CHAPTER II.

NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION

The educational pattern of a country is by no means an accidental phenomenon, it is not a growth in the vacuum. Rather, it is the product of a variety of factors that characterise the life of a people. Some of these, like racial, religious, cultural, economic and political factors, have been responsible for shaping the educational patterns differently in different countries from the very earliest times. Another important factor that has, however, emerged in the modern times is Nationalism. It is the hallmark of the modern age and the creed of all progressive social thought. As in other fields, it has exercised a powerful influence in the field of education as well. As such, any attempt to understand the educational system of any country in its true perspective without taking this factor into account is likely to yield only a partial view of the whole system. Nationalism is invariably a factor to be reckoned with. The concept of National Education which has become so popular in modern times is a clear testimony of the powerful influence exercised by the nationalist thought in the domain of education.

WHAT DOES NATIONALISM SIGNIFY

Nationalism is not a simple phenomenon. It is a complex of all those factors - past, present and future - which lend solidarity to a group of people. It "implies a community of ideas, ideals and beliefs which is consummated by two conditions which
must be present - location or common territory, and government or common loyalties to a political ideal and organization"\(^1\). In other words, "it is a state of mind in which the loyalty of the individual is felt to be due to the nation-state."\(^2\)

An ideal nation is supposed to be the outcome of the following five factors:—

(i) Unity of Race.
(ii) Unity of Religion.
(iii) Unity of Language.
(iv) Compact Territory.
(v) Political Sovereignty.

A nation which combines all these factors to a perfect degree is, however, only an ideal, which does not exist in reality. Common racial origin, for example, is a myth because hardly any part of the world has remained immune from immigration and inter-mingling of peoples of different stocks. Common language, again, is not a realistic characteristic of a nation, for there are bi-lingual and multi-lingual nations, for example, Belgium, Canada, Switzerland and India, or the peoples of different nations may speak the same language, e.g., the English and the Spanish speaking countries.

Taking, therefore, a realistic view, Nationalism is primarily a psychological concept. It is indicative of a feeling or sentiment belonging to a group living in a common territory,

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1 - I.L. Kandel - Nationalism; published in Evans Year Book of Education, 1957; p.133.
2 - Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol.16; p.149.
having common interests, a common historical background, sharing
the same ideas, ideals and modes of thinking and, above all, having
a common government of its own people. In the words of I.L.Kandle,
"it is a spiritual quality based on corporate life, self-conscious-
ness and self-respect which arise from a community of culture."1
The sentiment of nationalism may remain dormant in normal times
but it comes into the clear focus of consciousness when the
interests of one nation clash with those of the other, giving
rise to an emergency of war.

ORIGIN

There is no universal way of the emergence of Nationalism.
It emerges in its own unique way in each separate country according
to the peculiar conditions prevailing therein during a particular
period of its history. Nationalism, considered, however, as a broad
movement, is essentially European in origin. Both as a theory and
practical policy, it started in Europe and its first phase is represen-
ted by what is known as Romantic Nationalism which was the product
of the French Revolution (1789). It was characterised by a great
flush of enthusiasm and feeling for the rights of the masses and
sought to emancipate them from the shackles of monarchical and
aristocratic authority. "If rationalism cultivated the interests of
the elite, romanticism extolled those of the common man, his folkways,
legends, music and language."2 The Revolution was invariably a great
land-mark in the history of Europe, for it was for the first time
that the masses of a country rose into an organised revolt against

1 - The New Era in Education; p.61.
the long-established authority of the king and the nobles. It was, in fact, an epoch-making event in the history of the world, for it sounded the death-knell of the mediæval concept of political authority and ushered in the modern era of democracy and nationalism. Through this great Revolution the sentiment of nationalism became a concrete and real force through the adoption of a 'National Flag' and a 'National Anthem'; and from 1789 onwards it exercised a powerful influence upon the minds of the peoples of the various European countries.

It is remarkable here that the sentiment of nationalism spread most readily in countries which were oppressed and dismembered. This was so because the peoples of such countries saw in nationalism the promise of their deliverance from the injustices perpetrated upon them by alien powers. To illustrate this fact, example of the following countries may be cited:–

1. Italy: It was under foreign domination both in the South and North and was divided into many small principalities in the centre for a pretty long time in the past. Giuseppe Mazzini rose as the prophet of Italian Nationalism. He founded the "Young Italy Society" which played a significant role in the growth of the national sentiment. His watch-word was, "Nationalism is sacred", and, as such, it should be preserved with a religious faith and determination.

2. Germany: The Thirty Years' War had done immense damage to the power and prestige of this country; it was very much weakened through balkanisation and was also facing the danger of French Imperialism under the leadership of Napoleon. At this critical
juncture, the well-known German philosopher - J.G. Ficht gave the clarion call of Nationalism to the people of the land.

3. The Slav Countries: In the West, Czechoslovakia and Poland were suffering under the forcible domination of Germany, and the Southern Slav countries lay under the oppression of Hungary and Turkey. F. Palacky emerged as the most influential Slav nationalist. In his famous appeal to the peoples of Europe, he advocated the right of all Slav nations to an independent national existence and this culminated in the Slav Revolt against the German domination in 1848.

4. Ireland: It had suffered since long due to the imperialistic designs of the Great Britain which held political sway over it, as one of its own territories. The person who became the most doughty champion of Nationalism there was De Valera who organised the Sinn Fein Party, which ultimately achieved political freedom for the country in 1922.

STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

The history of Nationalism, observed from the very earliest days of its inception - the later part of the 18th century - down to the present day, would show the following 4 distinct stages of development:

1. The Humanistic Stage: Upto the middle of the 19th century, Nationalism, as we have already said, was essentially a humanistic cult - a product of the French Revolution. As such, it advocated the cause of the oppressed and subjugated masses and strived to free them from the thralldom of a selected few in the society. This is also known as the Romantic phase of Nationalism,
for in advocating the cause of the masses, nationalist thinkers were guided by their feelings, and not by their reason. Emotionalism was the dominant mark of the principle of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity', advocated by them. Nationalism, at this stage, was a very broad and catholic cult, strive as it did for the welfare of the common man without any distinction of class, colour or creed.

2. The Chauvinistic Stage: At this stage, extending from the middle of the 19th century upto the end of the Second World-War (1942), the movement of nationalism assumed an exclusive and aggressive form. This form of nationalism originated with the emergence of 'culture-superiority' consciousness on the part of those countries which, under the leadership of Metternich, combined into what they called a 'Holy Alliance' and strived for cultural domination over their weaker neighbours. The Balkan War of 1912 gave further impetus to the growth of national hatred and rivalries which ultimately led to the catastrophe of the First World War, followed by the Second after a few years. "Thus the nationalism, that began at the time of French Revolution as a democratic movement to liberate individual potentialities, ended in the last half of the 19th century as a movement to aid and abet nationalist rivalries - that could be arbitraged only by war."¹

3. The International Stage: After the termination of the Second World War, that is, from 1942 onwards another stage in the history of nationalism has commenced; this is known as the international stage. The immense loss of life and property caused by the two World Wars seems to have driven the lesson home to the peoples of different nations that jingoistic nationalism, which is,

¹ J.S. Brubscher: A History of the Problems of Education; p.61.
more often than not, fraught with the dangerous possibility of war, cannot deliver the goods; and a desire has, therefore, now emerged all over the world to temper nationalism with the more liberal cult of internationalism. This has given rise to the concept of international Nationalism, which envisages a world-order in which every nation would prosper without jeopardising the interests of other nations. Founding of a world-body like the U.N.O. is a testimony to this universal desire.

THE IMPACT OF NATIONALISTIC MOVEMENT ON EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Nationalism was a revolutionary force not only in the field of politics; rather it has exercised a powerful influence in other fields as well. The course of educational development, for example, was profoundly influenced by it almost all over the world. We may study the influence of Nationalism on the educational developments in various countries under the following broad heads:

EDUCATIONAL AIMS

In its humanistic phase, nationalism influenced the formation of educational aims on democratic lines. Prior to this, education was the monopoly of the aristocratic class; masses were supposed to be misfits for receiving education. Nationalism, which championed the cause of the masses, also advocated their right to education, as a natural corollary. The aim of National Education, as proclaimed by the French philosopher – Condorcet – at the end of the 18th century, was "to arouse each one to the facility of perfecting his skill, of rendering himself capable of the social function to which he has the right to be called, of developing to
the fullest extent those talents with which nature has endowed him; and thereby to establish among all citizens an actual equality, thus rendering real the political equality recognised by the law."¹

The aim of education from the nationalistic point of view had thus two distinguishing features. Firstly, it was based on the principle of democracy, for it sought to promote the welfare of each and every one in the society, without any distinction of class, colour or creed. Secondly, it was liberal in spirit, for it brooked great respect for the inherent potentialities of the individual and guaranteed him the freedom to develop himself, in accordance with them.

The liberal element in the aim of education, which was so predominant in the earlier phase of the national movement, was, however, later sacrificed on the altar of the totalitarian concept of nationalism, which was evolved in Germany under the influence of Nazism, and in Italy under the influence of Fascism. This concept of Nationalism echoed the idealistic philosophy of Hegel and Fichte, according to which individual has got to be subordinated to the interests of the nation, in all respects. The aim of education in such a totalitarian form of Nationalism was bound to be a complete negation of individual freedom; the claims of inherent potentialities was refuted, and the individual was developed, through education, only for such service to the nation as it demanded of him.

The totalitarian concept of Nationalism, which thus emerged in Germany and Italy in the latter half of the 19th century

¹ - Quoted by J.S. Brubacher: A History of the Problems of Education; p.59.
did not only rob education of its liberal element but, worse still, it sought to promote a system of education the aim of which was to inculcate in the youth a sense of racial and cultural superiority. Fichte became the champion of such a system of education. The two World-Wars were, to a very large extent, the sinister outcome of such a narrow and chauvinistic concept of nationalism and national systems of education.

With the advent of the international phase of Nationalism, after the end of the Second World War, educational aims have undergone a happy change. All right-thinking persons have started realising that fostering a sense of cultural or racial superiority in the name of nationalism, is fraught with dangerous possibilities. The present-day approach to the problem of educational aims is, therefore, characterised by an attempt to reconcile national allegiance with a cosmopolitan outlook. Wider human values are re-asserting themselves and such educational aims, which would promote national interests without jeopardising the interests of other nations, are being increasingly emphasised by the educationists of the day.

CURRICULUM

The impact of the nationalistic movement on the curriculum of the schools has been profound. In the humanitarian stage of its development, legends, folk-songs, folk-literature and history came to occupy a predominant place in the curriculum, for these were the best expressions of the popular will and sentiments of the masses. Language being the most vital factor in nationalism, all French children in the post-Revolution period were required to be taught
the same mother-tongue, namely, the French language. Revolution in France went to the extent of introducing 'Republican Ethics' as a compulsory subject in the curriculum. In other countries also the curriculum was modified, more or less, on the same lines. In the U.S.A., for example, which attained independence almost contemporaneously with France, Noa Webster (1758–1853) tried to nationalise the curriculum of the American schools by taking resort to the following steps:—

1. Introduction of selections into school-readers that were American in theme and authorship.

2. Writing a dictionary of the American Language. A national language, he believed, is 'a bond of national union.'

3. Decrying the practice of sending Americans abroad for education.

The curriculum, under the impact of the first flush of nationalism, was so modified as to reflect the native culture, language, literature and history of the people concerned. Besides this, the tone of the curriculum was given a liberal tinge, giving weightage to the needs of the individual rather than to the needs of the state exclusively.

In the subsequent stage of chauvinistic Nationalism, all this, however, underwent a change. Fichte, whose philosophy was chiefly responsible for the emergence of this narrow and jingoistic concept of nationalism, decried the contemporary system, as it was based, according to him, on the fallacious theory of "will" in the pupil. The new education, he said, should deny
any 'free will' and should train the pupils in such a way that
any evidence in that direction may become impossible. The effect
of such views on the school-curriculum was immediately felt. It
became a 'Procrustean bed' where the individual was trained for
national requirements. The liberal tone of the curriculum was
completely lost and the individual was subordinated to the interests
of the state, in all details. Education was harnessed to propagate
the dogma of 'racial and cultural superiority' and to promote the
expansionist ends of the state. The curriculum was, therefore,
mischievously tampered with. "The historical record", for example,
"was distorted, so as to put a highly favourable aspect on the
victories and defeats of the child's own country. Even Geography
had its jingoistic uses, as witness the German school-boys who
described their home-land as bounded by enemies."¹

Such a perverted and distorted curriculum dominated the
educational field till the end of the Second World War. In the
post-war era, which has witnessed the dawn of the international
phase of Nationalism, a more healthy, liberal and catholic curri-
culum is fast emerging. The old respect for the personality of
the individual is being restored and the curriculum is being
increasingly given an international bias, with the result that
more and more emphasis is being placed on the study of history,
literature and language of other peoples, along with the study of
national history, literature and language.

¹ - J.S. Brubacher: A History of the Problems of Education; p. 61.
EDUCATIONAL ORGANISATION

A national system of education is characterised by a uniform pattern of education all over the country. The national movement has, as such, quickened into action a trend towards the centralised control of education. Before the advent of the cult of nationalism, education was not supposed to be a subject for the Central Govt. Private agencies and local governments organised it within their respective territorial jurisdictions, according to their own resources and policies. Under such a system, a uniform system of education was obviously an impossibility. Diversity in educational standards and opportunities was, therefore, the order of the day.

The cult of Nationalism has, however, evolved a centralised control of educational organisation. It is argued that since all belong to the same nation, all should have the same educational opportunities. To meet this national sentiment, a uniform system of education must, of necessity, be evolved, and this, in turn, needs a centralised control of educational organisation. Napoleon, for example, to give education a national organisation, vested the control of education at all levels - from primary to the University - into the Universite' de France. Although this national organisation was sub-divided into academies for local administration, control was closely held at the top or centre of the system.

In some countries, however, this nationalistic tendency to centralise the control of educational organisation ran into totalitarian channels. The Nazi system of education in Germany
and the Fascist system in Italy were the examples of such a perverted form of centralised educational control. In these systems, education was used as a tool to mould and train the mind of the youth in such a way as suited best to the expansionist and aggressive designs of those who held the political reins of the country. Least regard was shown to the individuality of the educands; they were subordinated completely to the needs of the state. In the present times, they say, Russia is an example of such a totalitarian form of educational organisation, for education there is controlled by the central government, with the primary aim of indoctrinating the young of the nation into the communistic ideology.

The more healthy form of centrally controlled educational organisation that has been brought into existence by the nationalist movement is, however, one which, instead of aiming at regimentation and indoctrination, seeks to provide equal educational opportunities to all, without denying the individual the right to develop himself according to his own inherent aptitude and talents. And this is the type of centralised control of education which is being followed by all the truly democratic countries of the world today. Centralised control in them is meant only to equalise educational opportunities, on the one hand, and to effect planning and coordination in the domain of education, on the other.

**EDUCATIONAL METHODOLOGY**

The upsurge of nationalist thought exercised a revolutionary influence on the educational methodology, as well. Romantic nationalism was the precursor of a new movement in the realm of educational practice. This movement was a natural outcome
of the great respect for the personality of the individual, which characterised this phase of the nationalist thought. Individuality, as represented by the inherent potentialities of the individual, was considered to be sacred, and any method of teaching, which sought to ignore or suppress it, came to be looked down upon.

Pestalozzi (1746–1827), who had already started working on this line, became the most doughty champion of this new movement. He expressed the idea that a sound system or method of teaching must respect the personality of the child, that nothing should be forced upon him for which he himself does not have a liking. Education, he said, should be a process of spontaneous expression of the child's inherent ability and aptitude, and the learning process should be made as interesting for the child as possible.

This new movement in the domain of educational methodology produced far-reaching effects. It brought the natural interests of the child into prominence; the role of the teacher in the educational process became that of a guide and friend; the learning process became a pleasant experience for the child; and psychological methods of teaching were gradually evolved. The later researches and experiments in the field of educational psychology lent further support to this new movement in the realm of educational methodology.

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION**

A very close relationship, which is essentially of a reciprocal nature, exists between Nationalism and Education. Nationalism influences education and is, in its own turn, influenced by it. To understand this intimate mutual relationship, between the two, both the sides of the picture need be presented.

**HOW DOES NATIONALISM INFLUENCE EDUCATION**

The influence of Nationalism on Education may be elucidated
through the following points:—

1. The aims of education in a country are determined by the tone and temper of its national sentiment. What educational aims will get precedence over the rest depends upon the national values of the country concerned. For example, emphasis on spirituality and ethics constitute the most outstanding features of Indian Nationalism, and, as such, in her educational system, these are bound to get an important place. In another country, where national sentiment takes pride in materialistic advancement, these aims are sure to be subordinated to such technical and vocational training without which industrial progress and material prosperity is not possible.

2. The content of education or curriculum is also the outcome of the ideals held by a nation. Curriculum is the tool through which the young ones of a nation are trained in a way most suited for the achievements of its ideals. Since the ideals of nations differ due to their varying historical and cultural traditions, their school curricula, which reflect those ideals, are also bound to differ. Religion, for example, is sure to get a predominant place in the curriculum of the schools of a country whose national traditions and culture have been dominated by spiritual values, whereas little importance would be attached to it in a country whose people have been traditionally materialistic in their outlook.

3. Lastly, nationalism works as an important determining factor in the sphere of educational organisation of a country.
As has already been pointed out, if a country is dominated by the totalitarian form of nationalism, the educational organisation there will be characterised by the motives of regimentation and indoctrination, with the inevitable result that the central government will hardly allow any freedom to the provincial and local governments in respect of framing their own educational policies and programmes. The educational organisation of a country, imbued with a democratic concept of nationalism, will be different from this, because there the central government will work only as a coordinating agency, allowing the provincial and local governments ample freedom and at the same time helping them to the extent necessary for equalising educational opportunities.

HOW DOES EDUCATION INFLUENCE NATIONALISM

The other side of the picture may also now be viewed. The tendency to harness education as a tool of nationalism is becoming increasingly manifest in the modern times. Education is being used more and more to foster those qualities in the youth of the nation which are in tune with its national sentiment. For example, in the post-Revolution France, which was swayed by republican nationalism, 'Republican Ethics' was introduced as a compulsory subject in its schools. Further, so much regimentation and indoctrination which, they say, is going on in the schools of totalitarian regimes, like Russia, is obviously an attempt to mould the minds of their youth through the instrumentality of education, on lines best suited for the preservation and promotion of the totalitarian sentiment of nationalism which
prevails in those countries. As opposed to this, in countries where the spirit of nationalism is democratic, education is used to foster in the students such democratic virtues as independent thinking, constructive outlook, public-spiritedness, and mental vigilence, which would ensure the successful working of democracy.

THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

The concept of National Education is essentially a modern one, a product of the movement of nationalism. The educational system of a country is termed 'national' when it bears the impress of its national genius, which is reflected in the 'culture-pattern' of the people living in that country. The 'culture-pattern' of a people, it should be pointed out here, is a complex phenomena; "it includes all those ideas, ideals and institutions that make the life of a society a reality, it includes the language, arts, skills, beliefs, values, modes and manners, economic and political institutions for the preservation and promotion of intellectual and spiritual values."\(^1\) A national system of education reflects all these ingredients of the 'culture-pattern' of the people concerned in an abundant measure.

Since the 'culture-pattern' of one country differs from that of others, no two systems of national education can be alike. Every National system of Education has its own distinguishing features., for it is wedded to the culture of the land to which it belongs. To put it metaphorically, it is a system which

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\(^1\) I. I. Kandle: New Era in Education; p. 47.
"grows like a tree, dependent for its nourishment on the soil, fresh air and sun-light and for its general characteristics on the aspirations and traditions from which, as from a seed, it grows."¹ In order to understand a National system of Education in its true perspective, we must, therefore, understand and appreciate those "intangible, impalpable, spiritual and cultural forces" which constitute the foundation of it.

From the above, it boils down that a truly national system of education cannot be established by trying to imitate or transplant the educational systems of other nations. This especiality of national education has been put beautifully by Sadler in these words, "We cannot wander at pleasure among the educational systems of the world, like a child, strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant. A national system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and 'battles long ago'. It has in it some secret working of national life. It reflects, while seeking to remedy, the failings of national character."² To put it in a nut-shell, a system of national education is an all-round index of the life and character of the people to whom it belongs; it reflects their past, present and future, both in perceptible and imperceptible forms.

¹ - A. Mayhew: The Education of India; p. 101
² - An extract from a Lecture delivered in 1900: Quoted by I.L. Kandle: New Era in Education; p. 9.
CHARACTERISTICS OF A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

From what we have said about the concept of National Education thus far, the following characteristics of a National system of Education may easily be deduced:—

1. It bears the impress of the 'culture-pattern' of the people to which it belongs. The element of national genius and character taken away from it, it immediately ceases to be a national system in the true sense of the term; it remains a mere phantom of it—something shadowy and unreal, from the national point of view.

2. It is, more often than not, a centrally controlled system of education. Centralised control does not necessarily mean loss of individual freedom and local initiative in the domain of education. A national system of education tends to be centrally controlled simply with a view to providing equal educational opportunities to all and sundry in the nation.

3. It is usually a planned and coordinated system. A national system of education, though bearing the impress of the historical and cultural traditions of the past, is not only the product of a long evolutionary process. It, on the other hand, exists into the actual consciousness of the people and is characterised by definite aims and a well-coordinated organization at different levels. From this point of view also, a national system of education tends to be controlled by the central Government which alone can be an effective agency for planning and coordination.
4. It is characterised by a democratic spirit. Totalitarian systems apart, since equality is the watch-word of democratic nationalism, a national system of education tends to be democratic in nature, guaranteeing equal educational opportunities to all the members of the nation, irrespective of their class, colour or creed.

FUNCTIONS OF A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

A National System of Education, besides promoting the development of individual personality by imparting knowledge, and skills, by forming character and training emotions, as any other system of education does, is supposed to perform the following four important functions:

1. To preserve and transmit the cultural heritage of the nation. Every generation receives from its predecessors a stock of culture, and its duty is to keep up, and if possible, to improve the standards already achieved in the past, in the various fields - art, literature, philosophy and science. A posterity which turns away from this obligation is not only ungrateful to its ancestors but is also incapable of progress and advancement. Progress is the cumulative result of the efforts of a chain of generations, and, as such, a generation which tries to build on its own without taking anything from the past, can hardly make any headway. To preserve the cultural heritage and then to pass it on to the succeeding generation, the present generation has to take the help of education. Through the agency of schools the youth of the land - citizens of the morrow - are
acquainted with the stock of culture which it has inherited from the preceding generation; that is to say, it has to inculcate in them the traditional learning, the old ideals and values of life.

This, of course, does not mean that a national system of education tends to breed conservatism, or that it makes students slavish in their attitude towards the past. Far from it, a sound system of National Education, while laying its foundation on the past, is always open to the new forces of the changing times. The only remarkable thing is that although, as a dynamic system, it keeps abreast of the new forces and situations, it never completely breaks away from the past. The old traditions and cultural values constitute its sheet-anchor for all times.

2. To Foster Patriotism - The most important quality which a National system of education is supposed to foster in the youth of nation is patriotism. Patriotism is a sentiment, a sentiment of love and loyalty to the nation; it is a feeling, a feeling of confidence and pride in the ultimate destiny of the nation. A system of education, which does not arouse such a sentiment and feeling in the hearts of the youth of the country, loses much of its national warmth and fervour.

3. To Promote National Consciousness: nationalism, as already said, is a sentiment - a sentiment of belonging to a nation. A people, who do not share this sentiment in common, cannot constitute a nation, in the true sense of the word. A national system of education, as an instrument of nationalism, has, therefore, to inculcate in the students this feeling of
national consciousness drawing them together into a common bond of national thinking and living.

4. To foster National Integration: The people who constitute a nation must lead a corporate life; they must have common ideals in the broad sense, and should share common national aspirations. A corporate national life is the sine qua non of real nationalism. To foster a willingness and ability to lead such a corporate national life is, therefore, an important function of a national system of education.

DANGERS OF A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

A national system of education, when it is designed in a perverted way, contains dangerous possibilities. The most outstanding dangers of such a system are as follows:—

1. It is pregnant with the tendency to foster an obsession for the culture of the past. The national sentiment is so deeply rooted in the past traditions, ideals and values of life that it tends to blur the vision of the community. When a system of education, obsessed with the past, does not care to assimilate progressive thought and ideas, stagnation and inertia set in, with the result that the road to progress is blocked.

2. It tends to promote a dead uniformity in the educational sphere throughout the country. Centralised control, which is one of the characteristics of the National system, unless scrupulously guarded against, leads to a system of education which runs counter to the democratic principle of allowing due freedom and latitude to the provincial and local governments to frame their educational policies and programmes, keeping in view their special local needs and problems.
3. It sometimes results in sinister indoctrination and regimentation of thought. In totalitarian countries, as already pointed out, this evil is most common. Those who are at the helm of political affairs harness education as an instrument to serve their ulterior political motives, with the result that from the very beginning the children of the country are acclimatised to that particular political or social ideology which is upheld by those who are in power. This leads to a ruthless sacrifice of the original thought and inherent potentialities of the blooming youth, as a result of which the course of progress, instead of being richly varied and diversified, becomes rigid and narrow. In the words of H.J.S. Cotton, "It is certain that when the state endeavours to impart higher instruction and thereby, as is implied, to direct and mould the national mind, it deviates from its proper sphere and inflicts injury upon intellectual and moral progress."  

4. Lastly, it sometimes also results in the distortion of facts and sacrifice of truth to suit perverted nationalistic ends. We have already seen how a chauvinistic form of nationalism tends to create a system of education which misrepresents geographical facts and distorts historical truths to mould the minds of the students on particular lines or to arouse in them the sentiment of racial superiority or the feeling of injured national pride. Education, when wedded to such a narrow form of nationalism, is certainly fraught with the dangerous possibility of international conflicts and world-wars.

1 - New India or India in Transition; p.149.
Happily, people are now becoming increasingly aware of these dangers of a national system of education, and, as such, there is a general tendency to steer clear from them, while planning for a system of education which would be national. Totalitarian countries apart, these dangers are fast becoming unreal also due to the fact that the concept of nationalism, that has emerged under the impact of modern internationalism, is so broad and liberal that it rules out, to a very great extent, the possibility of evolving a narrow and perverted type of national education, which is the breeding ground for such dangers. The establishment of UNESCO after the Second World War is a clear testimony of this healthy tendency. As stated in the Article I of UNESCO's constitution and on 'Purposes and Functions', "The purpose of this organisation is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, sciences and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedom which are affirmed for the people of the world without distinction of race, sex, language or religion by the Charter of the United Nations." UNESCO symbolises man's realisation that "disarmament of nations must be accompanied by disarmament of the mind". National systems of education are, therefore, sought to be planned in such a way as to lead to the "disarmament of minds", and the inculcation of those human values of international cooperation and brotherhood which would ensure world-peace and security in a positive way.
NATIONALISM AND INDIAN EDUCATION

Nationalism emerged in India rather late. It was only in the 19th century that the nationalist sentiment arose as a force to be reckoned with in Indian life. The question did not arise so long as the old feudal order prevailed and the political power was in the hands of native rulers. It was only towards the later part of the 18th century, when the British assumed administrative powers, that the seeds of this movement were sown. As their administrative powers increased and as they emerged as rulers of the vast tracts of the country, they increasingly followed a policy, especially in the field of education, which sought to develop a sense of cultural inferiority in the minds of the people of the country. The English system of education, which was ultimately established in the country, therefore, laid emphasis on the teaching of Western literature, philosophy and sciences. The immediate impact of this was that the youth of the country were dazzled by the outward glamour of the materialistic culture of the West; they were completely cut off from the moorings of the ancient Indian culture. The 'New Bengal Movement' of the early 19th century, which was characterized by a most reckless wave of imitating everything Western, was a clear testimony to this effect of English education on the Indian youth. This must have certainly been a source of great satisfaction to those who had looked forward, with Macaulay, to the day when the educated Indians would be "English in taste, opinions, morals, and intellect", establishing thereby the
British rule firmly on the Indian soil, in the years to come.

Such a dismal state of affairs could not, however, last indefinitely. The national conscience of the Indian people was bound to be stirred sooner or later; and this did happen ere long, for such indigenous movements started emerging, one after the other, in the 19th Century which manifested nationalistic sentiments, in as much as they were inspired by the glory and greatness of the ancient Indian culture and strived to rehabilitate it in the socio-religious life of the country. These movements were destined to play a vital role in the field of Indian education, as in other fields. It was through their magnificent efforts that gradually the concept of national education was evolved and efforts were made to modify and mould the educational pattern of the country in accordance with this concept.

Indian nationalism, viewed broadly, has passed through the following two distinct phases:

(1) The Religious-cum-Cultural Phase: This phase covers almost the entire 19th century and is represented chiefly by the major Reform Movements namely, the Brahm Samaj, the Prathana Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society and the Ram-Krishna Mission movement. These movements, not national in the sense that they sought to achieve political freedom for the country, but in the sense that they were, on the one hand, the products of the genius of the native people of the country and, instead of being submerged in the Western ideals and values of life, were grounded in the ancient culture of the land, on the other.
These Reform movements, while trying to reform religion and society, became increasingly aware of the importance of education as a tool of reform and national regeneration, and as such, they, under the leadership of such mighty personalities as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Swami Dayananda, Mrs. Annie Besant and Swami Vivekananda, made signal contributions to the cause of Indian Education. Their efforts, in fact, went a long way in evolving a national system of education for India.

(ii) The Political Phase: This phase dominates the first half of the 20th century, commencing from 1885 - the year when Indian National Congress was founded. Although the chief aim of the Congress was to achieve political independence for the country, yet it became, especially in the 20th century, a great force in the realm of education as well. Men like Gokhale, Tilak and Gandhi took keen interest in the educational needs and problems of the country and sought to mould the then-existing system of Indian education into a national one.

What Indian nationalism, passing through these two phases, has contributed to Indian education and how its efforts have sought to establish, stage by stage, a national system of education in this country, is a long but interesting story to tell. And the aim of this work is to tell this story in as clear and lucid a way as possible.

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