the constitution, the new elections were held under the Legal Frame Order which provided for an absolute majority for East Pakistan in the proposed unicameral legislature which was also to frame a new constitution. No safeguard was provided against East Pakistan utilizing its majority for bulldozing a constitution against the wishes of the West Pakistan provinces which were restored.

So far as West Pakistan is concerned it has an integrated system of road and railway communications as well as a complex network of irrigation channels on which depends agriculture which is the main stay of its economy. The two need coordination but the Legal Frame Order provided no basis for institutionalizing it. What happened after the elections raises well founded suspicions that the military junta and its political allies and advisers had decided upon destroying the integrity of the country. And they succeeded only too well.

This somewhat lengthy narration of political actions intended either to consolidate or disrupt Pakistan would show that all reliance was placed in political action and hardly any steps were taken in the field of education or mass media. It was not realized that national integration is very much the business of education which was not only left to go its own wayward way but which was entrusted quite often, to persons without any regard for their loyalty to the country or its ideals. The only exception was the creation of the Pakistan Council. It did little beyond holding a few thinly attended meetings here and there which were addressed by specially invited speakers. The impact of such meetings or of the reading rooms maintained by it was negligible. The Pakistan Council was in fact not able even to scratch the surface of the problem. No other effort was made by the Government. The University of Dacca soon developed into an active centre of anti-Pakistani activities which were confused by some as being merely anti-government. Some perhaps were simply protest movements against the policies of whichever government happened to be in power, but when all governments came to be opposed with equal bitterness, those in authority should have taken note of it and tried to find remedies. Indeed the university as well-as the different colleges and schools became centres of anti-state propaganda. The propaganda spread from the educational institutions to the masses and even to ordinarily inaccessible corners of the countryside. The theme was always the injustices allegedly perpetrated by West Pakistan and despite the fact that half the central cabinet was always from East Pakistan consisting of full fledged pure blooded Bengalis, the central government came to be identified with West Pakistan through clever propaganda. It was widely known

that some foreign agencies were assiduously creating separatist feelings. It was a Harvard group of economists which put the Dacca economists to work on studying the possibilities of having a separate economy for East Pakistan. It was under foreign inspiration that the myth of the exploitation of East Pakistan by West Pakistan was propagated.

It was never explained to the people of East Pakistan or its student population that East Pakistan had a deplorably low standard of living under the British, that the internal economy of East Pakistan had intrinsic weaknesses like the highest density of population per square mile in the world, that previous to the creation of Pakistan it had no industrial base, not even proper presses to make jute bales, that it had no share in the provincial or central civil services, that it had no mineral or power resources, and that it was short of food stuffs, even rice. Therefore its economy could not be brought at par with West Pakistan overnight and that the Government of Pakistan was making efforts to improve the economic conditions. These were producing visible results in better houses, a better fed and better clad people, more education and more employment. Extremely exaggerated pictures of West Pakistan's prosperity were not corrected and the citizens of East Pakistan were left in ignorance of the truth that West Pakistan also was poor and that even the much advertised metropolis of Karachi had its houseless population and that it was more a city of slums than of large villas. It should have been the business of education to correct the gross misconceptions regarding West Pakistan that had been created by mischief-mongers and their allies. But education turned its head away from the truth as if it did not exist, as if it was no concern of a national system of education to deal with the psychosis that was being deliberately strengthened every day.

So great was the success of the disrupters that even members of the ruling party from West Pakistan started saying what the secessionists were saying. Whereas there are too many statements of political leaders from West Pakistan endorsing all the stories of exploitation to be quoted here because it became fashionable to repeat the allegations, one would search in vain for a single statement explaining the real situation. For instance no one is

on record saying that West Pakistan stood in immediate danger of turning into a waste because of India cutting supplies of water to its canals if the World Bank had not come with large loans to construct remedial works, whereas there was no such impending disaster to threaten East Pakistan. Hence large sums of foreign loans had to be spent in West Pakistan to save its economy and its people from total ruination. Pakistan had to defend itself, and the nucleus of an army existed only in West Pakistan. Hence the bulk of military expenditure was incurred on salaries there, but very soon steps were taken to recruit Bengalis and they form the Bangla Desh army today. All that was needed was being done to bring East Bengal up to the level of West Pakistan, but this was never explained to the people or the students in West or East Pakistan. No wonder then that sentiment turned against Pakistani nationalism and little is being done even today to inculcate patriotism through education in the remaining part of Pakistan.

It has been mentioned in a previous chapter that there are strong forces at work in West Pakistan creating disunity among the people and turning their minds away from loyalty to Pakistan. The most effective centres of such propaganda are the educational institutions. Sindh University is the centre of anti-Pakistan propaganda in the province that it serves. It is no use hiding from ourselves either the strength or the extent of the feelings generated by it. But what is the response of the Government to this challenge? A mere glance at the textbooks prepared by the provincial Text Book Committee, which is an official body, would show that it is the disrupters of Pakistan's integrity who understand the potency of education as the creator and destroyer of loyalties. Sindh is depicted as a country; its history as a revolt against the central authority of Muslim power in the Subcontinent and the rulers of Delhi are painted as tyrants. Thus the unity of sentiment built up assiduously by Muslim thinkers during several centuries is sought to be destroyed by official authorities. If this diabolical game goes on unabated and unchecked, Pakistan will not be able to maintain its integrity for any length of time. Similarly, though to a much lesser degree, the University of Peshawar is the main stronghold of Pakhtunistan propaganda.

All this has been happening for years and is continuing even today, but there never was a coherent educational policy in the country, not even when governments were truly loyal to the ideals of Pakistan, and there is none today even though the central government proclaims its loyalty to the country from the house tops. A great deal of suspicion is created in the minds of the thoughtful people when they see such glaring contradictions between profession and performance. It is a significant commentary upon the educational policies of Pakistan that within a quarter of a century since its establishment, it broke mainly through the efforts of teachers and students and after that traumatic experience, there has been no general resurgence of patriotic feelings. On the contrary now the disrupters feel encouraged and work against the integrity of the country quite boldly. And among the pioneers are strong groups of teachers and students. The vast body of students and teachers in areas and institutions where no separatist tendencies can be aroused for cultural and geographical reasons are indifferent and some, even there, question the very thesis on which Pakistan was founded. Even if an attitude of complete neutrality and indifference is adopted by a student of this phenomenon, will he not reach the conclusion that the policy of strengthening the foundations of the country through education was never properly laid down as its importance escaped the notice of the various governments of the country and that the aimless system of education that was permitted to continue has ruined and weakened the country and shaken its very foundations?

It is not intended to end this discussion on a pessimistic note. There would have been little point in bemoaning the serious blows sustained by Pakistani patriotism if the situation had been beyond redemption. A post mortem analysis of a disaster properly belongs to the sphere of history and not a work on education. The encouraging feature in the present malaise is that a good deal of the thinking in West Pakistan is still healthy, though perhaps confused and ill informed. There is a sizable body of pro-Pakistan patriotism in East Bengal even today despite all that has happened, which has even conquered the justifiable revulsion against military action perpetrated by Yahya Khan and his fellow conspirators upon that part of the country. These

sentiments have survived all this period of neglect, provocation and wrong policies. Hence its foundations must be deep and solid. And indeed they are embedded in common ideals and sentiments enshrined deep down in the hearts, having been created by a common history lasting for no less than seven centuries and a half in East Pakistan and about twelve centuries in the West. These feelings are bound to reassert themselves. But they will not do so unless layers of propaganda and artificially created hatreds are prevented from being deposited upon them. That is the function of education. The existence of these sentiments, conscious among some and dormant among others, can be a great ally in the task of recreating Pakistani patriotism and the task of the educator, if he sets himself such a mission, would be comparatively easy. Even if there had been nothing to build upon, the undertaking would not have been an impossible one. Through education a people can be changed gradually into what the educator wants it to become. The techniques are known and are not too difficult. "The highest social process is that of 'sociocracy'—the rational control and direction of society by itself to reach certain determined and valuable ends," says Lister F. Ward, "...Education as the dissemination of knowledge which will serve as a basis for this highly rationalized social process,...thus becomes the most immediate means to that end."¹² It is in this sense that it has been said that a people can change itself into "what it is not" from "what it is",¹³ if it pursues certain aims with consistency and follows enlightened policies directed towards the achievement of those aims. It is, therefore, much easier for a nation to remain what it is, or to come back to its lost moorings.

This is not a plea for unprogressive or reactionary conservatism because progress is necessary for maintaining a sense of identity. But progress is not drifting on the ocean of life without a rudder and sails. Progress is intentional, purposeful and, in the world of today, depends on scientific planning. Nations which are dying and are in the grip of disintegration cannot even think of progress in any field. There is a world of difference between decay

¹² Lister F. Ward quoted in Paul Monroe, *A Text Book on the History of Education* (New York, 1905), p. 718

¹³ W. J. Cooper et al, *op. cit.*, p. 2

and progress, between dissolution and healthy growth. Both have their laws. National systems of education have to be acquainted with them otherwise they will destroy what they pretend to build. Pakistani education has already destroyed a good deal; it has to be reformed drastically or it will surely destroy what little has been left of national feeling and a sense of national identity.

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CHAPTER VII

The Impact upon Culture

Culture plays an important role in the creation and preservation of the national identity. "The true identity of a nation", says Srinivas Bhattacharya, "is really known through its culture".¹ It is however possible that two nations may have strongly similar or even almost identical cultures just as there are numerous examples of two or more nations speaking a common language. Then there are nations which are multilingual and multicultural. Nations speaking the same language but possessing different identities are mostly the product of some historical conflict which resulted in their separation. Wherever there is such a phenomenon, the separate identity of each one of the nations has grown from a bond of common aims in the beginning and then it has drawn its nourishment from the fact of living together in the same habitat through a period of time and thus sharing common history. Similarly multilingual or multicultural states are also the creation of history. After living together for some time a number of adjustments take place which remove likely conflicts and tensions, and thus a unity of sentiment grows up which is a shield against foreign or internal disrupters. If the adjustments are fair and

¹ Srinivas Bhattacharya, *Our Society and Education*, (Calcutta, 1962), p. 9.

just, the unity of sentiment finds a solid and stable foundation, but real or imagined injustice destroys the unity of sentiment and common loyalty. Different groups may have lived together for any length of time without discovering any cause for disunity and then suddenly the spell might break and tensions and conflicts may take the place of goodwill and unity. Some nations have to be extremely careful and just cannot afford to push any sensitive problem under the carpet. Issues have to be faced and sorted out in a fair and realistic manner. Besides, all groups have to be given a sense of full participation in ordering national affairs. And above all a sense of the possession of a set of commonly cherished values has to be instilled by education, both formal in educational institutions and informal through mass media.

Such values always exist, otherwise the nation could not have come into existence. If they do not, they have to be created and propagated. So long as a culture is based upon a scale of values, it is viable and cannot be destroyed either through acculturation or internal decay, but when it gets divorced from them, it begins to decline. This process is fraught with grave dangers because it in turn weakens attachment to the values on which it was originally based. The relation between culture and ideology—which is another name for the corpus of values in which a nation believes—is so close that they are in fact inter-dependent. Culture is one of the outer manifestations of ideology and change in the manifestation means weakening in the general attachment to the ideology. That is the reason why a direct attack upon a cherished ideology is seldom successful, indeed it is resented and resisted. Therefore whenever it is sought to weaken the hold of an ideology upon a people, it is tempted to adopt some superficially attractive fashions, pastimes or ideas which either look innocuous or at least not at all contrary to the ideology. Sometimes they are presented as the necessary ingredients of modernism and progress and occasionally their real worth is undeniable, but when they are adopted without any adaptation, they have a tendency to bring a number of inessential frills and excrescences with them which are totally unnecessary, irrelevant and yet gravely injurious. "The anxiety for a theory of the right place of foreign culture" points out Sister Nivedita,

“too often clothes a mere desire for foreign luxury.² This desire often reaches ridiculous proportions”. This same writer expresses the opinion that “the code that would use to the utmost not only all its opportunities but also all its chances, this code is too likely to turn Indian men into European women”.³ What she means to convey is that those Indians who adopt all that European luxury is able to offer often lose the grit of their character and become too soft to face the difficulties of life.

This a telling criticism of the generally prevailing misconception about Western culture in underdeveloped countries that it is all well upholstered or attractive furniture, dress, cosmetics, cinemas, radio, television, motorcars, aeroplanes, gadgets and expensive living. Beyond this a few consider a proficiency in the use of a European language the essence of Westernization. Even fewer achieve some standard in real knowledge of the latest theories and substance of social and natural sciences. Some stand awe stricken in the presence of Western technology, a few of whom—very few indeed—venture to pry into its secrets. The general tendency, however, is to take the shell for the kernel, the superficial for the real and the froth for the current. Western culture at its best is an inquisitive mind and untiring energy in the pursuit of knowledge and its fruits, one of which is modern technology. Work, work and more work is the solid foundation on which the material success of the West rests. All else is merely incidental, superficial or even contradictory to the spirit of Western culture. Now no one can advocate abstention from the spirit of Western culture nor from its more important fruits. In the previous chapter, while commenting upon a statement of the (Indian) University Commission, it was promised that a further observation on the concluding part of that quotation would be made later. This is the appropriate place for doing so. According to the Commission the indifference of the Indian educational system towards India's past “has produced, in some cases the feeling that we are without roots; in others, what is worse, that our roots bind us to a world very different from that which

² Sister Nivedita, *Hints on National Education in India* (Calcutta, 1950), p. 52.

³ *Ibid.*

surrounds us".⁴ This feeling is not limited to India. Pakistan—and, for that matter, many underdeveloped countries of Asia and North Africa share this feeling. In the Muslim countries, this feeling is justified in part and unjustified so far as the true spirit of the West is concerned. What are quite often found to be the more attractive aspects of Western life, its superficial glitter, its easier personal morality, particularly its attitude towards drink and sex, are certainly different from the world in which Muslim culture has its roots. In its essence, the real core of Western civilization is to take this life as a field of endeavour and not to dismiss it as of no real importance. The past of the Muslim world is even more firmly rooted in this essential core than that of the West, because Islam has never believed in the dichotomy of God and Caesar, in monasticism or in the worthlessness of this life. Its attitude towards material effort and progress has always been constructive. It has never been unworldly. And what perhaps is even more relevant in the world of today, Islam believes in both individual and communal effort because, according to its tenets, man can find true fulfilment only in society. Whether it is worship or purely mundane responsibility, the form is social and communal. Therefore, Islam need not feel inhibited in working for the material prosperity of either the individual or the society provided its effort is not directed towards the exploitation of others resulting in their deprivation.

But this does not mean that the Muslims can prosper only if they imitate the West blindly and in all its foibles and feelings, because they are no part of the West's progress. Indeed they provide the antithesis which is working for its decay. Nor need the Muslims adopt the mannerisms and externalities of Western life. In fact if they do so, they will be diverted from the path of progress, and will lose their sense of direction and motivation for real effort. Imitation never leads to success and, therefore, the kind of acculturation that is taking place in Muslim countries is resulting at best in mediocracy. The Muslims have a culture and its roots go deep down into their religion and history and it can be discarded only at a heavy cost and no appreciable gain. They are likely to lose their scale of values, because it would be

⁴ *The Report of the University Education Commission*, v. i. op. cit., p. 55.

idle to pretend that they are identical with those of the West. A blind imitation of the West will surely result in a wholesale adoption of the Western way of life and whereas it is easy and tempting enough to do so, it will not then be possible to adhere to the set of values which not only do not sustain the Muslim way of life but in fact run counter to it in many important matters. "Culture", it has been rightly argued, "refers to the distinctive way of life of a group of people, their complete design for living."⁵ Culture thus is identical with the way of life and cannot be separated from it. It, therefore, cannot be held that it is possible to preserve a people's culture even though it forsakes its ways and mores and blindly adopts them from an alien culture. Ortega Y. Gasset is so correct when he says that "there is no culture where there are no standards to which our fellow men can have recourse."⁶ And these standards are derived from the scale of values underlying that culture. If what is borrowed is divorced from all values, the borrower is confronted with moral insolvency; if the basic values are also borrowed, this amounts to total conversion and is not borrowing; if attempts are made to graft them on the values that originally sustained the borrower, so many contradictions crop up that all consistency is lost. If there is no consistency in a set of values, they will not hold together and, in the process of falling apart, will destroy themselves leaving a deficiency that will disrupt the very fabric of society.

As would be apparent from what has been said earlier, this is not a plea for unprogressive conservatism. True culture is never static;⁷ the day a culture develops tendencies of inertia, it digs its own grave. But dynamism is not blind imitation, it is essentially independent growth. This growth takes cognizance of the progress made by others, it is not afraid of learning new techniques from outside, indeed it is on the look out for them, but it remains true to the essence of the culture that is growing. In this manner the borrowing is limited to the barest minimum of essentials

⁵ Alfred L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (New York, 1952), p. 78.

⁶ Jose Ortega Y. Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (New York, 1932), p. 79.

⁷ Laura Thompson, *Towards a Science of Mankind* (New York, 1961), p. 162.

and the culture in itself remains sufficiently creative to invent its own techniques. If it borrows, it also contributes; it refuses to remain at the receiving end because that would stunt its growth and dynamism. In this way it is saved from the cultivation of any psychosis that impels it to develop one inferiority complex after another. And nothing is so destructive of a sense of identity as an inferiority complex. It should, however, be understood that no culture can develop a true dynamism without sustaining itself through its roots in tradition. Growth implies modification and improvement but not sudden and complete transformation. That is the reason why societies, modern and ancient, have always been anxious that their traditions should be transmitted to their future generations. Education in the primitive societies was little more than an attempt to transmit tradition and even now, in its technical sense, education is the process by which a society, through schools, colleges and universities and other institutions, transmits its cultural heritage—its accumulated knowledge, values and skills—from one generation to another.⁸ Today also, thinkers recognize “the importance of . . . tradition transmission from one generation to the next of the substance of the learning and culture of the past. From this point of view education in modern sociological theory becomes the effort to preserve the continuity and to secure the growth of common tradition.”⁹ This transmission of tradition is able to achieve dynamism by permitting modification which, it is necessary to explain, is not imitation or borrowing. “Education”, says an eminent Western educationist “to fulfil its rightful function, must come to grips with the most important problems of a culture; it must rest upon considered appraisal and commitments within the culture, and it must remain hospitable to continuous experimentation and reconstruction.”¹⁰

The relation between education and culture is deep and fundamental. Education is a cultural agent and is concerned with the functions of “conserving, transmitting and renewing cul-

⁸ George Kneller, *Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York, 1964), p. 31.

⁹ Vincent, *The Social Mind and Education*, (New York, 1897), p. 91.

¹⁰ John Hanson and Cole Brenbeck (editors), *Education and the Development of Nations* (New York, 1966), p. 17.

tures.”¹¹ If this is the function of education, what term shall we use for the education that has been imparted in Pakistan all this time? Has it ever tried to conserve any aspect of our culture? or has it continuously been subverting and destroying our cultural traditions? And what has it transmitted? Our social and political life is growing more and more barbarous. And all canons of civilized life are violated openly, shamelessly and savagely. What norms of behaviour are being fashioned in our educational institutions? Because apart from its other dimensions, culture, even the most superficial kind of it, does achieve the instilling of polite behaviour and a sense of decency.¹ Our language now walks lamely and with crutches, our poetry has sunk below the level of mere versification, our fiction depends for its sustenance on unscrupulous plagiarism. We have become strangers to our classics. We have proficiency in no language. And if cultural excellence implies academic attainments, our contribution in natural and social sciences but for the work of a few—indeed very few—individuals, most of whom are not the products of our system of education, is even less than meagre. With such negative achievement to its lasting shame, how can this education could even pretend that it has been renewing our culture? Education in this country has increasingly become the agent of destruction, a perverted incarnation of the Goddess Durga, perverted because, in Hindu cosmology, being the consort of Shiva, she helps her husband in destruction, so that Brahma may create again//but our education destroys in a manner that there can be no recurrence of creation. Having destroyed the national culture, education in this country is bound to destroy itself. When fire has consumed the fuel, it must extinguish itself. This is precisely what has been happening to our so called education, Even the false gods that it pretended to serve are forsaking it! At one time its pride was that it was creating ersatz Europeans and Americans in place of the inferior Pakistanis. This can no longer be done in the deplorable substandard ordinary schools. In the factories where there are special arrangements for this transformation, namely the prestigious schools, to which the rich and the powerful send their offspring for the metamorphosis, the standards are

¹¹ Ratna Navratnam, *New Frontiers in East-West Philosophies of Education*, (Bombay, 1958), p. 12.

not too high, but they are better, so far as mere instruction is concerned, than those in the ordinary schools where the plebian children congregate. But in these privileged institutions great care is taken to build up a *cordon sanitaire* against all possibilities of infection from Pakistani tradition. Therefore they produce a corps of privileged elite, destined, because of its Westernized training, the Public Service Commission examinations being loaded in its favour, to rule over the despised 'native Pakistanis'—an elite so denationalized as to be alien in its own country with nothing but the most outrageous contempt for its traditions, culture and languages.

This alienation from the indigenous culture is a very serious matter. It is destructive of all loyalties and there can be no dimension to a man's character without some deep loyalties even if, in a superficial sense, it is not totally destroyed. Education in the Subcontinent, ever since the introduction of English even as a language in the primary classes, wrought havoc with the child's interest in his environment. He was taught the names of British trees, flowers and birds, for instance, which he could never see in his own surroundings. Sometimes there were no equivalents in his language for these words and if there were, they were borrowed from Persian, because Iran, possessing a cold climate, did possess some of the British trees and flowers. Thus to an Indian child oaks, poplars, birches and maples were all trees and gradually, but for the most common, all Indian trees, flowers and birds became just these, one species being indistinguishable from another and the distinction, if any, became a matter of no consequence to the Indian child. He just was not interested in the trees on the road side or in the parks and the birds on the window sills or in the gardens. He read of things he had never seen, of people, places and life entirely different from what he saw around himself. Hence what he read could not be integrated with life as he saw it, studies got divorced from reality and took the adolescent and the young into what was for him a world of fantasy. Dreams, are often more beautiful than solid reality and the educated elite of the Subcontinent found it difficult to relate fantasy to fact and the creation of its unbridled imagination to reality. They could talk beautifully about things they had never come across and knew

little the life that was being lived around them. The students of the prestigious schools of the elite are still being taught books, facts, theories and philosophies that have no relevance to their own environment. And a sense of frustration grows in their minds at finding it so different from their dream world—that incidentally does not exist even in places with which they have grown familiar—and this frustration finds expression in contempt, hostility and a subconscious motive for vengeance. And being the virtual rulers they have ample opportunities of giving practical vent to their feelings.

This hostility to their own culture is reflected in the policies that they frame. The result is that culture is a casualty. Any adoption of an alien culture can at best be but superficial, but when it is thrust upon an entire people through inadequate means of transmitting it, those who are expected to acquire and benefit from it are only left confused. In this manner is imparted a superficial veneer of Western culture and the intellect as well as the emotions remain totally untrained. Thus education in Pakistan has only hastened the process of the destruction of the indigenous culture as well as the stunting of the native genius. The process has been hastened for various reasons. The generation that had inherited a sound culture from those who still had not been totally alienated from it is rapidly dying out and even that generation was well removed in time from those who were its full beneficiaries. A system of education cannot last for more than a century without destroying what it seeks to replace. Besides, when the same system was sponsored and maintained by an alien government there was some resistance to its effects, even though the resistance weakened with the passage of time. And finally, the British did try to maintain some standards which they were able to enforce because they were not so vulnerable to pressure as Pakistani administrators have proved to be in all matters relating to the students. Thus what little culture could be transplanted from Europe dwindled away, partly because it had struck no roots and partly because the transportation and grafting lost their vigour. It is necessary to repeat that mere superficialities like the adoption of Western dress and furniture and of mannerisms as well as such late byproducts as permissiveness have little to do with culture. They only express an immo-

derate desire for luxuries, easy life and even license, whereas culture has spiritual, intellectual and aesthetic dimensions.

The destruction or even the weakening of culture is immediately reflected in the quality of education. As Theodore Bremeld points out, "it is the culture in which education germinates and flowers".¹² This should be obvious from the fact that the societies with no cultures have to import them from countries from which they import their education, as has happened in several primitive African countries and even then education has not made much progress in those societies. Where there is a culture already in existence and sufficiently vigorous to offer some resistance, the result is that in course of time, because of the introduction of an alien system of education, the original culture begins to wilt. This creates a host of social and psychological problems, as it has done in Pakistan. If education "germinates and flowers in a culture", it should be remembered that, to quote Theodore Bremeld again, "it is the culture also upon which education exerts, in turn, a nourishing or debilitating influence."¹³ It depends upon the relationship between education and culture whether education nourishes or debilitates culture. Animals cannot be fed on manure just as plants cannot be fed on fodder. If there is some harmony between culture and education, both will flourish; if there is disharmony both will wilt and ultimately die out. They may continue to exist so far as appearances are concerned, but they would be merely carcasses, not at all alive. Dead systems of education and cultures cease to spread refinement or help civilization; in the course of their disintegration they only spread disease. Education does not prosper without culture because according to Robert Ulich, "it is from the stuff of culture that education is directly created and that gives to education not only its own tools and materials but its reason for existing at all."¹⁴

This statement may sound too extreme or cryptic to some

¹² Theodore Bremeld, *Philosophies of Education in Cultural Perspective*, (New York, 1955), p. 15.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Theodore Bremeld, *Cultural Foundations of Education: An Inter-disciplinary Exploration* (New York, 1957), p. 6.

readers, therefore it needs some elaboration. Education has been called an institution which derives its meaning and energy from the surrounding environment of things and of men.¹⁵ This description coming from Theodore Bremeld himself explains to a great extent his former statement which is the subject of this comment. In the final analysis education imparts knowledge concerning human beings and the physical environment. The former is the basis of humanities, philosophy, social sciences covering all aspects of human thought, emotions, behaviour, social relations, politics, religion, transactions, in short all that makes up and concerns the individual and the society. The natural sciences are concerned with the entire physical environment. The tools of acquiring this knowledge have necessarily to be such as can deal with the objects and data concerned. They cannot be divorced from the subject to be studied. Thus the environment of men and things is indeed the stuff of knowledge. The human environment is coloured, even created by the culture that prevails in the area. Besides, the attitude towards the physical environment is also determined by that culture. That is the reason why culture and education are so interdependent. All new knowledge about human beings and their environment—in short all progress in human knowledge—affects culture deeply because culture itself depends upon the accumulated likes and dislikes created by knowledge. Every change in knowledge, therefore, necessarily affects culture. This change is not inevitably progress because sometimes enlightened societies relapse into backwardness and ignorance which may create unwarranted attitudes. In any case education, as the purveyor of knowledge, is an agent in the growth, decay or transformation of culture and education cannot exist except in a base provided by culture. The two are so closely interrelated that they cannot be separated and if attempts are made to divorce the one from the other, both suffer to an extent that if the separation continues for any length of time, both are destroyed.

It is not implied that culture and knowledge should not change because neither can be static; "knowledge keeps no better than fish", as Whitehead points out¹⁶ and if a culture tends to become

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁶ Alfred North Whitehead, *The Aims of Education*, op. cit., p. 147.

static, it loses not only its vigour but also its hold. But progress and dynamism have to be introduced within the culture itself and must not be provided by external agencies. This is the reason why Ulich is strongly of the opinion that "one cannot simply transfer the structure and programme of schools from one people to another according to preconceived opinions gained from the standards and experiences at home."¹⁷ This would also explain why the army of our teachers who go abroad to receive training in pedagogy find that all the knowledge gained so laboriously is entirely irrelevant when they try to apply it to the environment of their own country. They are, however, so tied to what they have been taught that it is impossible for them to adjust themselves to the circumstances in which they have to work. They blame the lack of facilities, bureaucratic control, the rigidity of the system and many other factors for their inability to apply their knowledge to the problems of education in Pakistan, but the fact that cultural integrity has broken down making educational work infructuous does not even occur to them. The training imparted in Pakistani colleges of pedagogy proves no less useless. At best success is only marginal and superficial. The Indian educationist A. Mujib condemns the imposition of foreign philosophies of education for the same reason. He says, "Perhaps there is nothing intrinsically wrong with importing a knowledge system from outside if it does not exist in our own (country) . . . But it is a different matter to import educational philosophies and get generations of teachers to memorize and reproduce them without ever paying any thought to the fact that an educational philosophy arises out of a system of values, traditions and way of life and is the product of the particular economic relations obtaining in a country."¹⁸ The same author writes about teacher education in India that "the answers which B. Ed. students write for their examinations . . . seldom contain anything more than banalities and counsels of perfection . . . A student will rattle off such names as Heurism, the Project Method, the structural approach and what not . . . He will in short pour out a whole lot

¹⁷ Robert Ulich, *The Education of Nations*, (Harvard, 1962), p. 306.

¹⁸ A. Mujib, "Task before Education" in A. B. Shah, *Higher Education in India*, (Bombay, 1967), p. 116.

of stuff which will never function in his professional life.”¹⁹ The Pakistani students of pedagogy are no better. Their training is unreal because those determining the content of education imparted to them ignore the basic fact that all methodology and to a much larger degree what is sought to be taught and inculcated must be related to the culture and social and economic conditions of the society in which the schools function.

This discussion almost begs the question: How can educationally backward countries with cultures other than those of the advanced countries ever succeed in catching up with the scientific, technological and intellectual progress of the world if they cannot adopt the system of education that prevails in the countries that have achieved a high degree of progress? How can the developing countries of the third world ever hope to shake off their backwardness if they are to limit their educational effort within the context of their own culture? If the system and—what is much more serious a matter—the experience of one country are not relevant in another country that possesses a different culture, can the less advanced countries ever gain from the progress in the sum total of human knowledge? These are important questions and must be answered with a full understanding of their urgency. The answer lies in the fact that there is a world of difference in wholesale adoption and adaptation. If a system or a philosophy is imported wholesale and indiscriminately, it is bound to create difficulties, but careful acquisition is quite distinct from importation. Knowledge like food is to be chewed and digested; if swallowed as it is, it will create violent disturbance and reactions in the organism. Knowledge drawn from any source is to be integrated with what already exists; in this process the angularities are rubbed off and contradictions are reconciled. It is quite true that this is a slow process but perhaps in the long run it is much shorter than attempts to transplant systems from one culture to another. Even small changes in the educational system will bring about some change in the society, and if the change is brought about thoughtlessly and in a hurry, the consequences are bound to be complex and catastrophic. Then they cannot be controlled and are likely to destroy both society and culture.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

Besides, the benefits, if any, will be limited to a numerically small elite but, because of the influence and the prestige of the elite, the injurious results will percolate to the masses. The apparent benefits will drive a wedge between the elite and the people and will bring about deep fissures in the society. The elite will turn selfish and the masses will be deprived of true leadership. This will provide material for violent conflicts, upheavals and bloody revolutions. The problems thus created may find no solutions, but if they prove amenable to resolution, the remedies may be slow and costly. On the other hand if the adaptation of foreign systems or disciplines of knowledge is carried out properly, the initial delay will be insignificant and will save the nation the complexities of finding adequate remedies of baffling difficulties which may prove to be much more time consuming. Beneficial changes in national life are seldom the result of accidents or thoughtless innovations, they have to be properly thought out, planned and implemented.²⁰ Innovation has been rightly defined as "a deliberate, novel, specific change which is thought to be more efficacious in accomplishing the goals of a system."²¹ It is obvious that the transportation of systems, the application of some ideas which may have proved beneficial in one situation to another and blind imitation can only bring about maladjustment and difficulties. Theories need the support of facts. What has been stated above, may not prove convincing to those whose thoughts have become rigid because of having been placed in moulds of static conservatism and inertia without illustrations from long term experience of nations. Hence it is necessary to cite some instances which are not unknown in Pakistan.

Japan is today in the forefront of the nations which have achieved academic and technological progress. Its economic might is too well known to be mentioned. The academic achievements of Japan are not so well-known in this country, though the West is fully familiar with them. It is obvious that technological excellence is based on solid scientific knowledge and

²⁰ Warren Bennis, Kenneth Benne and Robert Chin, *The Planning of Change*, (New York, 1966), pp. 28-38.

²¹ Mathew B. Miles, *Innovation in Education*, (New York, 1964), p. 14.

is not merely a matter of skills. The Japanese progress in electronics and integrated circuits would not have been possible without a highly advanced level of knowledge of applied mathematics and solid state physics. Pure mathematics and science are the fore-runners of applied mathematics and technology. Industrial and commercial strength cannot be sustained without a sound insight into economics. This much should be obvious to the meanest intelligence. But Japan's progress in humanities and social sciences is known only to those who have visited Japanese universities or have had contacts with European and American universities. The entire nation is literate even though, in spite of simplifications, the Japanese script is difficult and complicated. Compare all this with the countries of the Subcontinent. Western education started much earlier in India and the Hindi script is comparatively speaking an easy script. Yet where does India stand in comparison with Japan? Then take a late comer like China. The remarkable progress achieved by her during the last two or three decades shows what can be achieved by a nation if it goes about its business with care and circumspection. The third example is that of the Soviet Union. Russia was the least advanced country in Europe within living memory. No one can deny the extent of Russian intellectual endeavour or belittle its output. It might not have attained the sophistication of Japan or the United States of America, but intrinsically its magnitude is enormous.

These are well known examples. There are many smaller and less known countries whose instance would have been relevant to this discussion, but they have not been mentioned because of the fear of repetition or unnecessarily lengthening the argument. The most significant fact about all these countries is that they integrated the advances in knowledge into their own systems and cultures. New knowledge therefore, did not bring conflict in their ideas or loyalties, they were saved the agony of seeing their well tried norms being destroyed; they were not condemned to schizophrenia and living in two worlds; their societies were not disintegrated; their elite were not alienated from the masses; they did not fall a prey to any inferiority complexes; hence they could march triumphantly on the road to progress and enter a brave new world without destroying the old. The past never

leaves us; it demands a future in harmony with itself or comes into conflict with it. The resulting battle is fought within the human soul and inhibits proper effort. The conflict can be resolved only by the restoration of harmony.

The failure to restore this harmony, indeed total indifference to the crying need of the healing of the fissures, and the absence of any effort in that direction could not but encourage the forces of disruption and disintegration to work unhindered in our society. To recount some of the fissures created by the new education, the first and the most serious has been the bifurcation of education into the old type madrasahs and *dār-u'l-'ulūms*, which are now looked upon as theological seminaries, and the new schools, colleges and universities. The cultural gap between the graduates of the two is so enormous that they are not able to speak a common language and all communication has stopped between the two. The former are getting more and more out of touch with life and the latter are increasingly becoming rootless and bewildered because they have no scale of values left. What they had inherited is being forgotten and they have not learnt much from the new world. They are growing strangers to the ethical code of Islam; the Christian virtues have never appealed to them and because of losing their hold even in the West are not likely to influence the educated elite of Pakistan; the secular ethics of the West which inculcates respect for human rights and law and may promote a regard for democratic values has made no headway among them. The degradation of the old system of education because of its incapacity to find relevance in a world of change has weakened Islam and has done incalculable harm to the foundations of culture in Pakistan. Both the systems are unable to produce an integrated personality today. The other baneful effect has been to make the educated elite created by the new education strangers in their own land. They are totally incapable of entering the rhythm of the rural life of Pakistan; nor, except in their own self contained circles, are they able properly to communicate with their brethren in urban areas. These elite have no culture worth the name, their superficialities are so coarse that they can neither inspire them nor others to any genuine effort in the realm of culture, nor have they anything that they can transmit to the masses, who, perhaps,

in spite of their material poverty, are culturally richer. Thus this education has not only destroyed culture but the very springs of culture. If it is true that no system of education can exist without resting upon the foundations of a culture, it is obvious that the Pakistani system of education cannot subsist for long. What further injuries it will inflict upon national integrity before it dies out or, under some future enlightened dispensation, is reformed are hard to imagine.

Nations find their identity through their ideologies and culture. If the culture of a nation dies out, the nation cannot prevent its own disintegration. Men have a tendency to attach themselves to viable groups, hence living and vigorous cultures keep peoples alive even under adverse circumstances. The Muslim community of the Subcontinent maintained its entity and sense of unity because it did not permit its culture to die; local differences of language and customs did not break this unity because the loyalty to the traditions of Indo-Muslim culture remained alive. The Indo-Muslim culture was not equally strong in all the parts of the Subcontinent but it provided a scale of values and a reference of excellence to all the Muslims, hence they remained united. But when, after the creation of Pakistan the devastation caused by the educational system became more rapid and widespread, loyalty to that culture was all but destroyed. Then the loyalty to the concept of Pakistani nationalism also became weaker. Partly under Russian inspiration and partly because of rapid decline of Indo-Muslim culture and cultural values in Pakistan brought about by the new education local loyalties became aggressive and propagated the theory of four or even more nationalities instead of the common Pakistani nationalism. It is highly significant that the strongholds of such local loyalties and movements for the disruption of Pakistan became the universities. No greater proof is needed of the fact that our education has become the main disrupter of our nationhood.

It is an irony that Russia has been busy doing all it can to integrate a culturally, linguistically and racially diverse empire into a single entity while in the name of even smaller differences in other countries it has been working for disintegration. Of

course what is propagated, abetted and encouraged in Pakistan would never be permitted within the Soviet Union. "The most successful part of Soviet political education has been in reinforcing national feeling (to some extent on a Soviet rather than merely Russian basis)".²² This of course has been achieved by controlling education and not permitting any adverse opinion being expressed. Soviet culture (which in fact is Russian culture) is encouraged and spread throughout the Union. Today each one of the "republics" including those where the Muslims at one time were predominant and which still have their descendants in substantial numbers prides itself on its achievements in the fields of opera and ballet, because that is culture, their music still warms their hearts but Russian music is making headway as well and Russian language and literature have the place of honour in the universities as well as in political life and administration. This is not to deny that the Soviet "republics" are encouraged to promote their languages and culture. A good deal of work goes on in the academics as well as in the universities. Even though the scripts have been changed and thus the prerevolution classics are available²³ only to scholars and "scientific workers" which term signifies research scholars attached to an academy or a university, yet, unlike what has happened in Turkey after the change over to Latin script, the work of transliterating the classics into the new scripts is going apace. The new scripts are adapted forms of the Russian script. This serves two basic purposes. As some of the languages in Caucasia and Central Asia are also spoken and written in the neighbouring Muslim countries, the change in the script has cut off literary contacts with them. Then, all the new editions have introductions which, in one way or another, project Marxism; those who show some interest in their own classics have to take them with a heavy dose of Marxism.

Education is tightly controlled. Every university has a good number of Russian teachers, some of whom occupy key positions. Generally the rector of a university is a local but the vice rector is a Russian. Similarly the departments of natural sciences

²² Nigel Grant, "Education in the USSR: the relevance of the Soviet Experience" in J. Lowe, N. Grant, T. D. Williams, (editors) *Education and Nation-Building*, (Edinburgh and London, 1971), p. 255.

have a goodly sprinkling of Russians, more than the humanities or social sciences. Russians have been encouraged to settle down in the main cities in substantial numbers, for instance there are more Russians in Baku than Azaris and more Russians in Tashkent than Uzbeks. The Republics carved out of Turkestan on linguistic basis have been encouraged to develop their languages in a manner that common bonds have been weakened. Some languages were in fact merely dialects but now they have been developed into separate entities. Sometimes the demarcation of boundaries has not been logical, for instance the Persian speaking Samarqand and Bukhara are in Uzbekistan, not in Tajikistan which is Persian speaking as well. All this carving up has been carried out to break the entity of the Muslim culture of Turkestan, Caucasia and other regions. Fragmented cultures lose their virility because small groups are not able to nourish them properly. The more widespread a culture is, the larger is the contribution to it made by men of genius. Isolate a provincial subculture from its parent and it will languish. In this manner ground has been prepared for the acceptance of the Russian culture which, of course, is much richer because it is more widespread. It is not only the Russians now who enrich it; it also gets tribute from the non-Russian republics in the shape of contributions. Substantial quantities of script and music for Russian operas and ballet are contributed by Central Asians. The inhabitants of non-Russian republics and territories are thus confronted with the languishing of their culture despite government support because of the growing impact and appeal of an ever waxing Russian culture. It is difficult to predict how long the local cultures will survive in the face of such competition.

The non-Russian populations are not devoid of intelligence or insight. There are men who fully understand what is happening around them and are naturally unhappy; but so strong are the Russian stranglehold and vigilance that the non-Russians find themselves helpless. Despite all restrictions and the fear in which the universities live, "certain national groups in the U.S.S.R. are still disaffected in spite of strenuous attempts to put across a sense of Soviet nationality in the last decades. Russian chau-

vism is still alive and, from time to time kicking."²³ Of the two, Russian chauvinism is both apparent on the surface and running in a strong undercurrent in all dealings with non-Russian peoples. The former may be irritating because it may express itself in objectionable forms like bullying, overt interference in the working of the governments of the dependent "republics" and their institutions and even at the level of ordinary personal dealings and relations. It is always a strong reminder of the fact that the Russians are the real rulers. But the latter is more far reaching being insidious and having been carefully planned. The subversion of national cultures and attempts to plant Russian culture instead is perhaps the greatest instrument of Russian imperialism, because to the extent they are successful, they will succeed in destroying the identity of the subject races, this object having been first furthered by carving them into insignificant groups and then impregnating their thought with the need of eternal dependence on the Soviet Union, which means Russia. It is significant that now and then the official newspapers, because there is no such thing as an independent press in the Soviet Union, publish tirades against the resurgence of "bourgeois nationalism" in the larger units like Uzbekistan, but one does not hear of such manifestations in the small "republics."

It was necessary to examine the relationship between State policies, education and culture in the Soviet Union in some detail because the experience of non-Russian minorities and dependent republics there has many lessons for Pakistan. The first of these is that the cult of 'nationalities' is a clever Russian device to break up large units into fragments to weaken or even eliminate not only political but cultural resistance as well. If Turkestan had continued as a single unit, the chances of survival of Central Asian culture would have been brighter than they are in the fragmented small units. The existence of a larger over all culture gives much better protection to local variations than its elimination, because then the smaller sub-cultures are not large enough to exist as independent entities and succumb to a vigorous foreign culture. In the Soviet Union this has been demonstrated so well that no further argument or proof is neces-

²³ *Ibid.*

sary. The subordination of the smaller cultures to a foreign culture which has a wider base and is more vigorous leads to a process that would inevitably end in the depression and even elimination of that sub-culture. And finally all these factors have political repercussions and consequences.

Let us turn once again to Pakistan. The failure to strengthen the traditions and content of Indo-Muslim culture in this country resulted in almost the same phenomenon as has been cleverly engineered in the Soviet Union. In all social and political affairs intention is important only to the extent that it may provide some motivation; otherwise if certain policies are pursued even thoughtlessly, they would end in the same results as would have emerged if they had been planned and motivated. One of the basic reasons for the demand of Pakistan was that the Muslims had wanted protection for their culture, because, whether consciously or instinctively, they knew that their identity would be destroyed if their culture could not be preserved. Which identity had they sought to keep alive? and which culture had they sought to preserve? Was it a Bengali, a Panjabi, a Sindhi, a Pathan or a Baluch identity? and was it a Hinduized and Sanskritized Bengali culture or a Panjabi culture or a Sindhi, Pushtu or Baluchi culture that they had been anxious to preserve? The Muslim League leaders and supporters of the Pakistan Movement from all the areas spoke only of the Indo-Muslim identity and of the Indo-Muslim culture. The Qā'id-i-A'zam and the Muslims of the Muslim minority provinces would not have even thought of fighting for preservation of sectional identities and cultures. This was quite clearly understood when Pakistan came into existence but was totally forgotten when policies were devised for its governance. A culture is never preserved by negligence. It was not given even as much thought as the Russians gave to the fragmented minority cultures. The government behaved as if the Indo-Muslim culture did not exist. The old British attitude of haughty indifference towards native cultures as being of no consequence was continued. There were some "intellectuals" in the ranks of highly placed and powerful bureaucrats who even talked glibly of the desirability of adopting English not only as the official language which it had continued and still continues to be, but also as the language of every day

use in the country relegating all Pakistani languages to the status of vernaculars "in which grandmothers can tell their grand-children stories to put them to sleep at bed time."²⁴ This was admittedly an extreme view, but it was advanced in all seriousness in private discussions. It may perhaps be dismissed summarily as being not only preposterous but also based in sheer ignorance of linguistic dynamics, but what is too patent to be disputed because of lack of documentary evidence is the fact that no serious or even half-hearted attempts were made to strengthen Indo-Muslim culture in this country.

The consequences of this neglect did not lie too deep to be discerned, because they came to the surface within an incredibly short time. First there were the disastrous language riots in East Pakistan. The language trouble was deeper than merely being a demonstration in favour of a regional language: it was, as became evident almost simultaneously, a revolt against Indo-Muslim culture. It was hostile to the Arabic script and to the Persian and Arabic vocabulary that had become a part of "Muslim Bangla"—the Bengali language as it was then spoken by the Muslims of Bengal. It was an indication that Muslim Bengal was resolutely turning its face away from its Muslim past; except for the illiterate masses who did not understand what was really afoot and some conservative sections among the educated, there was a corresponding weakening of loyalty to Islam as well.

Having witnessed all this, it is really astonishing that the rulers did not realize that the policy of cultural neutrality in the sense that Indo-Muslim culture was left to languish and in certain instances it was even actively subverted would yield disastrous results. One can understand the attitude of pro-Russian communists and some Indian agents who must have been watching the developments gleefully and have increased their efforts, but there were many and still are in the seats of power

²⁴ This was a fairly common theme in the conversation of some important circles. The writer recalls a luncheon to which he was invited in 1956 and was hotly criticized for his advocacy of a national language being given the place of English as the official language. Those attending were high government officials. The remark under reference was made on this occasion.

who could not be desirous of such results. Why did they fail to take heed of the portents? When the Sindh University openly began to follow in the footsteps of Dacca and adopted the same techniques, why were these symptoms not taken seriously? Surely if the rulers had any source of information, they could not have been unaware of the activities of Mr. G. M. Syed who had been assiduously producing literature against Pakistan and hostile to Islam. His writings were read avidly and he was actively supported by a well known Sindhi poet and others. Nor could the links with the Hindu Sindhis who had settled down in India be unknown. And more recently only the deaf could not hear the outpourings of All India Radio in the Sindhi language which went on speaking or singing in cre-tune for six hours every day. Did the bureaucrats who controlled the country all this time think merely political actions like changing the vice-chancellor of Sindh University would counteract the work of Indian agents and their dupes effectively?

All that had happened in the Soviet Union has been happening in Pakistan, only in the reverse order. Here the parent culture was neglected so that it languished and a foreign culture was assiduously promoted. Then subcultures, because a foreign culture could not evoke any emotional responses, came to the forefront. This was followed by movements to break the country. Whenever a threat seemed to loom it was sought to remove it by political action, the most foolish and the most disastrous being the military action in East Pakistan. It should have been an eye opener, but there are no indications that those who wield power and authority have learnt any lesson. They have all the time failed to understand that "nations are not made chiefly by traders and politicians. They are made by artists and thinkers, saints and philosophers. National unity and progress require a deeper foundation than political and economic arrangements."²⁵ It is "the life of the spirit" that shapes and unifies the collective existence of a people and becomes "the real bond of oneness" in a people.²⁶ And all this is the substance of culture.

²⁵ *The Report of the University Commission*, v.i., op. cit., p. 55.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

writes?
Ishfaq
Hussain
is a
Russian
pet
The bastar

CHAPTER VIII

The Role of Language Policies

Differences in language can be more destructive than real or supposed differences in culture; because language is something concrete and palpable whereas culture is more subtle. Culture has greater resilience than language because it embodies some tastes and preferences which are based in a long tradition and are modified when the wind of change blows strongly but are seldom uprooted. Cultural changes are gradual and may be brought about by positive or negative policies and attitudes but not by sudden fiat and legislative action. A language can be given or deprived of a status by state action, but not more intimate features of culture. There have been instances where, as in Iran and Turkey, dress was changed by government action, but dress is a palpable and external thing. Could any dictator change the cuisine of his country? or the imagery that adorns the national poetry? or the rhythm and flow of national music? All this can be modified by some strong influence from outside; this influence can even be made stronger by the policies of a government, but basic culture cannot be changed overnight. A language, on the other hand, can be given the status of an official language by a government and that would bring about a sudden and fundamental change in its importance. An official

language affects a people in so many ways that any change has the possibility of becoming an explosive issue. Therefore language policies need great circumspection and tact and issues cannot be forced in a haphazard manner. A good example of this was provided during the prime-ministership of Khwaja Nazimuddin who undoubtedly was patriotic and was anxious to integrate Pakistan into a strong nation. He, therefore, made a speech during a visit to East Pakistan in favour of Urdu saying that it would be the sole national language of Pakistan. He did this despite strong advice to the contrary. The idea that Pakistan should have a single national language was most certainly sound and the Qā'id-i-A'zam himself had said the same thing in the same city of Dacca quite forcefully. But several years had elapsed since then and the enemies of Pakistan had been active creating hostility to the idea of a single language being the national language. The government in the meanwhile had done nothing—absolutely nothing—to prepare the ground in favour of Urdu or countering the opposition to it. What little had been done in this regard was the effort of Fazli Karim Fazli, an Urdu speaking civil servant, but his action as the provincial secretary of education also was not properly planned and did not receive the necessary support of the central government. Khwaja Nazimuddin's speech, therefore, ignited an agitation of proportions which was the first nail in the coffin of a united Pakistan.

It is obvious, therefore, that mere intentions could not possibly have solved the language problem in Pakistan without their translation into well planned actions. Unfortunately there was dearth even of good intentions. The bureaucracy as well as a good proportion of the educated elite seemed to be totally unconcerned. They were happy with English and had no time to devote to studying the consequences of the continuation of a foreign language as the medium of instruction as well as the official language. Their position seemed to be buttressed by the continuation of English as both, because many a politician did not have the same facility in it as was possessed by them. They resisted all attempts at raising the status of Urdu and propagated the idea of class institutions "for the production of leaders" which could not but become the preserves of their children, because they commanded influence as well as resources. They

had, as a class, but a poor grasp of any Pakistani language including Urdu, therefore they were allergic to the displacement of English as the language of the administration. They took pride in the fact that their children could read or write no language except English and could speak a native language with difficulty. They were willing to pay any price for getting their children converted into ersatz Englishmen or Americans. And as a class they began to pay a heavy price after a very short time. Because out of the ranks of their denationalized and decultured progeny arose juvenile delinquents, drug addicts, teddy boys and hippies. They were, however, not perturbed because these were merely the manifestations of modernism. This was "progress", because it was born of a revolt against what they themselves, in their heart of hearts, totally despised. They themselves had wanted to escape from it and now their children were totally "emancipated". The politicians were too much under the influence of the bureaucracy to be able to think on their own. Everywhere there was too little independent thinking and too much reliance upon British tradition. It is easier to follow a tradition, much more difficult to think out new plans and policies. Besides Pakistan possessed meagre intellectual resources and these were all engaged in making the system that had been inherited work, which was not an easy matter. The administration had been disrupted; it had to be reorganized. The bureaucracy was fully capable of doing that and it did make a good job of restoring the efficiency of the system. It worked hard and with devotion. The old norms were its Bible and it swore by them. The machinery of administration had broken down and had come to a halt; they made it work again. This in itself was no mean achievement. The bureaucracy gained great prestige in the minds of the politicians who could not have put the administration into working order even if they had tried their hand at it because they were not familiar with the techniques. But all this led to an unhealthy increase in the authority of the bureaucracy and a corresponding diminution in the power of the politicians.

A polity can function properly only if the delicate balance between the powers of the two is maintained scrupulously. In Pakistan it was upset so badly that the bureaucracy soon captured power and destroyed constitutional propriety as well as

democratic processes. The bureaucracy is a permanent organization, it sustains its continuity through recruitment; every member is tested before entry because he is approved by the Public Service Commission; he is then trained and finally he reaches the top through hard work and satisfying his superiors with his diligence and capacity. The politician catches the imagination of his constituency in some manner and is not necessarily well educated. In an illiterate society he is more often a rabble rouser than a person of experience and judgment. It is obvious, therefore, that he is not capable of holding his own in argument against a capable civil servant. The first top leaders of the Pakistan Movement were men of stature, but not all who were elected with them. After the top leaders were eliminated by death or political intrigue, the politician lost his prestige completely and became a plaything in the hands of the bureaucrats. Under such circumstances there remained no force to challenge the unbridled power of the bureaucracy which in fact ruled Pakistan without any inhibition in the exercise of authority after the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951. Today the pendulum has swung completely in the other direction and the services have lost even their legitimate authority to act with impartiality and in accordance with the law, but that is a different matter.

The result of the dominance of the bureaucracy was that governments in Pakistan mostly existed without thinking out far reaching policies and were engaged only in day to day routine business. They seldom acted courageously in the pursuance of national good and did not touch complicated problems for fear that they might face difficulties or even trouble if they tried to tackle them. Therefore, national good has constantly been sacrificed in favour of expediency. For instance the introduction of a three-year post-Intermediate undergraduate degree course was an excellent step, but it was scuttled in the face of the first breeze of opposition. The language problem was admittedly difficult and thorny, yet it was not impossible to find a solution, but no attempt was made to tackle it properly. Every one wanted to buy his term of peace at the cost of accumulating difficulties for the country. We are living in a world where problems cannot be ignored; no country can escape by ostrich like burying its

head in the sand of postponement. Like a persistent hunter, the problem is bound to catch the nation unguarded.

The language problem started demanding the attention of the administrator as well as the educator quite early. A foreign language cannot be taught by ill trained teachers to over-crowded classes. The teachers themselves did not possess adequate knowledge of the language. Therefore the standard began to deteriorate rapidly. When these ill taught and ill equipped students came to the offices, very few of them could express themselves properly; others barely understood what a letter, a minute or an order really implied, but it was beyond them to record their opinion in English. And because opinions, comments and information are the stuff on which files fatten and bureaucracy flourishes, it dawned upon the officers that the quality of decisions and efficiency in general were both suffering. The educator found that the schools were sending to the colleges and the universities students who could neither follow lectures nor understand text books; in short students who were now seeking education could not be educated at all. They pulled down standards and soon examinations lost all meaning, because the students just mugged up a few topics that they expected in the examinations. If the question paper included those topics, the examinees were happy. If the expected questions were not asked, they protested violently and left the examination hall. When the examinees walked out of one examination centre, they marched to other centres and forced even those students out who were unwilling to join their unholy crusade. This did not happen in any particular year, or in one place, but every year, every university and every examination board witnessed such scenes. The quality of the answers, even when expected questions were put and the examinees felt they could answer them, was not good, and in spite of all this the number of those examinees who were found cheating and were caught red handed went on increasing. Now because discipline is lax and most invigilators are afraid of being assaulted, in many an examination students cheat openly without as much as being reprimanded for the offence. Those who cheat have always been more numerous than those who are caught but now the proportion is much higher. Little wonder that the credibility of examination results

is gone. A student's performance may or may not be a true index of his real ability. No yardstick has been left to measure a student's progress.

Who can blame the students for what has happened? Examinations have always been of great importance in the Subcontinent. The certificate or diploma earned after a public examination in which every attempt has been made to ensure the anonymity of the examinee as well as the examiner is held in high respect and it alone is the magic passport to good employment. With such benefits at stake and no real ability in the candidate, there is every temptation to earn an academic label of achievement by all the means at the disposal of the examinee. His education has been imperfect because he never understood what he was being taught. His command of the foreign language which is the medium of instruction as well as examination is so poor that acquisition of real knowledge and its display both are beyond his reach. To add to these difficulties the teachers themselves have but a poor command of English, therefore their own knowledge is imperfect and their capacity to put across what little they know is even poorer. If an adolescent placed in such circumstances is rebellious because of the frustration of his talent, the blame lies upon those who have perpetrated the crime of stunting his intellectual growth. If he loses all respect for the norms of good behaviour, morality and responsibility, it should cause no surprise. Even if the system were to work smoothly and efficiently, if the arrangements to teach English were improved, if the teachers were given a better command of the language and a sounder insight into their disciplines—all of which are impossible to achieve in the present circumstances in Pakistan for obvious reasons—even then the general standard of achievement would be poorer than in the countries where education is imparted in their national languages. The time that a student wastes in attaining proficiency in a foreign language, whether he has an aptitude for learning it or not, is colossal. At a modest estimate based upon an experience of many years gained by educationists in certain areas of the Subcontinent, no less than two solid school years are lost by every child and even then he does not come up to the level of an English or American

child of the same level. This tremendous waste is not compensated in any manner.

It is true that a few are able to achieve eminence despite the handicap under which the children of the Subcontinent have worked all these years, but there are some gifted persons who would break through any barriers. Some of them were educated abroad; others went to special schools; and some were able to transcend the disadvantages of comparatively poor schooling. Their achievement is no argument in favour of the system of education that has developed in the Subcontinent. Indian writers, despite the fact that Indian governments have followed much more enlightened policies, do not differ in their assessment of the evil effects of instruction through the medium of English. During the British period the schools were not so crowded, no school was permitted to have a class of more than a fixed number of students, teachers were better trained and a strict watch was kept upon the standards. Even then, though the standards were better than they are today in Pakistan, they were not good enough and could not stand comparison with those in England or the dominions with populations of British origin. With independence the needs of man power increased manifold in Pakistan and with the emergence of new opportunities of gainful employment, there has been a great upsurge of demand for education. The result has been that numbers have increased, classes have become overcrowded and poorly trained teachers have been employed. These developments would have strained any educational organization, but the effect upon the teaching of English has been more pronounced than in other subjects, even though everything has disastrously deteriorated. The teaching of English has almost broken down and because English was the keystone of the entire structure, its collapse has brought the whole edifice crashing down to the ground. It will require energy, insight and firmness to repair it and make it function once again. And if education has to perform its basic function in this country, the keystone will have to be changed.

This problem has been engaging the attention of educationists and others in the Subcontinent for quite some time. In his famous despatch of 1854, Sir Charles Wood emphasized the importance

of encouraging the study of the Indian languages as the only possible media of instruction.¹ Lord Curzon wisely remarked, "Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian textbooks, the elementary education of the people in their own tongue has shrivelled and pined."² It was because of his influence that the principle that Indian languages were the most suitable media for instruction upto the higher stages of secondary education was recognized as far back as 1902.³ The Bengal Committee of Public Instruction remarked, "We conceive the foundation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which our efforts must be directed."⁴ The Saddler Commission (1917-19) also thought that it was desirable that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction.⁵ The Punjab University Enquiry Committee (1932-33) pointed out that too much of the students' time was spent on the acquisition of some competence in English and "even then a large proportion of the pupils are unable to think and write clearly in any language."⁶ The Committee further said that "English has weighed too heavily on the students and has smothered their originality and initiative. It has undermined their self confidence and engendered an inferiority complex."⁷ The Hartog Committee estimated that at least one-third of an Indian student's time was spent in learning English.⁸ The Committee also recorded, "Many witnesses have told us that the boy who has received a vernacular education, though he may be handicapped at first by his weakness in English, very often outstrips the Anglo-Vernacular boy in the long run in consequence of his better grasp of those general subjects which he has learned through the vernacular."⁹ Dr. Mackenzie, at one time the pro-vice-chancellor of Osmania University expressed the opinion

¹ Shriman Narayan, *On Education* (Delhi, 1962), p. 40.

² Lovat Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

³ Nigel Grant, "Education and language" in J. Lowe, N. Grant, T. D. Williams, *Education and Nation Building* (Edinburgh and London, 1971), p. 190.

⁴ Shriman Narayan, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

that the students learning through an Indian language showed better progress than those learning through the English medium.¹⁰

Mahatma Gandhi felt strongly on the subject. He wrote "Among the many evils of foreign rule the blighting imposition of a foreign medium upon the youth of the country will be counted by history as one of the greatest."¹¹ In support of this dictum he argued that "it has sapped the energy of the nation, it has shortened the lives of the pupils. It has estranged them from the masses; it has made education unnecessarily expensive. If this process is persisted in, it bids fair to rob the nation of its soul. The sooner, therefore, educated India shakes itself free from the hypnotic spell of the foreign medium, the better it will be for them and the people."¹² He also said, "Mother tongue is as natural for the development of the man's mind as mother's milk is for the development of the infant's body."¹³ On the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of Benares Hindu University he said, "The business of crossing the hurdle of the English language before anybody could learn anything is a game not worth the candle and dissipates the energy of the nation's youth which could otherwise be much more usefully employed."¹⁴ He also complained that so much time of the pupil was consumed in learning English that his standard of attainment in every thing else remained pitifully inadequate."¹⁵

Mahatma Gandhi said in another place, "The foreign medium has caused brain fag, put an undue strain upon the nerves of our children, made them crammers and imitators, unfitted them for original work and disabled them for transmitting their learning to their family or the masses. The foreign medium has made our children practically foreigners in their own land. It is the greatest tragedy of the existing system. The foreign medium

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 39.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁵ Julian Dakin, "Language and Education in India" in Dakin, Tiffen and Widdowson, *Language and Education*, (Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 22.

has prevented the growth of our vernaculars. If I had the power of a despot, I would today stop the tuition of our boys and girls through a foreign medium and require all the teachers and professors on pain of dismissal to introduce the change forthwith. I would not wait for the preparation of textbooks. They will follow the change. It is an evil that needs a summary remedy. I must not be understood to decry English or its noble literature. The columns of the *Harijan* are sufficient evidence of my love of English. But the nobility of its literature cannot avail the Indian nation any more than the temperate climate or the scenery of England. India has to flourish in her own climate and scenery and her own literature, even though all the three may be inferior to the English climate, scenery and literature. We and our children must build on our own heritage. If we borrow another, we impoverish our own. We can never grow on foreign victuals. I want the nation to have the treasures contained in that language, and for that matter, the other languages of the world, through its own vernaculars. I do not need to learn Bengali in order to know the beauty of Rabindranath's matchless productions, I get them through good translations. Gujrati boys and girls do not need to learn Russian to appreciate Tolstoy's short stories. They learn them through good translations. It is the boast of Englishmen that the best of the world's literary output is in the hands of that nation in simple English inside a week of its publication; why need I learn English to get the best of what Shakespeare and Milton thought and wrote? It would be good economy to set apart a class of students whose business would be to learn the best of what is to be learnt in different languages of the world and give the translation in the vernaculars. Our masters chose the wrong way for us and habit has made the wrong appear as right. I find daily proof of the increasing and continuing wrong being done to the millions by our false de-Indianising education. Those graduates who are my valued associates themselves flounder when they have to give expression to their innermost thoughts. They are strangers in their own homes. Their vocabulary in their mother tongue is so limited that they cannot always finish their speech without having recourse to English words and even sentences. Nor can they exist without English books. They often write to one another

in English. I cite the case of my companions to show how deep the evil has gone. For we have made a conscious effort to mend ourselves... We have come to think that no one can be a (Jagdish Chandra) Bose unless he knows English. No Japanese feels so helpless as we seem to do... The medium of instruction must be altered at once and at any cost, the provincial languages being given their rightful place. I would prefer temporary chaos in Higher Education to the criminal waste that is daily accumulating... In my opinion this is not a question to be decided by academicians... If the medium is changed at once and not gradually, in an incredibly short time we shall find textbooks and teachers coming into being to supply the want. And if we mean business, in a year's time we shall find that we need never have been party to the tragic waste of the nation's time and energy in trying to learn the essentials of culture through a foreign medium. The condition of success is undoubtedly that provincial languages are introduced at once in Government offices and courts."¹⁶

No apology is needed for this long quotation because it gives the ideas of one of the greatest men of our times in a clear, concise, convincing and emphatic manner. It has been rightly said by another Indian thinker that "education and life can never become one in such circumstances and are bound to remain separated by a barrier."¹⁷ This pregnant remark contains the condemnation of a system based upon a foreign language, because if education is divorced from life, it is worse than worthless. It is positively harmful because it deprives life of the light of knowledge. A society in which education does not continuously seek relevance to life can never prosper. It can only decay. It is never prepared for any catastrophe which it cannot foresee, or if by some portents its approach cannot remain hidden even to the meanest intellect, the society which sees it approach does not know how it can protect itself from it. Forewarned is forearmed only if he who is warned knows how to arm himself. The ignorant are seldom forewarned, and even if they are, they do not know how to forearm themselves.

¹⁶ T. S. Avinashilingam, *Gandhiji's Thoughts on Education*, (Delhi, 1958), pp. 15-20.

¹⁷ Julian Dakin, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

Since independence opinion in India has generally veered round to the idea that the continuance of English as the medium of instruction is causing great damage. For instance, K.L. Shrimali says in his book, *Education in Changing India*, "We decry the lowering of standards but we do not take the one logical step which alone can raise standards. It is a well known educational principle that both for the acquisition of knowledge as well as the expression of thought and emotions, one's own language is the best medium. During last one century we have attempted to master a foreign language but our original contribution to knowledge can be judged by the number of English books written by Indian authors that are available in any international library... Certainly India has no dearth of talent but in the past it has been denied expression on account of the lack of a proper medium... It is my firm conviction that unless universities adopt and develop our own languages we shall not succeed either in the dissemination of knowledge among our people or in the stimulation of research and the creation of new ideas."¹⁸

However, there is no unanimity. The opposition generally comes from those who are opposed to Hindi.¹⁹ Thus the objections are not in fact academic but are political and are based in inter-regional jealousies and fears. There are others who think that the facility that many Indians possess in English gives them some advantage in international society and gatherings. They argue that if Indian education is cut adrift from English, India would be intellectually isolated. There are some who argue that the Indian languages including Hindi do not possess sufficient literature in the various subjects and there are few textbooks available for a change over. There are yet others who argue that Hindi is as much a foreign language to some regions of India, specially to those which speak Dravidian languages, as English, which is at least known to them through education. If the continuance of English is undesirable, a change over to Hindi would be explosive and would create grave difficulties for the Government. The dilemma before the Indian authorities has been well described by Julian Dakin in the

¹⁸ K. L. Shrimali, *Education in Changing India*, (London, 1965), p. 116.

¹⁹ Nigel Grant, "Education and Language", op. cit., p. 195

following passage:— “How far can a new society afford to lose the warmth of local life enjoyed and transmitted through a multiplicity of local languages? How far can the central authority counter-balance the divisive strains of a dozen regions demanding and using their own languages in administration?... How far can a technological society support the financial and the organizational burden of using three or more languages in the course of education?”²⁰

However it must be said to the credit of Indian political leaders that they have neither been overawed by the difficulties inherent in finding a satisfactory solution nor have they taken the view that they can impose solutions on the people against their will. They have taken cognizance of the difficulties, but have not tried to shirk their responsibility as national leaders by postponing consideration and buying time at the cost of national interests. Those opponents of Hindi who pleaded for the maintenance of the status quo failed to convince the government in favour of their point of view. Their plea was rejected because the Indian leadership²¹ fully understood the disadvantages of keeping English as the medium of instruction. They refused to keep education in a “linguistic polythene bag.”²¹ Therefore the principle of making the regional language the medium of instruction was conceded. The All India Council for Secondary Education decided in favour of primary education being imparted in the mother tongue followed by the regional language and Hindi at the secondary stage.²² The former prime minister of India, the late Lal Bahadur Shastri said in 1962 that “a change over (to regional languages only in higher education) without a link in the form of English or Hindi would only make Indians of different states strangers to one another.”²³ Hindi, being the national language, was made compulsory in all the regions, but a formula of equal difficulty for all was devised by which a regional language was made compulsory in all the Hindi speaking areas.²⁴

²⁰ Julian Dakin, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

²¹ R. B. Le Page, *The National Language Question* (Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 53.

²² Julian Dakin, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

²⁴ Nigel Grant, “Education and Language”, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

It was, however, rightly recognized that no regional language was sufficiently developed to be used as a tool of knowledge and for that matter, Hindi also was found deficient in that regard.²⁵ A conference convened for suggesting ways and means of promoting national integration admitted that whereas Hindi should be the link language between all the regions, it had yet not developed to the extent of serving all the needs of communication. For academic purposes also it was inadequate. Therefore, pending such time as Hindi could be enabled to perform the role of a link language, English was to continue to serve that purpose.²⁶ Thus it was recognized in principle that the regional languages and Hindi were to replace English, but practical difficulties did not permit an immediate implementation of that policy.

In India the multiplicity of languages creates a vexing problem because all the languages do not belong even to a single family. The main languages are Indo-European or Dravidian and some minor languages are Monoglian. These do not matter so much, but the division between the Aryan and Dravidian languages is a serious matter. Their grammatical structures are fundamentally different. The South which speaks Dravidian group of languages witnessed language riots as soon as steps were taken to popularize Hindi in those areas and the Central Government had to have a second look at its language policy. Languages within the same groups as well have different scripts. Even Sanskrit is not written in the same script by all those who speak a language of the Indo-European group. In spite of all these difficulties, progress has been achieved. Dakin sums up the situation in these words: "There has been some advance. Regional languages are developing as media for education at all levels, and there are some signs that Hindi is beginning to consolidate its position as a national language. But the conflicting social, political and educational requirements are far from being resolved. Undue reliance on the regional languages not only makes mobility more difficult, but increases the danger of the country's falling apart. Keeping English as the sole or even chief medium

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Julian Dakin, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

for advanced education is to create a caste of educated English speakers in a land already bedevilled by countless centrifugal forces; and even if Hindi should gain acceptance as an effective national language unity may have been gained at the price of isolation."²⁷

This fear of isolation has also been present in the minds of Indian leaders. Mahatma Gandhi said on one occasion, "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any."²⁸ Mrs. Indira Gandhi said in 1967, "In the present day world, we cannot afford to live in isolation. Therefore, there should be three languages, regional, national and international."²⁹

There are strong similarities between the situations in Pakistan and in India, though the problems are not identical. It was, therefore, necessary to turn to the Indian experience to find out whether it can provide us with some light in our effort to find a solution to our own difficulties. But before we come to Pakistan, it would be profitable to turn to the Soviet Union to see if there are any lessons for Pakistan in its language policies.

The Russian policies all point in one direction. The aim has been to promote the use of Russian at the cost of Persian and Turki, the two main languages of Turkestan. The doctrine of nationalities was advocated and pushed to its extremes for the purpose of breaking the ethnic unity of Central Asian Muslims. These nationalities were then provided with languages. Modern Turkmen, Kirgiz, Uzbek and Kazakh were developed largely on the basis of the dialects of the chief towns in an area where several others, much more numerous than those chosen, were in use. After having been given the status of independent languages, they were encouraged to develop independently of the parent Turki. To

²⁷ Nigel Grant, "Education and Language", *op. cit.*, p. 197.

²⁸ Shriman Narayan, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

²⁹ Julian Dakin, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

isolate them further from traditional literature, they were given Latin scripts by the Russians. Later the Latin scripts also were discarded and Cyrillic (the Russian script) was adopted instead. These languages in their new scripts were used in schools and were cultivated as literary media. They were also given official status as they had been but dialects, their transformation into literary languages needed new vocabulary. This was not drawn from Turki or Arabic but was adopted wholesale from Russian. In many of these "republics" and territories, large number of Russians have been settled, specially in the bigger cities. For them the authorities have established Russian language schools. These schools are better staffed and better equipped, hence, they command greater prestige. Therefore a large number of parents send their children to these schools. In many areas the larger cities are slowly becoming Russian speaking. It is not only a question of prestige. The ambitious parent is not content that his child should end his education in a local university, which may be quite good but which certainly cannot compete with Moscow, Leningrad or Novosibirsk. He would, therefore, like his son to go to one of these, specially if he shows any aptitude for Mathematics or the natural sciences. These are, of course, Russian medium institutions and therefore the aspiring entrant should be sufficiently fluent in Russian to be able to prosecute his studies there. Indeed it is not sufficient to know enough Russian for following the courses or answering questions. As admissions to these universities are highly competitive he has to compete with Russians for admission and, therefore he must know Russian like one whose mother tongue is that language. Therefore, there is a scramble for admission to Russian language schools right in the beginning. Even if a child is content with education in the local language, that is not the end of his difficulties, because it is compulsory for him to learn Russian any way, even though the standard demanded may not be as high as it is in Russian language schools. This puts an extra burden upon him. This requirement is by no means a nominal one and in certain republics an extra year is added to the period of schooling to enable the pupils to cope with the requirement. This is true of the larger units; the smaller communities are "under much greater pressure to assimilate as small numbers and the undeve-

loped state of their languages makes them for less resistant to Russian encroachment.³⁰

The Russian methods are perhaps slow but they are sure. The strategy seems to have been first to break the area into linguistic segments: the people of Turkestan would have been much happier if their political and linguistic unity had not been broken. Turki was a more developed language than the ones that have been carved out from its carcass. It could easily have established relations with Turkish. Thus Turkish would have become a great language spoken and used by a huge population inhabiting a large area. But this did not suit Russia because then Turki's ties with the past could not be easily led into dissolution. Besides the script was changed and lastly there has, on Russian initiative and persuasion, been a great incursion of Russian words. Even if these languages survive all these policies, they will have become subservient to Russian as indeed they have already become. What the British had not been able to achieve in two centuries, the Russians have in less than one. Now the process will gain momentum and will turn more and more effective every day. The Russian techniques of flattering small groups, of constituting themselves as their patron and then subverting their identity and language is a very effective one. It is based on the enunciation of principles which look attractive because they sugarcoat the real intentions. The non-Russian communities in the Soviet Union can never hope to have even autonomy—much less independence, because the Soviet Union has not only built itself up into a super power, much stronger than the Tsars ever could hope to be, but also because of the settlement of large Russian communities in the midst of the dependent peoples. This builds up the worst kind of colonialism and provides a ready made system of espionage against any rebellious tendencies. The process has been further reinforced by cultural infiltration so that these dependencies may always revolve within the Russian orbit. The socialist brand of imperialism has fashioned tools for subjugating others that were not available to capitalist expansionists. The Russian experiment, however diabolical it may be in its intentions as well as achievements, is

³⁰ Most of the information regarding Soviet Union is based on Nigel Grant, "Education and Language", *op. cit.*, pp. 185-189.

not totally unproductive for nations and peoples whose motives are not sinister and who do not intend to subjugate any other people and rule over them.

The Indian experience, however, is more relevant to our circumstances because of our common history under the British. The evil effects of using English as the medium of instruction and also as an official language have been far more destructive in Pakistan than in India for various reasons. The Muslims are not conservative by instinct like the Hindus and they accept change more eagerly than their erstwhile compatriots. India has done much more thinking in the field of education than Pakistan. The government of India has had a continuity that we have lacked and this has resulted in our greater involvement in politics to the exclusion of many other pressing problems. The Indian government has always shown greater respect for academic opinion and academicians. It has tended to give a free rein to educationists and has utilized their services for doing the thinking in educational matters irrespective of their political affiliations. The politician—unless he has also been an educationist—and the bureaucrat have played insignificant roles in India so far as education is concerned. In Pakistan the politician and the bureaucrat despite their total ignorance of the issues involved have been the makers, enunciators and implementers of educational policies. The academician has only carried out the orders communicated to him. As he has seldom been invited to think, he has stopped thinking for himself. Whenever he has found circumstances in which he can agitate and yet play safe, he has agitated only for getting his salary and influence increased. He has never bothered to think of education as his concern. One has only to look at the number of publications to the credit of Indian educationists and their total absence in Pakistan to see where educational thinking stands in this country. Therefore Pakistan has been content to tread upon the beaten path, shunning originality as if it were poison, and whenever an effort at thinking out reforms has been made, it has remained fully within the four walls of inherited tradition. All systems deteriorate when constant effort is not made to keep them in trim, and Pakistani education has deteriorated terribly, so that what little advantage could be derived from it earlier

has totally vanished making the gloom of ignorance deeper and deeper as time passes.

Despite the obvious similarities between the language problems of India and Pakistan, the situation in Pakistan is much more amenable to solution. Now that East Pakistan is no longer a province of Pakistan, the complications created by the majority of the population of the country speaking and being passionately attached to Bengali are out of the way. Whatever new relationship develops between the two former parts of Pakistan, the old position is not likely to be restored. The utmost that is likely to happen at some not too distant a time is that there comes into effect a close confederation. Even then the language policies of the two units need not be identical, all that will be required is a small secretariat that can be bilingual, even unilingual if it uses an international language. But that need not prevent us from developing a language policy for West Pakistan that is realistic and scientific and in accordance with modern trends. It has to be frankly recognized that Pakistan is multilingual. It is also a fact that Urdu is the only language that is understood in all the areas, so that it is admirably suited to be the link language for the entire country. So long as the wishes of the people in the choice of the local language are not respected, there will be frustration and resentment. It has also to be recognized that no province of West Pakistan is unilingual. The people will have to be consulted regarding what they consider to be their mother tongue. If they so desire—and indeed that would also be in accordance with modern thinking—primary education should be in the child's mother tongue. If two communities live side by side, and if there are enough children to sustain a primary school, each community should be provided with a school in its mother tongue. Urdu should be taught to all children beginning with the lower secondary and a local language that is spoken in the area concerned should be compulsorily taught to children whose mother tongue is Urdu. The choice of the medium of instruction at the higher secondary level should be left to the child. Uniform textbooks in all the languages should be prepared under the supervision and authority of an independent committee at the national level. This will be helpful to communities which are spread over several provinces. The medium of instruction

at the university level should be Urdu. This will be easier if the central committee for the preparation of textbooks insists upon a common higher vocabulary drawn from Arabic and Persian. The government should institute a high powered autonomous body for translating technical terms which are not used internationally. It should be legally binding upon publishers and authors to use those terms. As these terms shall be derived from common classical sources, they should be acceptable to all local languages. The use of words which are common to most languages and of words of Persian and Arabic origin should be encouraged. The mass media being government controlled can play an important role in the creation and encouragement of a common vocabulary which will bring the languages nearer. The universities would be well advised to maintain the link language as the medium of instruction because at the university level, it would not be possible for each local language to have a sufficient number of books which would form the basic requirement in every subject. The facts that the link language will be taught everywhere at the secondary level and that the technical terms and higher vocabulary will be common will ensure mobility. This is a perfectly feasible programme only if there is the will.

English should not be eliminated completely. For many years at the undergraduate level and at the post-graduate level, perhaps throughout the foreseeable future, the dependence upon the English reading materials will be considerable. For this purpose English will have to be taught more efficiently. This, however, means that the number of persons who compulsorily have to learn to speak and write English will have to be reduced. A small number will be trained to possess good competence, a somewhat larger number will be enabled to possess a working knowledge that would enable them to tackle English books without necessarily possessing the capacity to reproduce in English what they learn from English reading materials. It is one thing to know a language sufficiently well to be able to read and understand it and quite a different matter to know it so well as to make an original contribution or even to express one's ideas cogently and correctly in it. This latter competence will come to some gifted persons who have a talent for acquiring facility in a foreign language. Gradually, however, so much literature will be produced that no

reliance will be necessary upon foreign reading materials. Even then a window should be kept open to survey the international academic scene. Indeed as universities and scholarship, after throwing overboard the shackles of a foreign language, attain maturity and vision is widened, more than one window will be necessary and there will be experts in various languages, different scholars specializing in the literature of different countries. English is a tremendously rich language but even then it cannot claim that no knowledge exists outside it and good American, British and other English speaking universities insist upon specific foreign language requirements from their students depending upon their subject of study. Today so much reliance is placed on English in Pakistan that very few of our students learn any other foreign language. At one time Persian was widely studied; today few know it. The knowledge of Arabic has grown even more rare. This linguistic isolation will have to be broken, but paradoxically it can be broken only when the local languages develop properly and the link language is given its proper place. It is no use calling it the national language when it is not put to any use worth the name.

The question of medium of instruction cannot be isolated from that of the official language. So long as English is the official language, no Pakistani language can prosper. Those foolish persons who think that preventing Urdu from becoming the official language of the federation is helping the local languages are sadly mistaken. This is the dog in the manger mentality; the dog would starve if it stays in the manger, does not go out to search his own food and spends all its time in preventing the cattle from feeding. The local languages should make a united effort to oust English from its usurped position, because the local languages have suffered as much as the national language, if not more. The local language should be the official language in the area where it is spoken; in bilingual or multilingual provinces the national language should be the official language of the province as well. In all the dealings with the federation naturally the national language will have to be used. The national language should also be the language of the banks and firms which function in large areas where more than one language is used. Opposition to the national language shall not disappear

until the local languages receive proper status as official languages in the areas where they are used. Common technical terms and the growth of a common vocabulary will make communication easier between different areas and communities. It follows that the Public Service Commission will discard English as the medium of examination and will substitute it by the national language and, in the instance of provincial services, by the local languages used in that province. However at all levels the national language and a local language shall form compulsory subjects of examinations. This will eliminate any advantage to Urdu speaking candidates.

It is erroneously believed that English is necessary for the study of science. As a matter of fact science is mostly a matter of technical terms, internationally accepted signs and symbols, algebraic equations and abstractions. These are mastered as the student makes progress. The translation of a book of science is comparatively an easier exercise than the translation of a book pertaining to some social science, if it deals with principles and not quantities. Quantified social science is as easy to translate as a book of mathematics or statistics. Even in social sciences where principles and philosophy are discussed, it is easier to master the jargon of one discipline than to develop an overall competence to deal with all the complexities of a broad based education.

What has been suggested in the preceding paragraphs is by no means a counsel of perfection. It is not difficult to implement. The cooperation and enthusiasm of the entire nation can be marshalled in its service if its aims are explained to the people. With the help of popular enthusiasm, the change can be brought about within an incredibly short time. The excuse of a lack of textbooks is only a lame one: it is putting the cart before the horse. Books follow demand and do not precede it. The method suggested is gradual and not sudden, yet it is expeditious. If the change is to wait for books, it will have to wait for ever. The effort is not beyond our financial and intellectual resources. England stepped into the era of progress when the Bible was translated into English. If we adopt the suggestions made here we shall shed ignorance, lethargy, backwardness and inertia. Politically

also we shall become a true democracy because how can people be interested in business that is conducted in a language that is not understood by 98% of the population? Their necessity of acquainting themselves with it corrupts our languages, undermines our culture, deprives us of our moorings and subverts our national identity.

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CHAPTER IX

Training for Citizenship

In his address to the Education Conference held in Karachi in 1947, Fazlur Rahman laid emphasis on training for citizenship. In support of this opinion he argued that "the possession of a vote by a person ignorant of the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship is like the playing of a child with dynamite and is responsible for endless corruption and political instability. Our education must, therefore, instil into the young mind the fundamental maxim of democracy that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance; it must aim at cultivating the civil virtues of discipline, integrity and useful public service."¹ There would be no exaggeration in the statement that our education has totally failed in this regard. A good many of the ills of our society can be traced directly from the weakness—if not the total absence—of the civil virtues in our intelligentsia as well as the masses. The educated elite is so sunk in selfishness that it has offered no leadership to the masses. Indeed it has set for the uneducated masses reprehensible examples of lack of patriotism, principles and the spirit of public service. The mass media never realized that their main function should have been to inform and educate rather than the provision of cheap entertainment. Information

¹ Fazlur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

and education could have been made interesting and entertaining and entertainment could have been made inspiring. But such efforts need imagination and dedication, neither of which characterized our mass media services. If our formal education had not been aimless and without purpose, it might have created a more serious minded and enlightened intelligentsia. Our political life has been singularly uninspiring because after the death of Liaquat Ali Khan the democratic forces pined away. President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States of America said that "the greatest duty of a statesman is to teach" because a government has to get its policies accepted by the people and hence it has always to be "persuading, leading, sacrificing, teaching."² In the beginning we were concerned mainly with keeping the machinery of the government going and when it started working reasonably smoothly, we thought that the job had been done and we could relax. We left the business of government as well to the bureaucracy and thought that the sole concern of a government was merely to keep itself in power. We, therefore, thought that formal education would look after itself; all that was needed in schools and colleges was to keep the students in check so that they did not rise in revolt against the rulers and the mass media could be used to project them in as favourable a light as they could through flattery and exaggerations. Of course, they succeeded in neither of these two limited aims. The path to dictatorship, however, was paved, because a society that is denied true participation in the business of government through constant persuasion and consultation becomes inert and incapable of defending its rights.

Education awakens the critical faculty, therefore the dictator abhors it. He believes in indoctrination, not education. His decision is final and cannot be questioned, because he is "always right." The Nazi commandments to youth will bear out this contention. They were inter alia "The Fuhrer is always right; the programme is your dogma; it demands your complete surrender to the cause; whatever serves the interests of the movement and, through it, Germany and the German people is right."³ Because a dictator dislikes true education, he is always

² *New York Times*, (New York), 19 March, 1950.

³ H. L. Childs, (Trans.), *The New Prince*, (New York, 1938), pp. xxiii ff.

anti-intellectual. He needs technicians, therefore he encourages technical training and even education in pure sciences because they form the basis of applied science and technology. In social sciences he insists upon a bias that favours his theories and policies, but he frowns upon all dissent. Indeed he suppresses it in one way or another. This attitude does incalculable harm to the nation's intellectual growth because it is equated by the dictator with competence and progress in technology. Even there the dictator's prejudices and his total control over intellectual activity may do considerable damage. For instance Hitler encouraged the work on missiles but almost stopped research in nuclear physics, because to him it was a "Jewish science". This happened in Germany where the study of the natural sciences as well as liberal disciplines had made such headway. The harm to Pakistan's intellectual progress because of dictatorship can be imagined.

But scientific and intellectual activities are not the only casualties. Dictatorship saps the vitality of a people by making it subservient. The moment it begins to tolerate encroachments upon its liberties, its fate is sealed. It ceases to be a nation and becomes a herd of cattle, because then it loses initiative and choice; it does not move, it is driven. Even charismatic dictatorships are poison to the well being of a people; but when a dictator rules without the halo of charisma he becomes a slave driver. Civic virtues then decline because they find no scope; the character of the individual citizen is corroded because it loses its grit and adopts subservience as an armour against injury. Then there arise grave dangers to the integrity and sovereignty of the nation. A people that is reconciled to subservience adjusts itself naturally and inevitably to foreign domination. Dictatorships emerge through lies and propaganda and are sustained by falsehoods and deceit. The days when empires could be established by conquest and sustained by military power are gone; no one, howsoever strong or powerful, can rule a people that knows the value of its liberties and is willing to fight for them and to suffer for them. The loyalties of nations to their own sovereign existence, however, can be subverted by subtle means and such efforts are difficult to counter if the nation lacks political education. All literate and even educated persons do not

necessarily have this education. In countries where political participation in an effective manner has been denied to the people or where their civil liberties and particularly rights of dissent and criticism have been taken away, the citizens are reduced to apathy and helplessness. In such states the chances of subversion are enormous. Independence becomes meaningless and it matters little whether the usurper comes from within or without. Therefore if a nation desires to maintain its integrity and freedom, it must take pains to educate its youth politically. Maturity comes from education and experience, otherwise, even if patriotism somehow manages to survive despite lack of proper education, it expresses itself in sheer emotionalism and serves no useful purpose beyond providing some demagogue with the necessary charisma to set up a dictatorship.

Political education is not easy so far as schools and colleges are concerned. It may degenerate into enlistment of students to the parties which may be the favourites of teachers. Political education should be in the principles and fundamentals of political organization. It should tell the students why states are organized, how they are subverted, why tolerance of other opinions is necessary, why governments must respect individual liberties and in particular the rights of dissent and criticism and what should be the voluntary or legal restraints upon the use of these rights. Above all, every effort should be made to train the student in a balanced assessment of issues, policies, situations, legislative enactments and political statements whether they come from the government or the opposition. An educated person must not take all opinions on trust. In Pakistan, all citizens, whatever their age, have to be specially educated in striking a balance in personal, sectional, communal, class and national interests. We have suffered too much from a lack of understanding of the juxtaposition of various kinds of interests and the limits that have to be imposed upon them. If the delicate nature of the relationship of these interests is not understood in a society, disaster is not far away. Who can claim that even our educated elite is educated in this regard? Our education has failed miserably in creating social and political maturity. The result is a selfishness explosion that threatens to destroy the very fabric of our society. Cynical demagogues and expansionist

neighbours alike can exploit our weaknesses precisely because we—even the so-called educated among us—are so ignorant of the mechanics and the ethics of social and political life. We do not even know where our true interests lie. Naturally we are a peculiarly gullible people because we are immature and ill educated.

We are ill educated because we have made no serious attempt to understand the true function of education. Philosophically speaking "the unit element for the study of the life process is not simply the organism—still less merely the intellect, not environment, nor even the organism and environment, but the organism-in-active-interaction-with-the-environment."⁴ No organism exists on its own; nor does it rely merely passively on the environment. It has to react to the environment and it is the quality and quantity of this reaction that determines its health and longevity. Man is no different in this regard; only a good proportion of his reactions are conscious. This, however, is an important difference. Education is meaningless unless it trains the individual in making the interaction between himself and his environment fruitful and beneficial. What relates to his mere physical or animal existence is comparatively easy to regulate; but man has also a relationship with other men. In other words, apart from his physical environment, he has a social environment. Education therefore, should have a social end. In recent years this has been recognized increasingly by educationists throughout the world, except in Pakistan. As a matter of fact, today individual excellence is assessed in terms of social values. Irving King says that "the need . . . of a thoroughly concrete, practical conception of the social end of education is thrusting itself upon us . . . Individualistic ideals . . . underlie much of our educational practice . . . It is clear to us today that none of these individual excellences would have any value, or indeed, mean anything, except as our pupil lives and works among other people. Of what worth are his knowledge, skill, culture, except as they enable him to live more efficiently among his fellow men . . . ? His welfare or success can in no wise be separated from that of his associates."⁵ As

⁴ John Dewey, *Creative Intelligence* (New York, 1917), p. 15.

⁵ Irving King, *Education for Social Efficiency* (New York, 1915), pp. 11-14.

a matter of fact the earlier societies considered education "a social undertaking."⁶ To them an individual who lived only for himself or his family was not only useless, but a liability, because he enjoyed the protection of the tribe but did not contribute anything to its life. Therefore, "the educational system of the savage was designed to secure the solidarity of the group."⁷

This idea has endured throughout the evolution of the society into its present highly complex pattern. In earlier days, the smaller groups of the family—or its extension the tribe—and the village or the neighbourhood possessed positive codes of social behaviour and conduct. The ideal of the solidarity of the group instinctively expressed itself in many ways and "loyalty, kindness, truthfulness, lawfulness" were ingrained in life.⁸ When examined it would be found that they were the elements of a social morality. "These are elementary qualities of human nature in all small groups of people the world over, both barbarous and civilized."⁹ But today the small group is slowly vanishing and it is yielding place to more complex societies. This has resulted in a corresponding increase in the impact of all our actions, and even if we belong to a small group, "our conduct whether good or bad, today affects not alone the little narrow groups in which we, live, but even people whom we may not know intimately, or perhaps never at all."¹⁰ The complexity of development, however, has affected human society in an opposite manner. It has undermined our instincts of social morality. "The maladjustment of human energies and resources is in the main due to an excessive development along economic lines, accompanied by a great increase in population, without a corresponding development of those ideals of social relationship which, in the simple primitive community, coordinated and kept a proper balance in the other phases of life . . . The same sort of conscious purpose which has wrought the changes in the economic life must appear in the development of a social morality which is adequate to these new conditions;

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

a social morality which can unify diverse and reconcile conflicting interests and conserve human welfare in the midst of the great modern machine of production, distribution and consumption... The ideal of a social life adequate to modern conditions of living must take its place as an object of explicit and conscious training, just because it is too complex and difficult any other way. In fact such an ideal may be regarded as including all others. Properly interpreted it is the real ideal of all education."¹¹

Indeed the socialization of the individual is one of the classical functions of education, because a man must develop roots in the traditions and attitudes of the society to which he belongs.¹² As society has developed into an extremely complex 'leviathan', it is not possible to strike roots in it without training and circumspection. That is the reason why the more complex is the society in a country, the more rejects and derelicts it produces and even when a person is not driven to extremes, sometimes as extreme as suicide, the number of persons who are not able to adjust themselves to their environment increases and mental diseases abound. Man's dependence on others is unbounded. As an infant he is totally helpless. As he grows up his dependence continues and he cannot obtain even such necessities as food and clothing without the cooperation of others. As he progresses, he becomes more and more dependent on innumerable complex activities, forces, trends and motives; yet he cannot fully comprehend their subtle relationship. Even with training and education he generally remains ignorant of a substantial portion of them. And when it comes to culture and even science, this complexity not only increases but becomes overwhelming. Even concrete "events where once they are named lead an independent and double life", according to Dewey.¹³ All that happens becomes irredeemable and begins to affect our lives whether we are conscious of its impact upon ourselves or not. The "named event" is a part of our conscious self; it lives there and quite often is active, but it also lives in the infinite

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

¹² J. W. Airan, T. Barnabas, A. B. Shah, *Climbing a Wall of Glass: Aspects of Educational Reform in India* op. cit. p. 6.

¹³ John Dewey, *Experience and Nature* (Chicago, 1925), p. 166.

complexities and influences that mould life.¹⁴ And these complexities and influences work upon a large number of individuals and create that great leviathan of complexities, the society, And "the greatest educational power, the greatest force in shaping the dispositions and attitudes of individuals, is the social medium in which they live," says Dewey, who, therefore, rightly holds that "given a social medium in whose institutions the available knowledge, ideas and art of humanity were incarnate, the average individual would rise to undreamt of heights of social and political intelligence."¹⁵

It has been contended that "the individual, the person in the singular number, is the more fundamental phenomenon, and the social institution, of whatever grade, is but secondary and immaterial."¹⁶ It is true that the individual is "the more fundamental phenomenon" and, therefore, is important, but the society is no less fundamental. At no time has the individual subsisted by himself. Indeed the more primitive the society, the greater and stronger are the visible ties which bind its individual members to it. Man cannot be separated from the society, the social medium is the very air that he breathes. Some thinkers have been misled into thinking that "man is not naturally a social animal" and that "human association is the result of the perceived advantage that it yields."¹⁷ This is belied by the fact that association has always been primarily instinctive. It is not denied that some associations are chosen because of the advantages that accrue or are expected to accrue from them; but the fundamental associations, for instance, those with the family, the tribe or even with larger units to which the individual feels bound by sentiments are by no means artificial or consciously chosen. This is why it has been said that "society is in us, in each of us, in some degree in all, and in the highest degree in the greatest of us."¹⁸ This is but another way of saying that the

¹⁴ This is based on above and Dewey, *Creative Intelligence* op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁵ John Dewey, *Liberalism and Social Action* (New York, 1935), p. 91.

¹⁶ William James, *Memoirs and Studies* (New York, 1911), p. 102.

¹⁷ Quoted in J. Q. Dealey and L. F. Ward, *A Textbook of Sociology* (New York, 1905), p. 1.

¹⁸ R. M. MacIver, *Community* (London, 1917), p. 70.

more we are socialized, the better we live as individuals. The sustenance that we draw from the social medium builds up our personality and our outlook.¹⁹

And yet it cannot be denied that individuals play an important role in fashioning society. A group of criminals cannot form an ethical society. Krieck is right when he says that "there is no social growth without the accompanying and pioneering growth of personalities and no personal growth without social growth".²⁰ Formerly it was believed that education is concerned almost entirely with the individual. Its main purpose was to enlighten him through knowledge. It was erroneously believed that knowledge would build up character as well. This view ignored the basic fact that knowing is not necessarily acting upon knowledge. A conscious effort to build up character was not a strong point in medieval education. Primitive societies had little knowledge to impart, therefore they more or less concentrated upon the inculcation of tribal or traditional values through adherence to well established practices. Among the more developed societies Hinduism has inherited this attitude of putting conformity above knowledge and belief but educational institutions, until the new revolt of the youth in many countries, considered the training of character as an essential part of education in many post medieval societies. There always has been an emphasis upon the excellence of personal character, but recently it has tended to become the sole responsibility of the school. The family at one time considered it necessary to devote a good deal of its time to the building up of the children's character; now new economic conditions have left very little time in the hands of the parents who pass the responsibility of bringing up children properly to the school. "Although the primary task of the school", says Godfrey H. Thomson, "is to give letters, yet this is not its most important task. That, in the opinion of many, is the training of character, and it is a duty which has been more and more thrust on the school by the changes accompanying the progress of civilization."²¹ There

¹⁹ John Dewey, *Liberalism and Social Action*, op. cit., p. 69.

²⁰ Krieck, *Philosophie der Erziehung*, quoted in Godfrey H. Thomson, op. cit., p. 196.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

is another reason. There is much less involvement of the individual and specially of the child in the life of the community today than there ever was before. Therefore the school should provide for programmes that create opportunities of character training. Kilpatrick advances this argument with great emphasis.²² Similarly M. L. V. Hughes holds that the chief end of education is character building.²³ The emphasis upon character building links education strongly with ethics, because every educational system has to decide what kind of character is its ideal.²⁴ Systems which are not based upon clear thinking and are either imitative or merely eclectic in their aims and methods are totally incapable of building up the character of the youth. And the education of the masses through political processes and mass media can only increase confusion. Indeed it is likely to prove positively harmful if political life is robbed of its ethical content. Despite the fact that formal education is given to the individual because he is easier to handle, the target of good education cannot be merely the production of ethically sound persons individually because unless the social medium is reformed and improved, the individual can project his virtues but poorly into the behaviour of the society. Therefore the individual has to be socialized on a mass scale, a process that has to be conscious, well planned and aimed at nothing short of creating a healthy, invigorating and productive social medium.

The effort is not as complicated as it may sound to some because of the fact that the parent and the teacher alike are primarily concerned with the individual whose progress they watch for finding out the extent of the success of their efforts. In individual performance they have a simple and easy yardstick. For, as Mac Iver points out, "socialization and individualization are the two sides of a single process."²⁵ A person can be a good individual only if the impact of his actions on others is beneficial. "The individual's normal growth lands him in essential solidarity with his fellows, while, on the other hand, the exercise of his

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 47-49.

²³ H. L. V. Hughes, *Citizens to be* (London, 1915), p. 181.

²⁴ B. C. Mullinger (Tr.) *Anwendung der Psychologie auf die Pedagogik* (London, 1898), Letter I.

²⁵ R. M. MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

social duties and privileges advances his highest and purest individuality," says J. Mark Baldwin.²⁶ In other words the individual lives in society, and he cannot escape it. Similarly his actions cannot be isolated from the society. He can injure society if he is motivated by unsocial selfishness; he can benefit it by serving its interests. If he is selfish and his actions are not governed by morality, he does not attain his stature; if he serves society, his stature increases. To the extent education socializes him, he feels the identity of his real interests with the interests of the society and thus refrains from injuring society through unenlightened selfishness. The larger the number of properly socialized individuals in a society, the healthier it is, and in return, pays dividends to its members in the shape of providing a beneficial social medium. Whitehead holds that "the worth of any social system, depends on the value experience it promotes among individual human beings... A community life is a mode of eliciting values for the people concerned."²⁷ A good society, therefore, has to be based upon a scale of values that enrich its life. This is the meaning of social morality and it is closely connected with individual morality. That is the reason why since the beginning of social relations, morality has acted as their foster mother. Social relations are inconceivable without some principles that govern them and experience soon begins to dictate which principles are likely to provide stability and constructive vigour. The accumulation of this experience builds up this morality. It is necessary to cultivate a conscious "understanding of the values which have till now operated to raise man from the state of savagery to his present state of development."²⁸ This understanding has to be cultivated by planners of education as well as inculcated among the students. Any study of history without this realization is not fully fruitful. The most cardinal sin in social morality is that of narrow and unethical selfishness which is the negation of social morality and responsibility. Selfish men in fact are social sponges; they suck up the advantages offered by a society, without contributing anything in return. From what has been said about our educated

²⁶ J. Mark Baldwin, *Individual and Society* (Boston, 1911), p. 11.

²⁷ *Atlantic Monthly*, (Boston), v. Clxiii, p. 315.

²⁸ Humayun Kabir and others, *The Teaching of Social Sciences in India*, (1947-67), (Delhi, 1968), p. 30.

elite and their barren selfishness would show that the Pakistani education has reared a breed of unmatched social sponges who have exploited the country without making any contribution to its progress and well-being. Because of faulty educational policies, our society has been growing bankrupt in values and achievements and, logically enough, the individuals have increasingly been reduced to a state of apathetic, thoughtless and suicidal social inefficiency, neither motivated to stop the deterioration, nor capable of doing it.

The old idea of individual worth was in fact monastic. A man could rise to heights of spiritual attainment by secluding himself from others. Thus it was believed by some that moral and spiritual excellence—could be attained without seeking social relevance for the virtues cultivated. There was little room for this view in a Muslim country because Islam is opposed to monasticism and insists upon social involvement of the individual. With the decline of monasticism—indeed even earlier—certain social virtues came to be lauded, but they did not form a necessary part of individual morality. That is the reason of a late recognition of socialization as a part of education in the West. In Muslim countries education was so integrated with religion that it was assumed that it would breed religious minded individuals. Islamic morality was based in and almost a sequel of religion and because Islam looked upon social virtues as a part of Islamic morality, there seemed little need to orient education to it as a separate objective. The unsocial attitude of the educated elite in Pakistan, therefore, is the logical result of the divorce of education from Islam on the one hand and the unimaginative and ill informed educational policies pursued in this country on the other.

Without the moral training of the citizens, no state can be stable or strong. "Only that state is healthy and can thrive", says Plato in *The Republic*, "which increasingly endeavours to improve the individuals who constitute it."²⁹ In this country, obviously this has not been done and, therefore, we are becoming more and more faction ridden and weak. Patriotism can be

²⁹ Quoted in George Kerschensteiner, *Education for Citizenship* English Translation by A. J. Pressland (London, 1915), p. 22.

frittered away by selfishness and this has happened in Pakistan. When neglected by the state, patriotism could have been inculcated by the family. Indeed George Kerschenstiener presumes that "it is the function of the family to foster the state-idea and to prepare its members for state-citizenship."³⁰ It should be explained "clearly and convincingly" that the pupil's "economic and social needs" depend upon "the interests of his fellow citizens and of his native land".³¹ According to this author one of the aims of education is "to gain an insight into the relations of individuals to one another and the state, to understand the laws of its health, and to employ the knowledge acquired in the exercise of self-control, justice and devotion to duty, and in leading a sensible life tempered with a strong feeling of personal responsibility."³² This is too important a matter and too stupendous a task to be left to the family of today laden with its multifarious duties and distractions. It was totally beyond a Pakistani family's capacity to undertake this training, because of the prevailing ignorance about the proper function of education in the country and the general deterioration in public morality. But even if the average family had been sufficiently enlightened and motivated, it would have found the task difficult because of the deliberate attempts made by some important newspapers and the government controlled mass media to engender a general revolt among the youth against the traditional values and to create a special dislike and suspicion of parental advice. If these very agencies had played a positive role in socializing the youth instead of leading it into the wilderness of revolt and barren rebellion, the family perhaps could have exerted a somewhat better influence upon its offspring. We have sown the wind, but we have yet not harvested the full crop of the whirlwind.

Our youth was not inspired by any gainful purpose like the German youth who organized the Wanderfogel and later the Jugendbewegung, which created a hatred for the teachers and a passionate deep seated revolt against the whole elder generation." It did engender a struggle between father and son and

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

contributed many a tragic episode.³³ But all this can be forgiven because it was a struggle for the positive ends of respect for individual liberty and equality of opportunity for all boys and girls. It was a battle that was waged against privileged classes that would not otherwise permit a democratization of the highly rigid structure of the German society. The German youth was not flippant; it was not seeking an easier code of morality that would usher in a permissive society; it was earnest and serious minded. It had certain laudable ends in view and was working for a more enlightened and productive fatherland. Its aims were patriotic and it had to revolt because the elder generation stood for the ills against which the youth wanted to fight. But that section of the Pakistani youth that indulged in the inspired talk regarding generation gaps and freer commingling of the sexes was seeking merely personal pleasure and withdrawal of discipline and restraints. The good of the society or patriotism did not have any place in its thinking. To the extent it has succeeded, it has weakened Pakistan and its society. This is a serious matter from the point of education, because "no educational system is able to maintain emotional stability and mental integrity unless it can hold in check the social influences which disorganize community life."³⁴ And those who encourage rebellion against the morality that works for the integrity of the society are in fact creating influences which cannot but disrupt the life of the community. Codes and norms from the point of view of sociology are "the expression of an interplay between individual and group adjustment."³⁵ They do change; indeed they are continuously changing; and yet the change is so gradual that they give the impression of stability and they cannot be made to work or to contribute to the health of a society without this apparent stability.³⁶ Any attempt to make them infructuous for the purposes of self indulgence or pleasure, any selfish breaking away from them and any wanton disregard for them would undermine the integrity of the community and tend to disrupt it. There are no known methods of changing widely

³³ Godfrey H. Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

³⁴ K. Hannheim, "Mass Education and Group Analysis", in J. J. Cohe and R. H. W. Travers, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

accepted moral values except those of rational criticism and the acceptance of that criticism as valid by the community. The dissent has to be as disciplined as conformity if society is not to be disrupted or thrown into conflict. Negative actions that seek to undermine well recognized mores and norms for no positive or beneficial ends only result in loosening the bonds of communal integrity and lessen the potentiality of the community as an agent of social stability and direction. The function of education is to strengthen and not loosen these bonds and, therefore, it has to find ways and means of inculcating respect for the moral conceptions of the community and yet avoid to create rigidity and inertia by cultivating the techniques of bringing about healthy changes through judicious and wise action. But then the proposed change has to be examined in a scientific manner and its sociological, psychological and ethical worth should be determined with meticulous care. Otherwise education cannot contribute to "sociocracy"—"the rational control and direction of society by itself to reach certain determined and valuable ends."³⁷ These ends obviously cannot be determined in a sociological vacuum; doctrinaire ends seldom succeed in gaining acceptance unless they are related to the experience gained from life. Education has to quicken the sensitivity of the educated to the nature of this experience, its quality and its receptivity of the ends in view.

All this discussion is intended to emphasise the fact that education is concerned with the individual mainly with reference to his being a social agent, because that is the most important fact about a human being. That being so, his role as a citizen of a state assumes much greater significance than has generally been recognized, even though it has not escaped the attention of most thinkers on education. For instance Plato held that "the only education which . . . deserves the name" is "education in virtue from youth upwards which makes a man eagerly pursue the ideal of perfection of citizenship and teaches him how rightly to rule and how to obey."³⁸ This is a comprehensive

³⁷ Lister F. Ward, *Dynamic Society*, (New York, 1883), v. ii, chapters x to xiv, Quoted in Paul Monroe, op. cit., p. 718.

³⁸ Jowett's Translation of Plato, *Laws* 643, 644 (Marginal page numbers).

view of the responsibilities of citizenship and deserves the attention of all who are concerned with the responsibility of education, because citizenship implies the wielding of authority at various levels as well as the maintenance of the norms of administration and law and order. An administration can be corrupted both by the administrators and those whose affairs are the subject of that branch of administration. Similarly its efficiency depends both on execution and compliance. A citizen who understands the nature, scope and function of administration has the capacity to become both a good executive and a good client, because in a free society there are no rulers and ruled, but because administration should be carried out as a service, like so many other services of a public nature, the administrator is in the position of an executive and the man who has to comply or whose problem is tackled is a client. The executive-client relationship between officialdom and the public is the true spirit of a proper government and in itself creates self respect and a sense of responsibility among the people. But such an arrangement does not come into existence by itself. It has to be achieved by a responsible citizenry and a responsive executive. It is a by product of national integration as well, when the administrator feels that he is part of the same nation to which belong those whose affairs have been entrusted to him to administer. It is also based upon the continuity of experience in democratic practices. Can it be achieved by peoples who have little experience in democratic processes? People who had been ruled for long by others know only the exercise of authority and abject surrender before it. They are incapable of understanding the philosophy of administration as a common venture of the government and the people and unless this understanding is created, not only will democratic processes not take root but government also cannot be put on a sound basis. The only feasible method of inculcating a proper philosophy of government and administration is through proper education at the school level and through mass media for the adults. It is not difficult to introduce either; it only needs an understanding of the problem.

Training in citizenship is closely related to the building up of character. It has already been mentioned that the idea of virtue

isolated from a man's place in the society and his social behaviour is monastic and irrelevant in the context of the complex social and political responsibilities of today. A wrong emphasis upon individual goodness based upon merely the old fashioned social virtues of charity and honesty leads to a curious schizophrenia in the newly emerging states where civil virtues and political responsibilities, and for that matter, even simple civic duties are considered unimportant. Education today takes a different view, because it aspires to socialize the individual, and whereas the cardinal virtues are basic in its view, it holds that they in themselves are not adequate to insure the welfare of the individual or the society. Indeed virtue feels stultified in a society consisting of unsocialized individuals, because, actively or passively, they corrupt its entire structure. And such stultification either destroys individual virtue or breeds escapism. Both achieve the same negative end of further corrupting the society. In the context of socialization the building up of character means the inculcation of a sense of responsibility in the performance of every act and a refusal to shirk responsibility, whatever may be the cost. The price of freedom is not only eternal vigilance, but also the willingness to defend it when it is threatened either by an external foe or by internal usurpers. The defence of freedom is a basic duty because upon freedom depends the individual's ability to discharge his social responsibilities; that is the reason why at times it demands and obtains total sacrifice, which is the loss of life, property and even the home and the hearth. Freedom has to be defended both internally and externally and let there be no doubt in any mind that one is impossible without the other and either may demand the extreme sacrifice. Grit of character is needed even in smaller matters, because when there is a threat to liberty, there is, in the patriotic individual such upsurge of emotion that the greatest sacrifice may seem easy. The test of character comes in the discharge of daily duties as well when decisions have to be taken which may prove unpopular or which may offend some friend or some powerful person. The quality of a society is in fact determined by the principles that govern its affairs and when principles are discarded in favour of individuals, it becomes corrupt and begins to decline. Public morality is the cement that binds and strengthens society and it is merely a different way of saying

the same thing that the character of its individuals provides it with moral nourishment. Despite the fact that the principle that justice should be blind has been recognized universally, it is not respected in many countries. The principle is so hoary that *the Book of the Dead* written in Egypt at the same time as the Pyramids were built, laid it down that the soul shall be asked at the time of death if it has dispensed justice without any regard for the social status of those concerned.³⁹ It is not only a court trying a case of law that is concerned with justice; there are a million decisions made every day that affect different people and every one of these decisions has the potentiality of being just or otherwise.

The social concept of education has little use for ivory towers. All learning that only illuminates the mind without making it useful to the society is like a light that illumines nothing. The modern goal of education is to produce the capable man, rather than a mere scholar, "capable in scholarship still," but also capable in the discharge of his social and other responsibilities.⁴⁰ The citizenship of a modern state demands participation in its affairs. Therefore, it has been said rightly that "Education is meaningless and has no significance if it does not train the citizens of a country to work for certain targets, certain goals, certain ideals."⁴¹ And this training does not come to an end with formal education. That has necessarily changed the concept of adult education. "The old connotation of adult education, that is belated instruction in 3 Rs. for the illiterate and uneducated adults, has yielded place to a new concept of life long education for all people without exception... Life is a constant and dynamic process of adjustment to the changing world around us, for which education and training are ever needed. Education is the know-how for living as well as surviving. If man now learns to survive by avoiding the impending catastrophe which is his own doing, he will have before him opportunities for material and social development and

³⁹ William Heard Kilpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁴⁰ U.S.A. Thorndike, *Principles of Teaching*, quoted in Godfrey H. Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁴¹ M. C. Chagla, *Education and the Nation*, (Bombay 1966), p. 7.

well-being such as had never been available before in history."⁴²

This makes the task of those countries which have a high rate of illiteracy in their populations quite complex. On the one hand it should keep its literate population abreast of events, on the other hand it should realize that this is not adequate. The large sector of the illiterate population is dynamite in a democracy. Being ill informed, it is gullible. Its credulity is stuff that feeds fascist dictatorships. An enlightened and patriotic government can turn the radio and the television into instruments of mass education. But these very media, indeed even formal education given through schools and colleges as well, can be used for indoctrination and building up support for the dictator and his policies. We have known instances where the information media have been used to mislead the people. This can be done in a crude and clumsy manner; indeed wrong and palpably false information is dished out day after day, morning and evening, to mislead the simple minded and the less informed. The subtler method of hiding the truth even from the intellectual elite and then making them the vehicles of broadcasting its concoctions to make them more acceptable to the people and deceiving them about the real intentions of the junta was successfully tried by Yahya Khan and his co-conspirators. Only selfish and unpatriotic governments can play such a game, because they have solely the nefarious objective of furthering their anti-people policies in view. Such governments are not really concerned with the welfare or freedom of the people; they subvert freedom and destroy initiative. Patriotic and democratic governments do not prostitute the mass media, nor do they monopolize their use. Dissent is the fundamental right of every citizen, provided it remains within the bounds of patriotism and sane law. The act of monopolizing the mass media is tantamount to putting obstacles in the way of dissent and the people's right to hear all points of view. The suppression of the right of speech and expression of opinion by opposition parties is a heinous offence against democracy and the people, who are thus rendered unable to form sound

⁴² Nikhil Ranjan Roy, *Adult Education in India and Abroad* (Delhi, 1967), p. 3.

judgment. "The essential characteristic" of democracy is "the uninhibited mutual communication" among citizens.⁴³ Apart from the political importance of such communication its educative value is very great. It broadcasts ideas and information and matures discrimination so that the people are not easily deceived. All of us, even the well educated among us, quite often see only some aspect of a problem. In this respect the average citizen is like one of the proverbial "blind men of Indostan" who went to find out what an elephant was like and took away different impressions of it in their minds. But a modern writer points out that "the oriental fable of the blind men and the elephant stops just where it becomes of interest to the sociologist. Had these unwise men put together their individual impressions, they might have had an idea of the whole animal. If ever there was a time when citizens needed to view society *in toto* to understand, if possible, the incredible events in which they play an unwilling part, that time is now."⁴⁴ If citizens are to play any role in the affairs of their country, they cannot do so unless there is a communication among them, so that they can collate information and different points of view and then decide their course of action. No greater encroachment upon their right is conceivable than depriving them of the opportunities and means of enlightening themselves concerning the problems that confront them. This is the complete negation of education.

In countries like Pakistan where there is grossly inadequate experience of democratic processes and insufficient understanding of civic responsibilities, it is imperative that regular students as well as the masses be given instruction in both. This education has been so badly neglected that there is not even one decent book on civics. What passes for civics in this country is not even intended to give the kind of education mentioned here. Ayub Khan's government spent a large sum of money on producing a textbook at the Intermediate level but those entrusted with the work did not have a clear conception as to what was needed.

⁴³ Gopalkrishnan Ramanathan, *The Quest for General Education* (Delhi, 1966), p. 104.

⁴⁴ Lloyd Allen Cook and Stuart A. Queen, "The Role of Sociology" in Franklin, L. Burdette (Editor), *Education for Citizen Responsibilities*, (Princeton, 1942), p. 105.

It is one thing to try to inculcate patriotic feelings or to describe some institutions and quite another to give a training in citizenship. In this country there is confusion even about the basic relationship between the government in an independent sovereign country and its citizens. The concept that those who wield powers are not "rulers" and that the citizens are not their "subjects" has yet to be introduced. Nor is it understood that the people elect some persons for administering their affairs and not to set themselves up as their rulers and that those elected are servants of the people and not their masters. A majority has no right to ride rough shod over the rights, opinions and feelings of a minority. A majority is not to perpetrate tyranny, because the tyranny of a majority is its worst form. Democracy is government by compromise and not by fiat, even though that fiat may have the legal backing of a steadfast parliamentary majority. And if majorities behave in an irresponsible and tyrannical manner, it is the duty of every citizen to bring about their fall. It is the duty of every citizen to be steadfast in the defence of his legal rights and he should understand that if there is encroachment upon the rights or freedom of even one of his fellow citizens, his own rights are endangered. The duty of defending the entire system of fundamental and legal rights is basic to the idea of citizenship. One who shirks this duty is a traitor to the values of liberty. Those who inure themselves to injustices are abettors in spreading it. There can be no citizenship without courage and willingness to suffer; those who seek peace by shutting their eyes to injustice in the hope of buying immunity from persecution understand neither the responsibilities of citizenship, nor the mechanics of tyranny. Rights cannot be separated from duties. Frederick A. Ogg writes that "the citizen must be made to see unmistakably that if on one side of the shield are written rights, on the other are indelibly inscribed duties, obligations, responsibilities... The thing most needing to be taught, however, is that the citizen's responsibilities do not end with discharging the legal and constitutional obligations resting upon him."⁴⁵ Indeed the very notion of rights is indefensible without duties, because it is primarily the

⁴⁵ Frederick A. Ogg, "The Role of Political Science" in Franklin L. Burdette, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

discharge of duties that confers rights. And paradoxical as it may sound, the highest duty of the citizen is to defend rights, his own and those of others. Law is never able to cover the entire spectrum of morality; the scope of duties is likewise much wider than that of legal obligations.

The child as well as the adolescent should receive instruction in all aspects of citizenship in the school as well as in the college. Indeed even at the university level in Pakistan, Political Science is not taught in an adequate manner and that branch of the subject that deals with the theory of political relationship and obligation is sadly neglected. All these deficiencies should be removed. But theoretical training alone will not be enough unless the child gets a practical training right from the beginning and it is continued at the higher level as well. "Children get their first conception of human duties and of life's broader responsibilities through participating in the life of the family. The family is not merely the nursery of the physical child, it may even more be the nursery of all those qualities which go to make up a fine human nature."⁴⁶ "Even discerning parents have scarcely comprehended in what subtle ways the social forces of family life cooperate to fix the fabric and the texture of the child's life or how permanent withal are the influences which operate in these early years."⁴⁷ Unfortunately, however, many homes, particularly those in large and industrialized cities, are no longer able to discharge this duty properly. Children are neglected. "If through economic necessity, or through a mistaken sense of larger duties, or worse still, through refined selfishness, the home neglects its children, no other institution can make good the loss that they thereby suffer."⁴⁸ The homes which have been affected by these new influences are not able to function properly because "the interests which were formerly centred around the family hearth have been scattered; the freer, easier life has broken down the spiritual unity of former days."⁴⁹ Indeed an increasing disregard for religious, spiritual and moral values has contributed a good deal to the disruption of the family and the

⁴⁶ Irving King, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

home. Even then "the normal home, wherever it exists, is a definite centre of spiritual life, participated in by a little community of people, parents and children."⁵⁰ Formerly, the *mohallah*, or the neighbourhood, being integrated, furnished substantial training in social duties, but it has disintegrated and the nature of social training required for the adjustment of the individual to the society has also changed. Good schools, particularly those which have educative channels of student government can render useful service. The quality of the training is determined by the fact "whether the pupils are actually getting any practice in shouldering responsibility and in deciding things for themselves, as they will have to do when they leave school."⁵¹ In Pakistan, this kind of training is difficult to provide in schools because they are mostly inefficient, unimaginative, ill equipped and over-crowded. The prestigious schools which could do something in this regard are seldom motivated in the right manner; they are overwhelmed with the elite and leadership complex. In the universities organs of student government provide some training; but they are mainly concerned with strengthening student power.

So far as the provision of training in citizenship in the schools is concerned, it would be well to keep in view John Dewey's observation: "What the normal child continuously needs is not so much isolated moral lessons, instilling into him the importance of truthfulness and honesty, or the beneficent results that follow up some particular act of patriotism. It is the formation of habit of social imagination and conception. I mean by this that it is necessary that the child should be forming the habit of interpreting the special incidents that occur and the particular situations that present themselves in terms of the whole social life."⁵²

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁵² Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 196.

Training Man Power

In recent years great emphasis has come to be placed upon education for the production of man power in underdeveloped countries. In the beginning there was a general tendency towards over simplification and experts advanced theories and tendered advice with great confidence, but soon the complexities began to assert themselves and have yet not sorted themselves out. It is now generally accepted that the process of development cannot be isolated from a host of factors active within a society because economic activity despite its almost overwhelming importance is not the totality of life. Besides economic activity depends upon the source of its inspiration; the strength of its motivation; social conditions, habits and mobility; political stability and policies; the prevalent standards of tolerance, understanding and identification of economic interests; and general maturity. The realization of all this has come mostly through experience in contrast to theoretical assumptions and doctrinaire logic. The difficulties inherent in an artificially accelerated pace of development are engaging an increasing amount of attention of economists and other social scientists, even though they are still concerned mostly with economic growth. Apart from the fact that contradictions and bottlenecks have come to the sur-

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face which had escaped the notice of the planners and experts, the benefits of such development as undoubtedly did take place raising to some extent the gross national produce as well as the general standard of living were not spread out evenly. In almost all the developing countries the gap between the rich and the poor grew wider without ameliorating the situation through the creation of personal contacts as generally happens in pre-industrial integrated societies. Similarly the gap between the rich and poor nations widened to an alarming degree because of the better economic infra structure, greater technological know-how and more advanced systems of education in the rich countries. Simultaneously there has been an unprecedented progress in the means of communication so that even the less prosperous among the poorer nations are able to see with their own eyes the riches of the different societies and those who are not able to travel are able to read about them. And those who cannot read get perhaps even more intimate glimpses through films and television. All the products of the mass media in the rich countries have the unintentional impact upon the poor that the blatant flaunting of riches is bound to have upon the deprived.

The existence of great poverty side by side with prosperity is fraught with danger. This has come to be realized increasingly in the world. It was in fact this realization that led President Truman of the United States of America to launch his Point Four Programme on 20 January, 1949 "for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas."¹ It should be remembered that an extreme polarization had developed between the United States of America and the Soviet Union by now and the former did not want a world in which all the poorer countries would think that their salvation lay through communism so far as the problem of poverty was concerned. It was thought that the main incentive to communism was provided by poverty. If communism was to be contained to prevent the further strengthening of the Soviet Union as well as to meet the danger to the existing economic and social order in the industrialized Western World, the poorer nations were to be helped

¹ Quoted in R. C. Mukherjee, *Under-Development, Educational Policy and Planning*, (London, 1968), p. 16

to take the initial steps towards prosperity. It was hoped that the pace of development could be accelerated if the necessary expertise could be made available to underdeveloped countries and if they could be provided with material resources during the initial period of the venture. This was done upto a point and is continuing even today. And there is little doubt about the limited success of the effort, because, as has been mentioned before, the figures of the gross national produce and average incomes did register visible progress which also had an impact upon the life of the common man. The political side effects of the implementation of the Point Four Programme would not be relevant here beyond mentioning the fact that despite conscious and sometimes even tactless efforts they did not always succeed in making the underdeveloped world either allergic to communism or a strong supporter of the capitalist West. Economically also development with foreign loans increased the indebtedness of the developing countries to an alarming degree and some of them are finding it difficult to pay even the interest. This means that the loans have not in fact invariably resulted in the creation of the resources that was expected from them.

We need not enter here into a discussion of all these happenings; but it is necessary to take some stock of the findings of the experts who have concerned themselves with the problem. When economic development springs from a sustained and continuous economic activity over a long period, it naturally goes on building its own infra structure. Indeed it is the infra structure that comes into existence first, because economic development is like a pyramid in which the construction begins with the foundations and each succeeding platform is supported by the one below it. And so far as economic development is concerned, what comes later also goes on feeding and strengthening what came earlier. If development is to be real and lasting, its foundations have to be strong. In developed countries the foundations have, to mix the metaphor, also grown with the growth of the entire structure, because it is in the very nature of economic development that it cannot sustain itself without being comprehensive. In its natural progress, the moment a shortcoming is discovered, economic forces come into play to

seek a remedy. But this may not happen if the pace of the development is sought to be accelerated artificially. In any case development is impeded until the shortcoming is removed, but when development has been gradual and natural, the lacuna is small and limited and is filled before the process goes further. It was, therefore, discovered fairly early that the complexities of economic development would not permit an easy transference of the benefits of western "scientific advances and industrial progress" to the underdeveloped areas. A satisfactory administration and a reasonably efficient system of communications were easily recognized as the basic elements of an economic infra structure but economic development, even when these were present as they were in Pakistan, is after all dependent upon a satisfactory situation regarding man power. This country has a large population and opportunities of employment are limited, therefore there is an ample supply of labour. But the labour is not as productive as it is in the developed countries, because it is mostly unskilled and not properly trained. Besides, being mostly illiterate, it is not easy to train it. There has been a shortage of skilled personnel at the supervisory levels. The vast majority of peasants are also illiterate. It is difficult to keep them informed about new techniques, fertilizers and seeds. The peasants of Pakistan are intelligent and keen upon increasing their output if the utility of new techniques and materials is demonstrated to them. The model farms maintained by the Government serve a useful purpose but their number is small and information takes some time to percolate through them and reach the peasants. In a dominantly agricultural economy with a perennial food shortage and one of the lowest yields per acre of cultivated land this is a serious matter. An industrial structure without improvement in agriculture could not be effective in raising the living standards of the population. In industry as well the illiteracy of the worker is obviously a serious handicap and so is the absence of a properly qualified supervisory staff at the foreman level. Thus the main lacuna in the economic infra structure of Pakistan has always been the lack of a working level of general education.

This simple truth did not find easy acceptance in Pakistan. In the beginning official economists were prone to look upon

education as being almost entirely irrelevant in the process of economic development and the money spent upon was considered to be an economic waste, a mere social frill, desirable after the basic material needs had been satisfied.² It has been characteristic of the ruling elite in Pakistan that they have dismissed with unconcealed disdain opinions expressed by local intellectuals if they have ever run counter to their own thinking, but when the same opinions have come from Western experts, they have carried conviction and been treated with awe and respect as gospel truth. The economists in the West did veer round to the view that economic development needed a minimum standard of general education and some specific technical training. They realized that in countries where both economic development and education had been delayed, education would not follow but must precede economic development. This put an entirely different emphasis upon education. Theodore Schultz of Chicago and his associates pointed out the need for "investment in human resources" which was a neat phrase for spending money upon education and training and for not treating this expenditure as mere consumption.³ Another expert, Harbison, argued that "a plan for economic development must consider available resources of man power trained to different needed levels and must make provision for such education and training."⁴ This in fact restates the simple truth that no job can be done satisfactorily without there being a man who knows how to do it and his knowledge and skill are important factors to be taken into consideration if he is entrusted with it. And if there is no man available to do the job it shall not be done whatever the money spent to get it done and to the extent that the man is indifferently trained, the job will be done unsatisfactorily. Besides jobs should not be multiplied without ensuring that there will be men available to perform them.

² When the author was minister of education, he tried to persuade a highly placed bureaucrat in a different ministry to agree to sponsor a scheme of the Ministry of Education for aid from an American foundation, but he was adamant, saying, "We should first satisfy the hunger of the poor, luxuries like education will come later."

³ H. L. Elwin, "World Reappraisals" in J. Lowe, N. Grant, T. D. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁴ *Ibid*, quoting *Ashby Report* (Lagos, 1960).

Despite the simple logic of this statement, its truth was not recognized in the beginning of the inauguration of development programmes for the underdeveloped areas even by Western economists. The reason is not far to seek. Economic development had taken place over a long period in a natural manner in the industrialized West. When an industry began to develop man power also developed almost simultaneously. Therefore it was thought that job opportunities would automatically develop man power. But an important fact was ignored in this argument. Western industry realized fairly early—even before it became too technical demanding skills that could not be acquired without education and training—that education and training had to be provided. Vast sums of money are spent upon this education by governments and industry because it is considered essential. The institutions which cater for this kind of education keep their eyes open and maintain close relations with industry. Hence they anticipate job opportunities. The industrial base is so wide that all those who are trained can be reasonably confident about their absorption. Besides the nature of training is such that it easily adapts itself to different needs as well as changes in techniques. When industrial development begins in an underdeveloped area, that kind of education is generally not available. And there is the danger of over-production of men skilled to do a particular kind of job resulting in unemployment. A technician knowing a single trade is worse than an unskilled labourer if he cannot find employment. Therefore the economists launched upon a new course—that of man power planning. In the beginning that promised to be the answer to the problem, but very soon it was realized that there were some grave hazards. The main difficulty arises because of efforts at accurate detailed forecasting.⁵ Such forecasting can never be accurate and there are bound to be miscalculations because of the unpredictable nature of the economic, social and political forces at work during the implementation of the plan. These difficulties soon demanded attention and created doubts regarding the validity of

⁵ W. Lee Hansen, "Human Capital Requirements" in C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman, *Education and Economic Development* (London, 1966), pp. 90-91, criticizes the rigidity of those man power planners who adhere to the principle of "one to one relations between training and occupation."

underlying assumptions in planning any future man power needs and conclusion, based upon them. And yet it is now recognized that there should be some effort in a general manner to relate education and training to the economic needs of a country without making the forecasts too detailed and hitching the wagon of education and training to detailed forecasts. This is, admittedly, a highly tricky business, but it is of immense benefit if its scope and limitations are properly understood. Besides an exercise in man power planning is useful because the data on which it has to be based is always revealing and may lead to important changes in policies and result in greater efficiency both in education and training and industrial methods.

Despite its importance in the modified form of making general assessments on a scientific basis, man power planning has been almost totally neglected in Pakistan. The one solitary effort made in 1968 came to grief for political reasons. Field Marshal Ayub Khan's government appointed a Man Power and Education Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. G. Ahmad. It was dominated by officials and, therefore, there were doubts in many circles whether the Commission would be able to break through the rigidity of bureaucratic thinking to any substantial degree, yet the Commission started work in right earnest and examined many non-official witnesses whose opinions were bound to affect the recommendations. Besides there was a small non-official element among the members of the Commission itself. It was assisted by a number of American experts. Shortly after the Commission had started its work, there was a revolutionary change in the government. Field Marshal Ayub Khan was forced to resign and General Yahya Khan made himself the President. The Commission sought instructions from the new President if it should continue its work and was asked to continue. However Air Marshal Nur Khan, the head of the Pakistan Air Force, who was entrusted with Education displayed a studied indifference towards the Commission and its work. When a question was put to him in a press conference he disclaimed knowledge even of its existence. The new Secretary of the Ministry of Education, Dr. I. H. Usmani, who had been appointed by the new government, did not participate in the Commission's work even though he was an ex-officio member.

Nur Khan then came out with his proposals of educational reforms without extending to the Commission the courtesy of even formal consultation. In view of this attitude of the Ministry with Yahya Khan remaining a silent spectator, the Commission felt that any further effort on its part would be futile and it voluntarily requested the government to wind it up. It is not known whether the government took any notice even of this request, because there seems to have been no formal notification in this regard. However the Commission stopped functioning and that was the unceremonious end of man power planning in Pakistan. The Commission did collect a good deal of useful data which was never utilized and education and training facilities have been going their merry way irrespective of the needs of the country. New medical colleges are being opened and enrolment in the existing engineering colleges is being increased without any assessment of man power requirements. All this is in the well established traditions of administration in this country, where some idea suddenly becomes fashionable and is taken up enthusiastically without proper examination and after considerable money and effort have been invested, its weaknesses begin to manifest themselves and then attempts are made to remove them in the same thoughtless manner.

A good example is provided by the large investment on the establishment of polytechnics in all important cities. It was thought that these institutions would supply the large number of technicians to the industry needed at the foreman and technician level. As this promised a new line of employment there was a rush for admissions and competition being tough only the bright and talented applicants could be enrolled. When they graduated, industry was not keen on employing them. When the Man Power Commission probed into the matter, it was discovered that the polytechnic graduates fell between two stools. They naturally did not know the particular trade in each instance and needed a further period of apprenticeship or training in the job, which industry was not sufficiently enlightened to provide. Their theoretical training was not sufficiently versatile to enable them to adapt themselves to new requirements. Polytechnic equipment is expensive but if it is intended to produce finished technicians who could be put to

work immediately, it is quite often necessary to scrap some of the outdated models and replace them with new ones. Therefore capital expenditure on equipment continues to be large if the training is to be up-to-date. Limited budgets did not permit this in Pakistan. Besides industry preferred to employ men who had started as ordinary labourers and had acquired the absolutely minimum competence in dealing with the machinery entrusted to their care. These men being less mobile were less ambitious and therefore were more dependent upon the management for advancement. The record of Pakistani industry in the maintenance of machinery has been very poor in many instances and its main cause has been the lack of training and skill among the technicians. In the beginning Government banned the migration of the graduates of the polytechnics to the engineering colleges because it was rightly argued that such a concession would be the very negation of polytechnic philosophy. But that philosophy can work only if there is some similarity between the salaries and social positions of engineers and technicians but the gaps in Pakistan are enormous, and this does not work for contentment at the technician level. The mobility from the technician to the engineer cadre can be permitted in some exceptional cases but it should not become normal. At the student level the two streams should be kept separate because polytechnic education would be stultified if it becomes merely pre-engineering training. However, because steps had not been taken to ensure employment for polytechnic graduates the Government accepted the principle of reserving a small number of seats in engineering colleges for them. The real remedy lies in making polytechnic education basic and general and not to tie it to any particular trade and make it compulsory for industry to establish apprenticeship programmes to which only polytechnic graduates are admitted and then they should be motivated by the knowledge that if they show talent they can get the highest posts on the technical side along with engineers. All this is possible if the policy regarding polytechnic education is fully revised and industry is penalized in case there is undue damage to the installed machinery. This will force industry to revise its policy of recruitment, because only properly trained personnel can increase production and maintain machinery in good condition.

It has already been mentioned that technical education at the higher level needs some coordination with the needs of the country. This is obvious from the fact that both an under-production and over-production of qualified engineers would result in an imbalance. But quantity is not the only factor to be taken into consideration. There has to be constant vigilance regarding the content of the education. In a fast moving world of technological advances, there is constant danger of the knowledge dished out to the students turning stale and useless. Technology, applied and pure sciences and the infra structure of knowledge that support them have developed to such an extent that failure to keep pace with the advances seriously limits the capacity of our teachers to train the students. Therefore the present standards of education will not permit the sophistication that is needed by modern science and technology. Let us not be misled by the fact that some of our science teachers go abroad and return with research degrees. They work on some narrow topic under the supervision of and in association with some mature scholar and achieve results under his expert guidance. Quite a few Pakistanis know little beyond the topic of their research and some do not understand even its significance. It is not only the economic gap that is growing wider between the developed and the underdeveloped countries, the difference in the standard of education at the higher levels is increasing even in a greater proportion. Economics also enters the picture, because with the advance of knowledge, equipment also has become so sophisticated and expensive that educational institutions in the poorer countries cannot afford to buy it. This is a serious matter because the rapid progress in human knowledge is itself a product of the sophisticated equipment. What team of mathematicians can, for instance, replace a computer to get the calculations done so accurately and speedily?

This does not mean that the problem defies solution. But solutions will elude bureaucrats and narrow minded prejudice ridden politicians and administrators. If there is to be scientific and technical progress, the entire gamut of popularity hunting, favouritism, dishonesty and shirking of responsibility will have to go. Government will have to learn that it is destructive of academic standards to placate students in the matter of

standards and an honest, competent and impartial teacher is worth more than an army of psychopants who seek favours through pliant consciences so far as the intellectual progress of the country is concerned. This, however, is to anticipate a discussion which relates to another chapter. Here it would suffice to say that any step that lowers standards is tantamount to putting the clock of progress back and underdeveloped countries cannot afford such criminal acts.

While we are still at the discussion of technical education, it is necessary to sound a note of warning. A narrow vocational training, specially in the earlier stages, is bound to be unproductive. When some Indian educators put hundreds of school children at the spinning wheel, they were achieving nothing so far as technical education is concerned beyond the inculcation of the feeling that manual labour is not degrading.⁶ Apprenticeship to some small trade is a different matter because it is a step in the direction of earning an honest living and that is an economic gain, but its limitations are obvious and such training does not lead the nation further in the realm of technology. It may be argued that the main concern of underdeveloped countries is the removal of poverty and not sophistication in industry or science, but poverty is a comparative term and so long as the underdeveloped world is not able to deal with the developed countries on a basis of equality, it cannot achieve a standard of living that would be comparable to the one prevailing in the developed countries. Economic development cannot be isolated from educational standards.

Because of their involvement with development, economists have shown keen interest in the problems of education and have come out with excellent suggestions. It may, however, be pointed out that their standpoint is purely economic and though education has an important impact upon economics, its aims are wider and it must not be put into the strait jacket of material development, production and man power. Some of these aims have been discussed in previous chapters. Apart from the neces-

⁶ Philip J. Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning" in C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowan, *op. cit.*, p. 144; Also, H. L. Elwin, *op. cit.* pp. 19, 20

sity of keeping the multifarious objectives of education in view even when relating it to economic needs, it should be remembered that economic conditions themselves are deeply affected by such phenomena as political instability, corruption, particularly in the top ranks of powerful politicians, lack of integration in the nation and social antagonisms, all of which can be tackled through proper education. The main purpose of education is not to turn out merely technicians; that is the reason why in many advanced countries social sciences form an integral part of technical education. A technician has to have some understanding of the society in which he works and to which he owes certain responsibilities that he must understand to discharge. Besides economists have also produced some yardsticks to measure the efficiency of an educational system which have only a limited value. When there are too many drop outs and failures in examinations, authorities should sit up and take notice, but it is erroneous to argue that the drop outs and failures represent total wastage; because all those who give up education before achieving a certain standard and those who fail in examinations do not necessarily relapse into illiteracy. Similarly utilitarianism should not be carried to extremes. It is true that chairs in Latin may be superfluous in some underdeveloped African countries,⁷ but that does not prove that all teaching of Latin is superfluous because it does not directly bring economic returns. In Pakistan educational authorities have a tendency to look upon the money spent on the provision of teaching the classics as wastage.⁸ Nor should the importance of a subject be determined by the number of students who at any particular time study it. If a discipline starves for lack of student support, it is a case for spending more money to attract students rather than to abolish or starve it further. The importance of Arabic and Persian in Pakistan cannot be gainsaid because of their deep relationship with our history, religion and culture and their basic value as the vehicles of providing cultural and linguistic proximity between the different areas of the country. Nor can

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19

⁸ When the author was vice-chancellor of the University of Karachi, it was seriously suggested to him by a provincial education secretary that the University should abolish its departments of Arabic and Persian to overcome its financial difficulties.

their utility as the languages of the countries in the region of which Pakistan forms a part be ignored. Arabic is the language of a vast area from the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris to the shores of the Atlantic, an area with which not only do we have the deepest spiritual affinity but which is also daily gaining importance. Similarly, Persian is the language of Iran, our neighbour and friend, which has reached the take off stage in economic development. It is also spoken widely by other Muslim peoples in Afghanistan and Central Asia with whom we share a common culture and with whom we should build up closer relations despite all the obstacles in the way. And yet we continue to neglect these studies.

Apart from the benefits that may not be apparent, even those which are known to accrue from education are impossible to measure or quantify. It has been pointed out that we "do not yet have quantitative data on intellectual insight and curiosity, social maturity, personal or cultural awareness or many other desirable by-products of education."⁹ This is one of the many difficulties in trying to reduce education to a mere economic activity. It has been mentioned that economists have tried to create yardsticks to measure the efficiency of any given system of education. This is done in the normal economic terms of input and output figures. According to this approach, "efficiency is a relationship between cost and returns. The most efficient method is the one that gives the greatest return for a given cost. Alternative returns must, however, be measured in some common unity, if, for example, the quantity of output was to increase but the quality to diminish, one would need some method of weighing the different qualities, ideally achieved by the price system, before one would be able to say whether the return had increased or decreased."¹⁰ It would be readily recognized that quality is not entirely a matter of physical input. It brings, as far as education is concerned, into display all the complexities of human character, ability, motivation and sense of responsibility which are difficult to quantify and yet which can be dis-

⁹ M. Woodhall and M. Blaug, "Productivity Trends in British University Education 1938-62", *Minerva* (London) v. iii, no. 4, Summer 1965.

¹⁰ T. David Williams, "Efficiency of Education", in J. Lowe, N. Grant, T. D. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 80, f. n. 1

cerned by competent analysis. Nevertheless quality is to be ensured because its deterioration beyond a point turns the entire input to waste.

The economists who have devoted a good deal of attention to man power planning have in fact not been able to come out with any efficacious method of forecasting needs. All theories advanced have yet not been able to establish their scientific validity. Perhaps all of them are good as broad indications, but lack scientific accuracy. Employers' estimates or calculations made from technological requirements based upon the number of machines and men needed to work a machine are broadly useful if they have been formulated with care.¹¹ A rule of thumb formula has been put forward by Harbison which says that "an increase of one per cent in national income should be accompanied by an increase of two per cent in the stock of university graduates."¹² As Harbison is an eminent man power planning expert, this formula is treated with respect because it may be a good hunch and "his hunches may be worth a lot more than most people's logic."¹³ It is difficult to rely upon hunches, however, specially when other experts come out with entirely different proportions. Then there are econometric models of education by Tinbergen, Bos and Correa, which apparently seem to be more scientific,¹⁴ but which have been criticized by T. Balogh on the ground that the authors merely "assume the answers and put them into simple mathematical form" and therefore fail to answer any relevant questions.¹⁵ Yet another method is to base calculations upon the increase in enrolment in educational institutions¹⁶ This is reliable only insofar as parents or students get to know where job opportunities lie and then there is a rush for courses that prepare students for those jobs; but the mark is quite often overshoot and too many persons are

¹¹ T. D. Williams, "The Demand for Education", in J. Lowe, N. Grant, T. D. Williams, op. cit., p. 43

¹² *Ibid*

¹³ *Ibid*

¹⁴ Tinbergen, Bos and Correa, *Econometric Models of Education* (O.E.C.D., 1965).

¹⁵ T. Balogh, *The Residual Factor and Economic Growth*, p. 180, quoted in J. Lowe, N. Grant, T. D. Williams, op. cit., p. 43.

¹⁶ T. David Williams, "The Demand for Education", op. cit., p. 47

available for the ever diminishing openings. This method has been scientifically criticized upon the basis that it uses "educational enrolment as a proxy for the supply of man power and the supply of man power as a proxy for the demand of man power."¹⁷ This discussion would show that no really logical or scientific method has yet been devised for man power planning, and yet its importance is so great that it cannot be neglected. As has been mentioned earlier man power requirements can and should be assessed only broadly and no attempt can be made at precision. There has to be a constant survey of existing shortages and shortages likely to result from expansion and the likely production of technical personnel. A fully equipped organization should be created to collect the necessary data and come out with estimates projecting requirements at a time when enrolment is taking place in the educational institutions. However, there should be no restriction upon the choice of the candidates seeking admission and the information should be available as providing a guideline for entrants, their advisers and educational institutions which may determine the strength of their classes on that basis. Parents and students in Pakistan are so employment conscious that the official projections of man power requirements will have a healthy effect upon the employment situation.

Another essential factor in the production of man power is its quality. This can be ensured only by making merit the sole basis of admissions wherever accommodation is restricted in educational institutions and of recruitment to all services including those in commercial and industrial concerns. If efficiency is necessary for increasing production and maintaining quality, merit is to be recognized. It has been the experience everywhere that communities given protection under quota systems have remained backward and when they have competed openly, they have overcome backwardness and achieved competence. A few jobs is too high a price to be paid by any group for losing the initiative and the motivation for sound progress. Throughout the period the Muslims of the Subcontinent subsisted upon quotas and reservations, they remained backward and those

¹⁷ *Ibid*

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who have not been protected artificially in Pakistan may not have got the jobs reserved for others under the quota system but they have gained in competence and ability. Backward areas should have educational and training facilities brought to their doorsteps and helped with scholarships and financial grants, but they must compete with others. This will give them confidence and will, sooner than they imagine, enable them to compete with others successfully. Some shortsighted and narrow minded persons have lowered the standards of teaching and examinations for students of certain geographical or linguistic groups but such methods have rendered no service to those, they have thus sought to serve, because they have only deprived the students thus favoured of good and sound education. These graduates, unless they remove their deficiencies through further study and application, will all the time bear the signs of ill conceived favouritism that deprived them of proper development. From the national point of view this is a serious matter because this kind of thoughtless perversity only brings down the standards all round. For instance a certain Pakistani university once awarded five per cent "grace marks" to its medical students. All other universities were put under pressure by their students and when some of them resisted, the Government forced them to revise their results to bring the pass marks to a lower level by the award of the same concession to their students who had failed. Pakistan possesses a Medical Council whose statutory duty it is to see that the standard of medical education does not deteriorate, but it took no notice of that mass lowering of the standard. When it is realized that these pseudo doctors would deal with human health and life the enormity of such lapses can be understood. When concessions and quotas come into other fields, as indeed they have, how can Pakistan maintain its industry, commerce and administration at the proper level of efficiency?

Though it is not so spectacular as institutions of higher education and particularly those which impart technical training, yet the role of a general layer of universal primary education in the creation of competent man power cannot be over-emphasized. Its quality and content are of critical importance in development. Pickett is of the opinion that "it should induce the ability

to read and comprehend, fluency in verbal expression and a basic numerology... It should not, however, be remote from the interests and background of the people or it will be ineffective and provide a foundation for nothing but rapid escape from schooling."¹⁸ G. Myrdal, the famous author of *Asian Drama* is more demanding; in his opinion primary education should "introduce methods of modern scientific thought."¹⁹ This is not as formidable as it sounds, because the essence of modern scientific thinking is the ability to draw logical conclusions from available data and to assess critically the data to preclude wrong assumptions. It is necessary to point out that adult education is necessary for removing the terrible handicap of lack of schooling in earlier stages, but it is not a good substitute. Besides the modern conception of adult education is, as has been pointed out in a previous chapter, that education should continue throughout life. This is even truer so far as the full utilization of human resources in development is concerned. It has been found from experience that in backward communities neither primary education nor attempts to spread literacy among adults can be successful unless people see some economic benefits accruing from it.²⁰ Therefore both should be practical and form part of a comprehensive and well thought out plan of economic development. They should appeal to the community as necessary instruments for gaining certain immediate economic gains if they are to enlist enthusiastic cooperation of those concerned.

The creation of a competent man power at the lowest level is essential if Pakistan has to make real progress in the development of its material resources. The elite do play an important role in development, but despite the importance of that role, it is limited in its scope.²¹ The broadest sector of the population has to be involved consciously in development. The people have to understand its limitations as well as possibilities so that they can play an intelligent part in the entire process. If labour is to

¹⁸ James Pickett, "Economic Priorities and Education in Africa" in J. Lowe, N. Grant, T.D. Williams, op. cit., p. 119.

¹⁹ G. Myrdal, *Asian Drama* (London, 1968) v. iii, chapters 29, 30

²⁰ H. L. Elwin, op. cit., p. 17

²¹ T. David Williams, "Efficiency of Education", op. cit., p. 48

conduct itself responsibly, it must understand the limits to which it can go in making and enforcing demands. The largest industry of Pakistan is agriculture and "the path to a modern economy lies paradoxically through an early emphasis upon the improvement of traditional agriculture... such improvement offers scope for early rapid growth and the creation of a base for substantial subsequent expansion. Since traditional agriculture is now characterized by fairly primitive methods, high returns should be available from simple technical improvements and little capital investment."²² However, agricultural growth is so essential that the training of the peasant should not await his acquisition of literacy, though, of course literacy will boost the improvement tremendously. "Basic education given at the level of either the level of the primary school or as adult education provides the individual farmer's infra structure. The three major infra structure skills (reading, writing and arithmetic) make two contributions to agricultural growth. First they facilitate or improve the transmission of further knowledge. They are also useful in production, e.g. the ability to keep records of one's farm operations and to make simple calculations for budgeting etc."²³ The cost of primary education may be prohibitive and in that case demonstration farms, radio, television, films and slides may be pressed into service, but it must be understood that these do not adequately replace primary education.²⁴

There is yet another and an extremely important reason why general education is necessary. There is no easy way to prosperity and development. It entails hard work as well as sacrifice. Prosperity is the result of years of productive work. Only those countries have developed properly which have depended upon the hard work and sacrifices of their people. The Soviet Union has made spectacular progress in technology. At one time it seemed that even the United States of America had been left behind in the race. It is, however, not realized that this

²² *Ibid.*, p. 97

²³ Clifton R. Wharton, Jr., "Education and Agricultural Growth: the Role of Education in Early stage Agriculture" in C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman, *op. cit.*, pp. 208, 209

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 209

progress represents hard work and sacrifices of half a century. During all this period the peoples of the Soviet Union had to tighten their belts. They suffered a perennial shortage of consumer goods. They had less food, less clothing, less housing accommodation and very much less of luxury goods than the people of Europe or of the United States of America. Indeed in a number of ways they lived in discomfort. The people of China are undergoing the same experience now. "The dilemma of the underdeveloped countries is cruel: they must save in order to form the capital they need, and they cannot save except by keeping down a level of consumption that is already much too low."²⁵ Some underdeveloped countries like Pakistan, where the governments were either too weak or too unpopular to ask the people to make sacrifices, have built up fantastic amounts of foreign debts which amount to mortgaging all developmental progress to prosperous countries. And the development has been lopsided creating fissures in the society and making the country even more dependent upon the creditor nations. Those pundits and politicians who have been raising false hopes of prosperity among the people, have not been their true friends. The people must be taken into confidence so that they are willing to make sacrifices for true development but it is impossible to secure their cooperation without first educating them so that they may begin to understand the mechanics of development. It has also to be explained to the people that there is no substitute for hard work and that production and prosperity go together.

One difficulty experienced by traditional societies is that the line between the white collar and the blue collar worker is too heavily demarcated. A young man would prefer to be an ill paid clerk or a briefless lawyer to doing something that soils his hands. Indeed industrialists in Pakistan complain that graduates of polytechnics want to have an office rather than work on the machines. It is also reported that Pakistani engineers do not like to soil their hands. This is a situation that is not unknown in some better developed countries as well. It should normally have been expected that the socialist countries would be free from it, because their governments function in the name

²⁵ H. L. Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 20

of the proletariat. In the Soviet Union, we are told, Khrushchev had to make an effort "to change the attitude of the rising generation towards manual work, which many of them, taking the cue from their parents (who were frequently involved in it themselves) despised it as *chornaya rabota* (dirty, literally black, work)".²⁶ "We," said Khrushchev, "still have a distinction drawn between mental and manual labour... Some (boys and girls who have finished secondary school) even consider work beneath their dignity. If a boy or girl does not study well, the parents... will frighten him by saying that ... he (or she) will have to do work as a common labourer."²⁷ Such attitudes can be remedied only by education. Manual work should form a part of all school education and teachers and pupils alike must soil their hands for some time every day.

The real solution to the problem is to encourage social mobility without which industrial progress is impossible. Agriculture is to be developed, but it will provide a necessary infra structure to prosperity which ultimately will have to be based on technology and industrialization. Agriculture is to make progress, but it has to be kept in mind that the more progressive it becomes, the more man power it will release which, if social malaise is to be avoided, will have to be absorbed by industry. One hall mark of real prosperity is full employment. Industrialization and full employment both demand social mobility. One ingredient of social mobility is that the wages should be rational and manual work should not be penalized by discrimination in the matter of wages. The white collar workers in general and the intellectuals, artists and scientists, in particular, are paid so well and enjoy so many facilities in the Soviet Union that already they form a class of their own and their affluence causes resentment among blue collar workers who do not fare so well. The Western countries which have achieved affluence do not have such a great difference in the wage scales. It is true that some wages are high, but no work carries starvation wages and today the manual workers have all the food, clothing, shelter and even luxury articles that they like to buy. Under such circumstances

²⁶ N. S. Khrushchev, *Proposals to Reform Soviet Education*, Soviet Booklet No. 42, October 1958

²⁷ *Ibid.*

social distinctions begin to fade away and mobility becomes easier. However, "when industrial and traditional societies come into contact the result is neither 'traditional' nor 'modern'... (but) syncretistic."²⁸ In such societies often the evils of the two first rise to the surface and social immobility is one of them because of the emergence of strong parochial and particularistic feelings. In modern societies, it is true that the structure does not change and classes do not disappear, but education does create mobility from one class to another. Broadly speaking, however, the more developed is the economic structure of a society, the more impersonal is the allocation of social position and economic privilege, because development needs efficiency and efficiency depends upon individual ability, therefore the assignment of responsibility, if it is to be economically productive, must follow only the yardstick of merit. If this allocation is based upon birth or on particularistic considerations, a "blockage to economic growth" is created because efficiency is sacrificed at the altar of economic interests and prejudices. Nepotism and corruption are worse; it may be pointed out that particularism is merely an extended form of nepotism. A properly organized and well administered educational system should act as a selection agency, "allocating members of the population to different occupations or positions",²⁹ according to rationally defined criteria of merit, but this can happen only when the educational system is efficient, honest, impartial and imbued with the highest principles of integrity.

All man power planners have come to realize that investment in men is more important than investment in machines. Formerly it was argued, for instance, that "it might be possible to increase yields in agriculture by training cultivators in better methods or by providing them with improved planting material. An irrigation scheme might permit two crops a year instead of one, a new road might open up markets to a large group of farmers, a hydro-electric scheme might supply cheap electricity, and so on. Hence if further expenditure on education were considered solely from the stand point of its yield as an invest-

²⁸ G. E. Hurd, "Education in Soviet Development", in J. Lowe, N. Grant, T. D. Williams, op. cit., p. 120

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 124

ment, it might have to take, rather a back seat, apart from a certain amount of technical and vocational training."³⁰ This philosophy underlay development efforts in the beginning and education did take a back seat; the results were disappointing because some of the underlying assumptions were false. For instance the process itself implied a certain amount of education, for how was the peasant to understand the use and the value of new planting materials, or the proper and economic use of water that the canal brought to him without ruining the land through waterlogging and in some areas, salinity as well; or the use of a road for marketing without understanding the proper techniques for getting the maximum benefit from his produce; or the benefits of electricity without learning how to put electricity to work in the farm or the cottage? And would it not be easier to transmit all this information if he had basic education? Indeed investment in physical development has never produced the results expected from it without simultaneous investment in education, whether through schools or through audio-visual aids and demonstrations.

The provision of facilities is obviously no guarantee that they will be used at all, there is much less probability of their being used properly. "Why is it that some local communities in India" asks an Indian writer, "respond to the opportunity to improve their standard of living, while it seems that nothing can raise others out of the torpor of ages?"³¹ "The root of the problem of India's economic development is not in economics at all, it is in the psychology of the people," writes V.K.R.V. Rao, the well-known Indian economist.³² Can any one say that the problem is limited to India and that it does not exist anywhere else? Is Pakistan immune from it? There are still large areas in this country where it is possible to overcome inertia only through education. and this does not relate to economic development alone even if it can be isolated from other factors. Economics is not the totality of life and

³⁰ F. Benham quoted in K. C. Mukherjee, op. cit., p. 35

³¹ Kusum Nair, *Blossoms in the Dust* (London, 1962), quoted in J. Lowe, N. Grant, T. D. Williams, op. cit., p. 12

³² V.K.R.V. Rao, *Education and Human Resources*, (Bombay, 1966), quoted in J. Lowe, N. Grant, T. D. Williams, op. cit., p. 12

man is not only a figure in economic statistics and does not lend himself to easy algebraic quantification. "Economics is essentially abstract. It legitimately proceeds by simplification. In recent years, however, the suspicion has grown that development economics has proceeded by over simplification... As a healthy reaction there has been increasingly explicit recognition of the complexity of growth and development."³³ It is increasingly being recognized that "economics abstracts not from reality but merely from economic aspects of reality and of the fact that this may inhibit the full relevance of economics to social problems."³⁴ The earlier attitude of economists towards education and failure to recognize it as a most potent factor in development has had to be changed when it became quite apparent that investment in mere material development could not yield maximum benefits without a parallel investment in education. It is interesting to note that the idea that the expenditure on education was merely consumption and, therefore, not real investment was not given up in Pakistan until the preparation of the five-year plan made around 1970.

It is now generally recognized that development planning is a central or federal matter and if it is to yield results, it cannot be left in the hands of the provinces. Even the implementation at the local level is fruitful when properly controlled and co-ordinated from the centre. "Centralized control is usually essential. It is all very well to preach the sanctity of autonomy and voluntary initiative, but in the absence of a national scheme buttressed by a powerful infra structure the general impact is always feeble... Coordination at all levels is no less important than firm national control... cooperation between universities, health, social services, education, community development, agriculture, information and between all government agencies has been found to be necessary. The harmonization of services and activities in the field is especially important to forestall the characteristic anarchy that ensues when agricultural extension officers, health visitors, community development officers and adult education enter into competition and duplicate one

³³ James Pickett, *op. cit.*, p. 97

³⁴ *Ibid*

another's work.³⁵ Not only will chaos be created if the endeavour is not coordinated, but the planning itself would be defective if it does not take the entire country into consideration. In no underdeveloped country is there an abundance of resources, therefore great economy is needed in utilizing them. The shortages of one area have to be met by the surpluses of the other. This applies as much to substances, materials and products as to skills and human resources. Their mobility can be seriously limited and even stopped by particularistic provincial governments. Such actions injure the cause of national development and may even cause damage to the area showing cussedness itself. "It is quite common for underdeveloped countries to have a deficiency of certain types of skills and, at the same time, a surplus of other skills."³⁶ Such imbalance is generally more acute in different parts of the same country and can be removed by greater mobility of skilled personnel. This mobility can be ensured and regulated properly by central planning and control. It need not be repeated here that the fullest development is possible only by the utilization of all the available talent and skills, that such utilization is not possible without basing all recruitment on merit and merit alone, and that merit comes to the forefront through a process of uninhibited competition and mobility. Its greatest enemies are particularism, nepotism and favouritism which discourage merit and put a premium on incompetence. If there is good all round development in a country and if particularism of every kind is kept in check, all its parts are equal beneficiaries and jobs are multiplied in a manner that no skill goes unemployed and unrewarded. Nepotism, favouritism and particularism are the offspring of underdevelopment and seek to perpetuate it, thus creating a vicious circle that must be broken for progress and prosperity.

³⁵ J. Lowe, "The Role of Adult Education" in J. Lowe, N. Grant, T. D. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 153, 154.

³⁶ Harvey Leibenstein, "Shortages and Surpluses in Education in Under-developed countries", in C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman, *op. cit.*, p. 57

Teachers

Fazlur Rahman, in one of his addresses as education minister said on 1 September 1950 that "the keystone of the arch of national education is the efficient, hard working, honest teacher who is fully conscious of the fact that he is the trustee of his nation's stability, progress and reputation, for the training and upbringing of the nation's youth are placed in his hands."¹ It is quite obvious that the education of a country is as good as its teachers. A good teacher is able to break through the poorest system and even an excellent system would get corrupt if the teacher is not conscious of his responsibilities or does not care to discharge them properly. It is not only in the complex life of today whose quality depends so much upon the character and enlightenment of the average citizen that the teacher is capable of doing so much good or disservice to his nation and society, but in earlier periods also his importance as a moulder of character was fully recognized. As teachers mostly measured up to popular expectations, they were greatly honoured. In the period before the conversion of the people to Islam, the *guru* who was not only a teacher but also a guide to show the

¹ Fazlur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

path of duty and righteousness was looked upon as almost a god by the Hindus and addressed by them as *gurudeva*, or teacher-guide-god. Such respect could not have been earned without some justification; it is also significant that students, pupils and disciples were enjoined by Hindu religion and tradition alike to put unquestioning faith in the teacher and to obey and serve him with devotion.

The Muslim tradition also looked upon the teacher with great respect. In fact teaching was considered to be an act of worship, to be performed to please God and, as if it were, all the time in His presence. That was the reason why during the Muslim period, even during the period of Muslim decadence, men of wealth and position considered it a duty to spare some of their time for teaching a few students. It was similarly common as late as the first quarter of this century for ladies of rank and leisure to collect a few girls and teach them. All scholars of repute either attached themselves to some institution of teaching and learning or took a few classes in their own houses. All education was free and teachers were supported either by the state or private munificence. It was considered an act of piety to endow a college or a school and the state also put up buildings and endowed them with revenue free land or gave them grants. The teachers were given either grants of land or stipends.² These were not given as salaries for work done or expected; the teacher or the scholar was maintained or supported so that he might devote himself to his academic pursuits without being burdened with the need of working for a livelihood. The scholar was relieved of financial worries simply because he was a scholar, what he did with his time was his own concern. However, either he taught or devoted himself to scholarly work or preached; mostly he combined teaching with whatever else he did in the field of scholarship and religion. Teachers were mostly religious men, though some were teachers of profane subjects and a few were even non-Muslims.³ But all of them kept up the traditions of high integrity and moral responsibility. All their

² I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughul Empire*, (Karachi, 1966), p. 215

³ *Ibid.*, also I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, op. cit., p. 183

pupils were not Muslims, yet their studies were not divorced from religion and if they were non-Muslims, every effort was made to instil a strong sense of morality and public decency into them.

This meant that the teacher had to set a good example and society demanded a higher standard of morality from him than others. Parents would just not send their children to teachers whom they did not trust and because there was no rigidity about enrolments and public examinations, there was no necessity of going to a teacher if he earned the reputation of incompetence, indifference or of some deficiency in character. A graduate's qualifications were described as one who had studied such and such a subject with so and so and the lectures of those who earned a high reputation in some branch of knowledge were better attended than those of others and some drew large crowds. Some teachers were not only men of profound scholarship but also eminent sufis and admitted some of their pupils as neophytes for spiritual training as well. All this created an atmosphere of spiritual and religious sanctity in the entire educational process. The teacher was the pivot of the entire system. It was he who taught and decided what to teach and how. He depended upon the quality of his scholarship and teaching for his reputation and demanded no pecuniary return for his services. Society felt so indebted to him that it realized that his services could not be adequately compensated; if the services rendered by parents to their children could not be evaluated in money, how could, it was argued, one pay for the services of the teacher? The teacher also did not expect any worldly recompense; his reward was with God; his teaching was an act of worship. Who else could reward worship?

All this, however, concerned a society that changed with the impact of the British rule. The old system of education could not endure under an alien government which was hostile to its existence. We have seen earlier how the British government found it extremely difficult to discard its missionary bias. The Muslim system of education pined away because of a systematic resumption of the grants made by the Muslim governments to sustain it. "Throughout the Subcontinent there were many lands held

in *in'ām* or revenue-free tenure for pious purposes. The income of most of these was devoted to education. A strict inquiry into these titles was instituted, unreasonable proofs were demanded, and a large proportion of the grants was revoked."⁴ These proceedings were called Resumption Proceedings. Financially the gain to the Government was six per cent of the total outlay on the proceedings.⁵ It is obvious that so much money and labour was not spent only for the purpose of increment in revenue. In most cases the possession was not fraudulent. The worst sufferers were Muslim educational foundations, most of which were wiped out. Even those that survived were not permitted to serve the purpose for which they were intended. "The story of Muslim educational endowments under the Company is a sad one and betrays its anti-Muslim bias. Their funds were diverted to finance public institutions meant for all and the interests of the Muslims were not specially safeguarded. If the antipathy of the Muslims for purely secular education is taken into consideration, the diversion of these funds meant, in actual fact, that Muslim money was being spent solely for the benefit of non-Muslims. The first step to earmark the funds for the benefit of the Muslims alone was not taken until several years later."⁶ This could not have been done in a fit of absentmindedness and must have been deliberate. The Muslim community which had been financially ruined as the result of British policies could not have sustained its educational system after the endowments had been either resumed or in the few cases where they could not be taken over, their funds were diverted to sustain the new system.

The Muslim system could have endured only a little longer if the British policies had not been so hostile, but it could not have survived the impact of other political and administrative changes. A system of education is not only intended to enlighten people's minds; it serves certain economic needs as well. With the intro-

⁴ I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent*, op. cit., p. 222

⁵ W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans* (Calcutta, 1945), pp. 176-178

⁶ I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent*, op. cit., p. 222; Sir Richard Temple, *Men and Events of My Time in India* (London, 1882), pp. 410-411

duction of English and the abolition of Persian as the official language, the Muslim system of education lost its utility as an agency for training candidates for official appointments. There were not many, as indeed there could not be, who were willing to be educated for poverty and starvation. All honour to those who deliberately chose to be poor and serve Islam by keeping alive and propagating the sciences that embodied its teachings and traditions. The significance of their sacrifice, however, was not lost upon the community and they were deeply respected for it. The respect for the teacher that was part of the Hindu as well as Muslim tradition did not die out when the old systems declined. Indeed the fact that men of devotion who were willing to sacrifice all prospects of worldly prosperity and well-being arose out of the ranks of teachers enhanced their prestige.

The tradition continued during the British period, though it lost a good deal of its vigour. There is an unrecorded incident which would illustrate how strong it remained in certain areas. The northwest frontier was disturbed in the beginning of the fourth decade of this century and the tribes were in open revolt. The Islamia College was located outside Peshawar in the tribal territory. The gates of the city were closed at sunset. The college had a number of English teachers including the Principal. The Tribesmen held a moot almost under the walls of the college and some one suggested that the Britishers resident in the college should be executed as they represented the nation against which the tribes were at war. This shocked the elders and it was unanimously decided that because the Britishers in the college taught their sons, they were in a privileged position and should not be touched.⁷ Today in no part of Pakistan do teachers enjoy the same respect except for those who teach in the *madrāsahs*. These latter are respected for their sacrifice and piety and their students still observe the old traditions. It may be argued that Pakistan is no exception in the matter of the new attitude towards teachers, but that would not be correct. Eminent teachers receive the respect due to their scholarship in almost all the countries of the world. So far as students in Western countries are concerned, they are trying to establish a new rela-

⁷ This was narrated by the British principal to the author when the latter visited Peshawar after peace had been restored.

tionship not only with their teachers but with their parents as well, but it has a rational basis, whether the older generation likes it or not, of the recognition of the adult status of the student. It may, however, be mentioned that the attitude of the students is based upon the disgust they felt at the hypocrisy of the older generation when it fell from its moral pedestal. Respect can only be earned; it cannot be demanded because of a social or other relationship. In Pakistan, this new factor is also at work, because the older generation has not set a laudable standard of character as an example for the youth to follow; but another trend that is not found in other countries is that of a complete disregard for intellectual attainments. Perhaps here also it would not be quite justified to blame officialdom and youth because the number of real intellectuals is much too small, academic excellence is rare and the kind of ability that commands respect is hard to come by in our educational institutions.

Nevertheless it cannot be contended that in certain respects officialdom and public opinion alike have been to blame so far as the anti-intellectual atmosphere in this country is concerned. The governments and the peoples of enlightened countries know the benefits they can derive from the knowledge of their well qualified teachers. This develops a new sense of responsibility among the teachers. Besides, participation in national affairs adds a new dimension to this knowledge, which otherwise remains divorced from practical application and tends to become theoretical, doctrinaire, lopsided and unreal. This separation between theory and fact, between academic attainment and practical experience contributed not a little to the feeling among academicians and students that all knowledge was a mere luxury and had no practical value apart from the use to which it could be put in getting some desirable post. The entire educated elite, therefore, began to live in a world of most deplorable materialism, leaving neither knowledge nor idealism to guide their steps, because both were dismissed as unreal and irrelevant possessing nothing to illumine their path or to motivate them to seek a higher philosophy of life than the basest and the most short sighted selfishness. Teachers and pupils alike became submerged in this mire.

This alienation between the teacher and the administration arose because of the tremendous authority and the prestige that the bureaucracy amassed for itself in Pakistan. The members of this close knit brotherhood inherited all the traditions of the British dominated Indian Civil Service without their education and ability. The Muslim leader, Mawlana Mohammed Ali, once said in his inimitable pithy manner that the Indian Civil Servants were neither Indian, nor civil, nor servants. But the British members of the service were at least able, educated and faithful servants of the Imperialism that employed them. The Pakistani civil servants are so alienated from the people that they are Pakistani only in name, civility has touched them not and they serve no one except their own selfish interests and the shibboleths invented to protect their caste. There are some noble exceptions, but so far as the conviction that no wisdom can or does lie outside their magic circle is concerned, it is shared by all. How could such men cultivate the habit of consulting others without exposing their own ignorance? The knowledge of the techniques of red tape, of information contained in files and not shared with others, of difficulties experienced in pursuing a line of action, and of the mind of superiors who have their pet likes and aversions is useful, but not wisdom nor philosophy. The entry was by competition, but a competition trammelled with quotas, being loaded in favour of those who could speak English fluently because of the care taken to downgrade the more plebian but much more versatile young man from the less privileged schools which might have given more solid knowledge but less English. If an elite relies more upon the use of a foreign language than upon knowledge, upon a cultivated accent more than upon an intimate knowledge of the life of the people whose affairs are to be administered and upon superficial mannerisms more than upon sincerity of dealings, it is bound to lose its way in the forest of trivialities that abound in such circumstances.

Therefore the real rulers of Pakistan formed a society which believed in the philosophy of high living and (less than) plain thinking. The more a person was denationalized, the greater was the value set upon him by the government until foreseeably enough, the services began to produce from amongst themselves traitors and betrayers who broke the country at the bidding of

interested parties and powers. Even more disastrous has been the inculcation of a deep inferiority complex in the mind of the entire nation and a total indifference to the fate of the country among the offspring of the elite.⁸ And because they get all the plums, they invite imitation, thus corrupting the mind of all the youth, except such sectors of it that escape contamination. When corruption becomes a plague and there is no public provision of vaccine or inoculation, how many can escape? No one cares what is happening to the society and the country; there is a scramble to get upon the ladder that leads to power, prestige and pelf. That such an unnatural and corrupt set up, based upon a merciless exploitation of the masses cannot last long and must collapse one day occurs to no one, because it is identified with progress. The plain fact that such an unjust dispensation will be changed by irruptions and explosions if the masses do not sink into sullen indifference and invite foreign intervention and domination because of this indifference should be patent to anyone who is not blindfolded by a suicidal urge for personal aggrandizement irrespective of consequences. Where does the Pakistani teacher stand in the midst of this confusion? Can he see the picture clearly? Does he see it at all?

He himself is a member of a society that is confused. In fairness to him it must be pleaded that he would have to be greatly dedicated to fight against the evil that surrounds him. It is not easy to rise above one's environment when conformity seems to bring material gains and dissent has obvious disadvantages. Besides, he himself is the product of the system of education that has been prevalent in this country for more than quarter of a century.⁹ It has got worse, it is true, but even in the beginning the salient shortcomings were there. In the very early days

⁸ Some senior Pakistani students tried to persuade Pakistani undergraduates at Cambridge in 1972-3 to demonstrate, hold a public meeting or at least to pass a resolution in the Pakistan Society protesting against the detention of Pakistani prisoners of war by India, but the undergraduates just refused to do anything. The Society office bearers are undergraduates under its constitution. The research students do not, but the undergraduates, generally belong to the ruling elite and are the products of European style schools.

⁹ Compare, N. B. Sen, *Progress of Education in Free India*, (Delhi, 1967), p. 102

Fazlur Rahman was constrained to remark, "It must be admitted that with very few exceptions our teachers are not discharging their duties and responsibilities adequately or satisfactorily."¹⁰ A quarter of a century's tradition of irresponsibility cannot be reformed easily; but it is even more unfortunate that it perpetuates itself by turning out graduates who imbibe the same shortcomings, become teachers and, in their turn, show even less responsibility than those at whose feet they sat as pupils. Indeed the whole system has turned into a vicious circle which cannot be broken without drastic reform and the inculcation of a sense of dedication and professional ethics. Unfortunately there has been a breakdown in professional ethics as well. This would be illustrated by the facts that follow.

✓ When the Sharif Commission was looking into the entire system of Pakistani education, this author was invited to be one of its consultants on higher education. He advocated the system of internal evaluation, in accordance with which the students' work was to be constantly graded and those grades were to be included in the result of the public examination. Those who had greater experience of Pakistani institutions of collegiate or university level education demurred very strongly because in their view the teachers could not be trusted to be fair. This was a strong condemnation from men of experience, but at this author's strong advocacy, the proposal was included in a modified form in the recommendations. This author had proposed that 50% weightage should be given to internal evaluation, the Commission accepted a weightage of 25%. The system had to be abandoned because of its gross abuse by many individuals and institutions. This unfortunate experience puts the ethical sense of some teachers in a most deplorable light. In defence it was argued that there was tremendous pressure from the managements, but it does not absolve the teachers who succumbed to the pressure from moral responsibility. Some did refuse to increase the marks and consoled their conscience by saying that the "cooking of the results" had been done in the office of the college, as if their shutting their eyes to such dishonest dealings was not almost as heinous as it would have been if they

¹⁰ Fazlur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 67

had done it themselves. The most deplorable result was the impact upon the minds of the students who became convinced that morality was only for sermons and that the business of life had no relationship with it. Such disregard for professional ethics cannot be matched anywhere else in the world. Indian writers on education have a million bitter things to say about some of their teachers, but there is nothing in the entire literature produced by them that can match the lapse of our own teachers in this regard. ✓

One may turn from this unsavoury matter to faults that we share with others. Let us also see whether we would be justified in expecting a better performance from our teachers despite the deterioration in the conduct of our educated classes. It would be useful to see what is expected of them in societies which are considered erroneously to be more materialistic than ours. A seventeenth century writer has rightly said that "school masters, when they are such as they ought to be, have it in their power to new model and set right (by God's blessing) once in twenty years a whole kingdom."¹¹ "All men who have written about education and who are worth reading" says another writer, "have placed before themselves the ethical outcome of school and its studies as the highest."¹² "The teacher as the accredited representative of the ideals and the best traditions of the society to which he belongs", says an Indian authority, "must, by both precept and example, shape and mould their (the pupil's) character and inspire them with respect for the right values."¹³ In the best of traditions "a person who selects the career of a university teacher is impelled by a desire to dedicate himself to an intellectual life that will not only enable him to satisfy his own scholarly ambitions, but also mould the life and character of the younger generation placed in his charge."¹⁴ Sir Percy Nunn recounts the duties of a teacher in the moral field in the following words, "one is to see that ancient values are not lost, that activities which have played an essential part in

¹¹ M. L. V. Hughes, *Citizens to be* (London, 1915), p. 3

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 79

¹³ S. R. Dongerkery, *University Education in India*, (Bombay, 1967), p. 109

¹⁴ *Ibid*

the evolution of man's spirit are kept to continue their historic formative and sanative work today. The other is to exercise a prophetic role, to read the signs of their time, to be bold to say, 'thou errest here and here' and to shape the education of the children so that the defects may be corrected or abated. . . things cannot go well with a community unless its leaders in educational thought and practice are men of outstanding character, wisdom and insight."¹⁵ The (Indian) University Education Commission observed that "the right kind of teacher is one who possesses a vivid awareness of his mission. He not only loves his subject, but he loves whom he teaches. His success will be measured not in terms of percentage of passes alone, not even by the quantity of original contribution to knowledge—important as they are—but equally through the quality of life and character of men and women whom he has taught."¹⁶

Are these expectations unreasonable? Is the teacher being asked to do something that lies beyond human capacity or resources. On a close examination of all that has been said in the preceding paragraph, it would become obvious that a teacher is simply expected to be interested in his subject and conscientious in the discharge of his duties, which are to teach, at least to keep his knowledge up to date and, if possible, to add to the sum total of human knowledge and to have a good character himself so that he does not set a bad example to his pupils. Besides, he has to try to be a little better than others and to rise a little above the general run of men around him. These are not impossible targets for an educated man to keep before himself. The rewards are great indeed if he keeps himself steady. He can be conscious of the contribution he is making for creating a better society, for making his country stable and strong and for carrying on the work of those who, before him, strove so that they might leave the world a little better than they found it or at least shore up the morality of the society to which they belonged and which nurtured and brought them up. Those who put forward the

¹⁵ Sir Percy Nunn, "Education as a Biological Experiment" in J. I. Cohe and R. M. W. Travers (Editors), *Education for Democracy*, op. cit., p. 11

¹⁶ *Report of the University Education Commission* (December 1948-August 1949), v. i. (Delhi, 1950), p. 69.

plea that teachers living in a corrupt society cannot rise above the standards prevailing around them seem to be asking us to reconcile ourselves to the corruption and filth which have made our society sick and unsavoury, to have no hope of recovery and not to struggle to get out of the mire. There is no way of getting out of it but to struggle to rise above it, and all of us have to struggle including the teachers. If the society is corrupt and if the educated elite are responsible for its plight, who is in a better position to reform it than the teachers? And if the educated elite are selfish, unsocial and corrupt, who bears the responsibility of their being so in a larger measure than the teacher? The sacrifice that a teacher makes by being honest and virtuous is not very great, because in the teaching profession the perquisites of dishonesty are not very great. It is mostly a matter of moral courage, of resisting pressure and withstanding small temptations. Indeed morality is the most essential and the easiest part of a teacher's equipment.

No person can be a good teacher without a sense of vocation. It is not a profession that would suit any temperament. A good deal of difficulty arises because quite a few persons choose it because they fail in getting any other job. Whenever a profession is permitted to become a refuge for misfits, its standards and morality deteriorate. In Pakistan, however, the number of educated unemployed was small, therefore there was little reason for the discards of other professions to flock to teaching. It is sad to think that some incompetent students were pushed by their teachers into positions that they did not deserve. And quite often such incompetent persons are at the root of much of the malaise. A person who has a sense of vocation would make a good teacher. Even if he is not a scholar, he works hard to keep himself upto date in his subject, he prepares his lectures or lessons well and is a steady and good influence. But in the world of today teaching at the higher levels cannot be efficacious without learning. In many countries there is a tradition of learning even amongst school-masters. The Muslims of the Subcontinent also produced some school teachers of outstanding calibre whose memory is enshrined in the hearts of their pupils. This author has come across few men of such encyclopaedic learning and loftiness of character as the late Syed Altaf Husain of re-

vered memory, the headmaster of Islamia High School, Etawah. His most eminent pupil was perhaps Dr. Zakir Husain, the President of the Indian Union. He also held the same opinion of Syed Altaf Husain, which indeed is shared by all who had the good fortune of sitting at his feet. Perhaps not so deeply learned but a most competent teacher and a man of exemplary integrity and character was Mir Mahdi Husain who died a few years after Syed Altaf Husain in Pakistan. He taught at Islamia High School, Etawah and later headed several Muslim institutions in the United Provinces. A man of great learning and loftiness of character, highly respected both by his European and other non-Muslim colleagues in St. Stephen's College of Delhi was Shams-u'l-'ulama Mawlawi 'Abd-ur-Rahman, who could have left a large volume of original contributions in Arabic, Persian and Indo-Muslim history if he had not been such a perfectionist. These men enjoyed great reputation and had tremendous influence upon the lives of their pupils, but their type was not uncommon and they were only the taller poplars in a forest. Many non-Muslim teachers, both European and Indian, could be mentioned, but the argument here is that the Muslims of the Subcontinent have, even during the four decades preceding Independence produced teachers whose contribution to the health of the Muslim society under alien rule was notable and there is no reason why we cannot do the same when we are independent.

It is indeed all a matter of a sense of values. Perhaps our teachers got so engrossed in bettering their material circumstances that they forgot all else. The teachers have as much the right to be materially well off as any one else, no one could possibly have blamed them for their efforts in that direction if they had been legitimate and if their sense of vocation had not been sacrificed in the process. If a body of teachers stoops to giving false grades to non-examined students or marking absentee students as present in their roll call registers, or, as it has started happening recently, giving politically influential candidates grades much beyond their deserts—these are illegitimate methods of gaining material advantages or maintaining themselves in their jobs. The legitimate method of agitating for higher salaries—whatever one may think of the agitational and trade union

tactics adopted by teachers—should at least have been accompanied with some concern for academic matters. In this country teachers have agitated successfully for increase in their salaries and privileges; meetings, processions, slogans and even hunger strikes have been pressed into service; but one would have to search long for finding out any concern for teaching methods, for the content of the education imparted, for standards and even for professional facilities. No teacher group has asked for anything like better library facilities, research outfit or science laboratories. Teachers at the college and university level have secured for themselves higher salaries, because governments have sought their favour, but these very teachers have not raised a single voice to better the lot of the ill paid school teacher, specially at the primary level. The primary school teacher in Pakistan is so badly paid that he finds it hard to maintain himself and his family; his average salary is less than that of the domestic servant with the most menial duties. Yet has any teacher of the privileged college and university group even said a word in support of the most deprived sector of the teaching profession? The college teachers of India have given some attention to the problems of education, but the attention of the Pakistani teachers engaged in higher education has been rivetted upon their own privileges and emoluments, even though the Pakistani teachers gets higher salaries on lower qualifications. It has never occurred to them they have a responsibility towards the society as well. There may be a few noble exceptions here and there, but their voice is lost in the uproar of the multitude. Indeed teachers have behaved like mobs and the voice of reason has mostly been suppressed.

This may seem to be a harsh assessment but an honest analyst has to discuss the causes of deterioration in the standards, content and impact of education. The teacher is the central figure in all educational activity and he cannot escape responsibility if a system has become corrupt and destructive. It is true that he alone cannot be blamed if things have gone wrong; but it is also true that a good teacher can neutralize a good deal of mischief by his dedication, through precept and example and through educating public opinion regarding the shortcomings of the system which he is asked to sustain. Our teachers have not done that; the

very best of them have limited themselves to doling out information to their pupils; if there are some who have inspired their pupils to rise above their surroundings, they are to be respected, but one seldom hears in this country of these remarkable exceptions. One cannot reform any sector of the society but by holding the mirror up to it and pointing out the weaknesses that disfigure its image. The deadliest enemy of character is self pity and the tendency to find excuses for all one's weaknesses. Whatever be the system—and these pages bear witness to the fact that this author is profoundly critical of it—good teachers have it within their power to mitigate its evils. Besides all the weaknesses that have crept into the conduct and behaviour of our teachers are not the creation of the system alone.

For instance, how does our system prevent most of the teachers from devoting themselves to improving their knowledge? Fazlur Rahman was stating the most commonly known truth when he said that “a teacher never ceases to be a student; he is always conscious of the fact that the world is dynamic, not static, that the boundaries of knowledge are extending in all directions every day; that new discoveries not only in the knowledge of our physical universe, but in the method and manner of imparting that knowledge to students, are being made continually; and that it is vital and essential for him to be fully aware of all advances in knowledge, and to be thoroughly prepared to impart knowledge to his students in the most scientific, interesting and effective manner.”¹⁷ A teacher, at least at the higher levels, who limits himself to the textbook is worse than worthless. All knowledge soon becomes stale and out of date and the knowledge canned in the textbooks is invariably several years old. Besides no teacher must commit the cardinal sin of standing between the student and the library, but most of our teachers seldom go beyond the printed words contained in some handy volume. The function of a good teacher at the higher level is to create a healthy scepticism regarding the truth of what has been dished out in text books by other authors, howsoever eminent or famous, because real intellectual endeavour begins where the tyranny of the printed word ends. But all this can be done only by teachers

¹⁷ Fazlur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 67

who themselves have probed into the soundness of the opinions expressed by others and the correctness of the data on which those opinions are based. And that is research—the constant endeavour of extending the frontiers of human knowledge. The relationship between good teaching, scholarship and research is now so universally recognized that it is not necessary to develop the argument any further. If one looks into the volume of good research produced in this country, specially by our teachers, one is sadly disappointed and that also is an index to the quality of teaching in our institutions of higher learning. The reason is not that our college and university teachers have to carry such a heavy load that they cannot find time for their own studies; it is only a matter of lack of inclination.

In the more developed countries it is now unusual to come across teachers in higher institutions who at least do not pretend to keep themselves upto date in their subject; men who comprise the dead wood in the teaching profession are soon found out by their students or employers and in many countries they find it impossible to continue in their posts. Despite the fact that the teachers of India are much more productive than they are in Pakistan, there are quite a few in that country as well who do not discharge their responsibilities properly. Their shortcomings have been analysed by Indian writers and commentators and it would not be without profit to turn to them and see if the same symptoms plague our black sheep. Of course the Indian academic output could not have been higher if their black sheep had not been much less numerous than ours. "A teacher today" complains the principal of an Indian college, "has enough time for anything but to teach."¹⁸ The teachers "are reluctant to do justice to themselves", complains another Indian principal, "... the question of their giving a lead in finding suitable outlets for the expression of students' enthusiasm outside regular class work does not, therefore, arise. They are not in a position to give their best to the students even in the class."¹⁹ "Though inefficient teaching may not carry credence, indifferent teaching

¹⁸ E. Raghava Warriar, "Problem of Discipline", in N. B. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

¹⁹ R. C. Badive, "Stagnation in Higher Education," in N. B. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 38

may; it may be deliberate, by way of invitation to take up tuition under them . . . ”²⁰ This is deplorable in itself but it becomes more objectionable when it is coupled with “liberal promises of help in the examination hall.”²¹ The reason is that such teachers are interested only in money. “The staff are after increased pay and allowances with minimum restrictions.”²² As there is only limited money in the profession, whatever means, fair or unfair, are adopted to obtain it, the result is that many teachers feel frustrated. “If they could secure more attractive jobs in other fields, none could prevent them from bidding good-bye to the teaching profession, but so long as they are in the profession, the nation cannot afford to allow them to carry on their work in the way they are doing at present.”²³

This leads a teacher into activities that are not always beneficial. “The university teacher must guard against the temptation of interesting himself more in the affairs of the university than in his legitimate duties, or in other words, degenerating into what has been aptly described as a ‘teacher-politician’ ”.²⁴ The (Indian) University Education Commission observed, “we are told that in several cases teacher-politicians have succeeded better in their careers than teachers who have applied themselves to teaching and scholarship. The success of teacher-politicians who manipulate elections and get for themselves and their friends influential and lucrative positions in their own or sister universities is largely responsible for the deterioration of the morale of teachers and of academic standards of the universities.”²⁵ This is the result, in the view of the Commission, of the introduction of the system of elections. “With the introduction of democratic control and of elections in our universities”, observed the Commission, “there has grown a tendency among teachers to interest themselves more in the administrative affairs of the university than in their legitimate duties.”²⁶ The democratic control of a seat of learning by its teachers is an excellent

²⁰ N. B. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 43

²¹ *Ibid*

²² *Ibid.*, p. 45

²³ R. C. Badive, *op. cit.*, p. 39

²⁴ S. R. Dongerkery, *University Education in India*, *op. cit.*, p. 112

²⁵ *Report of the University Education Commission*, *op. cit.*, v. i., p. 70

²⁶ *Ibid*

arrangement in principle and has worked well in many countries, but it requires a high sense of responsibility and professional ethics. The emergence of "the teacher-politician" of the type mentioned by the (Indian) University Education Commission is a phenomenon that betrays a lack of sense of propriety. It is a serious danger not only to educational standards but to the principle of the association of teachers with the government of the university as well. The danger was kept in abeyance in Pakistan when the administration of universities was brought into line with the recommendations of the Sharif Report and during the period the system continued, but it created frustration among the teachers who felt deprived of their power and influence.

The problem is closely connected with the question of the autonomy of the universities. Once again it is desirable to leave the administration of a university in the hands of the members of the university itself. Unfortunately here also the Indian experience has not been encouraging. "In the absence of proper control, sectarianism, mob mentality and conspiracies grow and the standard of education gradually goes down."²⁷

The autonomy of the university has in some circles been confused with academic freedom. The National Education Act of the United States of America defined academic freedom in the following manner, "If any teacher, by the way in which he teaches, either wilfully or carelessly, permits some bias or prejudice of his own, or even the inappropriate expression of his reasoned convictions persistently to mar the fairminded study on the part of those studying under him, he is to that extent damaging these students and in that same degree manifesting his unfitness to teach."²⁸ "The teacher must understand that on such issues he is a public servant. He is not there to gain converts to his partisan cause", comments William Heard Kirkpatrick.²⁹ This would show that an irresponsible teacher is a

²⁷ S. P. Chaube, *A Survey of Education Problems and Experiments in India*, (Allahabad, 1965) p. 24

²⁸ *Principles of Academic Freedom* (Washington D. C. 1941), pp. 4-5

²⁹ William Heard Kirkpatrick, *Philosophy of Education*, (New York, 1961), p. 311

grave danger to academic freedom which is not identical with the scope of the teachers' authority and power. It is indeed the right to learn without let or hindrance a discipline in an objective manner without attempts at indoctrination in some partisan politics either by the teacher or by an outside authority. "Within the confines of a university, knowledge is its own end and not merely the means to an end" says an American educationist.³⁰ Academic freedom, in more concrete terms so far as teachers and research workers are concerned, "is the freedom of scholars and researchers in the university and all institutions of higher learning and centres of research to teach and publish the results of their inquiry without interference either from the institution or from outside interests."³¹

"The dangers of outside attack constitute only one aspect of the threat to academic freedom."³² This generally comes from political parties in the Subcontinent who want to control universities through students or teachers. In Pakistan the pressure from these parties since 1968 transgressed all limits of propriety and academic decency. Such interference can also come from the government and the more authoritarian and unenlightened a government is in its policies, the cruder and more offensive its interference in the working of the universities becomes. But "more serious because more insidious are the dangers that lurk within the academic community itself. The faculty members could, through an all absorbing conformism, destroy the atmosphere conducive to fruitful intellectual work. They might allow politics to dominate the university and destroy the academic element in every decision. They might water down standards in response to populist pressures or from the student body as a whole. When the university becomes a hotbed of intrigue and faction, it ceases to perform its high function in society. The standards and morals of a university tend to reflect the character of the society in which it exists and a corrupt society seeks to drag the university down to its own level. But there is nothing

³⁰ S. P. Aiyer, "Academic Freedom" in J. W. Airan, T. Barnabas, A. B. Shah, *Climbing a Wall of Glass: Aspects of Educational Reform in India*, op. cit., p. 116

³¹ *Ibid*

³² *Ibid.*, p. 119

inevitable in the process and to break the vicious chain is the first condition of growth for an underdeveloped country. 'Universities must counteract', says President Lowell, 'rather than copy the defects of contemporary citizens' . . . Academic freedom is a product of social, cultural and institutional factors and . . . the atmosphere of the university is vitiated by local politics, factions and intrigues within the university. Few universities escape entirely the ravages of academic politics. Doubtless, a degree of politics is present in most universities of the world, but in India it exists to a degree which prevents reform. Probably the greatest danger to academic freedom in India comes not from the outside—although this exists to a degree—but from within the university itself where the faculty has not grown intellectually alive to its responsibilities."³³

Is the position any better in Pakistan or is it worse to the same extent as the intellectual output of our universities is smaller than that of the Indian universities? Is the Pakistani teacher more or less amenable to political pressure or bribery than his Indian counterpart? Or is he more or less partisan in his own political affiliations than the Indian teacher? Or, finally, is the ruling party in India more or less brazenfaced than its Pakistani equivalent in pushing its opinions, views and interests through teachers and students? These questions have to be answered dispassionately by the reader to decide for himself whether academic freedom is more in danger in this country than it is in India or less. Even if there were no difference in degree in the dangers to academic freedom in the two countries, all that has been said in the Indian context above would apply in every detail to Pakistan as well. If a teacher loses his academic detachment and neutrality, he should be reminded that "a professor abuses his privilege who takes advantage of a classroom exercise to propagate the partisan views of one or another of the political parties."³⁴ In other words he himself destroys academic freedom, in the name of which he stakes his claim to be left unhindered in his actions and in the expression of his opinions.

Whether it is a matter of the freedom of opinion and action,

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 125

³⁴ Floyd W. Reeves et al, *The University Faculty Parenthesis* (Chicago, 1933), v. iii. pp. 71-72

or of autonomy or of the teacher's authority, influence and share in university government, it cannot escape the general principle that freedom and authority impose their own restrictions and if the limits of public weal are transgressed, neither of the two can be justified.

A university is no longer a monastic association of scholars and teachers who can determine their own policies in isolation from the main currents of political, social and economic life. Even then they could not run counter to the general sentiment of the people or its broad interests and they had to sustain a reputation for learning and integrity of character. They lived mostly on the income of endowments and did not draw large sums from the public exchequer. Today the university is a public institution of great importance. For that reason the taxpayer spends large sums of money to support it. He may be willing to let the university govern itself if he feels that his money is not being wasted and that he is getting efficient service. He, however, gets impatient when he finds that his confidence is being betrayed. Therefore the government as the custodian of the taxpayers' interest is exercising more and more control every day; but wise governments determine the extent and method of this control on expert advice. This expertise can be provided only by experienced academicians. The nature of the extent and the method of control will ultimately depend upon the character and wisdom of the teacher. The more he puts himself in the position of a good promoter of intellectual and academic excellence, the less will there be a justification of interfering with his work or withholding support. And the less vulnerable he will be to undue pressures or influences. This also demands soundness of judgment and grit of character. The teacher must know how to say no and when and if his decision is sound, he will triumph, whatever may be the pressure. Academic freedom and freedom of action and opinion are within his grasp if he proves his credentials. He can do so not only by putting public interest above his own, but also by showing to the people and the government what is in the interest of the people. For this he has to cultivate wisdom and expertise, because otherwise his opinion will be worthless. University teachers are consulted by wise governments because the teachers are in a position to tender advice

that no one else can. Even if a government is too haughty or opinionated to consult experts, the latter owe it to the people to express their considered opinions through their writings. If these opinions are well reasoned they are bound to find general acceptance and the government cannot remain indifferent. However a teacher owes a duty to the people and not to the government. Opinions to carry conviction should be non-partisan and objective. They should always be expressed in a persuasive and inoffensive language, but they must be frank and should not refrain from criticism if it is justified. Intellectuals all over the world have rightly considered it their duty to raise their voice whenever they have felt that some principle is at stake. All teachers may not be intellectuals, but the more eminent among them should be. A body of teachers which cannot claim any intellectual attainments is most certainly not worth its salt.

The moral crisis that has overtaken this country can be overcome only through education and the teachers have to be motivated to become the pioneers of moral regeneration. This is not a question of higher salaries, though the poorly paid sectors of the profession must be relieved of their economic deprivation. Nor is it a question of their greater participation in the management of their institutions, though it would be a good thing to entrust them with greater responsibility in the hope that they will respond. It essentially is a question of awakening their sense of vocation, inspiring them with the spirit of dedication, and of creating that burning desire to reform society which alone can lead them to a path of glory. Mechanical methods cannot succeed. For instance it has been suggested that the moral character of an applicant should be taken into account at the time of appointment³⁵ but this is difficult. There is no palpable method of finding out a man's moral calibre. It is possible to assess his academic qualifications by looking at his degrees, his experience and his publications, but any opinion about his character has the danger of being arbitrary. And a teacher does not need only a negative or a passive kind of morality; his morality to be of use to the society is to be positive and dynamic, even somewhat aggressive. If some teachers

³⁵ S. R. Dongerkery, *University Education in India*, op. cit., p. 117

band themselves together for the purpose they can create an atmosphere for further work. Only teachers can reform themselves and others; only they have in their power to reform society. If they undertake this task in right earnest all the influence and power they desire will come their way, because to such men the nation will be so indebted that it will rightly look upon them as worthy of all confidence. If what they do becomes convincing and valuable, they will not only be permitted but implored to do it their own way; but if they give the impression of betraying their trust, no one, not even their own pupils will feel safe in asking them to direct the affairs of an important sector like education. Those who are believers among them must remember that when they stand before their Creator on the Day of Judgment they will be asked about their share in the degeneration of the society.

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CHAPTER XII

Students

The beneficiaries of education are students. If the system of education in a country is good, it trains students into capable men and women. Through good education a student's latent capabilities are developed to the full and his talent finds fulfilment. His outlook becomes healthy, his attitude towards life is constructive, his role in society is positive. He has self confidence and is free from complexes which inhibit initiative and motivation. To the extent that education is defective, it mars the development of the student's personality and he lacks the ability to face life. He is not properly equipped for the inevitable competition that he must face in the choice of a career, in maintaining himself in a position if he is able to secure it and in moving ahead, in short, in every sphere of activity that is vital to his well-being and contentment. Then he tries to gain by unfair means the same ends that he would have secured if he had been properly educated. In this process he corrupts society and brings down all standards of public and private morality. If a system of education loses its vitality and produces sub-standard graduates from its educational institutions at all levels, it becomes the most pernicious agent in the wholesale moral degeneration of the society. Of course even an efficient

system of education which lacks moral content and is indifferent to the higher values of life may prove injurious, but when a system is both substandard and devoid of moral values, as it is in Pakistan, it becomes deadly poisonous. It destroys all and spares nothing. It corrodes the efficiency and impartiality not only of the administration but of every institution. Justice has a price tag; employment is on sale; all services are available only by one corrupt method or another. When money does not change hands, nepotism, influence and bribery in other forms come into play. It can be asserted with almost mathematical accuracy that substandard education will produce a substandard public morality and if that substandard education also has amoral overtones it will play havoc with the society. The most wronged person is the student himself who had entered the system to be educated properly and is cheated of the promise of a proper development of his intellectual calibre and ability. The Pakistani student is, thus, the most wronged person of the society, he suffers enormously because he is deprived of the opportunity of developing into an intellectually capable and morally fully integrated person. There are many who break through the barriers created by poor education, yet there lingers the suspicion in an analyst's mind that their achievement would have been much greater if their opportunities had been fuller.

It is highly significant that the longer modern amoral education has been in a family, the greater impact it has on the present generation. The offspring of the lower middle classes are the least affected by the pernicious effects of Pakistani education and the worst affected are those who belong to the upper middle classes. Exception to this statement is provided by the children of the nouveau riches who, of course, try to outdistance the older upper middle class by surpassing them in all the vulgarities created in them by their expensive though no less sub-standard education; they become as infected with the virus as the families with a longer tradition of the pseudo-Western education of the Subcontinent. Among the upper middle classes there are some families which have not lost their moral bearings because of a conscious effort to hold on to their moorings. As the vast majority of the Pakistani students come from the lower middle classes and the strata just above them that has yet not merged

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itself with the elite in all respects, most of them are still loyal to Islam and Pakistan, a fact that has been demonstrated for several years in the elections held in various universities and colleges of West Pakistan.

It would be of interest to give a brief survey of the student movements in this country since its establishment. For this we have to get a little further back in history.

The Muslim students' participation in politics has a fairly long tradition in the Subcontinent. They were asked to come out of their schools and colleges when the Non-Cooperation movement was inaugurated for the purpose of putting pressure upon the British Government for conceding self government to India and revising the Treaty of Sevres. The Hindu students responded to the call for reasons of patriotism, but the Muslim students were moved both by their natural resentment against foreign rule and the Islamic sentiment of sympathy for the Turks. Besides the most religious minded among them were also deeply influenced by a ruling of the leading ulema in favour of non-cooperation. It is a well-known fact that the Muslim participation in the Non-Cooperation movement was more enthusiastic and substantial than that of the Hindus. This was also true so far as students were concerned.

At that time the technique was different. Students gave up their studies and became political workers. Only a few continued with their studies in institutions hastily organized to accommodate them. One of these was the Jāmi'a Milliya Islāmiya, founded at Aligarh and then transferred to Delhi. Such institutions could not afford the facilities available in government owned and aided institutions. therefore, educationally speaking, they were sub-standard. And then their degrees and certificates were not recognized, therefore, their graduates found it difficult to secure proper employment. That was the reason that the All India Congress did not give a similar call again. So far as the Muslims were concerned, their participation in the movement for the boycott of the government and government aided institutions was an unmitigated disaster. They had already been educationally backward for various reasons, and the Non-Cooperation movement resulted in a further set back.

The education of many children and young men was irretrievably disrupted; they left school and college never to come back. Thus the Muslims learnt a lesson which was not easy to forget.

And yet students are undoubtedly a great asset to any mass movement. They participate in it with great abandon because they are not trammelled with the same kind of economic responsibilities as their elders must necessarily bear. Their energy and capacity for work is tremendous. They provide an army of willing and enthusiastic unpaid workers which all organizations need so badly for projecting their views and gaining converts. When the Pakistan movement was inaugurated, the Muslim students participated in it with unbounded enthusiasm. They did magnificent work in the towns and the cities as well as in the countryside. It was argued that this was a war of national liberation, even though there was no fighting. On such occasions the students could not remain tied to their books and laboratories and they had to work shoulder to shoulder with others, because their future was at stake. The Qā'id-i-A'zam was fully aware of the potential contribution of the students to the strength and success of the movement. The students worked hard and fully justified the Qā'id-i-A'zam's expectations. However it was not expected of them that they should give up their studies altogether as they had done in the Non-Cooperation movement. They did go out for short periods wherever their services were needed, but the number of the students who at any given time left their studies for work in the field was proportionally smaller than the membership of their organization. These students bore all kinds of hardships and discomfort in the villages where the facilities were even more primitive than they are now. They worked sometimes in distant areas among people who spoke a different language, for instance many Urdu speaking students of the Muslim University of Aligarh carried the message of Pakistan to the hamlets of Sindh. The barrier of language did not stand in their way because at that time the Muslim community of the Subcontinent had not succumbed to disruption by its internal and external enemies. Mostly, however, students worked in their own areas.

After the establishment of Pakistan the activities of the students ceased because the great task had been accomplished. Besides

disturbed conditions did not permit any large scale activity. A few isolated groups of students did interest themselves in receiving refugees, but that also came to an end because the task was too gigantic for students and official agencies took up the work. For about five years there was seemingly all quiet on the student front. But this was only an illusion. The system of education had been disrupted. The number of Muslim teachers in the areas which then constituted Pakistan was meagre and the Hindus had gone away. They had done their worst in causing damage to educational institutions. A good deal of scientific equipment had been wrecked, libraries were denuded of many books and in some places wanton damage had been inflicted upon buildings and furniture. The newly organized central and provincial governments were busy rebuilding the system piece by piece as best as they could, but it was much more complicated than solving a jigsaw puzzle, because even the most elaborate jigsaw puzzle has all the pieces, whereas here the government were faced with many missing and quite a few redundant pieces, or, to change the metaphor, the numbers and sizes of the square and round pegs did not agree with the available sockets and nuts. Teachers were hastily recruited, some with inadequate qualifications and experience and a few without even credible credentials. A vast population of students and teachers were refugees from riot torn and badly devastated areas, many had lost all they had and some were heart broken because of the death of their relations. Such situations build up tremendous frustration and, such is human nature, men so frustrated become hyper-critical and find fault with everything. This situation was the disrupter's paradise. He searched out grievances, enlarged upon them and gradually built up almost a psychosis. The communists who had identified themselves ostensibly with the Pakistan movement did not in fact believe in it and they had migrated to Pakistan with the certainty that they would find fertile ground for their activities. They were not wrong and started work among the students and others. The students being more impressionable were soon persuaded to organize themselves "for the protection of their rights" into a strong force and were indoctrinated to look upon all authority, whether institutional or governmental as their enemy.

A few were trained in the techniques of provoking mob riots. The pattern became familiar to all in the Subcontinent. A few activists started throwing stones on buses and shop windows, so that traffic came to a stop and shops were closed. Some were trained in making incendiary "cocktails" which have proved their worth in so many street riots in setting fire to buses.

Secret preparations of several years proved their efficacy in the student riots that led to the portfolio of education being taken away from Fazlur Rahman. Even though all these activities were directed against the Muslim League government, its leaders did not understand their full significance. They thought that the outburst was spontaneous and the outcome of genuine grievances of the students who would become quiet once their demands had been met. That, however, did not happen and it became obvious that student leadership was politically motivated. When the real cause of agitation is political in its aims, grievances can be artificially created and demands multiplied to an extent that they cannot be met without ruining the entire structure of education and its standards, or straining the resources of the government. When the realization did come the Muslim League ministers made appeals to students to refrain from political activities saying that during the Pakistan movement their participation in politics was justified, but after its achievement the students should devote themselves to their studies. The Muslim League, let it be said to its credit, always remained consistent in this attitude and never tried to create a student wing for itself. This was true of all the splinter political parties as well which called themselves Muslim Leagues. The Convention Muslim League and Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan's Pakistan Muslim League also did not try to build up student organizations for themselves. Of course it may be argued that they were so unpopular that no student would join organizations sponsored by these political parties but much more unpopular political parties have succeeded in creating pocket students groups when they are in power. It is, however, obvious that viable organizations can be built only upon ideological foundations and that has been the strength of the leftist organizations as well as the Islāmi Jamī'at-u'l ṭalaba.

So far as West Pakistan is concerned leftist leaders and groups showed the fullest consciousness of the importance of working among the students. Their technique was no different from the techniques adopted in several other underdeveloped countries. They first of all picked up the well-known communist student workers who had migrated from India. They sought out grievances and, in the beginning, established their leadership by bringing them to the notice of the authorities to get them redressed. The next step was to create difficulties and even impossible demands and come into conflict with authority. If the authorities yielded, it was their triumph, if there was resistance, there was greater scope for conflict. One of the techniques was to provoke violence and, when the government retaliated, public sympathy was canvassed by clever methods. The students were only one wing of the leftist workers; the other wing was in the press. From the very beginning the strategy was to infiltrate into all the sensitive sectors of public life. The first sector chosen for the purpose was the press. The moment the leftist students launched a movement, the press shrieked in sympathy and the public was misled into thinking that the students were struggling for a just cause and that the authorities were unreasonable and cussed. As the governments before 1958 were democratic, they were extremely sensitive to public opinion. For instance despite the fact that the education minister Fazlur Rahman's house was attacked by a student mob and considerable damage was caused and the interior minister Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani's motor-car was burnt when he was trying to persuade students to stop rioting, Khwaja Nazimuddin's government reduced tuition fees in Karachi which were already low and took the portfolio of Education away from Fazlur Rahman. And, yet, thanks to a clever campaign mounted by the press, public resentment was not mollified.

Such tactics of the leftist student leaders paid them heavy dividends. They became the recognized spokesmen of the student community and won most of the elections in the educational institutions. The government and the authorities of the universities and colleges showed little imagination in dealing with the problem. They failed to analyse the situation and mostly adopted the cheap and reprehensible method of bribing

a few students to counter the activities of the agitators and trouble makers. That only drew to them some persons who were mercenary in their outlook and motives. The students naturally distrusted them and the leadership remained in the hands of the leftists who were, generally speaking, comparatively more dedicated. Some foreign missions started spending money upon the leftist students, so that alignment with the left also became a profitable business. Besides, entertainment and hard drinks were made easily available and leftist student leadership became quite an attractive proposition. And yet it did not become mercenary because the leftists are good organizers and take care that indoctrination is constant and persistent. The civil service was the next target and once a few bright indoctrinated students were able to enter it, they provided employment or at least some benefits that a powerful administrator can always do in Pakistan. The patronage of some senior civil servants who wormed their way up to vantage points worked wonders for strong groups of communists and fellow workers.

In President Ayub Khan's regime, the leftist high ups in the civil service were able to make the leftists appear as the great supporters of the President and the Jamā'at-i-Islāmī as his arch enemy, so that all government energy was directed against it and the leftists went on making themselves more powerful. The reasons why the leftists made the Jamā'at the target of their hostility were fairly obvious. They could not oppose Islam, because Field Marshal Ayub Khan was deeply loyal to Islam. Therefore all efforts at strengthening Islam were castigated as pro Jamā'at-i-Islāmī activities. Besides the Jamā'at was the only well organized party that opposed communism. While opposing communism, the Jamā'at intellectuals were led into studying it and its methods.¹ They discovered the extent of communist infiltration in Pakistan, but by then effective counter measures were no longer within their reach. It is an interesting side light upon communist strategy that President Ayub Khan's final downfall was not brought about by the Jamā'at-i-Islāmī but by a leftist inspired coup d'état by the armed forces. It is also significant that the leftists succeeded with the help of the

¹ *Chirāgh-i-Rāh* (Karachi) published a voluminous special number in 2 volumes, December, 1967.

United States of America and Zionism. The Jamā'at-i-Islāmi was no match to the leftists either in their strategy or in their world-wide affiliations.

All this is relevant to this discussion to the extent that it concerns the students. The Jamā'at-i-Islāmi realized fairly early that it was unwise on its part to let the leadership of the student community slip into the hands of communist inspired student movements. Therefore it created a student wing in its movement. It was given an independent organization and yet the ties with the Jamā'at-i-Islāmi were intimate and deep. It made, in the beginning only slow though steady headway among the students. Those who joined the organization became staunch believers in Islam and took care to observe its injunctions in their life. The organizers naturally tried to gain as many members as they could and were able to instil remarkable discipline in their ranks. This in itself was useful because it created a nucleus of strongly motivated believing and practising Muslims in the student body which could act as a leaven to spread Islamic ideas and beliefs among a community that was being led in its collective approaches by dedicated and well trained communists. It is not surprising that most of the leading graduates upto the early sixties were either communists, fellow travellers or strongly tinged with communist ideas. To these may be added the students who came from the de-Islamicized and de-nationalized elite homes and had been trained in schools where they were more than confirmed in their attitudes towards Islam as well as Pakistan. The Islāmi Jamī'at-u't-talaba provided in the beginning only a tiny trickle in the stream of student life. The Jamī'at, however, was not content with limited activity and rightly decided that it was necessary to capture the leadership of the student community from the communists. Its gradual success earned for the Jamā'at-i-Islāmi much greater hostility of the communists and their fellow travellers than anything that the Jamā'at did in other fields.

The Jamī'at developed a strategy for gaining the favour of the student community that was not much different from the tactics of its opponents. It was helped by the fact that Jamā'at-i-Islāmi was an opposition party and the governments were not

totalitarian. The adoption of the same attitudes on problems relating to or created to get the allegiance of the students by the Jamī'at made it act in fact as a second fiddle to the leftist student leadership, nevertheless it created the impression in the minds of the general body of students that they need not rely all the time on communist leadership to sponsor and support their demands and causes. As the vast majority of the student body was not enamoured of communism the development of this realization and the presence of an alternative leadership caused a set back to communist leadership.

A number of developments then took place almost in quick succession. The communist parties all over the world were split into pro-China and pro-Russian groups. This also split the communist leadership of the students. The pro-Russian group also turned against the integrity of the country and the majority of the students were shocked at their open hostility to the very inception of Pakistan. The communists had, right from the beginning, promoted separatism in the dissident groups, had fanned ill feelings between different sectors of the population and worked for the disintegration of the country, because acting under Russian inspiration, they opposed "Bourgeoisie nationalism". And yet they propounded the cult of different nationalities painting exaggerated pictures of the prosperity and well-being of the peoples of small Soviet republics within the U.S.S.R. These activities created a revulsion of feeling among pro-Islam and pro-Pakistan students. Simultaneously the communist attacks upon the Jamā'at-i-Islāmī and other strongly Islamic and pro-Pakistan groups became more virulent, thinly disguised as attacks on the friends of capitalism and exploitation, which description fitted no political party of Pakistan because all of them were left of the centre in varying degrees. All these factors brought about a clear and violent polarization among the students and the alignments were that pro-Pakistan and Islam oriented students began to favour the Jamī'at-u'l-ṭalaba and the leftists and separatists as well as those who had become alienated from Islam and Pakistan turned in another direction, though they did not agree among themselves on all matters. Their attitudes towards Pakistan varied a good deal, but they mostly agreed upon their dislike of Islamic mores and code of morals.

STUDENTS

They wanted a freer society, more in keeping with their notions of "modern attitude to sex and drinks". Of course in all such alignments there are no clear demarcations because the backgrounds of individuals and groups vary a good deal. The majority of the students who voted for the Jamī'at-u'ṭ-ṭalaba were seldom in full agreement with its leaders in all their opinions and views, but their disagreement with the Jamī'at's rivals was profound.

There were also splinter groups of believing Muslims among the students who were in grave disagreement with the Jamā'at-i-Islāmi over some theological matters and did not like to vote with the Jamī'at-u'ṭ-ṭalaba just as the pro-Islam vote in the last general elections was divided because of these differences. No situation lends itself to a simplified categorization, yet broad divisions have to be specified to understand it. In East Pakistan the situation was further complicated by the fact that many believing Muslims were in favour of secession though no anti-Islam section was pro-Pakistan except for some leftist non-Bengali Muslims who had migrated from India. The Jamī'āt-u'ṭ-ṭalaba was known by its Bengali name of Islāmi Chhatra Shangha and was quite active, but it did not command a majority vote because of the strong secessionist sentiment. For the same reason, there was even more extreme polarization between the pro-Pakistan and anti-Pakistan students in East Pakistan, and the Jamī'at-u'ṭ-ṭalaba being in the vanguard of pro-Pakistan students bore the burnt of the anger of the secessionists. In Yahya Khan's regime one of their leaders, Abdul Malik was beaten to death and the Government made no attempt to bring the culprits to book. Since then the Jamī'at has lost many enthusiastic workers in East Pakistan and, after secession, the punishment meted out to these by the Mujib Government has been terrible, but so great is their devotion that they are still active. In West Pakistan as well they suffered grievously under the present government in the beginning.

The Jamī'at has also been unique in another respect. Students are generally more doctrinaire in their outlook and are not convinced by the arguments of political parties if they put forward the plea of expediency. That is the reason why

"no adult party has been able to attract their enthusiasm or their loyalty; no adult party could as a result discipline and sophisticate their antinomian zeal. On the contrary, their political relations with sympathetic adults are run in the opposite direction; adults seek to affiliate to them . . . It must be said on behalf of the student radicals that they take with a large admixture of salt the flattery and self abasement of their elderly admirers. But the feebleness of those whom they expect to be strong incurs their hostility."² The Jamī'at-u'l-talaba is different in this respect. It is enthusiastic in its support of the Jamā'at-i-Islāmī; when the Jamā'at adopts a soft attitude, the Jamī'at does not rebel; it faithfully reflects and follows the thinking of the Jamā'at and has implicit faith in its leadership. One reason seems to be that Jamā'at adults do not flatter the students or abase themselves before them; on the contrary the relationship is of mutual trust and confidence. The Jamī'at seems to repose full trust in the policies, strategy and wisdom of the Jamā'at. This is perhaps due to the fact that the Jamī'at is, in fact, not a political organization. Politics is for it a subsidiary activity. Its main purpose is to create a religious consciousness among the students. It feels that it has to get involved in politics because Islam does not take a fragmented view of life and it concerns itself with the society as much as with the individual. The state is an essential form of human organization and Islam has its own theories about its functions and the manner they should be discharged. A Muslim, therefore, cannot escape his social and political responsibilities. The Jamī'at, therefore, seeks to work for the attainment of the ideals prescribed by Islam for the state. Thus it is natural for the Jamī'at, like its parent organization, the Jamā'at-i-Islāmī to get involved in political activity. There are many who feel that both the Jamā'at and the Jamī'at would prove more effective if they refrain from political involvement, but such people are not found within the ranks of these two organizations because such thinking is antagonistic to their philosophy. However, it is obvious that politics is not the totality of their objectives. In politics, as well, there is no

² Edward Shils, "Dreams of Plenitude, Nightmares of Poverty" in Seymour Martin Lipset and Philip G. Altbach, *Students in Revolt* (Boston, 1969), p. 20.

contradiction between the policies of the two bodies, because, even though the Jamī'at is ostensibly autonomous, both of them are in fact two wings of the same organization.

This is not true of the leftist student organizations in Pakistan. They are also motivated by their communist beliefs, but hitherto no party has fought elections on a frankly communist platform in Pakistan. They have invariably supported opposition parties but it is obvious that no opposition could get their total allegiance because of the differences in their ideologies and outlooks. Besides it has so happened in West Pakistan that no opposition party has won an election. Even the Peoples Party of Pakistan which won the elections held by Yahya Khan regime was not an opposition party because no political party was in saddle at that time and there was a good deal of understanding between the generals and the leadership of the Peoples Party. However it had a socialist programme, therefore it had the support of the leftist student organizations. When it came into office, its socialist programme was diluted to satisfy many non-socialist sectors of its supporters who were anxious to protect their vested interests. The leftist students could not support such alienation from Marxist orthodoxy. There is no public demonstration of their accord with their full-fledged communist mentors, but because the students express views and act in full accord with Marxist doctrine and pattern of political behaviour, it would be legitimate to conclude that there is no discord between the communist cells of leadership and their student supporters. The leftist students do show independence in their thinking as well as action vis a vis other political parties and groups but in all probability they fully conform to communist thinking in Pakistan. Even their dissensions are on recognized lines of differences among the Marxists. The pro-Russian groups for instance, have the same attitude towards the integrity of Pakistan and its relations with India as Kremlin has. Similarly the pro-China groups think on the same lines as China.

There are many other smaller student groups, but they vary in their attitudes and represent a full spectrum between the views of the Jamī'at and the leftists. The strength of each one of these splinter organizations depends on the fortunes of the

parties to which they attach themselves or by which they have been organized. There are some organizations representing the thinking of particularist groups or areas, such as the Jiye Sindh, Baluch and Pakhtun students organizations. There are yet others which are purely mercenary in their affiliations, selling their support to the highest bidder which quite often is the government of the day. Its officials take the promises of the office bearers of these groups at their face value and are quite often misinformed regarding their influence and capacity to work among the students. An upcoming organization, that is making its strength felt, is the *Taḥrik-i-Istiqlāl-i-Ṭalaba*, which is affiliated to the *Taḥrik-i-Istiqlāl*. Both the parent body and its students affiliate are new comers in the field, but judging from their growing popularity, they are likely to gain in strength and importance. *Taḥrik Istiqlāl-i-Ṭalaba* is fully committed to the policies of the parent body which are to work for the restoration of democracy in the affairs of the state, integration of the nation as a single entity, social justice and a clean, impartial and fair administration. There have also sprung up some groups sponsored by the Government in the provinces of Sindh and the Panjab. It is alleged by the students of the opposition groups that the ruling party and the administration interfere blatantly in student elections in addition to extending financial help to their affiliates. Besides students are also bribed in other ways according to these allegations. Despite this the government sponsored groups have no outstanding success to their credit and student opinion, though divided, is still strongly opposition minded. Before and during the elections, leftist students were solidly behind the Pakistan Peoples Party. Indeed the leadership of the Party utilized the leftist students not only to popularise its platform but also to disrupt the discipline of the institutions which refused to act according to its fiat. It also utilized groups of leftist teachers and their allies for the same purpose. Today, though a fair proportion of the leftist teachers who supported the present ruling party during the elections and in the period preparatory to the elections still support it, specially the teacher-politician type because it is profitable to do so, yet the leftist students have turned their back upon it completely. This is due to several reasons. Firstly the leftist students are more ideologically

oriented and they do not find the People's Party of Pakistan sufficiently leftist to deserve their allegiance. According to their thinking "The Red Morning" has yet to dawn. In this they are at one with the more ardent communists of Pakistan. The other reason is that they do not want to link their fortunes to the ever changing pattern of political alignments before a "real" communist revolution. And thirdly it is more convenient in a way, to be in the opposition because then they do not feel called upon to defend the government's unpopular measures.

It is opportune now to discuss the general question of the desirability of student participation in politics. In underdeveloped countries there is a long tradition of students taking an active part in political activities. In this Subcontinent the tradition goes back to the days of the Partition of Bengal under Lord Curzon. Before that the students had political opinions and also emotional attachment to some political leader. Bal Gangadhar Tilak had a number of admirers among Hindu students, but it was during the agitation against the partition of Bengal that some students were drawn into terrorist activities and conspiracies. A greater spurt came with the Non-Cooperation movement when students were asked to boycott Government and Government aided educational institutions. Only a minority responded to this call, and out of that minority quite a few became political workers and some went to 'national' institutions which neither sought recognition nor received aid from the government. Most of these institutions died out after the collapse of the Non-Cooperation movement, only one survived and prospered, the Jām'īā Milliya Islāmiya because of the devotion and dedication of its head, Dr. Zakir Husain and his sincere colleagues. Now it receives aid from the Indian government. After the boycotts were suspended by the Indian National Congress under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, the vast majority of the students who had boycotted government and government aided institutions went back to them, but quite a few did not continue their education. As has been mentioned earlier, the Indian National Congress and other political parties then adopted the policy of utilizing students without asking them to leave their studies in educational institutions. This was more productive, because it did not demand the sacrifice

of practically all the normal chances of advancement in life. Even in politics a better education is a great asset. More students were in this manner able to participate in political activity without becoming a burden upon the resources of the political party concerned. No special institutions had to be provided for the students who responded to the call, and after all, the special institutions had not proved much of a success because they could not afford the facilities available in Government financed institutions. Besides, many students who left their studies wanted to become political workers and had to be employed. The student who did not give up his studies could work for the political party any time he was required to do so, he was a missionary among his fellow students all the time; if some emergency called him to special duties, he could absent himself from the classes for a while and when there was general excitement or a mass movement had to be launched or sustained, large numbers could come out in the streets, go on strike in their own institutions or make general strikes successful by going round the bazars and persuading the shopkeepers to close shops and pliers of vehicles to go off the road. In case persuasion failed, stoning, throwing brickbats and burning a few buses or breaking glass windows were brought in as more effective arguments. Indeed the masses could be aroused to create widespread disturbances mainly through the students.

Now a situation has arisen in which no opposition party can utilize public resentment against the policies of an unpopular government without the help of the students. Thus students have become not only an essential part of all political activity, but almost its mainstay. Can it, therefore, be expected that opposition groups will eschew the use of students in furthering their programmes? An interesting aspect of the question is that once an opposition party gets into power, it quite often, begins to advise the students to eschew participation in active politics. A case in point is that the Peoples Party of Pakistan utilized students to further its cause in every manner; it incited them to indulge in every kind of indiscipline; and when it came into power, it thanked them publicly. Now when students show some restlessness they are admonished, day in, day out, to devote

themselves to their studies and not only to eschew agitation but every form of demonstration.

The students claim that they are as much citizens of the country as others. Therefore they have as much right to participate in political activity as others. They also assert that they form part of an educated elite in an illiterate society. They are better organized than any other sector of the population, literate or illiterate except labour. In underdeveloped countries they are much more numerous than factory workers because industry is nascent and still small sized. They are not open to pressure as other groups are and, therefore, can take and sustain political action. They can be beaten up by the police, tear gassed and even shot at; they can be arrested and confined; but they are too numerous to be suppressed by these methods. Besides, being educated, strong and well organized, they owe a duty to their country and fellow citizens and cannot shirk the responsibility of seeing that it is properly governed and that tyranny, and exploitation do not prosper. And, above all, as they have to live longer in the country than those who seek to become their mentors, they should be free to fashion a world in which they would like to live. Their studies are important in equipping them to face the problems of life and to earn a decent livelihood, but how will it help them in living 'a good life' if they have to live in a world where there is no freedom, justice or fair play? Therefore purging the world of the evils against which they feel to be called upon to take up cudgels is even more important than educating themselves.

These are arguments that senior educationists and enlightened guardians find difficult to refute when advanced by ardent, keen and intelligent minds. If they carry conviction to those who were brought up in a more stable society, how can they fail to impress the students, who all the world over face an uncertain future? They are fully aware of the instability of the world order and who can blame them if they do not want to be merely straws in the wind of change? They want to build up a world order in which they can look forward to playing some role. They blame the older generation for creating the mess that they feel they have to clean up. This must be understood

by all those who criticize youth and even more by those who feel for it and want to help it. They should refrain from reading sermons to it, specially those whose sermons only highlight their own hypocrisy. It is difficult for youth to be so sophisticated as to weigh what is being said without weighing him who says it.

All this is true and yet youth has to understand that it is not easy to make a brave new world. It needs enthusiasm and energy which youth possesses in abundance. But it also requires wisdom and foresight which come only through education. If the intention is constructive, it becomes incumbent upon all reformers to study the problems carefully and ill trained minds cannot cope with them. Ignorance is a greater enemy of achievement than indifference. Only mature wisdom—and maturity need not necessarily be associated with age or mere intelligence—can grapple with the ills that afflict a society or a polity. Therefore it is essential for youth to equip itself with knowledge through which alone can come the wisdom to bring about healthy changes in society and government. Youth owes it to itself as well as to the society not to neglect a full training for life. The greater is the challenge posed by decadence that youth wants to check, the greater is the need to insist upon good education. Students will get what they demand. If they are party to pulling down standards, to getting cheap degrees and diplomas and to hiding the general neglect of studies by passing examinations by unfair means, they will get substandard education. Their compeers in the West get good education because they demand it. Good students make good teachers, because teachers respond only to what is demanded of them. Good students keep teachers alert and anxious to keep themselves upto date in their knowledge. Our teaching is poor because our students do not care; they get the education they deserve. Wisdom also demands a sense of direction. Society can be reconstructed for so many purposes. Where rebellion is for all freedom from moral restraint, it succeeds, and for a time seems to pay rich dividends in pleasure and profit, but history bears witness that these dividends are shortlived and bring decay and disintegration in their wake. Faith and reflection are two aids to knowledge which make it fruitful, deep and rewarding.

For a very long period the classical attitude of academic communities remained unchallenged. It insisted that education was a whole time business and did not permit any other activity because it would take away the time that properly belonged to studies. Societies which maintained students while they were being educated had a right to demand that a student should devote all his time to his studies. Before the introduction of the Western type of education, no student had to find money for paying for his education or to maintain himself in the Muslim world. This is true even today of the old style *madrasahs* and *dār-u'l-'ulūms*. In the West except for those bright individuals who won scholarships, the student had to bear a heavy burden of expenditure for his education. This ruled out the poorer student who could not win a scholarship but who was good enough to benefit from education. Higher education thus became the privilege of the upper and middle classes, who thereby monopolised all avenues of better paid employment and consequently perpetuating class differences. The United States of America led the way in permitting work with education and now students in many countries are able to work for a livelihood while educating themselves. Thus the myth that only the whole time student could benefit from education has broken down. Therefore it is no longer convincing to say that students cannot combine any other activity with their studies. It makes no difference whether the additional activity is the business of earning a livelihood or politics. What is necessary in this connection is not to prohibit other activities along with education but to maintain rigorous standards of teaching and examination. The whole time students will have some advantage; but those who cannot or do not want to give all their time to studies, will not be denied the benefits of education. To ensure that the latter get proper education and are not penalized for diversifying their activities, examination systems and schedules will have to be made flexible, so that it may be possible to take longer time in completing the requirements for a degree without forcing part time students to abandon the hope of getting a good degree. This will also help in toning up the general standard of examinations.

Even if it were inadvisable for students to participate actively in politics, it would be a counsel of perfection to ask them to

refrain from it. They know their strength and they would like to use it. It brings them the satisfaction of serving their country according to their lights. Their vision has to be improved so that their participation is enlightened and not destructive. It provides an outlet for their energy. It also gives them experience and some understanding of the mechanics of politics. It not only provides opportunities for the emergence of leadership but also provides it with considerable scope for proving the worth of the leadership that emerges. Those who emerge as leaders also get good training. But it also provides ample opportunities for selfish and unscrupulous adventurers to exploit situations for their own ends. This was truer in the beginning in Pakistan when properly oriented and organized movements had yet not come into existence. But then the danger of such leaders coming to the forefront is endemic in all political activity and the only safeguard is the maturity of those whose support such leaders have to seek. The more enlightened the student body becomes, the less will be the chances of its being misled by such persons. This is a risk that is run by all organized forces. Labour unions even in some advanced countries like the United States of America are not free from irresponsible and selfseeking leadership and it would be too much to expect from the students of any underdeveloped country that they will never succumb to the blandishments of insincere impostors. They can, however, make themselves immune from the mischief of selfish leadership if they carefully define for themselves the scope and targets of collective action and the form that such collective action should take. Unfortunately 'student power' in Pakistan has quite often sought to put pressure upon authorities to concede demands that have tended to make examinations easier and to dilute already poor standards even further. The students have to realize that this is a suicidal policy because it plays havoc with their education. They are not equipped properly to face competition from those who are better educated. This is particularly disadvantageous to the poorer students who cannot afford the luxury of a foreign education and are not good enough to win scholarships for studies abroad. Being ill educated and ill qualified for the jobs which have to be filled with the available material, they pull down standards of administration everywhere. Their poor intellectual equipment is the basic cause of the growing

inefficiency in every walk of life in this country. It is in the field of extorting concessions in the matter of standards that students tend to throw up selfish and sometimes unscrupulous leadership. The appeal of any agitation that leads to less work and more passes as well as better classes has hitherto been found irresistible by the majority of Pakistani students. It is a sad commentary upon their collective wisdom and leadership. The association of students with the administration of the universities may result in a greater sense of responsibility among the leaders, but this will ultimately depend upon the good sense of the general body of students. A leadership can be in the long run only as responsible as its constituency permits it to be. The student leaders elected to positions that will entitle them to seats in the controlling bodies of the universities will be under great pressure but they must learn to resist undue pressures if their association with university government is to stand justified in public estimation. Unfortunately it takes only a small percentage of students to disrupt the life of an institution. The vast majority of students in all countries are not interested in agitation and are generally moderate in their views.³ It is this silent majority, however, that votes unions into power and has to learn not to be carried away by slogans and respond to call for strikes and agitation on frivolous and even injurious issues. That is possible only if they are helped in forming judgments in a mature manner. But this generally does not happen because no one has the courage to put forward a sane point of view when agitators take up an issue. The voice of reason is simply not raised. Only students are not to be blamed for this lack of courage: their elders in positions where they can exercise some influence like teachers, politicians, journalists and guardians are so afraid of unpopularity that they prefer to remain silent. The experiment of entrusting students with responsibility "will not, however, resolve the deeper tensions between a cultural tradition that fosters individuality and the vision of a realm of plenitude and a society the institutions of which require efficiency, competence, selection on the basis of past and prospective accomplishment and differential rewards."⁴ This tension increases when merit ceases to be recognized and nepotism, communalism

³ Seymour Martin Lipset and Phillip G. Altbach, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

⁴ Edward Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

and regionalism come to the forefront, when academic achievement recedes into the background and prejudice and partiality cover up incompetence. When this happens it seems futile to work hard and the maxim that all achievement is a reward in itself seems to be empty and a mockery in a world where all success is measured with material yardsticks. A student finds it impossible to believe that a poor academic record is a barrier in attaining efficiency after employment when he is surrounded legally by a system of regional quotas in employment and illegally by all kinds of wire pulling and corrupt methods, when influence and recommendation not only secure employment but also sustain it and even earn promotion.

The Pakistani student is still not unsocial in his instincts or thinking, his attitudes are yet not rebellious or anarchic, except for a few superficially westernised individuals, he does not rave against "the establishment" and does not feel impelled to destroy all that comes his way. By far and large he is still moderate and constructive in his thinking; but neglect, bad education, injustice and maltreatment may soon drive him into despair. If he breaks law, he cannot claim immunity from the punishment on the basis of being a student; if he claims the privileges of adulthood and citizenship, he cannot escape their responsibility; if he is guilty of breaking law and order he must be punished, but the punishment should not transgress the limits of the law that he has broken. And must he be treated like a criminal? Is a student not, in fact, despite his occasional aberration, an apprentice for citizenship? Is he not the nation's best investment? Is he not the country's hope? Whatever else might be said of his acts of indiscipline, they are mostly the results of convictions strongly held, not the outcome of perversity. In a society, where few are willing to suffer for their convictions, he provides a noble exception. Must his spirit be crushed by deterrent punishment, persecution and sometimes even by obscene torture? Can any nation afford to play Shylock to its own progeny and demand its pound of flesh from it? Specially to that section of the progeny which holds all promise of a future in its hands? Justice must always be tempered with mercy. Specially where students are concerned, justice must not become vindictive. It should seek to reform, not to wreak vengeance.

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