CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Inauguration of the Constitution of India on the 26th January 1950, was significant in a number of ways. It inaugurated the dawn of a new era for Indians. The enthusiastic friends of India regarded Independence as an opportunity to make a series of experiments on the path of development. Some viewed India as the leader of "Free Asia". To them, the independent Republic of India symbolised a hope, a promise an aspiration and a future. Some of them also regarded it as a 1) Prof. Norman D. Palmer writes "One of the greatest experiments in human history is going on in India today. It is the experiments of many millions trying to attain a tolerable standard of existence and decent political, economic and social institutions in the face of tremendous obstacles from within and from without, and to achieve these goals in a democratic way". Prof. Norman D. Palmer, "Indian Political System", P.13. See also the views of Prof. S.H. Rudolph and Prof. L.I. Rudolph, "Politics and Education in India", Preface and Chapter-I.
2) Mr. Chester Bowles described the non-communist democratic states of Asia as "Free Asia" and regarded India as their leader. He expressed the view that the future of "Free Asia" depended upon the success of democracy in India. His views have been expressed in chapters V, VI and VII of his book "Ambassador's Report".
challenges\textsuperscript{3} to the traditional values, concepts and bases of democracy. The pledge taken by this largest welfare democracy\textsuperscript{4} to secure to all its citizens: justice, social, economic and political\textsuperscript{,} was really an unprecedented challenge. Social justice in a caste-ridden, tradition-bound, multilingual society that had given birth to three important religions of the world and had been famous in history for her religionism and religious-futes; economic justice in a state

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\item[3)] Prof. Norman D. Palmer writes, "Pressure from without as well as from within place India's experiments with democracy in peril". He further writes, "It is therefore easy to give way to doubts and fears about the suitability of democracy in Indian environment". 

Norman D. Palmer, quoted above, Page 15.

Prof. W.H. Morris-Jones had such apprehension also, though he did not draw any 'logical' conclusion.

Prof. W.H. Morris-Jones, "Government and Politics of India", P.250-251
\item[4)] For the caste system of India and its effects, please see 
(a) Rajni Kothari, "Caste in Indian Politics".
(b) M.N. Srinivas, "Caste in Modern India and other essays".
(c) R. Jayaraman, "Caste and Class: Dynamics of Inequality in Indian Society".
(d) W.H. Morris-Jones, quoted above, P.55-59.
(e) C. Von Furer-Haimendorf, "Caste and Politics in South-East Asia" in C.H. Philips "Politics and Society in
ninety percent of whose citizens were poverty-stricken, whose only industry was agriculture organised on primitive lines and whose land-system was blatantly feudal and eighty percent of whose people did not get full employment for the whole year, made this experiment with welfare democracy and three-facet justice really very thrilling.

The task of nation-building keeping in tact the ideas and objectives of the Constitution was very important. Social differences were to be bridged, social cohesion was to be rebuilt, emotional integration and inter-regional understanding were to be established. Hatred, suspicion and distrust among religious groups were to be removed and communal harmony was to be promoted. All these could be possible only by able statesmanship, responsible citizenship, which education alone could provide. In India, education had to promote national

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5) J.D.B.Miller writes "The nationalism of a new state is what is sometimes called state nationalism : not the feeling of a people struggling to be free, but effort of a Government to perpetuate itself and its sense of what is right".

J.D.B.Miller: Politics of the Third World - P.16

6) V.P.Varma "Modern Indian Political Thought". Chapter 31 "Educational Foundations of Indian Democracy". Laxmi Narain Agarwal, Agra, 1974.
integration as it had to do in the United States. India had to acquire basic economic minimum. The colonial land-based economy had to be transformed to that of welfare democracy in order to promote economic justice and equality of status and of opportunity. The feudal system of land-control that the Britishers created in the 18th Century and utilised the system to their advantage had to be changed. New industries were to be established, existing industries were to be geared up, trade and commerce were to be encouraged and expanded. The problem of unemployment was to be tackled, unemployed hands were to be given engagement. Imports were to be minimised and exports were to be increased in order to avoid adverse balance of payment. Defence production was to be increased both in quality and quantity. Advancement in the

7) David Apter: Introduction to Political Analysis, Page 200-201.
fields of science and technology was equally important. All these are ultimately dependent upon education.

India has adopted a democratic system. Success of such a democratic system depends upon fulfilment of certain prerequisites. Among these pre-requisites education happens to be most important. Because of such importance of education Prime Minister Nehru described it as "Prime Mover".

G.C.Field : Political Theory, Chapter IX.
11) F.W.Cocker, "Recent Political Thought", P. 372.
See also, Bernard E.Brown, "New Directions in Comparative Politics".
Gunnar Myrdal describes investment in education as "investment in man" (Chapter 29). He says that education is one of the basic requirements of economic development.
Gunnar Myrdal "Asian Drama", P. 1533-1551.
When we achieved Independence, our educational profile was very unimpressive. Some of us were educated, but we did not have an "educational System". More than eighty percent of our people were illiterate and that was one of the reasons why some of our well-wishers and impartial observers had curiosity to watch our democracy functioning.\footnote{Professor Norman D. Palmer and Professor Irene Tinker are of the view "while it is quite possible for an illiterate voter to exercise his franchise it would seem an obvious disadvantage for a member of any legislator not to be literate in the language used in the house. Not to be literate in any language at all reduces the member's effectiveness almost to zero". Norman D. Palmer and Irene Tinker, "Decision-making in Indian Parliament" in R.L. Park and Irene Tinker, "Leadership and Political Institutions in India", P.119-120, Oxford University Press, 1960. Similarly without referring to India, G.C. Field writes in general terms, "It has sometimes been suggested that a literacy test for the vote ought to be applied. The democrat would not necessarily find anything very objectionable in that, provided always that opportunities for education were open or were in the process of being made open to everyone. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that some countries where complete self-government has recently been attained, the franchise has been extended to wide section of population which are completely illiterate. How that will work remains to be seen". G.C. Field: Political Theory, P.132.}
In the Indian setting, education has three different types of role to play. It has a curative type of role in eradicating or uprooting, or, at least minimising the effects of maladies like casteism, religionism, regionalism, communalism, linguism, localism and other forces of these sort. It has, secondly a stabilising type of role in maintaining and stabilising our cultural distinctions, stabilising and maintaining Indian culture and our distinct sub-cultures in the broad spectrum of Indian culture. Thus, it is intended to stabilise our democracy forging unity in diversities and uniting us together while allowing varieties to grow. The third and most important type of role of our education is its developmental role in transforming India's developing condition to a developed one.

In the process of development, modernisation and orderly social change of India, education has to be associated, involved and to play a major role. Professor Lucian Pye\(^\text{14}\) views it as an agent of modernization and Professor Wilbert Moore\(^\text{15}\) regards it as a necessary factor of social change.


\(^{15}\) Wilbert E. Moore writes, "The need for literary and for various levels of technical skills in the course of modernisation leads to a great emphasis on schools and other
It has been rightly said by Professor Humayun Kabir "The importance of education has increased with the progress of civilization and there is little doubt that it is the single-most important agency of national and international advancement in the modern world". Justice Chagla regards modernization as a purpose of education.

As an agency of modernization and social change, education is a double edged sword. During the colonial days, the Britishers also used it for social change, keeping their interest in mind, M.Salvadori rightly points out "Education agencies of education. In view of nearly universal demand for education as a symbol and progress, political realities are likely to weigh the balance towards broadening the educational base through primary schools". "Social Change", P.108.


Dr. Gunnar Myrdal finds correlationship between educational deficiency and low economic level, "Asian Drama", Page-1826.


Also Report of the Education Commission, 1964-66, P.18

Also V.P.Varma : Modern Indian Political Thought, P.535.


Similarly, David Apter points out that in the United Kingdom education was utilised to perpetuate the class differences.

David Apter; Introductions to Political Analysis, P.200-201.
is what people make of it: it can make saints or devils, free men or slaves. The Britishers wanted some change in the Indian Society, to create a group of clerks through whom they were to rule over the Indians, to create a class to support the British policy and administration. The change they introduced then through the medium of liberal western education and English language does not serve our purpose now and badly requires change. But at the same time it is to be admitted that introduction of liberal western education and English language initiated the process of modernization, development and social change in India.

Introduction of western education and English language had mani-fold implications and effects. It initiated the process of modernization and it created a class to render manual, moral and official support to the Britishers, their activities and mode of thinking. It provided opportunity to the Indians, at least a small section of them, to mix with the westerners and to learn their habits, manners, ideas, style of functioning approach, demeanour, even revolutionary philosophy. Through the westerners these new traits of development, modernization and social change came to India and the westernized Indians those ideas could spread over India.

19) Myron Weiner, quoted above - P.175.
20) Ibid, P.176.
21) A.B. Lal, "Indian Parliament", P.XIII.
     Myron Weiner, quoted above, P.173.
22) Myron Weiner, quoted above, P.176.
The western education became an elite-based education, created a new class\textsuperscript{23}, provided to the educated few a status-symbol\textsuperscript{24}, social distinction and created a class of bureaucrats. A well-knit bureaucracy brought stability to the administration, developments in the fields of transport and communication made the system efficient. A degree from the university conferred the benefit of getting a white-collar job with security and assured regular income\textsuperscript{25}. Access to the study of science and technology changed the attitude to life completely. Some fruits of the civilization emanating from new discoveries and inventions made living more comfortable\textsuperscript{26}. As a result of all these, more and more people were attracted towards western education. Thus, during the later half of the 19th century, western education became the principal agency of development, modernization and social change in India.

The western education had many other effects also. It provided opportunity to the upper classes of the Indian Society to be educated. Even all persons of the upper class could not enjoy this privilege. Western education was confined to the rich few of the upper class\textsuperscript{27}.

26) S.Radhakrishnan, "Religion and Culture", P.84.
27) J.Dasgupta : Language and group process in India, quoted from Karat Prakash : Language and Nationality Politics in India, P.12-13
But at the same time, the existence of caste barrier did not affect the expansion of education. Thus, the real competition became the one between the upper (richer) classes and lower (poorer) classes. Rigidity in the caste-structure disappeared and along with the less-rigid caste system, the other classes based upon the degree of development and modernity were created. Furthermore, western education, English language, Indian Railways, British-sponsored Indian bureaucracy brought unity, stability and a sense of one-ness in India. For the first time in the history of India the entire landmass from Kerala to Kashmir and Kutch to Kamrup could be brought under one and integrated administration. A new middle-class was created to stabilise the social system. English became the language of the nationalists who otherwise would have been severally handicapped because of communication gap. Western education which served the Britishers, their purpose and stabilised them in India ultimately became the generator of instability.


   Also L.I. Rudolph and S.H. Rudolph, "The Modernity of Transition: Political Development in India", P.78.

29) Myron Weiner - quoted above, P.179. Also K. Seshadri, "Indian Politics then and now", P.51.

30) Myron Weiner - quoted above, P.164.

31) B.B. Misra - The Indian Middle Class, (Oxford University, Delh Chapter VI & VII. Also K.L. Mamal and Ralph C. Meyer, "Democratic Politics in India", P.16.
The western education was not an unmixed blessing for India. "Universities and Colleges modernized Indian intellectual life by introducing European versions of the organisation of knowledge and academic specialization and disciplines associated with Knowledge". Thus education became elite-based and could not be a mass programme and conferred benefits upon the few rich people only. While it softened rigid caste-barrier and encouraged over-stepping the caste prejudices, it created new classes, provided new varieties of status symbols and created systematically a rigid type of status hierarchy.


K. Seshadri, "Indian Politics then and Now", P.50-52.
Also, Myron Weiner, quoted above, P.167.

Anil Seal, "The emergence of Indian nationalism".
K. Davies : Population of India and Pakistan, P.156


34) Mc Cully Bruce, "English Education and the Origin of Indian Nationalism", V.P. Varma : Modern Indian Political Thought, P.554.
Also Norman D. Palmer - quoted above, P.11.
Introduction of western education and English language damaged the traditional Indian education and in some advanced societies completely demolished it. Thus, the old traditional education continued in some parts of India in damaged and defaced form, in some areas in mutilated and modified form and was completely demolished in certain advanced areas. In varied degree it alienated many people from the rest of the society. It also created a serious social and economic cleavage between the urban and rural sectors, created serious social and cultural dislocation at both the sectors. Degree of development, modernity and change, led to change in the profession and economic pattern and finally led to regional imbalance in the economic field.

35) In the extreme interior region of India, English language and western education had no impact for a long time. Myron Weiner - quoted above.

36) In certain coastal areas, western impact was felt in mutilated form of western education. Subsequently it was further modified and mutilated by Arya Samaj to combine Indian cultural norms with western education. S.H.Rudolph and L.I.Rudolph - quoted above, P.21.


38) Myron Weiner, quoted above, P.173.


40) Professor Norman D.Palmer writes, "Economically they destroyed the base of existence of village and they undoubtably milked India for British ends".
culture continued to exist in the interior regions, western education and ideas could not percolate to those areas\(^41\). In short, the old system could not be demolished fully and could not be uprooted, similarly a new system could not be built, transplanted or grown \(^42\). There was western education, but no western educational system.

During the British period the degree of development and modernization of India was dependent upon the duration and

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Norman D. Palmer, "The Indian Political System", P.35.
Also see Lundian W. Pye: Aspects of Political Development, Page-11.

Also L. Rudolph and S. Rudolph, "Regional Pattern of education: Rimland and Heartland in Indian Education" in "Economic and Political weekly", June, 1969.
Professor W.H. Morris-Jones writes "The pattern and style of interaction between political institutions and the rest of human life had varied from time to time and also from country to country". W.H. Morris-Jones, "The Government and Politics of India", P.1.

42) Prof. W.H. Morris-Jones writes, "The consequences of westernization are many and complex. The central feature that concerns us here is that as long as alien rule prevails, the impact of westernization on the political system is well-nigh complete, whereas the impact on society is partial and uneven".
type of British rule. The official patronage and encouragement the western educational system received, the recognition that was accorded to it, and the alluring future it could assure to its recipient, made it increasingly popular in India. Increasingly large number of Indians received it and were dragged towards it. Even during the zeneith of Gandhian era, increasingly large number of Indians were attracted towards western education in preference to the Gandhian type. Because of the tempting conditions associated with the western education, Gandhiji's scheme was never received very strongly by the Indians.

Western education could not develop into a system, nor could it be available to all in order to acquire universal character. It had a number of defects, it also could

43) Myron Weiner - quoted above, Page 164 and 168.
Norman D. Palmer, quoted above, P.5.
45) Prof. Stephen Bailey states "The educational system might be defined as that combination of social institutions and facilities that are presumed to have as major purposes the discovery and inculation of Knowledge and values and the development of human skills and options".
not be mass-based. But despite of it, western education had many advantages to which dominant minority were accustomed. Hence it was considered useful and indispensable. It generated nationalism, established communication link, provided a working forum for interest articulation. Even those who criticised the western education and advocated its abandonment, derived the competence and got the idea from the western education itself. Prof. Iqbal Narain is of view that "Western thought was an upsurge that overtook generations of people from Raja Rammohan Roy to Nehru, becoming most a mould in which many thought-structures and life-patterns were cast". The Brahma samaj and many such organisations were the pioneers of nationalist movement in India, and invariably all

J.P.Naik writes, "a new educational system fully geared to the new national objectives has not yet been made".
J.P.Naik: Educational Planning in India, Page-13-15

Also Myron Weiner, quoted above, P.176.

those were the products of western system. Organised bureaucracy, regular rule-making and rule-implementation, unambiguous legal process and permanent system of rule adjudication were the precious gifts of the western education and had to be preserved. Hence, for practical and tactical reasons, western education could not be abandoned and had to be maintained with necessary modifications.

"It is not possible to reproduce in India the patterns and structures of the West. Even if we desperately plan our economic and national resources, I do not think we can create in India the replica, say, of the United States of America. The concepts and categories of the eastern philosophy are thus in the minds of the educated Indian battling with the ideas, ways of action and social pattern of the western civilization."

The educated section of India which has received

V. P. Varma, "Modern Indian Political Thought", P. 595.

49) The Western Education created a strong middle class and that middle class became the back-bone of Independent India. Further western education led to modernization. Hence it had to continue with modifications.
B. B. Misra, "The Indian Middle Classes. Their growth in modern Times", Oxford University Press, Delhi, Chapters VI and VII.
V. P. Varma, "Modern Indian Political Thought", P. 551.
training through the medium of English language has been subjected to tremendous emotional strains. It has been subjected to the devastating onslaught, scientific materialism and scripture. India had to take stock of this situation and to take precautionary measures. Our success or otherwise was dependent upon fulfilment of these requirements of education after independence.

Our important requirements of change in the field of education in India after Independence were many. First, India had to develop an educational system that could operate on a child or even on the adult citizen at a certain point in life, with a perceived goal and to pass through a process in order to realise the goal. Secondly, there should

50) V.P. Verma, "Modern Indian Political Thought", quoted above, P.555.

The next few paragraphs are more explicit.

51) Prof. John T. Wahlquist regards education system as a process in which a person is processed to become an honourable citizen. He says, "the new concept of administration is concerned with guiding and directing pupil's growth". Thus, the real purpose of education can be kept in the foreground and not lost in the mechanics of keeping the traditional wheels running".


Also see Humayun Kabir : Indian Philosophy of Education, P.17.
be different streams and branches to develop varieties and to allow citizens to choose one or some stream or streams according to personal capacity and requirement\. Thirdly, education was to be released from the monopoly of elite class and had to be broad-based, a mass movement and was be universalised\\.

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52) Prof. Earnest Barker does not want state to monopolise control over education. He wants parents, teachers, workers and people of different religions and other groups to be associated with different experiments in the field of education.


Prof. Harold J. Laski says, "the right to education does not mean the right to identical intellectual training for all citizens". Harold J. Laski, "Grammar of Politics", P.114.


53) Prof. Laski regards education as a right and recognises the right to education, "Grammar of Politics", P.114.

The need for universal education in a democratic state has been emphasised by many. Literature in the field is extensive.

See V. P. Varma, quoted above, P.535. He regards it as a right and demands "Equality of Educational opportunity". Constitution the UNESCO also indicates that the UNESCO aims to achieve "Equality of Educational opportunity".
Fourthly, the education in order to have its root in the soil, had to be product of genus of the nation, had to reflect the national culture and sub-culture of the sub-society.


54) Prof. Humayun Kabir states, "It is the task of Indian intelligentsia to accept all elements of value in other tradition and merge them in the Indian thought and culture".
Humayun Kabir: Indian Philosophy of Education, P.126.
Please see also Lucian W. Pye: Aspects of Political Development, P.46.

Education Commission in their Report (Page 163) expressed similar views. The commission further said, "For this purpose, education should be developed so as to increase productivity social and national integration, accelerate process of modernization and social moral and spiritual values".

Raymond Aron says, "Education is a social process. Each society has the educational institution which have suited to it. Just as every society has a morality that is generally adopted to its need, so each society has one or more methods of education corresponding to the collective needs".
Raymond Aron, "Main corrents of sociological Thoughts", P.95
See also views of Prof. Haridwar Rai and J. Pandey, State Politics" in "Indian Journal of Political Science", June, 1979, P.123.
It had to manifest clearly, the conception of the local people on human destiny. Education had to conform to the manifold requirements in conformity with our tradition, such as, developing personality of the individual, generating among its recipients a sense of critical judgement, providing knowledge.

See also K.G. Saiyidain, "Education, Culture and Social Order", P.133-134.


55) A federal state may represent a culture and a number of sub-cultures. All sub-cultures represented in the sub-societies are to be protected and a composite national culture, combining all such sub-cultures should also be expressed and reflected in the educational system and the constitution of the land. Some hints about it has been given by Sir Ivor Jennings "Some characteristics of the Indian Constitution", Page 55.

University Education Commission, 1948-49 states, "The purpose of all education, it is admitted by thinkers of East and West, is to provide a coherent picture of the universe and an integrated way of life". Report of the University Education Commission, Page 24.

About the objects of education Emile Durkheim wrote, "Its object is to arouse and develop in the child a certain number of physical intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the Political society and the special milieu for which he is specially destined". Emile Durkheim, "Education and Sociology", P.71.
Finally, it was to be oriented in such a manner so that it must not make citizens parasites on the State, but must give them training to earn livelihood and to be to take up an honourable profession.

56) Dr. S. Radhakrishnan writes, "Education must include the development of man's spiritual powers and help to build a harmonious, self-confident personality". S. Radhakrishnan, "Religion and Culture", P. 163.

Speaking about the Indian heritage that needs to be preserved Jawaharlal Nehru said "what is India? India today is the outcome not only of the immediate past but also of the thousands of years of long history of our country. Layer upon layer of thought experience and action have conditioned us and made us what are today. Thus every century is represented in this country". Quoted from "Homage to Nehru" - Selections from A.I.R. Broadcast - broadcast by Inam Rehman, P. 43.

Prof. Humayun Kabir wrote about education, "It has been described as the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral, esthetic, spiritual and other faculties that are latent in man". Humayun Kabir, "Indian Philosophy of Education", P. 241.

57) Prof. Harold J. Baski writes, "Our business therefore is to assure such an education to all, as will make every vocation, however humble, one that does not debar those who follow it, from the type of intelligence". Harold J. Laski, "Grammar of Politics", P. 155.
In short, education in India had been involved with her poverty. It was needed to be the principal weapon of economic development and social change.

Prof. V.P. Varma states, "Education has to be related to our social demands and economic supplies and it has to be oriented to the political expectations that the electorate will exercise the right choice at the time of polls". V.P. Varma, "Educational Foundation of Indian Democracy" in "Modern Indian Political Thought", P.535.


Education Commission in their report stated, "The most important and urgent reform needed in education is to transform it to endeavour to relate it to life, needs and aspiration of the people and thereby make it a powerful instrument of social, economic and cultural transformation necessary for the realization of national goals". Report of the Education Commission, P.163.

Most appropriately the Education Commission stated in page 1 of the 1st Chapter, "The destiny of India is being shaped in her class-rooms".
A proper system of education for India must represent these five factors including our national cultural which is of primarily importance. Unless the system represents the national culture, no system can claim to be the proper system of education. The proper system can continue to be proper as long as it is aided and fortified by the instrumentalities of law. Hence, the Constitution should also conform to the requirements of national culture. Political culture, educational system and constitutional law of the land must conform and strengthen each other.

It is difficult to define and describe the national culture of a state. It is more so if it is an old state representing fusion of culture. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru aptly described, "To what am I an heir? To all that humanity has achieved during tens of thousands of years, to all that it has thought and felt, suffered and taken pleasure in, to its cries of triumph and bitter agony of defeat, to the astonishing

60) Education of the proper sort may "evolve democratically, with the aid of teachers, parents, and pupils the kinds of programme that will prepare young people for the kind of society in which we would all wish to live". Peter B. Harris: Foundations of Political Science, P.280-281. John T. Wahlquist, William E. Arnold Roald F. Campbell, Theodore L. Reller, Lester B. Sands,"The Administration of Public Education", P.9.
adventure of man which began so long ago and yet continues and beckons to us. To all this and more, in common with all men" 61.

National culture of India has been variously manifested. It has been expressed in Indian spiritualism. Because of this spiritual tradition India gave birth and allowed to flourish three main religions of the world 62. India represents a synthetic civilization and culture 63. Indian culture has also been manifested in the traditional Indian belief in the dignity of human person 64. The idea of 'atman' present in every living being intends to limit the powers of political authority. The Brahmins in ancient India were poor but were educated cultured and were advisers of the rulers. The 'Kings' were mostly being elected from defined group by a defined electorate. Autoracy in India was more humane than its counterparts elsewhere. The third manifestation of Indian culture has been in form of an ethical theory of self-restraint 65.

61) Quoted from "Homage to Nehru" - Selections from A.I.R. Broadcasts - Broadcast by Inam Rehman, Page 43.
62) These three religions were Buddhism, Jainism and Sikh religion.
63) S. Radhakrishnan quoted above, P.109-111.
V.P. Varma quoted above, 529-534.
64) V.P. Varma quoted above, 531-532.
S. Radhakrishnan quoted above, P.111-112.
65) V.P. Varma - quoted above, P.533-534.
Because of this reason Indians have been tolerant. They had tolerated religious differences, birth of new religion, foreign invasion, assimilation of one-time invaders as 'sons of the soil', autocracy of different sorts and caste distinction. It accounts for their secularism, truthfulness and non-violence, birth of great religious leaders like Gautam Buddha, Mahavir Jain, Asoka, Kaniska, Harsavardhan (all saints from the family of rulers), Shankaracharya, Guru Nanak, Chaitanya, Vivekananda and many others. Because of the predominance of these qualities, traditional Indians were not materialists and were voluntarily giving up worldly comforts and influence for spiritual excellence and influence.

Viewed from these angles, in the Indian setting, proper education must inform to the following requirements.

1) Education must evolve as a system and must be universal. Only in that case it can be democratic and can touch every one in the society. Prof. Humayun Kabir says, "Democracy means equal opportunity for all, but such equality has no reality without equal facility for education." In the absence of universal education, education is bound to acquire elite character.

66) Humayun Kabir, "Indian Philosophy of Education", P.3

Prof. Humayun Kabir further writes, "Access to elementary and perhaps even secondary education is thus the birth right of every citizen in a democracy", Page 3.

Also John Stuart Mill, "On liberty and Consideration on Representative Government", quoted above, P.75
(2) Education must occupy the central place in the modern state system. "Education is the influence exercised by the adult generation on those not yet ready for social life. Hence, education involves a training for social life and it is an important factor of socialization." "Its object is to prepare the child according to his national culture and appropriate sub-culture." "Education and teaching involve verbalizing, articulating ideas and principles as well as displaying behaviour for imitation by the youngers." Hence education must set up ideal conditions for imitation so that

69) Keeping this requirement in mind, some months before the Independence of India, Dr. A. Avasthi wrote, "The first thing that is necessary is to re-draw the provincial boundaries on a more scientific basis, with a view to creating homogeneous units. The present provinces have been formed more on the basis of administrative convenience than on the basis of any scientific principle". Dr. A. Avasthi, "The form of future Indian states", in the Indian Journal of Political Science, July Dec., 1946. See also V. P. Varma, quoted above P. 533.
70) William J. Bluhm, "Theories of Political system", P. 414.
better socialization can be possible. Unless the education is
good and proper, educated-elite might control the administra-
tion 71.

(3) Education must conform to the spirit of the Constitution. 72
"It need not and should not degenerate into propaganda. It must
be liberal and must develop democratic character". 73 It should
not be intended as a preparation only for gentlemanly status
and white collar job. 74 It must inculcate democratic values,
encourage social survival, orderly change, it must promote
moral and spiritual values, individual and inter-group compe-
tence 75.

(4) Education is a three-fold process, (a) it imparts knowledge,
(b) it imparts skill and (c) it inculcate values 76. Those values
are of five different types, (i) democracy, (ii) secularism,
(iii) unity of the country, (iv) socialism, (v) modern and
rational outlook 77.

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72) A.B.Lal, "Indian Parliament", P.XIII.
73) A.B.Lal, Ibid, P.XIII & XIV.
74) Rajni Kothari : Politics in India, P.375.
75) Dorthy Westby-Gibbon, "Social perspective on Education",
Chapter - 17.
76) Bulletin of Higher Education (U.G.C.) Volume 4, No.183,
August, 1979, Page 2 (New Delhi).
(5) Politicization begins in the childhood\textsuperscript{78}, hence, education must commence at the age of four. Again, as education ultimately becomes what people want to make out of it\textsuperscript{79}, education should \textsuperscript{80} must conform to the social and economic requirements, must be capable of providing an honourable vocation\textsuperscript{81}. The education should be integrated with the community\textsuperscript{82}. It must provide moral training and not merely provide packed institutionalised knowledge\textsuperscript{83}. Education must succeed in building a self-confident personality.

Education in India has been completely re-oriented from the view point of Indian requirements after Independence. Rudolph and Rudolph write "Independence in 1947 marked something of a new watershed in the development of higher education in India. As Indian schools and higher education lost its elite character and took on an increasingly popular one"\textsuperscript{84}.

\textsuperscript{78) D.E.Apter : Introduction to Political Analysis, P.200-201.  
80) Stephen Bailey : The purpose of Education, P.88  
V.P.Varma, quoted above, P.535.  
82) James Mark Lewis : Educational Involvement in Indian Poverty.  
83) T.B. Bottomore : Sociology, P.268.  
84) S.H.Rudolph and L.I.Rudolph, "Education\textsuperscript{82} and Politics in India", Page 4.  
Also Carl C.Taylor, Douglas Ens Minger, Hallen W.Johnson and Jean Joyce : India's Roots of Democracy, Chapter 16.
Education became a primary concern because Indian leaders had to educate citizens, provide better manpower for army, promote national integration, develop means of civilization and to rule the industrial class. Modernization of Indian Education and its channelization into a system has created five-fold difficulties. Mass education, Printing Press, mass-communication and developing informative orders have created a peculiar sense of Indianization. Increasing importance on Indian languages in preference to English may be illustrated as an example, though it is only one of the secured basis of Indianization. It might lead to alienation of India from the International stream. Secondly, the development is being circumscribed still further because of regionalism. It is a product of growing regional imbalance.

85) Prof. Rudolph and Prof. Rudolph, quoted above, P.7.
86) V.P. Varma - quoted above, P.595-598.
87) Indianization is a peculiar term. It refers to adoption of western system in India. It implies adaptation of different facets of development including education to suit to Indian conditions. In this sense it is different from what Indianization means to some political parties or groups. The process of adaptation still continues.

Prof. Norman D. Palmer writes, "The Indian Political structure is still not so clear as one might first assume. The Indianization of Indian Politics is still going on". Norman D. Palmer, "The Indian Political System", P.1.
in social economic, political and educational fields. The third problem has been the maintenance of proper standard. There has been mani-fold increase in the number of institutions of all sorts and in their enrolment. The quality of institutions, instruction, student and staff (both teaching and non-teaching) has considerably fallen. It has been a problem to maintain a standard. Fall in the educational standard is affecting the standard of citizenship, bureaucracy and in other facets of society. Mass education has led to the problem of educated unemployment. During the British period, Universities and institutions of higher learning were more than necessary, but institutions imparting primary education were comparatively less.

It has led to the problem of educational unemployment and that is increasing constantly. Fourthly, educated unemployment has created different types of deviant behaviours, sophisticated crimes and inherent social dislocation. It has also

88) Myron Weiner writes, "The British created a top-heavy educational system. The emphasis was on Universities rather than on primary schools". Weiner quoted before P.177

Rudolphs write that demand for higher education was more than demand for Primary education

Rudolphs - quoted above, P.3-10.

led to social alienation of the deviant educated unemployeds from the mainstream of the society. Finally, there has been the problem of assimilation between different forces, such as, (i) emerging egalitarian political ideology on one hand and class-oriented distribution and location of power by the old elite class and bureaucracy on the other. (ii) International mainstream on one hand and Indianization on the other. (iii) A small group of value-oriented persons having higher education and a dominant group of educated unemployed or semi-employed persons having no goal, ideal etc. on one hand and overwhelming majority of people who are yet to be educated on the other.

89) The Education Commission in their report states, "The social distance between rich and poor, the educated and the uneducated is large and is tending to widen". (Page 2). It further states, "Education itself is tending to increase social segregation and widen class distinctions". "What is worse, this segregation is increasing and tending to widen the gulf between the classes and the masses", (P.10).
Also Gunnar Myrdal : Asian Drama, Chapter 23, Section 6.
Prof. V.P.Varma writes, "There were certain deviant features of educational expansion in India which may retard political development. One immediate result of expansion is the increasing number of educated unemployed in the country". V.P.Varma - quoted above, P.596.
90) V.P.Varma - quoted above, P.596.
Also Rudolphs - quoted above, P.5.
In the Indian setting of aforesaid description, the question of enunciating a theory of Education is to be examined. Dr. Walton says, "Education is regarded as growth, the preparation for democratic living, a training for intellect, creative expression habit-formation, the acquisition of cultural heritage, problem-solving, vocational preparation, biological and social adjustment, character development, the cultivation of discriminating tests or any combination of these and many additional theories". If each one of these objectives constitutes a theory by itself, the Indian requirement may be described as a complex of all the theories of education. Organisation of education would mean a complex of these theories into inter-related structures.

Every organisation performs at least two types of activities. One type may be classified as administration. This activity is common to all organisations. The other activity relates to purpose or intrinsic functions of an organisation. Talcott Parsons classifies such activities into three systems, "Technical" system, "managerial" system and "Community" or "institutional" system. Hence, viewed from this angle, the study of the organisation of education presupposes not only

91) Dr. John Walton, "Administration and Policy-making in Education", P.152.
administration, but also its technical aspect, management aspect and its interaction with the community.

The technical aspect of education depends upon many factors, and cannot be uniform in all circumstances. The technique to be adopted to teach the elderly people cannot be the same as in case of children. Technique of education in a developing state cannot be the same as in a highly developed state. The technique of education in Bombay or Delhi in India can not be similar to the technique adopted in Aizal or Kohima. A couple of extension lectures on Railway locomotives in Phulbani College, Phulbani⁹³ might be physically possible but technically unsound and socially injurious. Hence, keeping the goal in view and the core in tact⁹⁴, technique must vary according to local conditions. A society having fragmented political cultures can not but adopt a different technique than one adopted by a society representing homogeneous political culture⁹⁵.

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⁹³) Phulbani is the Head Quarters of the Boudh-Khandamal District of Orissa and is the heart-land of the State. But in that District there is not an inch of railway line. Some of the people there have not seen a railway train yet.

⁹⁴) The 'Core' idea was enunciated by Thomas Huxley, Quoted from John Walton, "Administration and Policy-making in Education", P.152-153.

The technical profile is important from another view point. Education represents collectivist goal but individualist approach. The said goal, social objective of education is important but more important is the individual who forms the society and who contributes to social change. If education develops, the society automatically develops and coordination among these developments becomes the necessity. As the individuals are the resultant of variable forces, in the same society, different techniques or modification in the available technique may be necessary even for two individuals who apparently seem to be similar because they are not actually similar.

In the technical profile another modification seems to be necessary. Education is a productive process. The precious material of human person, the time consumed by the person learning and the person or persons helping in learning, the national wealth invested are the inputs and all these together demand maximum output. As the resources are limited, planning is necessary. Planning in this context pre-supposes planning taking into account the environmental conditions. Here technique or technical aspect is not important, but the output of administration, or the extent to which administration of education on individuals as Social beings has been successful in realizing its goal.

96) John Walton, quoted above, P.57.
A society representing fragmented political culture also projects varied managerial profile. Prof. S.H. Rudolph and Prof. L.I. Rudolph examining it in the Indian setting write, "The educational situations of different states are the results of the interaction of certain common national trends by features specific to the particular states. Different historical legacies, administrative capabilities and political effectiveness shape educational policy and implementation in each state".

Integration of education and educational institutions with the community is no doubt important, but dependent upon the nature of education. If the education has its origin from the soil, it can integrate itself with the community and can promote orderly social change. If education is super-imposed on the society, it cannot touch the community. Here again there can be no universal pattern of education and must depend upon milieu.

A general theory of education describing broad outlines, is possible. But no specific theory with universal applicability can be laid down. 98

J.D. Thomson rightly says 99 that the core of educational administration is a "Complex of simultaneously variable

98) Dr. Walton - quoted above, P.10-18.
J.H. Newlon says that there is no adequate Theory.
J.H. Newlon, "Educational Administration as Social policy", P.76-77.

factors" and not a set of specific techniques. Determination of relationship and the theory stressing this relationship is more important than technique. "An adequate theory" Prof. D.E.Griffiths points out "must be concerned with the dynamics of human activity not mechanics of organisation. Building, finance, bases etc. are important but must be considered in their proper perspective; they are of secondary importance in determining how people behave in education system"\textsuperscript{100}.

The existing literature have not succeeded in disproving the contention that a systematic universal theory of education (for all purposes) is not possible\textsuperscript{101}. But in India particularly, study and research are essential because education is a principal means of social change and we have taken it in proper spirit\textsuperscript{102}. As stated earlier, education in India is to

\textsuperscript{100} D.E.Griffiths, "Administration as decision-making" in A.W.Halpin, "Administrative Theory in Education", P.120-121.


fulfil a number of objectives.

The Union Government can not meet all these requirements unilaterally. In the Indian federal set up, powers have been distributed between the Centre and the States. Till recently, Education was on the State List and the 42nd Constitution Amendment Act brought it to the Concurrent List. Similarly, unemployment relief and maintenance of law and order are the responsibility of the states. The Government of India can play the role of co-ordinator only. Implementation of the educational policy of the Union Government, formulation of a sub-policy within the broad spectrum of the national policy, eradication or minimisation of the side effects if any arising out of the execution of policy, happen to be the responsibility of the State Governments.

The overall picture of education in the Indian Union depends upon the education profiles of the states.

Also Rudolph and Rudolph - quoted above, P.68-71

104) Rudolph and Rudolph write, "The propensity to see Indian education as a whole and to analyse and evaluate it in global terms must be tempered by an appreciation and understanding of state and regional differences. Because primary responsibility for education in the federal system lies with the states and because Indian states differ much and more than European nations so with respect to
The states again represent varieties of pictures arising out of their degree of advancement and modernization which are again dependent upon education. In this theoretical perspective, the educational system of India in general and the

language historical legacies, economic development administrative capability, and political effectiveness, their educational systems vary in a number of important dimensions", P.51.

The same learned authors write at page 57, "Administrative conditions differ among states, states that have a history of good administration, not only have a greater administrative capability, but also tend to give greater weight on policy formulation and implementation to expert and administrative authority than states with weak administrative legacies". See also Gunnar Myrdal, "Asian Drama", P.1820.

105) In 1968 Gunnar Myrdal wrote, "In a very large country like India, where, according to the constitution, educational matters are a prerogative of the states, even though education has developed practically into a joint responsibility of the Central and State Governments. Gunnar Myrdal, "Asian Drama", P.1820. See also J.P. Naik, "Educational Planning in India", P.118. Rudolphs write, "The Indian Central Government finds it very difficult to formulate, co-ordinate or implement national educational policy. Among the principal reasons for this difficulty are the federal system that places
profile presented by any single state in particular is to be studied and assessed.

authority for educational matters at the hands of the states with respect to the nature and level of their educational development".

Rudolphs - quoted above, Page 68.