"It is often forgotten that political influences in shaping educational policies and in determining the course of events in education are of as much paramount importance as social and economic determinants. In fact, it is the state which determines policies regarding its economic development and it participates in the decision-making relating to social changes or reforms to be effected. In a colonial set up, these policies are decided to safeguard its own political needs. Conflicts are inevitable and from these conflicts emerge the super structure of growth and development."

- Professor D.M. Desai
CHAPTER 4

4.1. INTRODUCTION

In the last Chapter, a background study of the development of education in the country prior to 1921 and an emergent picture of education during the period of 1921-1947 was attempted. India had a glorious educational heritage. On account of the changing political, social and economic conditions, educational pattern in the country has undergone considerable changes. On the eve of British conquest of India, development of education stood at the cross-roads. Britishers pressed by their administrative, economic and political needs gave it a new lease of life and in this process a complete new pattern came into existence. This happened with the passing of the Chapter Act of 1813. A brief story of the development of education has already been discussed in the last Chapter.

The main object of the present Chapter is to interpret
the growth of education in the context of political factors or determinants. As has already been assumed in the Chapter on 'Theoretical Reference Frame' that there is a close relationship between the education and political events. Each of these influenced each other in the country. The period under review is rich so far the political developments are concerned. Political events which took place inside and outside the country had their corresponding impact on the development of education. Likewise, education also gave a fillip to the political development of the country. With the spread of education, demand for political reforms increased immensely. Great political events like the Swadeshi Movement, the Non-Cooperation Movement, the Quit India Movement, other Constitutional measures like Montford Reforms of 1919, the Government of India Act of 1935, the Wardha Scheme, other national experiments in education, the World-wide economic depression, the outbreak of the Second World War, communal spurs, continued struggle for independence, mass movements etc. etc., the reports of the Hartog Committee, the Simon Commission, the Sargent Report, the Post-War-Educational Development Plan and finally, the Indian Independence Act, etc. etc. had their impact on the developments of education. Thus, in the following pages an attempt will be made to examine the interaction between the political determinants and education and it would also be highlighted how political determinants played a
significant role in the development of education.

Thus, the period under review witnessed various developments in the political sphere of the country starting with the implementation of the Act of 1919 up to the coming of independence by the India Independence Act 1947. Each political development had left its impact on the growth of education. Education being a very vital sector of national life, and very vital instrument of national construction, educational ideas flowed close to the heals of political ideals. Actually, the Report of the Calcutta University Commission discussed the growth of higher education in the new political setting. This could be seen from the following extract from its Report:

"...it must be admitted that the existence and the steady increase, of a sort of intellectual proletariat not without reasonable grievances, forms a menace to good government, especially in a country where as in Bengal, the small educated class is alone vocal... the problem with which we have to deal is by no means purely an academic or intellectual problem. It is a social, political and economic problem of the most complex and difficult character; and the longer the solution is postponed, the more difficult it will be."

4.2. A BROAD REVIEW OF THE OPERATION OF THE POLITICAL VARIABLES PRIOR TO 1921

A better perspective of educational development in a particular period can be had if one analyses the inter-relationship of politics and education. The political developments in a particular period can be understood better if one takes into account two aspects: (a) political organization, and (2) political philosophy with reference to
individuals and organisations. The personality of the politician also pays a vital role. If this issue is to be perceived in a historical perspective of the development in politics and education in India in the modern period - one has to look back to the earliest time when the British established their political rule in India. It would be seen that the initial motivation for taking interest in the education of the natives was due to reasons such as the following: (i) to have lower cadre government servants mainly because they could be had at a less cost, (ii) administrative reasons and (iii) for perpetuating their political ideology for the preservation of their Empire.

It has been already observed that education develops as a result of political determinants. However, the major and unsurmountable difficulty appears in the establishment and the determination of the extent of influence of the particular factor. Naturally, more often than not, intuition and argumentation on the basis of some data is to be utilised to determine the influence of political factors on educational developments. The present whole Chapter attempts to seek certain new explanations for the growth or non-growth of education and shed some more light on the role of political factors in its expansion.

While examining the political factors - one is more concerned with the struggle for independence, constitutional or administrative changes or international events, in the
chronological order, if the chronology of some events coincides. The struggle for national independence will be projected first to be followed by other events.

The British Government organised a huge extensive, well-ramified state machinery to administer the conquered territory of India. A large number of educated individuals was required to man this immense machinery of the political administration. It was not possible to secure this supply of the educated personnel from Britain itself. So it became politically expedient to establish schools and colleges in the output of India to turn out educated personnel for administration. The British Government entrusted the key posts in the state machinery to the British and filled only the subordinate posts with educated Indians. This was the result of political bureaucracy and distrust of the colonised people.

For the expanding trade with India, Britain needed Indian clerks, managers and agents who knew the English language. This political administrative and economic necessity mainly urged the British Government to establish English schools, and colleges in India.

Another political aim of the British System of education in India was to win over the confidence of the upper classes of the society who had lost their political influence through the British conquest and make them allies of the British Government. In short, the prevailing intention and
and ideology was to create a class of people "Indian by birth but English in taste, manners, and outlook", who could be relied upon as strong supporters of the British rule. This aim is also reflected in the Downward Filtration Theory of education as propounded by the English in the initial stages. The British rulers, by trial and error, worked out a system of education which was broadly divided into three major stages viz., primary, secondary and higher. This pattern not only became the basis of modern education during the British rule, but has continued to be the major framework even after Independence.

"The year 1857 had seen an upheaval. This was in part an expression of the dissatisfaction which simmered in the hearts of some of the Indians against the English. It cannot be said with great degree of certainty as to which precise causes explain this dissatisfaction, but it was clear enough that the foreign dominance, and the new educational system could not be excluded altogether from the causes."

Immediately after the Uprising of 1857, there was a lull as it happens before and after each storm. But hardly two decades had passed when the voices again started to be raised against the ills of the English rule. The foundation of the Arya Samaj in 1870 with political understones, the Indian League (1885), the Indian Association (1876), the Ilbert Bill Agitation of 1883 and then the foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 showed which way the wind was blowing. Actually, the Council's Act of 1861 and 1892
were partly created to satisfy and pacify some people entertaining discontentment on this score.

If not parallel to this political awakening, at least close on the heels of this development, dissatisfaction with English education also started developing. As has been said earlier, the popular uprising of 1857 itself in a very minor way was affected by the new education, although it was not a direct expression of that. The establishment of educational institutions by the Arya Samaj and similar bodies which focussed different curriculum was again an expression of profound dissatisfaction with the prevailing English education system.

The birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885 also influenced the development of education though not to a large extent in the beginning. The political pressures were created by the Congress party through the medium of resolutions and speeches on the Civil Services Examinations in India. Likewise in 1896, in one of the resolutions, the Indian National Congress asked for the reorganisation of the educational services. In 1888 the Congress had already asked for more technical education and industrial development.

Disatisfaction with the English system of education was more pronounced in Bengal where the National Education Movement had originated. Gooroo Dass Benerjee, Lokendra Nath and Satis Chandra Mukerjee were prominent among those who criticised the existing English system. Even foreign
scholars like George Birdwood, Sister Nirepdfita, Mrs. Annie Besant made significant contributions, directly or indirectly, towards the National Education Movement. This is proved by the fact that the course followed by the National Council of Education in 1906 in the formulation of studies, was, to a great extent, on the lines laid down or suggested by Sir George Birdwood.4

The dissatisfaction was growing. It would be seen in the "Note of Dissent" by Dr. Gooroo Das Benerjee, the only Hindu Member of the Indian University Commission which presented its report in 1902 and later on resulted into the passage of the Universities Act 1904. While the political bitterness was yet to come in 1905 at the time of the partition of Bengal, the educational discontent was complete. On account of this, the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was vehemently criticised by Indian scholars like Gopal Krishna Gokhale and others. And this at once brought into sharp focus on the question, where or not educated Indians should take education generally, and higher education particularly into their own hands. Apart from the political undertones of the Act of 1904, which meant to the Indians an attempt to the curb the growth of political consciousness in the country, it was also thought to be an attempt to stop the growth of higher education in India.

The politics of the time was reflected in the educational programme, in which among other things, were included such
things as imparting education through the medium of the
vernaculars, the preparation of suitable textbooks, providing
religious education in denominational institutions,
icculcating in students a love for and a real desire to
serve their country, its literature, history, philosophy
e tc. etc. The programme also laid importance on scientific,
professional and technical education.

The Swadeshi Movement and this National Educational
Movement were confined to Bengal yet in other provinces a
beginning on similar lines, had also started which demanded
national education and it gradually turned into a national
venture.

The year 1905 was a significant year and it provided
a watershed in the history of nationalism in India. "Before
this time the influence of the national movement of public
affairs had been peripheral."

Before this period the national movement did not
influence the growth of education to any marked degree.
Each event, therefore, will be provided with some kind of
educational base and then the educational effects of the
events will be visualised.

In 1905 (August), the "Swadeshi Movement" was initiated
in Calcutta. Superficially it appears that this Movement
was concerned with the boycott of foreign goods only. But
if one examines it critically, it would be very much clear
that the movement was embedded with political, economic and
cultural implications also. Hemendra Dass Ghose has rightly pointed out:

"It was not a mere boycott of British or even foreign goods, not a mere protest against the partition of Bengal. It was a cyclone tearing up by the roots many ornamental plants of society and wrecking some of the flimsy trestle bridges of foreign introduction, an earthquake; one of those seismic disturbances in which nations leap forward or fall backward by generations in a single bound."

or as Haridas and Uma Mukerjee point out:

"It has become almost a fashion with historians to label the revolutionary upsurges of 1905 as the Swadeshi Movement confined to the economic sphere. This is an inadequate characterisation of the movement which was complex and many sided, including in its ample sweep almost all national activities."

In its purely political dimensions, it was a movement of independence, a movement for national freedom. It was an expression of nationalistic feelings, the like of which the nation had never seen before.

It is in the context of the fact that education and politics effect each other that Haridas and Uma Mukerjee state, "The Movement for National Education as manifested in 1905 was essentially an expression of Bengal's militant nationalism which had been slowly but surely growing in our land since the middle of the nineteenth century."

"Boycott of the English goods, the English education, justice and all that which was English reflects the emotional feelings of the Indians. The only aim here is to show that educational movement was an outcome of mainly political circumstances, as is so often the case. Now as soon as the "Swadeshi
Movement emerged, it expressed itself to less in the educational field than in the political.¹⁰

Other political variables like that of Russo-Japanese War, the First World War, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia etc. etc. also influenced the development of education. The impact of these events has been shown in the sub-unit dealing with International events and education in the present Chapter.

4.3. CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS OF 1919 AND 1935: THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIAN EDUCATION

(i) The Act of 1919 and Education

The political discontentment of the Indians as reflected in the Swadeshi Movement and the Home rule agitation compelled the Government to realise the urgency of the situation under this tense atmosphere. Montague the then Secretary of State for India issued the famous Declaration on August 20, 1917 in the House of Commons:

"The policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord is that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration with a view to progressive realization of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. This British Government and Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of Indian people, must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the cooperation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be
reposed in their sense of responsibility."11

This policy declaration was not only responsible for providing a new turn to political events and constitutional progress but also for making a profound impact on educational thinking and development. It was decided that the superior services which once were known as Imperial services should be thrown open to the Indians.

This Declaration is alleged by some to put India on the road to her independence. This thinking anticipated a change in political structure which was bound to affect the educational development and educational thinking, as "... variance in political base does make a significant difference in educational theory."12

The educational implications of the Declaration of 1917 may be summarized as under:

"With this emerged the educational idea that the system of primary and higher primary schools should be so designed as to produce a competent electorate."13

That the Declaration of 1917 made an immediate impact on educational thinking was clear from the way compulsory education Bills were discussed and passed.14

This view is supported by the following passage:
"In view of the coming constitutional reforms, the education of the masses becomes a question of great political importance, and there is hardly any time to be lost to take the first necessary step towards the goal aspired to viz. that there should be no house in India devoid of the light of knowledge."\(^{15}\)

Another political aim also into the educational thinking of the country would be clear from the following remarks that secondary and university education should be expected to produce

"... smaller body of persons (included in the larger) capable of furnishing representatives on legislative and local bodies, and officers of the Central and local administrations, who by their training and character, are fitted to fulfil their functions with intelligence, judgment and rectitude."\(^{16}\)

The authors of the Constitutional Reforms of 1919 gave a prominent place to the role played by the educated classes in bringing about an intellectual renaissance which made possible the transfer of partial authority to Indians:

"The politically minded portion of the people of India... are intellectually our children. They have imbibed ideas which we ourselves have set before them and we ought to reckon it to their credit. The present intellectual and moral stir in India is no reproach, but rather a tribute to our work."\(^{17}\)

A careful study of the Constitutional Reforms of 1919 helps in revealing the fact that following points affected education in one or more ways:
(i) Henceforth, major changes in educational policies were linked with the working of the reforms and the issues that were of importance in relation to the reforms assumed significance for education also.

(ii) At a later stage in 1927 when Simon Commission was appointed to review the working of the reforms, it appointed an Auxiliary Committee to review the growth of Education and to suggest reforms in relation to the contemporary political situation.

Thus, it is clear now that educational issues were closely linked with political changes and reforms in education and they were suggested keeping in view the larger political issues.

The role of education in the new political setting was to bring an end-product which could be inclined to look at India's political advancement along with predetermined constitutional lines as sacrosanct. But the changes contemplated in educational policies failed to take into account the new political forces.

The need for a transformation of education was realized by the Calcutta University Commission (1917-19). It admitted that this could only be affected by "... a representative (we do not mean by this a directly elected) central authority commanding the confidence and support of public opinion."
The political awakening during this period enlarged the dimensions of educational growth. Higher education was no longer confined to the upper and middle classes. Lower middle classes in urban areas and the cultivating classes in rural areas were also showing eagerness to acquire higher education. The social and political significance of this new development has been highlighted in the Calcutta University Report:

"The adoption of academic ambitions by even a small proportion of the cultivating class is an event of great moment in the social History of Bengal. It may be herald of a social revolution... The movement is just beginning, it is not too late to transform its character and consequences by giving a more practical bent and a more varied character to the educational system." 19

Another outcome of the Act of 1919 was that with the introduction of Dyarchy and consequent transfer of control of the Department of Education under the Indian minister, it became difficult for the Central Government to exercise its control and even influence the subsequent educational policy. This isolation of the Central Government is very well summed up in the following para:

"By the end of the quinquennium now under review, the Government of India had become almost completely isolated from educational activities in India with the exception of those in certain directly administered areas. The isolation of the Government of India from Provincial Governments and the provincial Governments from one another in the field of education in making its ill effects felt so that there are recently signs which indicate that opinion in favour of cooperation and mutual assistance is gaining ground." 20
The Auxiliary Committee (1929) which reflected governmental thinking also noted with interest the need for the relationship between politics and education and appeared much disturbed by the educational implications of the Act of 1919. It stated, "We cannot accept the view that it (the Central Government) should be relieved from all responsibilities for attainment of universal primary education." 

At another place it also observed:

"It (the Imperial Government) is concerned directly with the educational qualifications of the electorates for the legislatures, and is, therefore, interested in taking steps to ensure that there should be compulsory primary education throughout India at the earliest possible moment." 

One of the side effects of the Act of 1919 on the development of education in India was the keen interest the state legislatures began to take in education. Actually, the political reforms introduced a wholesale change in the educational sphere. The following excerpts from the Quinquennial Review of Education for the period 1922-27 would support this conclusion:

"In Madras, the Legislative Council has debated such subjects as mass education, and compulsion, the state of Muhammadan education and the education of the depressed classes, the need for new colleges and for more universities.

In Bengal ... during the quinquennium the Legislative Council showed a lively interest in the affairs of the Calcutta and Dacca Universities, in the state and progress of primary education, and in the question of compulsory physical training for college and school students... The suitability of textbooks, the provision of provident funds,
and communal representation in educational posts.

The Legislative Council of the United Provinces adopted a specially vigilant attitude towards educational policy throughout the quinquennium... The fact that about 2,000 questions regarding education were asked in the Council during the quinquennium is an evidence of the extent of the interest taken by the members of the Legislative Council in the state and progress of education in the Province.

In the Punjab, though educational affairs formed a large part of the discussion of the Legislative Council, the Council never refused a demand for educational purposes. It has, in fact, repeatedly drawn attention to the need for increased allotments for educational expansion.

In Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council, although one Bill affecting education was introduced during the five years under review, 17 resolutions concerning educational matters were discussed, 64 motions for reduction in the education budget were moved and a very large number of questions on educational matters were tabled.

In Assam as many as 71 resolutions related to education were moved in the local Council during the quinquennium, a number which exceeded the resolutions related to all other departments of Government put together. Twenty-four of these resolutions were carried, 31 withdrawn, and 16 lost. Although the resolutions mainly related to important questions like the Primary Education Act, the reform of secondary education, recognition of the services and an increase in grant-in-aid, they also included resolutions to abolishing training schools and middle English schools, to de-provincialize all Government high schools and to abolish the Eagle Law College and the Post of Director of Public Instruction. 23

The educational implications of the Act of 1919 have also seen beautifully summed up the Auxiliary Committee in the following words:

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION
"Education has come to be regarded generally a matter of primary national importance, and indispensable agency in the difficult task of 'nation-building.' The attention given to it by legislative councils is both a symptom and evidence to this recognition. The transfer of the Department of Education to popular control, as represented by a Minister, has both increased the public interest in it and made it more sensitive to the currents of public needs and public opinion... The Movement has spread to the depressed classes and even to the tribal aborigines, and has stirred a much larger proportion of the people than before to demand education as a right."

The political impact of the Act of 1919 on education seen in the increased number of schools and students at every stage of education and also in the increase achieved in the recognised educational institutions.

4.4. THE NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT AND EDUCATION

The political situation took a decisive turn in 1920. It was due to the launching of the Non-Cooperation Movement by Mahtama Gandhi. This new movement freed the political movement from the coxcomb of the educated classes and released new forces.

It was felt that the existing political reforms could not satisfy and pacify the national leaders. The Act of 1919 had not fulfilled the expectations of the nationalists; and the reforms were denounced by the Indian National Congress as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing." This situation was aggravated with the appearance of Mahatma Gandhi on the political arena in 1919. This man had totally given a new turn to Indian politics with his own characteristic and his ideology became very popular influential with the people.
To quote Ambedkar:

"He introduced three main changes. The old Congress had no sanctions. It only passed a resolution and left it there hoping that the British Government would take some action on it. If the British Government did not, it merely repeated the resolution next year and year after it. The old Congress was purely a gathering of intellectuals. It did not go down to the masses to secure their active participation in the political movement, as it did not believe in mass action. The old Congress had no machinery and no funds to carry on mass agitation. It did not believe in spectacular political demonstration to impress the British Government of the magnitude of its strength or to attract and interest the masses. The new Congress changed all this. It made this Congress a mass organisation by opening its membership to all and sundry... It forged sanction behind its resolutions by adopting the policy of non-cooperation and civil disobedience and to court goal. It launched a country-wide organisation and propaganda in favour of the Congress. It put out what is called a constructive programme of social amelioration."  

It is true that in the reorganisation of Congress the main role was that of Mahatma Gandhi but it cannot be denied that some credit should go to the educated classes which were extremely discontented. Gandhiji's contribution lay in the fact that he could read the pulse of the nation and channelize it into a new fruitful direction.

The political situation was changing from bad to worse. It was during this tense feeling that the tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh took place in 1919. The importance of this event has been shown by Spear when he says, "It nearly lost India not only to Britain but to the West altogether."
While Thompson and Garrett remark that the Jallianwala bagh and its aftermath created a bitterness which had "a marked effect on recent history."^28

After the end of the First World War, when peace was returning to Europe, India was having the birth-pangs of non-violent revolution. The post-war India was affected by many factors. Though politically more conscious, economically she was depressed. The British Government seemed unwilling to introduce liberal constitutional reforms. What angered the people most was the enactment of the Rowlatt Act. The agitation against the Act was unprecedented in volume and temper. The policy of the Government towards the agitation was anything but sympathetic. This probably widened the rift between the nationalist India and the British Government. Surendra Nath Banerjee was right when he described the Rowlatt Act as the "parent of the Non-Cooperation Movement."^29

Non-Cooperation was first suggested by Gandhiji as a remedy for the Khilafat wrongs at the Khilafat Conference held in Delhi on the 23rd November, 1919.***

The year 1921 opened with a new pulsating spirit of freedom and fearlessness. Political Workers lived in a "kind of intoxication."^31 The spirit of fearlessness on the part of the national leaders percolated to the masses. Gandhiji said that his hopes were more on masses. This was the first time when a mass movement was initiated in India. The destruction of the prestige of the British rule in India...
marked the beginning of its end. The events in 1921 made a vigorous onslaught on it.

There were so many institutions and devices to keep the people in awe, fear and in obligation to the Government. There was a general feeling that the British Raj was God-ordained and none could challenge its sacrosancting and authority. Gandhi gave a mortal blow to this myth. Even moderates on whom the Government had depended so much, showed signs of desperation and even of defiance. Even members of the Viceroy's Executive Council were not immune from that contamination. Sir Sankaran Nair resigned from the Viceroy's Council. The following conversation at the last meeting between Sankaran Nair and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, throws light on the position of Indian members in the highest office-open to them in those days:

"Chelmsford : Have you anyone to suggest as your successor?

Sankatan Nair : (pointing to his peon) That man there, Ram Prashad.

Chelmsford : What?

Sankaran Nair : Why, he is tall, he is handsome, he wears his livery well; and he will say 'yes' to whatever you say. Altogether he will make an ideal Member of Council."

The above conversation shows how even the moderate leaders were annoyed with the attitude and policy of the Government.

The Resolution containing the programme of the Non-Cooperation was introduced by Gandhiji in a special Session -DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION-
of the Congress held at Bombay in 1920. This programme was actually put into effect in 1921. This programme was not entirely different from that of the Boycott - Swadeshi Movement of 1905. If both these Movements are examined carefully, it will be observed that they were almost similar with the difference that the Swadeshi Movement took place in Bengal, while the Non-Cooperation Movement was spread all over India; one took place in 1905, the other in 1921; one had violent motives while the other was mainly non-violent.

The resolution of the Congress on Non-Cooperation had a clause (c) which laid down the programme before the Congress and suggested the "gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and in place of such schools and colleges the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various Provinces."33

It was felt by Indian leaders that prevalent education was inadequate and it only encouraged slavish mentally. Here, the remarks of Gandhi would be more pertinent to substantiate this.

"In my opinion, the existing system of education is defective, apart from its association with an utterly unjust Government in three most important matters:

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION
(i) It is based upon foreign culture to the almost entire exclusive of indigenous culture.

(ii) It ignores the culture of the heart and hand, and confines itself to head.

(iii) Real education is impossible through a foreign medium."34

The programme of non-cooperation movement was started in right earnest and initially it achieved considerable success. The main reason for this was that students who were in their formative ages were very much influenced by such catchy phrases as leaving the 'satanic' institutions and other appeals made by national leaders. This view has been rightly substantiated in the following para:

"All classes of students have been affected and among those who responded to preserve are those from colleges... There was something in the movement that appealed to most diverse types of mind. The call to 'national' service and self sacrifice found a quick response among the best, intelligible to those who do not realize the emotional background of students' life and the absence of strong sense of humour. While older men have been seeing visions, the young men are dreaming dreams. Imagination has been fired and spiritual uplift initiated."35

The progress of this movement can be viewed from the marked decline of attendance at the schools and colleges in different parts of British India. It is difficult to state as to how many students left schools and colleges only because of this movement, because at the same time economic depression was also responsible for dwindling attendance of the students. Even then some idea of the decline in
Table 4.1: Decline in Attendance of Students due to Non-Cooperation Movement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Art Colleges</th>
<th>High Schools</th>
<th>Middle Schools</th>
<th>Primary Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>Institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scholars</td>
<td>Scholars</td>
<td>Scholars</td>
<td>Scholars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919-20</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>2,113</td>
<td>6,596</td>
<td>1,55,344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52,489</td>
<td>6,32,032</td>
<td>6,49,778</td>
<td>61,33,521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-21</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>2,184</td>
<td>6,739</td>
<td>1,59,345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48,170</td>
<td>6,00,583</td>
<td>65,39,942</td>
<td>63,27,972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927-22</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>2,248</td>
<td>6,739</td>
<td>1,60,072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45,932</td>
<td>5,94,910</td>
<td>6,44,614</td>
<td>63,10,451</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

attendance can be had from the following table (Table 4.1)

From the Table 4.1, one thing is clear that this impact of the non-cooperation movement was negligible in primary and middle schools because the students reading in these schools were too young to understand the implications of this movement. While declining attendance might be attributed to factors like economic depression and epidemics, the impact of non-cooperation movement at secondary schools and colleges was immense.

Another important conclusion which one can draw from the study of primary and secondary sources pertaining to the non-cooperation movement is this that Muslim students themselves mostly kept aloof from this movement. This view is further substantiated by the following remarks:

"This phenomenon should be understood in the light of the fact that despite the temporary unity which prevailed during the Non-Cooperation Movement, the Muslims of the country had a history of about twenty years which ran almost counter to the history of Hindus at least in political field. While the Hindus increased tempo of freedom struggle each day and suffered for it, the Muslims went slow and sometimes kept aloof."36

This Movement was the last greatest blow to the system of English education. Though the existing educational system survived yet this Movement left its imprint in the sense that it compelled the Government to give a fresh thought to the educational system. A similar conclusion was also drawn by the author of the Quinquennial Review on education 1917-22, when he remarked:
"In short the educational organisation of India emerged triumphantly from the ordeal, but the crisis has left behind the conviction that our educational aims need restatement. If the function of education is the adaptation of the future citizen to his environment, then the current of education must change in harmony with the changes in that environment. The political and economic conditions of India have been undergoing changes and the national school movement can at least claim that it lent strength to the advocates of educational reforms." 37

Though the Movement was just like a flame which flickered quickly and extinguished quickly, 38 yet it made a significant contribution in the evolution of the national education on the one hand and realising fresh thinking on governmental educational aims and policies on the other.

The Non-Cooperation Movement was a sort of mass movement. It was both a challenge to the British hegemony over India as well as to the whole edifice of the western educational system built ever since 1835. This new phase of mass movement was a challenge to this deep rooted ideological obsession of the educated classes." 39

The launching of the Non-Cooperation Movement and the constraints put on it had their impact on the course of educational development:

1. **Boycott of Educational Institutions and National Education**:  
   The boycott of Government and Government-aided schools and colleges was one of the items in the non-cooperation programme. Soon after the Calcutta Session of the Congress, Gandhi and Ali Brothers made efforts to persuade
the Aligarh and Banaras University authorities to nationalise the universities. But they failed. Nevertheless, hundreds of students came out of them as a result of the Non-Cooperation Movement. Before the Nagpur Session of the Congress students came out of their schools and colleges from the Punjab, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Sind, U.P., Madras and Bengal etc.

The decision to Non-Cooperate was confirmed by the All India College Students Conference at Nagpur which met on the 28th December 1920, by an overwhelming majority. In the beginning of 1921 thousands of students joined the Movement. The withdrawals from colleges and schools affiliated to the Calcutta University were 20 per cent and 23 per cent respectively of their total number. The University suffered a loss of no less than £20,000 from examination fee.

The total number of students from all over India who left their studies was about 30,000. In many provinces, schools refused their grants-in-aid to become free of Government control. In other words, they had become national schools.

The Movement made its impact even in England. Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, the Socialist leader, left her College in England and returned to India. A.K.Pillai, who was studying at the Oxford University gave up his studies on account of the Non-Cooperation Movement. The Movement attracted a large
number of students who later on played an important role as freedom fighters. Some of them were: Zakir Hussain, Lal Bahadur Shastri, T.N. Singh, D.V. Keskar, Naba Krishna Chaudhary, Jai Prakash Narain, Ganga Sharan Sinha, Hare Krishna Mehtab, Pyarelal, J.N. Sahani, Lala Jagat Narain, Lala Feroze Chand and Chandra Shekar Azad.

The boycott of schools and colleges was accompanied by opening of national schools and colleges. National Universities like the National Muslim University (Jamia Millia) at Aligarh, The Gujarat Vidyapeeth, the Gauria Vidya Ayatan in Bengal, the Kasi Vidyapith, the Bihar Vidya Apith and Tilak Maharashtra Vidya Apith were opened. In these universities, the system of education was national and emphasis was laid on the inculcation of love for the freedom of the country. To inculcate the spirit of patriotism among the students, histories of Ireland and Italy were taught. Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution and Mill's on Liberty also found place in the course of one of the universities.

No wonder that these universities produced young men who became soldiers in the fight of India's freedom. On the one hand, they produced men like Lal Bahadur Shastri and on the other they produced revolutionaries like Chandra Shekar Azad, Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev.
(ii) Role of Mahatma Gandhi:

The wide network of Congress Committee with lakhs of members really made the Congree a mass organization. It sucked in those sections of the society which had been outside the pull and vortex of politics before. The peasants and workers in hundreds joined the Congress. The women, who till then had lived a sheltered life, also came forward to join the Congress. It was Gandhi who made the Congress a 'mass organization'. As Coupland had stated:

"He (Gandhi) had already changed the course of Indian History. He had done what Tilak had failed to do. He had converted nationalist movement into a revolutionary movement. And he had not only made the nationalist movement revolutionary, he had also made it popular."

The greatest achievement of Gandhiji was the participation by the masses in the movement. And they participated without any fear. According to Jawaharlal Nehru "there was a tremendous feeling of release there, throwing off of great burden, a new sense of freedom. The fear that had crushed them retired into the background and they straightened their backs and raised their heads. Even in remote bazaars, folk the common talked of the Congress and Swaraj (for the Nagpur Congress Session had finally made Swaraj goal), and what had happened in the Punjab and the Khilafat." The greatest achievement of the Non-Cooperation Movement under the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhiji was that
it made the insert masses of India bold enough to defy the
authority of the mighty British Raj. This Movement made
the Indian masses conscious of their strength to stand up
before the repression of an alien Government.

The Non-Cooperation Movement was also a new technique to
fight against Government equipped with all arms and weapons
which were at its command.

(iii) Non-Cooperation and National Universities

During the period extending from 1910 to 1920, the
political atmosphere in the country was full of explosive
tension and activity. Events like the World War, the Home
Rule Movement, the Lucknow Pact of 1916, the Rowlett Bills,
the repressions and the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh and
in the end Khilafat Movement and the Satyagraha Movement of
Mohatma Gandhi had far reaching effects on the life of the
people. These great events roused national consciousness
to a very high pitch. This national consciousness expressed
itself in the civil disobedience movement.

The educational ideals or principles on which the
national schools, colleges and universities were built
served a dual purpose. Its main task was firstly to remove
the defects of the existing system of education; and secondly,
to organise national education in such a way as to build up
the national character and lay the foundation of an
educational system best suited to free country. The principles
of national education incorporated in the national universities
prepared the ground for the education for the free India of
future. The ideals or principles on which the national universities were to work, stated by Mahatma Gandhi in an article in 'The Young India' of November 17, 1920 when he wrote about the National University of Gujarat:

(1) The National University stands today as a protest against British injustice, and as a vindication of national honour.

(2) It stands for a religion which is 'Dharma' of the Hindus and 'Islam' of the Mohammadans.

(3) It wants to rescue the Indian vernacular from unmerited oblivion and make them the foundation of national regeneration and Indian culture.

(4) It holds that a systematic study of Asiatic cultures is no less essential than the study of Western sciences for a complete education for life.

(5) It stands not for domination of one culture over the other, but harmonious blending of all. That is why the University has desired a study of all the Indian religions by a student.

(6) The study of Hindustani which is a national blend of Sanskrit, Hindi and Persianised Urdu has been made compulsory.

(7) The spirit of independence will be fostered not only through religion, politics and history, but through vocational training also, which can alone give the youths of the country economic independence and a backbone that comes out of a sense of self respect.

(8) The use of Gujarati as the medium of education will facilitate this process (mass education) and, ere long, the suicidal cleavage between the educated and non-educated will be bridged. And as an effect of industrial education to the general folk and literary education for the industrial classes, the unequal distribution of the wealth and the consequent social discontent will be considerably checked.

(9) The Gujarat University will have nothing to do with the Government.
With these ideals, national universities, colleges and schools of all grades were started in different parts of the country. The students of Bengal, Bombay, the Punjab and the U.P. played a very prominent part in boycotting the Government educational institutions. In less than four months national universities were established at Bihar, Aligarh, Gujarat, Kashi, Bengal and Maharashtra with thousands of students on the rolls. The number of national schools imparting education in all grades rose up all over the country. 49

But soon after the Non-Cooperation Movement declined, these national universities fell into the background. Though the institutions for a time became unimportant, the ideals they stood for began to take firmer roots in the minds of the people. The national universities succeeded greatly in injecting a new life in the vernacular literatures of the country. With their burning ideals, the students of the national universities proved to be torch bearers of the new vernacular literature. Further, these educational ideals generated in them the social concept that education should not only take into consideration the social forces existing in society, but should also provide an understanding of and pave a way to adjustment to the social conditions, it should lay down a definite course for future progress. By virtue of the fact that as a social concept, education is not the preserver of the status quo but a help to the elements of progress in their
movement towards the better ideal of life.

4.5. THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT, THE CONGRESS AND EDUCATION

The Mass Civil Disobedience Movement was launched by the Congress in 1930. It was much wider in scope than the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1920. The reasons were the maturity of the national movement, the participation by larger sections of population and the growing disillusionment with the reforms introduced in 1919 and the recommendations of Simon Commission. Another important factor, which introduced militancy in the Movement, was the participation of a large number of workers in labour strikes in 1920.

The most notable feature of the Movement was the participation of the women which injected a unique strength to it. What one is concerned here is with the effect of the Movement on educational institutions and the participation of students in the Movement.

(i) Students' Participation in the Movement

The political development in the twenties and thirties accompanied by non-cooperation and mass civil disobedience affected the growth of education in three ways:

(i) Boycott of the existing educational institutions and emergence of an alternative system of education termed as national education.
(ii) Undermining the existing educational system by weakening the foundation of discipline and erosion of faith in the Raj.

(iii) Growth of revolutionary groups among the students.

The suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1922 led to the adoption of a constructive programme as the main creed of the Congress. Education was also included as one of the focal points in the programme. The facets adopted in the constructive programmes also effected the attitude and emphasis on the programme of Resolution of the national education. The Working Committee of the Congress dated 2nd January, 1924 observed thus on National Educational Institutions:

"The Congress is strongly of the opinion that the hope of the future of the country lies in its youth and, therefore, trusts that the provincial committee will keep alive all national educational institutions. But whilst the Congress is of the opinion that the existing national institutions should be maintained and the new ones opened, the Congress does not regard any such institution to be national which does not actively encourage Hindu-Muslim unity and which excludes untouchables, which does not make handspinning and carding compulsory, and in which teachers and students over the age of 12 years do not spin for at least half an hour per working day, and in which students and teachers do not habitually wear Khadder."51

In the Congress Working Committee held at Sabarmati in the month of February 1930; the pledge for "purna Swarajya" was adopted to be taken all over the country on 25th January, 1930. The portion relating to the education stated that culturally, the system of education has torn us from our moorings and our training has made us hug the very
Adoption of complete independence as the political goal of the country was accompanied by a programme of socio-economic regeneration of the country to be attempted after attaining independence. The All India Congree Committee meeting in August 1931, included education under fundamental rights; the state shall provide for free and compulsory primary education.

During the Mass Civil Disobedience Movement and during the final battle for freedom in the forties, the policies on education as enunciated by the national movement oscillated between the direct participation of students in the political movement and participation in the constructive programme.

The effect was felt in the enrolment as well as general tone of the institutions. But this impact was not felt uniformly in all the provinces of the British India. There were regional variations in the extent of the political movement and its impact on the educational system.  

(ii) The Government of India Act of 1935 and Education

With the introduction of Provincial Autonomy, one may see some significant trends in the growth of education. The importance of education was realised by Congress party and other agencies keeping in view the political exigencies of the period.

For creating an enlightened electorate, education was perceived as not that potent instrument as the participation of masses in national struggle.
(iii) The Impact of the Congress Rule

The assumption of office by the Congress in 1937 brought the issue of education and constructive programme in a clear perspective. This constructive programme was intended to change the outlook of the people and regenerated the spirit of economic and social dimensions. The resolution on the reorganisation of the secondary education published by the U.P. Government emphasised that -

"... the value of university education is impaired by the presence in universities of a larger number of students who are unfit for higher literary education or scientific education; that these students cannot hope to obtain employment which would justify the expense of their education and that the only feasible remedy is to direct them to practical pursuits in the pre-university stage."

Since for the first time the mass of people were engaged in the struggle against the British Raj, such emphasis was given by the C.A.B.E. on developing an interest in the work of rural reconstruction and the Board recommended that education should be adjusted to rural requirements and emphasized the need for providing some form of compulsory manual training.

Such were the outcomes of the political development and impacts on educational development.
4.6. TOWARDS A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

One of the most significant features of the period 1905-21 was the birth of the concept of national education. Even in the earlier period some indications of such features are to be found in the enquiry of the Indian Education Commission 1881-82. Even at that time, the educated Indians had categorically pointed out certain defects and urged for the need to correct the most obvious defects such as absence of religious education, slow progress of mass education etc. This critical attitude towards the official system of education became more and more pronounced with the opening of private institutions wherein some ideology and sentiment of nationalism were reflected. Because of this feature, these institutions very much differed from the competition with the prevailing Government or missionary schools and colleges.

The acts of omission and commission of Lord Curzon gave rise not only to militant nationalism but to national education as well. Immediately after the partition of Bengal, the Swadeshi Movement was born and though it was primarily economic in nature it had its repercussions in education also. A demand for Swadeshi education soon began to be put forward as discussed in an earlier unit between 1905 and 1921. It could be observed that a great ferment took place in educational thought. This was, of course, part and parcel of the Indian struggle for freedom.
(i) National Education: Characteristics

Almost all national thinkers agreed that they all condemned the existing official system of education as unhelpful and even antagonistic to national development. Surprising enough though national leaders differed in their views about the definition of national education, yet they all agreed so far as the fundamental principles of national education are concerned.

(a) Indian Control:

Nationalist leaders characterised the existing system of education as an alien one. They demanded in the first place, Indian control of education. This is beautifully shown in the following remarks of Mrs. Annie Besant:

"(Education) must be controlled by Indians, shaped by Indians, carried on by Indians. It must hold up Indian ideals of devotion, wisdom and morality and must be permeated by the Indian religious spirit rather than fed on the letter of the creeds."55

(b) Love of Motherland:

The second feature of national education as upheld by nationalist leaders was that it must inculcate love and reverence for motherland and for glorious traditions. As Mrs. Besant wrote:

"National education must live in an atmosphere of proud and glorious patriotism and this atmosphere must be kept sweet, fresh, and bracing by the study of Indian literature, Indian history, Indian triumphs in science, in art, in politics, in war, in colonization, in manufactures, in trade, in commerce."56
(c) Antagonism to Imitation of Western Ideals and Practices:

The third feature of national education was that it must not be a blind imitation of western science and literature but it "must meet national temperament at every point and develop the national character. India is not to become a lesser, nor even greater, England, but to evolve into mightier India. British ideals are good for Britain but India's ideals that are good for India." 57

(d) The Resistance to the Domination of English Languages:

Fourthly, national education must be such as to remove the domination of English, particularly its use as a medium of instruction, and to give a proper place to the modern Indian languages. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi:

"The foreign medium has caused brain-fog, put undue strain upon the nerves of our children, made them crammers and imitators, unfitted them for original work and thought and disabled them for filtrating their learning to the family or the masses. The foreign medium has made our children practically foreigners in their own land." 58

(e) Development of Vocational Education:

Fifthly, the existing education was vehemently criticised by the national leaders because it failed to bring about the economic development of the country. They also deplored its expensive character. Hence, they recommended that national education must aim at giving due place to vocational education and it must be within the
reach of the average Indian.

According to the national leaders, a national system of education must emphasize the economic development of the country and help to bring it about. Different national leaders believed in different means to achieve this ideal. Some stood for the development of industries through the use of machine power, while others condemned the use of machines.

(f) Other Defects:

The other defects of the then existing official system of education as pointed out by Gandhiji were:

(i) In the first place it was based on foreign culture to the entire exclusion of indigenous one.

(ii) Secondly, the educational system introduced by the alien rulers ignored the culture of the heart and hand and confined itself only to the culture of the head.

To these grave defects in educational system, Gandhi's answer was the introduction of a system of national education. He never attempted to define in details the system of national education, which was indeed no system at all, but a dynamic urge to shape education according to the changing requirements of the country.

"National education to be truly national must reflect the national condition for the time being. And as the national condition at present is one of uncertainty, national education, too, must remain in a more or less uncertain condition... True condition must correspond to the surrounding circumstances or it is not a healthy growth."
(ii) Establishment of National Institutions

The attempts to start national schools may be examined in two distinct periods. The first period occurred soon after the partition of Bengal. Government issued orders prohibiting students from participating in political meetings and demonstrations. These compelled several students to boycott schools and colleges and several others were rusticated by the authorities for participation in political activities. To provide education to those students who were expelled from Government institutions, a society for the 'promotion of National Education in Bengal' was organised under the leadership of Shri Gurudas Banerjee. This Movement received great impetus, because the Calcutta Congress in 1906 resolved that the time had arrived "for the people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of national education for both boys and girls, and organise a system of education, literary scientific and technical, suited to the requirements of the country on National lines and under National Control and directed towards the realisation of National destiny." As a result of this resolution, a large number of National High Schools was started by this Society and at one time there were as many as 11 High Schools in Bengal and 40 in East Bengal. 61 Babu Satish Chandra Mukherjee was the chief worker of this Society which was imparting education in accordance with the Resolution of the Calcutta Congress. Outside Bengal, however, the Movement did not spread materially - the only institution
worth mentioning being the Samarth Vidyalaya at Telegaon, near Poona. 62

As already explained, political tempo created by the partition of Bengal died out, particularly after the reunion of Bengal. This view is also substantiated by the views of Lala Lajpat Rai:

"The National Council of Education still exists, but only in name. Its condition is moribund. The leaders and other officers themselves have strangulated it. Mr. T. Palit and Sir Rash Behari Ghosh, two of its strong pillars, gave it a death blow when they handed over their magnificent endowment to the Calcutta University, instead of to the National Council of Education, founded and led by them."63

"The few scholars who, with characteristic self-sacrifice, gave up careers to give instruction to the students of the National College, are all dispersed. They are seeking appointments in Government aided institutions. The Nationalist schools, started by the Council, have most of them, been disintegrated by the force of circumstances, and at the present moment the movement is nothing else but a dilapidated and disregarded landmark in the educational progress of the country." 64

(iii) The Congress and National Education

The second and more vigorous phase of national education came with the launching of Non-Cooperation Movement by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920. A detailed discussion on the role of Non-Cooperation Movement in the spread of national education has been discussed earlier at another place in this Chapter.
Immediately after the assumption of power in most of the Provinces (8 out of 11) in British India under the new Constitution of 1935, it had become necessary to define the attitude of the Congress towards education of the country. The scheme of national system of education independent of Government control had been on cards since the anti-partition movement in the early decade of the country. Since the time when political movement came in conflict with the governance of the rulers, the existing system of education was condemned as unsuitable to meet the national needs and aspirations, and even harmful to the growth of a national spirit. The resolution of the Congress passed on national education at the Haripura Congress in 1938 condemned the existing system of education unmistakably in these words:

"The existing system of education in India is admitted to have failed. Its objectives have been anti-national and anti-social, its methods have been antiquated and it has been confined to a small number of people and left the vast majority of our people illiterate. It is essential, therefore, to build up national education on a new foundation and on a nation-wide scale..."65

The first attempt to evolve a national system of education was linked up with the Boycott Movement in the wake of anti-partition struggle. But it was mainly confined to the provinces and had an urban slant. A number of national schools as observed earlier, had come into existence. The curriculum development in these institutions was not materially different from what was followed in the Government controlled institutions except for introduction of national
history as interpreted by the political leadership. Their main objective was to arouse among the students a national consciousness and a dedication to free the country from the foreign shackles. With the patterning of the political movement they lost their momentum and gradually disappeared from the scene.

The national education movement was only an off-shoot of the political movement. It grew and fell in accordance with the success and failure of the political movement.

The question of national education again came into prominence during the Civil Disobedience Movement of the thirties. Political leaders appealed to students' committees to plunge themselves into national movement. This will be clear from the statement as

"throw themselves into the final struggle for freedom, complete suspension of their studies as the exigencies of the national movement may require." 66

The special features of this period which influenced the change of emphasis on educational policies were the participation of the masses in the national movement and the political reforms introduced by the rulers first by introducing the Dyarchy in the Provinces and later by the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1935. Both these developments brought in the issues of mass education and rural education into the fore-front.
(iv) Basic Education as an Alternative System

An alternative system of education had to be presented before the country as the existing system had been denounced as 'anti-national' and 'anti-social.' The alternative provided was the system of Basic education evolved by Gandhiji to meet the needs of education particularly of rural India. The basic principles enunciated by Gandhiji were not unknown to the educational world. The activity-centred education had long been recognized by the western educationists particularly, for the younger age group. What was new was the element of productive and useful work in education which could meet part of the expenses of education. Essentially, Basic education, as propounded by Gandhiji was an integral part of the rural reconstruction programme and could be successfully operative only in the economic and socio-political setting envisaged by Gandhiji. As basic changes in the economic and socio-political set-up could not be brought about, Basic education lost its spirit in its implementation and could not provide an alternative system of education.

The educational policies followed by Curzon in the first decade of the present century were a challenge to the premise that higher education was a stabilizing force of the British rule in India. The political leadership took up this challenge and its repercussions on education were the growth of a national spirit exemplified in the demand for a national system of education. But the compromising policies adopted by the liberal leadership prevented the growth of national education.
movement. Caution was expressed by both the rulers and the liberals towards the danger of the influence of radicalism permeating the educational institutions and affecting the youth. The political compromise during the Viceroyalty of Minto and in the subsequent period necessitated a fresh look at the educational policies which resulted in the Government of India Resolution in 1913. A significant feature of the educational policies till the World War I was the accent on the emphasis that education would be helpful in the spread of the Empire. Even after the World War I when major constitutional changes were contemplated, the educational policies were tagged to:

(i) the extent to which they helped in strengthening the forces of Constitutionalism;
(ii) the extent to which they helped in preventing the growth of radicalism; and
(iii) the extent to which they helped in providing a leadership needed to maintain the existing equilibrium and stability.

(v) The Constitutional Reforms

It was only after the Constitutional reforms introduced in 1919 and the launching of the mass movement in 1920 that the earlier premises on education lost much of their validity. The political aim of mass education shifted emphasis from the creation of an enlightened electorate. Education, however, could hardly perform that role in the colonial situation. Devised and institutionalised as education was, it would hardly be an instrument of arousing political
consciousness among the masses. The phase of mass movement was marked by the growth of a national spirit in education. The challenge of the existing system of education was thrown in the form of an alternative system of national education. But the policy of the containment of mass education corroded the national education movement from within. One significant outcome of the mass movement was in creating conditions for a wider participation of larger sections of population in political movement. The consequent growth of political consciousness created conditions for the rapid growth of educational awareness.

The appraisal of educational policies in 1928 along with the working of the Dyarchy emphasized the creation of a directing class and an enlightened electorate. But the national movement affected the educational system in a different way. It generated a feeling of revolt against the existing system and weakened the faith in the institutional structure. The impact was perceptible in the resilience demonstrated by the youth. The emphasis after the mass civil disobedience movement shifted again. Education was included as one item of the overall plan of national reconstruction. The emergence of the Basic education was an outgrowth of the rural reconstruction programme.

(vi) Centres of National Education - Their Ideals and Programmes

To arrange the education of those students who had boycotted the Government-recognized institutions a number of centres of national education, both at higher and lower
level, were set up. In the words of Gandhiji, it marked a silent and peaceful revolution. Most prominent among them were the Gujarat Vidyapith, the Kasi Vidyapith, the Bihar Vidyapith in the Sadaquat Ashram, the Jamia Millia Islamia (Muslim National University), the Bengal National University, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith and the Bombay National Education Society with half a dozen national schools. Even some of the recognized institutions were nationalised by their managing committee like those of the Municipality of Surat, sometimes at the instance of the scholars themselves who set dharna and lay prostrate in a sort of hunger strike in front of the private residence of the manager or principal. It was, however, at Calcutta, that the students under the leadership of C.R. Das staged perhaps the greatest demonstration in favour of nationalization of the existing institutions. In pursuance of the resolution passed at the Nagpur Students' Conference held in December 1920, an attempt was made by the students early in 1921 to take the initiative into their own hands and nationalized the educational institutions. On 19 January, 1921, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, addressed the strikers assembled in front of the University and said that he was prepared to cut off all connections with the Government and nationalize the University if the leaders of the Non-Cooperation Movement gave him a crore of rupees for its running. This challenge, it is said, was taken by C.R. Das who offered to raise the sum if Sir Ashutosh gave
a written undertaking that on the receipt of the money he would retire from the High Court Bench and lead the National Education Movement. Nothing, however, resulted out of it.

On January 1921 Gandhiji at last came to Calcutta. This helped to fan the agitation still more. A great spirit of national consciousness found a new influx in the youth. After sometime Gandhiji again visited Calcutta and inaugurated the National College on 4th February, 1921.

The other educational institutions like the Jadavpur University (founded during the Swadeshi Movement in 1905-06) were reorganised.

The Jamia Millia Islamia (Muslim National University) was originally started at Aligarh in 1920 by Mulla Mohammed Ali and Dr. Zakir Hussain, when a large number of students in the Aligarh Muslim University responded to the Non-Cooperation programme. In 1925 it was shifted to Delhi. The University was meant by its founders to be an institution of higher learning. Its main aim was to meet the requirements of the youth who were willing to lead their own way of life and contribute effectively to the national development. Education in the Jamia Millia was to integrate not only the Indian culture but also the culture of the West externally. Both the Muslims and the non-Muslim students were taught to represent the values of their religion and of their moral and cultural traditions. The University was conducted by a band of workers pledged to twenty-years' service on a
salary not exceeding Rs. 150/- a month

The failure of an alternative system of education to emerge has been attributed mainly to economic courses. The products coming out from the national institutions could not compete with those in Government recognized institutions in the job market and, therefore, with the loss of initial enthusiasm returned to their previous institutions. This was no doubt one cause of the factors of the failure of national educational movement. But the deeper causes lay in the confusion regarding an alternative system of national education for the country and the ups and downs in the political movement. The constraints put on the mass movement also acted negatively in the resurgence of a national spirit in education. The confusion regarding the national education arose out of the contradictions within the national movement which did not disappear by the mere fact of deciding upon a path of mass movement in 1920. These contradictions were reflected in the attitudes adopted towards the educational movement. The following note deserves attention:

"Another important fact to be remembered is that the movement though no doubt mainly of a political character, derives no small part of its strength from the expression it gives to the revolt against the system of education hitherto in vogue and wrongly ascribed to the Education Department. The outcry against the literary form which education has taken in this country is no doubt genuine being inspired chiefly by economic conditions. The people ignore the fact that they have the kind of education that they have asked for and that all attempts by the Department for the last thirty years or more to make education more political have
been thwarted by the people themselves. The most signal failure of the educational system was considered to be its inability to check the orientation of students towards radicalism.

Mayhew lists the major failings of educational system as given below:

(i) It could not develop an intelligent and articulate electorate.
(ii) Expansion of elementary education could not make much headway.
(iii) It produced an attitude for obstruction rather than a positive frame of mind.
(iv) It failed to impress upon the students that they are being trained for the political, social and economic reconstruction of India.

Such were the political dimensions of the ideology and operation of the movement for building up a national system of education in the country.

4.7. RADICALISM AND EDUCATION

(i) Origin

The growth of political movement in India was the outcome of a number of factors. The rise of middle classes mainly represented in various professions was one of such factors. Middle classes were the result of the educated classes and in its turn the educated classes were due to the political necessity of administration of the colonial powers. The emergence of Western educated classes in the
country bore the imprint of liberal politics.

The rapid growth of the middle classes accelerated the development of higher education on Western lines. Gradually it could not be confined to the privileged sections of the Indian society and it spread to the lower middle classes also. When the political system could not satisfy the rising aspirations of the middle classes, political associations grew up to extract concessions from the rulers for the benefit of their own classes. Two different approaches to gain political benefit developed at this stage.

The growth of radicalism in Indian politics could not be traced to the contradictions that developed in the middle class political leadership in the late nineteenth century. \(^75\) Till 1920, it inspired a spirit of revivalism and was mainly confined to the educated classes. The effects of Radicalism of education was visible in the increasing participation of students in active politics and national education Movement.

(ii) Growth of Radicalism among Students:

Manifold factors contributed for this growth of radicalism among the students, the prominent among these are:

(i) Tilak's \(^76\) attempts to secure the active assistance of students for the celebration of Ganapati festival.
(ii) Policies of Lord Curzon with regard to higher education and the participation of Bengal.

As a result of this, the question of Government control on education and the future policies on education came up for active consideration. Obviously, the political and educational developments in the subsequent years of national struggle were also influenced by the participation of students and teachers in the political life of the country.

Rulers, radicals and liberals had different reactions towards the involvements of students in Indian politics. The rulers viewed it with caution so that it may not undermine the entire educational structure. The principal aim of the radicals, as a reaction towards this trend, in enlisting the support of students, was to undermine the foundation on which the educational structure was erected. It was to this section that they directed their appeal and it was from this section that they got their active supporters.

The attitude of liberal political leadership towards students' participation in politics was opposed to that of the radicals. In the words of Gokhale:

"The active participation of students in political agitation really tends to lower the dignity and the responsible character of public life and impair its true effectiveness." 78

The impact of radicalism on the educational system in vogue was also visible on those students who did not leave their institutions and did not participate directly in the movement. Here, the reaction was of two kinds - a spirit of
defiance among some and an apathy among the others. Both these reactions undermined the faith in the educational system and since then the issue of students' and teachers' participation in politics became a controversial topic and had assumed wider dimensions involving political, sociological and other related disciplines.

Radicals believed that the existing educational system obstructed the growth of national spirit. The radicals also hoped that the spread of national education among the masses would break the barrier between the educated classes and the masses which the existing system of education was perpetuating and widening further.

The movement for national education, the participation of students in political activities, and the conflicts between liberalism and radicalism in politics brought a few educational issues into prominence. The following issues were of particular significance regarding the growth of educational policies in that period:

1. Extent of State Control on higher education.
2. The extent to which education could help in the promotion of a spirit of nationalism.
3. The extent to which education could be value-oriented. There was a growing feeling that religious education in some form should be provided in educational institutions.
4. The extent to which education should be oriented towards the industrial regeneration of the country.
(5) It was realized that in all schemes of educational development, the education of the masses could not be ignored and henceforth the education of lower classes assumed special significance because they were involved in political activity. Later on a new trend caught the attention of the educationists and that was equally in educational opportunity for the masses in general.

The reorganisation of the educational system after the twenties was motivated mainly by two considerations, viz., political changes introduced through the constitutional reforms of 1919 and 1935 and the course of national movement which oscillated between direct mass action and a policy of compromise.

After 1920, due to the course taken by the national movement and also on account of international events like the World War II and the Revolution in Russia, radicalism in politics took a new turn. It was now left-oriented and to some extent under the influence of the socialist ideology. The emphasis, in the sphere of education, was to expose the weaknesses of the existing system of education. The thinking was that a comprehensive national plan on education could be taken up only after the economic, political and social constraints were removed. But radicals failed to evolve any alternative institutional framework about education.
4.8. POLITICS OF COMMUNALISM AND EDUCATION

The starting of the Calcutta Madrasa for Muslims in 1871 and the Sanskrit College for Hindus in 1781 was a part of the political policy of 'divide and rule.' The communalism in education got their fillip with the establishment of the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh which later on developed as a Muslim University.

The period under review has seen another major political development which left its permanent imprint on the further development of education in the country. This relates to the growth of separatism in education which was an outcome of the communal politics. This was confined, to a large extent, to only the Muslim community. The emergence of elites among the Muslims started late in the nineteenth century and used education as most handy instrument to bring together the upper classes among Muslims before they could gather sufficient strength to unite on a common political platform. The relative educational backwardness of Muslims was exploited by the elites to wrest maximum concession from the rulers and in consolidating their own position.

(i) Separation in Education:

Separation in education grew more after the acceptance of the principle of separate representation in Morley-Minto Reforms. The demands were put forward to give separate facilities to Muslims in education on the basis of their numerical strength as well as political importance. The
demand for a separate Muslim University, also got a fillip after the grant of separate representations to the Muslims.

The demand for separate educational institutions for the Muslims was a retrograde step as far as the growth of Indian nationalism was concerned. Instead of consolidating the nationalist forces, it helped to drive a wedge between the different communities. The support and encouragement to such institutions by the British was a calculated move to divide and stem the upsurgent nationalist tide.

It is of interest to note that side by side with the movement for establishing a separate Muslim University, a parallel movement for raising the status of the Central Hindu College, Banaras to a national university was also afoot.

From the above discussion it becomes clear that separatism in education got an impetus from political decision and could hardly be justified on educational grounds.

Politics had impact on the education of Muslims. While affecting the quantitative growth of education among Muslims, it also introduced the principle of segregation and induced special measures to make the community more responsible to education.

The growth of separatism in education had both positive and negative effects on the growth of education.
among the Muslim community. On the positive side, the special inducement given and the provision of separate institutions gave an impetus to the spread of education among the community in the earlier period.

Discussing the extent of separatism in Muslim education, the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission observed as follows:

"...there are in almost every province a large number of recognised segregate institutions which are intended to meet Muhammadan requirements. In 1927, in Bengal out of 1,109,227 Muhammadan pupils, over 663,000 were in segregate institutions. In Bombay Presidency (excluding Sind) 85,001 out of 120,912 Muhammadan pupils in primary schools were in segregate institutions. In the United Provinces, out of 192,889 Muhammadan boys in primary schools 92,620 were in segregate institutions, in Bihar, out of a total of 135,695 Muhammadan pupils in all institutions 86,384 were reading in segregate primary schools."80

The growth of education among the Muslims had caught up and in some cases surpassed the general educational growth in the country by the thirties of the present century.81

On the negative side, the separatism in education encouraged reprehensible outlook. The politically communal leadership of the Muslims wanted to keep the Muslim boys and girls away from the mainstream of the nationalist movement.
Secondly, education which could act as an integrating force became a part of the interplay of communal forces. This may be seen from the reactions of the leadership of the Muslims to the scheme of Basic education as prepared in the Educational Conference held at Wardha in 1937.

In his presidential address delivered at the Patna Session of the Muslim League in December 1938, Jinnah reacted to the Wardha Scheme of Education in these words:

"Take next the Wardha Scheme of education. Were the Muslims taken into confidence when the scheme was under preparation? The whole scheme was conceived and its details worked out behind the back of the Muslims. Who is the author of the Scheme? Who is the genius behind it? Mr. Gandhi! I have no hesitation in saying that it is Mr. Gandhi, who is destroying the ideal with which the Congress was started. He is the one man responsible for turning the Congress into an instrument for the revival of Hinduism. His ideal is to revive Hindu religion and establish Hindu raj in the country, and he is utilising the Congress to further this object."

The separatist ideology in education developed over years helped the leadership of the Muslim League to enlist active cadres from the educated youth for political purposes. This was crystal clear in the forties when the demand for Pakistan was voiced.

(ii) Political Communalism and Education (Muslim League and Act of 1909):

During this tense period, the struggle for Independence was getting momentum. This was because of the socio-economic discontent, that nationalism which was described "Hindu
Nationalism was gaining more popularity in India. This was also contributing to the cause of the development of education in India.

At this time one significant event took place. This movement though confined to the Muslims alone, nevertheless had wide repercussions on the whole political scene. These repercussions were also felt in education. This event was the formation of the Muslim League in 1906 under the leadership of Aga Khan and Nawab Salimullah Khan of Dacca. Initially the League was primarily motivated because of political undertones, but later on even education was considerably influenced by Muslim politics. With the formation of the Muslim League some kind of "Political Communalism" was introduced in the Indian politics. This further widened the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims who had already differences in religion and culture. With the introduction of the principle of "Communal representations" by the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 a deliberate attempt on the part of the British Government of India was made in this direction. This situation it aggravated further.

The Act of 1909 bred a sense of separation between two major communities - the Hindus and the Muslims - everywhere. The field of education was not excluded. In the name of religion and communal interests, more and more demands were put forward by both the communities. The outcome of this was that religious education was started by the Hindus and the Muslims in their respective
educational institutions. For instance, in the United Provinces, the Education Code permitted religious instruction for one hour a week to the children of parents who desired it. But as was stated:

"The results do not always confirm the reality of the outcry against purely secular system. There are vast numbers of privately managed institutions of every grade where religious instruction has always been permitted and yet none has ever been imparted. In the U.P. only five schools have taken the advantage of the concession made in the case of government institutions."34

It is alleged that the virus of communalism was also very active in the two universities, viz., the Hindu University, Banaras and the Muslim University, Aligarh. This can be proved by the places where these two universities are situated. Even the personalities which were attached to the two universities had communal outlook. While Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, the Doyen of Hindu politics, was the Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University, the Aligarh University had Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal as Vice-Chancellor. In addition to this, His Highness Aga Khan who was the centre of activity and great political figure among the Muslim politics strengthened the upsurgent tide for communalism in education. Last but not the least the feeling of communalism was also reflected from the large majority of students who joined these two universities. These two universities were also responsible for producing political leaders who played significant role in the political history of the country during the period under study. The
most interesting thing to note was that by taking generous attitude towards these universities, the Government was playing its role of whipping up differences between the two great communities in the country.

Political communalism became more clearly visible in the case of the Dacca University and the partition of Bengal. Both these events had been motivated because of hidden political and communal considerations. This consideration was strengthened with the formation of the Muslim League in 1906 and the introduction of separate electorate in 1909. But owing to great popular agitation and pressure, the partition of Bengal was annulled in 1911. This created some apprehensions in the minds of the Muslims. This view is supported by the author of the Quinquennial Review on education 1917-22 when he stated:

"It has been said that the Dacca University owes birth to local and communal patriotism. The decision announced in December 1911 to revise the position of the provinces of the north-eastern India gave rise to grave apprehensions among the Muslim community, who constituted the majority in the provinces of Eastern Bengal and Assam, that their educational progress would suffer by the coming change."85

That communalism was working very patiently in the establishment of the Dacca University becomes further clear by two more pieces of evidences.

As per terms of reference of the Calcutta University Commission, the Calcutta University was to be reorganised and reconstructed on the recommendations of the Commission.
Even though Government had accepted the findings and recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission, it showed least interest in this direction. On the contrary, the general impression was that the Government was more interested in creating the Dacca University rather than improving the Calcutta University. This view was further suggested by a letter No. 1800 dated Calcutta 19th Nov. 1919 issued by the Bengal Government Education Department which showed that why the Government was more interested in the establishment of the Dacca University could not be specifically answered. One explanation was that it was the policy of the Government to help those communities more which were backward educationally.

The policy of utilizing education as an instrument of consolidating the British rule, through 'Divide and rule', if necessary, seemed to have entered a new stage.

In the initial stages, of the British rule, education was given a gift to the already educated and privileged sections of the society, and through them the British wanted to rule the country and consolidate its rule. When after about half a century, the newly educated Indians, who were mostly upper-caste Hindus, began to show signs of political awakening and unrest, the Government's policy of spreading education to less privileged communities served to sow disaffection between the Hindus and other communities-the Hindus and Muslims on the one hand, and the caste-Hindus and the backward classes on the other. This view
gets credence when one reads the "strictly confidential" note on education, written by C. Sankaran Nair, the Education Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in 1916.

Thus, communalism, as an ally of political factors, affected the growth and development of education in definite direction and in specific measure.

4.9. INTERNATIONAL EVENTS AND EDUCATION

Several international events had their impact on education in India in the first half of the present century during the British rule. The Russo-Japanese War (1905); the First World War, the Bolshevik Revolution and the Second World War - all these events marked a significant phase in the history of education in India.

The Russo-Japanese War exploded the myth of white racial superiority.

"The War's most important effect of India was a mental revolution, after which independence became merely a question of when and how."

The implications of the event for education were obvious. It showed, in unmistakable terms, the value of a national system of education on modern scientific lines.

Japan had already moved ahead with the idea of compulsory elementary education.

For the first time, a need was felt for developing a national system of education which could resurrect the sleeping nationalism of India - Boycott, Swadeshi and National Education all these three got interwoven into one
integrated whole. The issue of national education also brought in the problem of free and compulsory primary education. The demand for free and compulsory primary education was now being heard both inside and outside the Chambers of the Government.

It was also felt that education could prove as an instrument of national reconstruction, and for this education should be more and more scientifically oriented and the necessary corollary was a demand for technical education.

(i) First World War and Education:

Though the booming of guns was in distant lands beyond the frontiers of India, its echo accompanied the soldiers returning from the war front in thousands. They now acted as carriers of new ideas they had imbibed and the new experience they had undergone.

"The effect of the First World War on India was profound. It brought some knowledge of the outside world into many Indian homes for the first time."90 (The demand for educational and political reforms were accumulating during the War years).

The post-war educational developments had two components. The first was the outcome of the rising educational expectations due to the involvement of larger sections of population in economic, social and political activities. The other was a process of disillusionment with the existing system of education to cope with the rising political expectations and aspirations. The
educational reforms proposed in the Calcutta University Commission Report of 1917-1919 and the measures taken for the expansion of primary education were to strike a compromise between these two components.

O'Malley reported the heightened development activity for mass education after the World War I:

"An awareness grew that the educational system unless it is geared to the needs and environments of the people cannot rejuvenate the nation. Mere importance of Western ideas was incapable of building up a national system of education. The growing demand for mass education went deeper into the country touching even the remote rural areas."  

"One of the causes assigned for the remarkable educational progress of the Punjab after the Great War was the return of sepoys who, as the head of Education Department said, had seen life and the world and were determined that their sons should receive the benefits of education."  

The quinquennial (1917-22) reporting about the effect of War on the educational growth at different stages remarked:

"In India, while attendance at colleges was not directly affected by the War, there is some evidence that attendance at primary schools was actually stimulated."  

The spread of educational awareness in rural areas, however, also created the problem of adjusting education to the environment and the solution was sought in developing a vernacular system of education for rural areas.
World War I affected the development of education in India adversely. The first and most important effect of the World War I, though indirect, was financial, with the net result that some of the important schemes, and educational policy which was chalked out by the Resolution of 1913 could not be implemented. This picture had been beautifully summed up in the Quinquennial Review on education, 1912-1917. It stated:

"Local Governments were precluded from drawing freely upon the unspent balance which had accumulated with them from the Imperial grants made for education during the preceding years. For two years no new Imperial grants were allotted, though fresh distributions of considerable sums are being made for 1917-18, and 1918-19."\(^9\)

Another negative effect was that many officers of the Departments of Public Instruction and others employed in privately managed institutions went to military service, or were employed on duties connected with War. Thus 51 officers of the Indian Education Service, 4 officers of the Provincial Service, 25 unclassified; and teachers in the Private employment joined war services.\(^54\)

This War also had negative effects on the missionary educational efforts:

"The part played in India by enemy missions was considerable at the outbreak of the war. In the Madras presidency alone one college and 477 schools with 31,000 pupils were wholly or partly under German management. When it became necessary to intern or repatriate the teachers, the problem arose of maintaining the institutions. The institutions affected fell into two classes—those under enemy management and those under certain of the Roman Catholic Orders which are..."
of an cosmopolitan character and employed Germans and Austrians along with priests of allied or neutral nations. In the case of the latter, it has sometimes been possible for the missions to substitute subjects of allied or neutral nations in place of enemy aliens. In the case of the former, the schools have, so far as possible, been continued under the management of other missions.**95

The war had some good effects also on the educational development of India. People became much more wide awake and Indians took pride in the fact that many Indians were fighting in distant countries. This helped in developing in them a world outlook. The Bombay Report pointed out the impact of the War in the following words:

"It has excited the interest among people of all ranks and all ages in great world issues, enhanced their historical and geographical knowledge, broadened their outlook, awakened their sympathy for those adversely affected by it and united them in the common endeavour of all parts of the empire to contribute towards its successful prosecution."**96

Another indirect effect of the War was that Government now realised the urgency to introduce certain constitutional reforms to satisfy or pacify the educated Indians who were agitating for the same. Moreover, this thinking was also responsible, to some extent, for the appointment of the Sadler Commission of 1917 or the Calcutta University Commission whose recommendations proved very useful in shaping some of the future educational policies. This view was well substantiated by the Auxiliary Committee of the Statutory Commission. It stated:
(1) "The war had, however, another effect on the Educational Policy of the Government of India. It was felt that the time had come for a policy of political reform and for a greater devolution of responsibilities on Indians, and that the universities were not then giving the right type of education for the directing classes. It was with a view to the improvement of education that Government in 1917 set up the Calcutta University Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir Michael Sadler, which reported in 1919."

(ii) "This thinking has also been reflected in the Report of the Calcutta University Commission. It says at one place "India, with new political responsibilities, is coming into the fellowship of nations. Her education from primary school to university, should be answerable to modern standards of what is best."97

Still another very significant impact of the War was that those soldiers who had gone to the fronts during the War period, brought new outlook when they returned to India. Whatever they had seen in other advanced countries, they too wanted to introduce in their own. They wanted to improve the socio-economic and educational conditions in the country. According to a rough estimate about a million98 soldiers had gone for fighting. Education was bound to receive adequate attention because of their changed ideas and attitudes towards education. This view is also supported by the Punjab Quinquennial Review on education, 1917-22, when it stated:
"And more important than these as impetus to education, are the new prospects in military service offered to people of military classes, who in this (Rawalpindi) division are mostly Mohammedans. These profits they cannot profit unless they have English education; and it is for this reason that even in the remotest corners of the division, in places where the people were regarded as almost outside the pale of humanity, they are now clamouring for Anglo-Vernacular schools."99

The War had, thus, contributed though indirectly and to some extent towards the development of education.

(ii) Effect of the Bolshevik Revolution:

The importance given to education in the Bolshevik programme of reconstruction of the country had its implications for the Indian leadership in recognizing national education as an important item of political programme.

It also gave further radical orientation to the students who were now an active constituent of the nationalist movement. The reforms in the educational policies were directed to combat any revolutionary tendencies growing amongst the younger generation participating in the nationalist movement. The political necessity of mass education was also emphasized in the period to curb the radical tendencies from taking firm roots among the masses.

A general reorientation of educational policy and the re-establishment of religious and moral values among the pupils was emphasized during this period. The official
view was that this policy if followed in schools would rehabilitate in the pupils a respect for the existing value system and check foreign influences, especially the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution which the rulers thought was threatening to undermine the very foundations of an ordered society.

(iii) The Second World War and Education:

With the outbreak of Second World War in 1939, nothing concrete was achieved in the realm of education and all schemes of educational reforms were put into cold storage. Even then the Second World War brought the deficiencies of the existing system of education to focus and build up a new political framework for initiating post-war educational policies. The new framework was based on freedom, democracy and equality. Thus, it was realised that no piecemeal reform in the educational system would be worthwhile. What was needed was a thorough reorganization of the educational system. Need was felt to evolve a national system of education with the perspective of India on the threshold of independence. The Post War Educational Plan (1944) was an attempt in that direction.

Even before the outbreak of the War, attention was being paid to the problems of practical, vocational and technical education. But this was mainly due to the growing unemployment among the educated youth. Just before the outbreak of the War the whole question of technical and vocational education was studied in the Wood-Abbot Report.
It was during the war years that the great deficiency in technical education showed the lopsided development in the country. This motivated the Central Advisory Board of Education to emphasize the linking of education to industry.

The soldiers (who had been abroad during the War) had seen first hand the marvels of technology; they could not find opening for them or their sons for that type of education on their return home. This created a sense of frustration and the only alternative was to fall back on the literary biased educational system. This extra pressure on literary education created many problems which had their repercussions on the subsequent growth of education.

The value of national system of education was further felt. Education in order to be instrumental in the transformation of society had to fit in with the overall plan of national development. The lop-sided development of education became too clear to go unnoticed even to an uncritical eye during and after the War.

The overall effect of War on the educational system of the country was to expose and pinpoint its weak spots and bring a sense of urgency for recasting and restructuring it in accordance with the future set-up of the country.
(iv) The Post-War Period and Education:

Many efforts were made in the post-war period for charting out a comprehensive plan of education for the country. There was no doubt a call for introducing basic changes in the educational system but the political realities were either ignored or underrated with the result that the policies either could not be implemented or did not bring about the contemplated and desired changes. The limitation was the lack of responsible government in the provinces or the centre.

The installation of popular Ministries in the provinces (1937) brought then the question of educational planning and the tasks to look at educational problems with a vision of India based on two fundamental principles, viz., complete independence for the country and the free government based on democracy. The major limitation was that planning was undertaken under conditions of political uncertainties. Two important documents of this period were the Post War Educational Development Plan prepared by the Central Advisory Board of Education and the 'National Plan' prepared by the National Planning Committee of the Congress. Both stressed the need for a complete overhaul of the educational system. The National Planning Committee emphasized the need for effecting basic changes in the economic structure as a necessary condition for implementing the educational schemes. Basic education was accepted as the national system of education.
It was admitted that a national system of education had not been able to evolve and the need for building it upon entirely new foundations was paramount.\textsuperscript{100}

The manifesto of the Congress\textsuperscript{101} also laid enough emphasis on the education of the masses and gave out certain principles which were in conformity with the projected socio-economic and political structure of the country. They may be stated as follows:

(i) Provision of free and compulsory basic education.

(ii) Protection of the culture, language and script of the minorities and different linguistic areas.

(iii) Equal rights to all citizens for education in schools maintained out of state or local funds or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public.

(iv) Adequate arrangements for the education of the masses with a view to raising them intellectually, economically and culturally and morally, and to fit them for the new forms of work and services which will open out before them.

The major problem faced by the education planners of this period was this that the future of political structure of the country demanded equality of educational opportunity to every citizen of the country but when the educational reconstruction plans were being made over 85 per cent of India's population was still illiterate.\textsuperscript{102}

Basic Education was accepted as the national system of education. But as the transfer of power did not disturb the institutional framework, the existing machinery was
hardly fit for giving a radical orientation to the educational policies.

4.10. INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND EDUCATION

Ever since the foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885, it has been striving for winning freedom for the people of India. In the beginning, its aim was indefinite but it has always insisted on a democratic form of Government responsible to the people of India and representative of all classes and communities inhabiting this vast country.

The chronicler of the rise and development of the Indian National Congress finds it convenient to divide its history into three stages:

(i) 1885-1905, the phase of moderate nationalism when that body had not lost loyalty to the British Crown.

(ii) 1906-1918, during which the Congress emerged as the militant organ of Indian nationalism and parted company from the Muslims, and,

(iii) 1919-1947, the Gandhian epoch, during which a new weapon for securing self-government was found in non-cooperation and non-violent civil disobedience movement, the Swarajist wing of the Congress was born, and the Congress defined its goal on the attainment of the Purna Swaraj.

The early history of the Congress is full of resolutions and speeches. Even then Congress had done spade work in national awakening, political education and in uniting Indians and creating in them the consciousness
of a common Indian nationality.

In the whole history of Indian nationalism, the foundation of the Indian National Congress, in the year 1885 stands out as an epoch-making event; for, it gave to the national movement a character and spirit which it had never known before.

After having become a comprehensive movement of national reconstruction, within a few years of its inception, the Indian National Congress started thinking seriously about other problems which had become chronic maladies of the Indian society. Of all these problems, the problem of education was considered to be a vital one by the leaders of the Congress. They felt that Indian official system of education, introduced in the country by the British, suffered from serious defects and was quite unsuited to the needs and interests of the Indian people. To improve it, they thought education would be the best instrument. Through education, society could be reformed in many other ways also. This belief naturally led the leaders of the movement to concentrate their attention on the problem of education.

The outcome of educational policy followed in the wake of the Despatch of 1854 resulted into three things, viz.,

(i) Westernization of the contents of education.

(ii) Indianization of the educational agency.

(iii) Unprecedented educational expansion.
These features had exposed the political motives underlying the educational policies of the Government.

From 1882 to 1904, India passed through a period of great awakening. The 'Ilbert Bill' controversy had raised a feeling of racial bitterness to a high pitch. Hume was convinced that the British were in immediate danger of a terrible outbreak. The Indian National Congress came into existence as 'a safety valve' for escape of the growing forces of national awakening. The new forces were, thus, canalised into the Indian National Congress. In 1890 Tilak left the Deccan Education Society. Tilak's entry into all India politics coincided with the beginning of a new era in the history of Indian nationalism.106

The Congress did little practical work in the educational field till the end of the nineteenth century. But with the emergence of militant nationalism towards the beginning of the twentieth century, the Congress assumed a tone of confidence and strength. The acts of omission and commission on the part of Lord Curzon added fuel to the fire. For instance, his autocratic administrative policy leading to such undesirable measures as the Officials Secret Bill, the Costly Durbar at Delhi when famine stalked the land, officialization of the Calcutta Corporation and above all the Partition of Bengal fired the people with indignance and rage.
Other contributing factors like widespread poverty, growing unemployment, epidemics and famines also aggravated the situation.

This emergence of militant-nationalism had significant repercussions in the educational sphere too. In the initial stages it reflected in the Swadeshi Movement which was largely confined to Bengal. This proved that Congress could no longer remain a passive onlooker; it had to rather put forth a constructive educational work and gradually the concept of "National Education" was popularized among the people.

The Government Act of 1904 had also become the target of criticism of the Indian National Congress and much of the opposition to this act was expressed by Gokhale, Surendra Nath Banerji and Phirozshah Mehta\textsuperscript{107} - the leading stalwarts of moderate wing of the Indian National Congress.

The conflict between the Government and the people was political rather than educational.\textsuperscript{108} The educated class clamoured for more places in the Government of the country and asked for Civil Services Examinations in India. In 1896, in one of the resolutions the Indian National Congress asked for the reorganization of the educational services so as to do justice to Indians. In 1888, the Congress had asked for more technical education and industrial development. But by the Universities Act of 1904, the Control of the universities passed into the hands of the Europeans and the bureaucracy who were indifferent to these demands. The
all-round awakening of the people necessitated reforms in
the educational fields, with the object of increasing
facilities.

The Congress Leaders criticised vehemently the University
Act of 1904. As Gokhale said:

"It was thought that we were on the eve of a mighty
reform which would change the whole face of
things in regard to higher education in India...
It was, however, not long before the new born
hope that thus gladdened our hearts was chilled
to death and we found that, instead of the
measures we were looking for, we were to have only
a perpetuation of the narrow, bigoted and
unexpensive rule of experts."109

As a reaction to this Act, faith in the educational
motives of the British was rudely shaken, and very soon the
Congress started a movement of national education.

The Swadeshi Movement which emerged in 1905 was in the
nature of a "Direct Action" on the part of the Congress
against the British Government. Though originally economic
in nature, it soon spread to other spheres including
education. Earlier in this Chapter the educational implica­
tions of the Swadeshi Movement have been already referred to.

The Indian National Congress took an early opportunity
to take a formal decision in regard to National Education
by passing a resolution in its 1906 session held at Calcutta:

"Resolved that in the opinion of this Congress the
time has arrived for the people all over the
country to take up the question of National
Education for both boys and girls, and organize
a system of educational literary, scientific and
technical, suited to the requirements of the
country, on national lines and under national
control."110
Thus, the Congress, for the first time, put forward in clear cut terms the concept of National Education. To give effect to the above resolution, the National Council of Education was formally established and inaugurated on March 11, 1906. This council had done excellent work in Bengal which gave inspiration to the educational workers in other Provinces also, and in no time the ideal of national education acquired all India character.

The next step which the Indian National Congress took in the field of Indian education was in respect of primary education. The need for the expansion of primary education was being felt by the leaders of the Congress right from the beginning of the twentieth century. They were disgusted with the 'filtration theory' of the official bureaucracy. Hence, under the leadership of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, it took up the cause of compulsory primary education. Though the Bill introduced by Gokhale was rejected yet it made significant contributions in respect of compulsory primary education in the country. It made people and Government conscious of the need for spreading primary education as extensively as possible.

With the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi on the political scene of India, the Indian National Congress took a new turn. As discussed earlier, the launching of the Non-Cooperation Movement by the Indian National Congress in 1921 contributed much towards the development of national education in this country. It is true that this movement
failed to give to the country a stable system of national education, but it left certain significant contributions in the sphere of Indian education. First, it made the people aware of the defects and the denationalising nature of the official system of education. Second, it created a fuller recognition and demand for the incorporation of Indian culture and aspirations in the educational system of the country. Thirdly, it increased the demand for practical and vocational courses. Fourthly, it propounded the idea of running educational institutions without Government help. Lastly, it showed concern about the educational needs of the country in a truly national sense.

This movement also succeeded in exercising considerable influence on the official educational policy in the subsequent years.

"That in the subsequent years, modern Indian languages were increasingly used as the media of instruction, that more and more attention was paid to mass education, that the Educational Services were Indianized in 1914 by discontinuing the IES in 1924 and organizing Provincial Educational Service (Class I) instead, and that efforts were made to make education more realistic in terms of the life-needs of the students by popularizing vocational educational bear a clear testimony to the concrete influence which the movement of national education exercised on the future course of educational developments in the country." 111

With the introduction of the Provincial Autonomy in 1937, in pursuance of the Government of India Act of 1935, a new chapter in the history of Indian education was opened.
As observed earlier, out of the eleven provinces of British India, the Congress could form its Ministries in seven. This gave new hopes to the people for they thought that the Congress with the entire field of Provincial administration into its hands, would now evolve a national system of education to which it was committed.

The Congress Ministries started their work earnestly and enthusiastically. But their efforts could not yield much fruit because of the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 which had serious repercussions on the political situation in India. On the issue of 'War and Peace Aims' of the Allies, the Congress Ministries had to resign in 1940. In their place 'Care Taker Governments' of the Provincial Governors started functioning in the Provinces under section 93 of the Act. These remained into power upto 1945; after that Congress remained in power till the achievement of complete Independence in 1947, but it remained too much pre-occupied with political matters to pay any serious and concentrated attention to the subject of education.

Despite this fact, much was done in the period 1937-40 to promote the cause of national education. The following significant contributions were made.

(i) Experiments in the fields of primary education by launching (i) the scheme of Basic Education by Mahatma Gandhi, (ii) the Vidyamandir Scheme in C.P. and Berar, and (iii) the scheme of voluntary schools which was tried by the Bombay Government for promotion of primary education in rural areas.
(ii) By laying emphasis on vocational education, the Congress further tried to bring about a healthy change in the then existing system of education, which was predominantly bookish and had, therefore, resulted in the problem of unemployment among the educated youth of the country.

The Congress also did significant task in the field of educational planning for the future. The leaders of the Congress realized the urgency of this step for a truly national system of education.

The work in this direction was started both at the official and non-official levels. While the Provincial Governments prepared their own Five-Year Plans of Education, the Congress leaders did laudable work in this direction on their own initiative. They prepared comprehensive plans of National Education having an All-India basis. Of these, the two plans which deserve special attention were: (1) the plan of Educational Reconstruction, prepared by the National Planning Committee, which was constituted in 1938 under the Chairmanship of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, and (2) the Plan of National Education prepared by the All-India Educational Conference, which was held at Bombay in December 1938. These have been also earlier referred to. Both these Plans incorporated all these principles of National Education for which Congress had stood, viz., introduction of mother-tongue, teaching of diversified courses, giving technical and vocational training providing for physical training and the like.
These pioneering efforts in the sphere of educational planning, representing the educational aspirations of the people and based on progressive educational thought of the modern times, had great educational significance.

The Congress had also made commendable efforts to bring out desired change through the adoption of vernaculars as the medium of instruction especially at the secondary stage. Along with it the Congress made sincere efforts regarding:

1. Publication of good textbooks in vernaculars;
2. Evolution of necessary terminology in vernaculars,
3. Training of teachers through the medium of vernaculars.

To Congress also goes the credit for setting on foot the movement of adult education and abolition of mass illiteracy in India. With regard to this, the mass literacy campaign, organised by the Congress Ministries from 1937 onward represented a happy departure from the policy of "downward filtration" followed by the Britishers in India.

Lastly, following the lead of Gandhiji, the Congress contributed immensely to the education of the weaker sections of the society, especially the Harijans and women. This was a significant step as it was based on the democratic principle of equal opportunities to all and sundry.

All this work which the Indian National Congress did was undoubtedly a valuable contribution to the development and enriching of the Indian education. Though the task was a very challenging one, yet the Congress took up the challenge in right perspective and made sincere efforts to make it
consistent with the real needs and interests of the country.

The contributions of the Congress to Indian education stemmed from political goals and aspirations which had of social and economic undertones too, as the Congress was wedded to the goal of national development and the prosperity and happiness of the Indian people.

4.11. CONCLUSION

In this Chapter an attempt has been made to show the interaction of political determinants and education. From the examination of the major events, it could be said that politics did a lot for education. At the same time, education also contributed towards politics.

The impact of political events was so much that education got considerable attention in the Legislative Councils of the Provinces. As a result of this even people belonging to the backward classes and weaker sections of the society started looking up for education. The corresponding result in the field of politics was that there was more and more degree of political awakening and there was more "political socialization", i.e. the process of induction into political culture.112 was going on at an accelerated pace. Education was acting as the main key to political mobility. In short, educated people, though in minority, were leading the country to its ultimate aim of achieving political independence. With the increased tempo of political events more and more interests began to be taken in the sphere of education. Education began
to be conceived as one of the political tools. New and new experiments in education took place which were also politically motivated.

A large scale increase in students, schools, universities and other allied areas of professional, technical, women education etc. etc., got a momentum on account of continued political awakening in the country. New trends like communalism and national system of education, educational research etc. etc., also emerged during this period and contributed a lot to the development of education in India. In this context the role of Indian National Congress cannot be ignored in making sincere efforts to develop a national system of education and carrying out other significant experiments. From what has been examined in this Chapter, it may be rightly inferred that education and politics are interlinked. The development of education is the outcome of the mutual interaction between political determinants and education.
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8. Ibid, p.3.

9. Ibid, p.3.


14. For details, refer to Chapter III.


19. Ibid., p.27.


22. Ibid., p.278.


25. For details refer to Chapter III of this Thesis.


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54. Ibid., p. 107.


56. Ibid., p. 29.

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(b) Hare Krishna Mehatab, "Revolution of 1921".


(These books throw some light on the nature and character of such nationalism.)


The author cites the following figures to substantiate the claim for rapid growth. The number of pupils in schools rose from 5,57,000 in 1920-21 to 1,198,000 in 1926-27.


94. Ibid., pp.7-10.

95. Ibid., p.10.

96. Ibid., p.10.


105. Refer Chapter III of this Thesis.


