



WORLD YEARBOOK  
OF EDUCATION

1965

THE  
EDUCATION  
EXPLOSION

EDITED BY  
GEORGE Z.F. BEREDAY AND  
JOSEPH A. LAUWERYS



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World Yearbook of Education

THE WORLD YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION 1965

# The Education Explosion

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# The World Year Book of Education 1965

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## EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

THE enormous and rapidly increasing world-wide demand for education is one of the most important phenomena of our age. Education is now regarded as an essential commodity. Everywhere it is a high priority in national and international programmes. Strenuous efforts are made to increase the amount, to improve the quality, and to diversify the kind. This situation creates new hopes but also raises great problems. It cannot fail to have the most far-reaching consequences.

In this volume aspects of the 'Education Explosion' are examined by some thirty educators drawn from all over the world. What is the nature of the demand for education? How can it best be met in various circumstances? What problems are encountered? What kind of consequences can be predicted? These are some of the questions, considered on a comparative basis, in Section I. Clearly there are important differences in this context between the high-income and the low-income countries. Similarly, multi-lingual and multi-racial nations have special difficulties. In Section II, which consists of reports from individual countries, these topics are considered in detail in the context of a particular national situation.

The term 'education explosion' has been used in two ways; the explosion of knowledge and the explosion of numbers. The two are certainly interrelated since it is the forward surge of knowledge that created the market for the skills of the educated and consequent pressures for expansion of educational opportunity. Our aim is to emphasize the latter and to follow the set of concerns dramatized for the world by Louis Cros of France. The explosion of enrolment reaches far beyond the explosion of knowledge. It is the function of political, social, and economic ambitions of the masses everywhere.

Our aim is to emphasize the growing numbers clamouring for admission at the school gates throughout the world. We are, as always, aiming not only at the most authoritative statements of the most advanced theorists of education about the relation of the explosion of numbers to the problems of instruction; we are concerned about how the coming revolution, which in one way or another affects all national school systems, is viewed from country to country. As a source book of materials on comparative and international education we do not eschew unevenness but regard it instead as a normal expecta-

## EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

tion. The degree of sophistication about enrolment problems varies enormously. It is reflected in this YEAR BOOK. It includes concern for identifying high talent or building up technological education in metropolitan countries as well as the worries to extend compulsory education or preparing primary schools to use local dialects in developing countries.

The educational significance of the explosion of enrolment is enormous. It raises the problem of supplying and training an adequate number of teachers. It revives the old debates about the respective suitability of the old formalistic, or for that matter, old progressive methods of instruction. It requires some adjudication of the relative merits of academic as against vocational types of education. It raises issues of selectivity versus mass education even at the university level. Who should go to college, or should all go? Can only the ablest benefit from exposure to theoretical, academic, formal modes of instruction, or is human comprehension more teachable than we are willing to give it credit for? Is the ideal of expanding education for all really a panacea and, if not, what is? How can we predict the vocational skills of twenty-five years hence in a rapidly expanding technological society?

Even greater than educational is the political and economic significance of the expanding sphere of education. Where is the money for the necessary buildings and equipment to come from, and how will it be returned? It is not an accident that the interest in the working of education as economic investment coincides with numerical explosion. The faith of educators that in all circumstances more education for more people is beneficial is tested against the scepticism sometimes voiced by social scientists that more education may, in reality, be disfunctional. The pressure for universal primary education in many countries in the absence of adequately trained and adequate teaching force, tends to be ruinous to quality of such education; the aspirants win for themselves the right to education in name only, not in fact. Over-production of narrowly trained graduates at all levels of instruction leads to over-supply of candidates in white-collar occupations and shortages in other skills; the relative merit of turning potential first-rate mechanics into third-rate clerks has never been adequately explored. Where educational systems are run on absolute lines, deflecting much needed resources for school expansion in size only, may impoverish the economies sorely in need of bolstering; in many cases 'on the job' training is more economical than setting up plants for formal instruction.

Political aspects of new mass education are equally formidable. The progress of education is awakening the 'silent' of the world who

#### EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

henceforth will be silent no more. For a while they may be contained by appeals to religious self-discipline or the rigours of a political system imposed by an able, if stern, *élite* under the promise of rapid enrichment. Ultimately the vocalization of the masses means, however, some form of participation in government, and faced with the alternatives of stable, viable democracy on one side and mass vacillations wrought by demagoguery on the other, education becomes truly a race between 'civilization' and 'catastrophe'. Humanistic and moral aspects of education, therefore, continue to retain a central place amidst the concerns for scientific and vocational expansion. Furthermore, increased participation in political and social life raises the problem of who is to be norm setter. The traditional function of *élites* as 'taste makers' and guardians of standards is destined to evolve in the direction of some form of broader determination of right values. That such determination should not be haphazard or substandard, that moral precepts of the nations should square up to historical necessities rather than pandering to ignoble aspects of humanity, is a concern that invests the phenomena of explosion in the school with tremendous importance.

With the 1965 volume, this publication will be called the *WORLD YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION*. We depart from the venerable tradition of thirty years only to facilitate the recognition that ours is a collection of reports from all over the world on the subject of common problems. As every year, we place the responsibility for what they say on the shoulders of the contributors themselves. Ours is the responsibility only for their selection and for the organization of the volume.

We record with sorrow the passing of Mr. Noel Evans, member of the London Board of Editors and the publisher of the *YEAR BOOK*. The *YEAR BOOK* owes its existence to the initiative of the Evans' family, having been founded by the late Sir Robert Evans, uncle of the deceased.

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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### *THE EDUCATION EXPLOSION*

A STRIKING feature of the post-war world has been the outstanding rate of increase in the enrolment of schools and colleges. Crude statistics show that during the 'fifties the number of children enrolled in primary schools rose by 57 per cent. At the secondary school level the rise was 81 per cent and in higher education 71 per cent—or, depending on the level of education, a growth of between 5 and 7 per cent per annum (compound). Another index of this phenomenon is that in Africa first school enrolment rose from 38 per cent of the age-group in 1958–63 to 51 per cent in 1963. Some idea of the relative speed of these growths can be obtained by remembering that in 1965 the hope was expressed that the United Kingdom's annual growth in production might reach 4 per cent.

The facts of the post-war education explosion are fairly well known. Another thing seems certain, namely that the world-wide increase in enrolments has not kept pace with the demand for education. This assumption of imbalance, couched in demand and supply terms, is the basis of the analysis of the most general and common problems with which this YEAR BOOK is concerned. Further comparative study of them requires that the specific features of both demand and supply be investigated in greater detail and not only statistically. It is equally important to see at which stages of education the problems have been most acute. Again a comparative study should take account of the variety of solutions offered and the extent to which they have succeeded or failed under the circumstances in which they have been applied. From these studies it may be possible to identify trends, predict hazards, and foresee outcomes.

The three constituents of demand—the explosion of aspirations, the explosion of population, and the explosion of knowledge—have had somewhat different effects in various parts of the world. A first attempt at comparison may be made on the basis of the major geographical and cultural regions. In many ways, Europe, North America, Latin America, Africa and Asia are areas each with certain common features. Secondly, comparisons between countries within each region are possible, although in some cases a non-geographical grouping would be more sensible. In general, a sharp distinction should be drawn between the economically developed nations and the low-income nations.



*Educational Barriers to Expansion*

One common source of the imbalance between demand and supply is educational inertia. It operated against the expansion of education even in those countries in which progress, prior to 1939, had been steady but slow. It finds expression both in the aims of education and in the organization of the schools themselves. At one level mass education may be resisted on ideological grounds. At another level built-in checks, like curricula, examination systems, the organization of school types, the forms of teacher training, and forms of recruitment and certification are factors operating strongly on the implementation of expansionist policies in education.

The explosions should also be studied against the particular socio-economic and political background of the post-war era. Political leaders in the defeated nations were swept away and new forms of government introduced. Most of these reflected the influence of institutional arrangements of the Western democracies. These agencies of democratic government were also introduced, or continued, in the nations seeking political independence.

It is evident, too, that there are striking differences between the wealthy nations and the poor ones. The U.S.A. apart, the major participants in World War II had suffered enormous material damage. Economic resources, including manpower, had been dissipated. Germany, Japan, and the U.S.S.R. perhaps suffered most, but all of the involved nations of Europe lost a great deal. Yet for a variety of reasons, partly because of differences in natural resources but principally because of the skills and attitudes of their people, the economic potentials of Europe and Japan far outdistanced those of the economically under-developed nations of Africa, Asia, and South America. The magnitude of the problems roused by the three explosions will differ but there are also certain to be qualitative differences.

Still, at the general level it is possible to identify within individual countries or regions traditional factors which affect the characteristics of the general problem and hence the formulation of policy. Important aspects have been, and are, nationalism, racialism, and religious feeling. Against the European colonial powers the fight for political independence frequently united very disparate groups. In Africa many territories seeking autonomy were merely administrative units with few of the characteristics of nationhood. Independence in many parts of the world has brought not unity but inter-communal conflict. Religious sentiment, language, and traditional political loyalties have been among the strongest forces of disunity. These factors have in many

cases made it hard to formulate adequate policies and still harder to put them into effect.

### *Human Rights and Social Demand*

Consider now the nature of the demands. First, there has been a demand for education as a human right. In their fight to free the world from tyranny the Allied spokesman held up a positive aim—that a declaration of human rights should, like the Bill of Rights in the American Constitution, set the stage for post-war developments. Access to education was regarded as one of the important rights of all human beings. This kind of declaration can be considered as representative of consumer demand. How it was promoted to the level of an explosion is of considerable interest and will be referred to later.

The second kind of demand represents a social demand for more men and women trained to perform specific tasks in the economies of the nations of the world. In a crude sense this is an economic demand.

Of course, consumer and social demands frequently coalesce since parents see the economic advantages of having their children trained to perform tasks which are socially rewarded either by money or status. Moreover, social demand can be seen to have many facets. There is, for example, a political need for education, as Jefferson among others pointed out long ago. More analysis is needed, but evidently of interest in the comparative study of demand is the extent to which consumer and social demands reinforce each other in terms of education *per se* and at the same time the extent to which they create difficulties for policy makers by promoting demands for different (and even conflicting) types of education.

The explosion of aspirations, of course, operates all over the world. Largely a post-war phenomenon, the increase in expectations arises from a variety of stimuli. For many people the war was a crusade, and propaganda emphasized the high ideals for which it was being waged. They served as an objective. Among the expectations aroused, education perhaps occupied a relatively low place in the hierarchy. It would be wise, however, to distinguish here the preference scales for different countries. The victorious Allies were, by and large, satisfied that political democracy had triumphed and that their particular brands of democracy were satisfactory. But for many nations of the world political independence and some kind of democracy were the supreme goals. The war heightened the expectations of the Indian people. The struggle for independence dominated the thinking of Congress Party leaders until it was achieved in 1947. The same

may be said of the other colonial territories. Political freedom from the imperial powers was given (and still is) first priority.

Politically there was a powerful demand for peace. It found expression in the international organizations which were quickly established. This desire was no doubt very widespread, particularly in regions which had suffered from the war by invasion, devastating bombing raids, and so on. Perhaps next on the scale of preferences for many people were economic expectations. The prospect that poverty and its associated evils would be conquered in a very few years was obviously an idealist's dream. But at some level or other it was a fairly widely shared dream. The conscience of the world was aroused by the plight of refugees and by the famines which swept through parts of Asia and Africa. Malnutrition and poverty are always closely allied; and so to the right to live was added the right to work without coercion.

Next in order of priority was the demand for health. Emergency services were established in many areas either by national governments or international agencies. More significant were the practical attempts to set up national health services in areas where no obvious emergency existed. The British health service heralded, in effect, the birth of a welfare state. Several factors helped to make it a reality. Unlike many other social services—old-age pensioners, education, unemployment benefit, etc.—health affects every member of a population more or less directly; thus, since supporting attitudes are present, a very general demand is created. Secondly, failure of health services has direct, obvious, and serious consequences. Thirdly, the sciences on which modern medicine relies quite suddenly placed the successful treatment of many previously killing diseases like tuberculosis, malaria, and pneumonia into the grasp of the medical profession. The contrast between the growth of health services (or at least the investment in them) and educational services in Britain reveals a general tendency.

#### *Post-War Legislation*

Given a general order of preferences, a more rigorous comparative study of the nature of the education demand is needed. Two aspects are important. First, through what agencies has demand been promoted? Secondly, into which aspects of education has it been directed? In order to answer these questions contributions to this YEAR BOOK were invited from different sources. Documentary evidence has been drawn together by Dr. Kallen. He shows how the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 although the vote was not unanimous (page 21). This docu-

ment not only expressed the conviction that education should be provided as a matter of principle to all individuals but proposed quite specific policies of implementation. Elementary education was to be free and compulsory. Technical and professional education was to be made generally available and access to higher education was to be made on the basis of merit. Moreover, consumer demand was emphasized by insisting that parents should have a prior right to choose the kind of education they wished their children to enjoy.

During a period when the United Nations Assembly was debating, drafting, and proclaiming its Declaration of Human Rights some nations of the world were writing new constitutions, others were submitting for adoption major legislative measures. The English 1944 Education Act represents one of the first and most comprehensive attempts to reformulate educational policy in the light of post-war needs. The principles of free and compulsory primary and secondary education anticipated in the United Kingdom the declaration by the United Nations. Supreme Court decisions culminating in the 1954 judgment in the United States of America helped to establish that 'separate but equal' educational facilities were unconstitutional. In France interest went beyond the traditional declaration of political and civil rights. Among the social and economic rights there was given in their 1946 Constitution a guarantee of equal access to education, professional training, and culture. And it was the duty of the state to provide free, secular, and public education at all levels.

The post-war constitutions of Italy, Germany, and Japan were written against a background of past regimes which had failed to protect the individual's civil and political rights. Academic freedom had suffered and Article 23 of the Japanese Constitution of 1947 explicitly guaranteed it in the post-war era. Article 26 stated that all people had legal right to an education in accordance with their ability. The Italian Constitution of the same year affirmed (Article 33) the freedom of education, and Article 34 made the school open to all. Private schools were allowed. The Federal German Constitution did not repeat the Weimar Republic's long list of rights. Because of the religious issue, education was handled with special care. The state was to supervise the whole of education, but under Article 7 parents had the right to decide whether a child should receive religious instruction and the right to establish certain kinds of private schools was guaranteed.

Article 38 of the 1947 Yugoslavian Constitution made education free and compulsory; and Article 4 of the 1953 Constitution made it a matter for the government. A constitutional framework was worked out by the Chinese Communist party and adopted in 1949 as a programme for the People's Republic of China. Interest in the social,

political, and economic tasks of education was emphasized, but under Article 47 universal education was to be established with stress on technical and political education. In 1947 an amendment to the U.S.S.R. 1936 Constitution emphasized the same points, but under Article 121 made only the first seven years free.

The Constitution of independent India offers one of the best examples of how, once freed from imperialism, the new nations of the world expressed their hopes in legal documents. Part III stated the fundamental rights of citizens. On the one hand no citizen was to be denied admission to a state educational institution on the grounds of religion, race caste, or language (29 (2)). Minorities were allowed to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice (Clause 30 (1)). On the other hand no religious instruction was to be provided in a state-maintained school (Clause 28 (1)). Article 45 set out quite specifically the intention of the state to provide free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14 within ten years of the Constitution coming into force—a hope that has clearly not been fulfilled.

These statements of course represent to a considerable extent the intentions of the moulders of opinion and not necessarily parental demand. More careful empirical comparative studies would reveal how far parents agreed not only with general policy but with specific policy in terms of level and kind of education offered. For example, although the English 1944 Act implied that parents were to be able to choose the kind of secondary education they desired for their child, empirical evidence shows the extent to which grammar school education was in demand. Again, Dr. Bowman advances the proposition that “an economic explanation of mass demand for schooling” (page 64) has empirical validity. Her analysis raises interesting questions about the effectiveness of non-economic statements of intention in light of some apparent lag in enrolment in types of education which lead to high economic returns.

### *The Economic Demand*

Indeed, Bowman's evidence suggests that the demand for secondary education, using the economic criterion, is not as universal as has often been assumed. The kind of post-primary education available appears to influence the demand—a state of affairs well illustrated in the pamphlet *Early Leaving* prepared by the Ministry of Education in the U.K. in 1947. At the primary level the empirical evidence relating to wastage (and even stagnation) mentioned by Dr. Mukherjee and given in the *Indian Year Book of Education*, Vol. 2, confirms that however high the initial demand even for primary education it is not sustained unless strong motivation continues to be provided.

The provision of education in Europe displayed two features. First, the request was for an extension of education. In most countries at least eight years of compulsory education had been established by law and had become effective in practice. An additional year was in many cases proposed. In the Soviet Union, for example, seven years of compulsory schooling was raised to eight in the 1958 law. The school-leaving age was raised from 14 to 15 in England and Wales. Even where no general legislation was introduced, the length of schooling often increased by the addition of one more year. The second aspect of expansion was to change the organization of post-primary education. The demand in most countries was for a less stratified system of post-primary schools. In most European nations the multipartite system of organization had a long history. In the U.K. the Labour party proposed the establishment of comprehensive schools and the 1944 Act, in fact, made the provision of secondary education obligatory but in many local authority areas the change was largely one of nomenclature. In France the Langevin-Wallon Committee proposed a radical extension of non-selective post-primary education and even the de Gaulle reforms which were intended to postpone selection until children had reached the age of about 13 hardly revolutionized the opportunities which French children have of gaining access to full secondary education. Swedish reforms have moved more successfully in the direction of a comprehensive school system, perhaps because the differences between social classes in Sweden are not very great nor very marked. The reform movements in Western Germany have been designed, as in France, to postpone selection and thus virtually offer greater opportunities to children to proceed further with a general academic kind of education. In many cases such a postponement delays entry into stricter and narrower vocational training.

This problem of early specialization has not been felt so acutely in Communist countries. The expansion of educational opportunity in the Soviet Union has taken the form of extending the age of compulsory attendance and increasing the opportunities of part-time education right through the universities and other institutions of higher learning.

The expansion of secondary education had occurred in the United States even before World War II. The process, starting about 1870, gained enormous momentum and consequently expansion in the United States after the war occurred principally at the level of higher education. Some other nations followed this lead. The enrolment in Japanese higher institutions of learning after the war increased vastly. The enrolment in Indian universities and institutions of higher learning quickly multiplied several times. These increases are symptomatic of world trends.

In general it is evident that, however measured, post-war demand in the industrialized nations has been for secondary and higher education. After all, the demand for primary education was already satisfied. So the level crept up. Until recently the order of priorities in meeting this demand was based more on the human right argument than on economic needs. Of course, manpower studies have been made by a number of interested groups. Examples of this are to be found in the English Barlow Committee and Percy Committee Reports on scientific and technical manpower. Professor Anderson points out (page 185) that everywhere these demands have become more and more important in the determination of policy. Recently an OECD survey of six Mediterranean countries was based on this concept of educational planning. In the debates which preceded the establishment of UNESCO, one argument advanced in favour of more education was that it would help to raise standards of living. It was couched however in very general terms. The economic argument used, not by individual consumers but by moulders of opinion, has frequently led to support for more technical or vocational education.

Unfortunately empirical evidence in support of other social claims is not so readily forthcoming. Undoubtedly, the same moulders of a new world thought after the war that education would make this world safe for democracy. The evidence that it can and does is not very decisive, although it is fairly apparent that democratic forms of government have been more easily maintained in some newly independent countries than in others. India's democratic institutions have survived rather better than those of some African territories. The political argument is perhaps used less and less, and certainly Anderson is correct in his assertion that the educationists' case is frequently ignored. Thus the evidence provided by Dr. Nawroczyński about the explosion of leisure in industrialized countries is often overlooked.

### *Population Trends*

If the explosion of aspirations cannot easily be quantified on a world basis it is obvious that the population explosion makes it possible to assess the level at which the demand operates most strongly. Dr. Rosier's data show how the world's population more than doubled in the hundred years between 1850 and 1950. Recently the rates of increase have varied—over the decade 1950–60 Europe's population grew by 0.8 per cent on the average; in South West Asia and in South America the rate reached 2 per cent per annum. Obviously the implications for educational development in each of these regions are very different. These percentages clearly influence the proportion of children of school-age. In some countries, for example, Indian and the Philip-

pires, the proportion of school-age children may reach as high as 40 per cent. Such careful statistics followed, as in Rosier's article for France, by detailed forecasts based on national studies provide an admirable source of precise comparative information.

The statistical consequences of the post-war baby boom have been analysed too often to merit more than a brief mention. The early 'fifties found the bulge moving into the primary schools, by the late 'fifties it was creating problems in secondary education and by the 'sixties it had reached higher education. Statistics alone do not reveal the full story. In these countries where universal primary education was a reality, increased numbers created a need for more classrooms and teachers at this level. In many of these countries opportunities of going on to secondary schools were limited. The explosion of expectations created an immediate post-war demand in many cases for secondary education for all. To this was later added the increase in the number of aspiring adolescents.

Professor Corcoran's chapter, and the study made by Dr. Bowles on which it is based, provides a brilliant empirical and comparative study of how demand for places at the level of higher education can be measured. A crude increase in admissions demand index between 1950 and 1960 made it possible to classify eleven countries in terms of whether the demand had more than doubled or increased by between 50 and 100 per cent. Some indication of the universality of the phenomenon is given by the fact that among the countries with a very high increase in demand for admissions are Japan, New Zealand, and Ghana, while U.S.S.R., U.A.R.—Egypt, and England and Wales represent countries in which the increase was moderate.

Evaluation of the demand in Professor Corcoran's carefully quantified study shows that statements of hopes were incapable of fulfilment because of circumstances. In England admission rates to the universities did not increase at the same speed as the demand. In France there was no easing of the acceptance rate. Perhaps only when the economic argument was forcibly advanced (and largely accepted) was the British Government seriously prepared to consider a major expansion of higher education, particularly in the technological and teacher training fields.

Even in the U.S.A., where post-war expansion represented a continuation of policy rather than an innovation there has been, according to Dr. Roucek (page 137), a continuous resistance to the rising costs involved. He gives as a reason for this state of affairs the fact that most of the revenue is raised by taxing local property. Massive Federal aid, except on a specific basis, is unacceptable. Roucek points out that the national deficit between what is available for schools and what is needed has been estimated at \$8 billion a year—nearly a sixth of the



Defence Budget! Vast differences between local districts and states of taxable real estate or property add to the difficulties of uniform expansion. The failure in the U.S.A. is not, however, due to educational inertia but rather due to an ideology (strongly reinforced by political and industrial pressure groups) of local control and finance and to a fear of Federal intervention. This fear, of course, fits in well with the prevalent anti-communist ideology.

The difficulties referred to are certainly considerable, yet compared with those connected with the expansion of education in the low-income countries they are small. Capital accumulation presents insuperable difficulties—population growth often outstrips increases in productive power. Political pressures have often made it necessary to give priority to primary education—a policy which in the short term at least has shown itself to be ineffective. Realistic planning has been inhibited by political considerations. The question of balance, as Dr. Diez-Hochleitner points out, is of great importance. At conferences in Addis Ababa, Karachi, Tokyo, and Santiago, guide lines in terms of this balance were drawn up for developing countries. Even so, the situation appeared somewhat depressing and it should be noted that the round figures suggested at these conferences need to be related to the local circumstances of particular countries. Thus far planning agencies have been established and the obvious problems of wastage and stagnation revealed. There is less evidence that careful analyses of data relevant to the successful implementation of policy have been made. Evidently if greater priority is to be given to education a careful allocation of resources is required, but against the competing demands of defence, education often has little hope of receiving its due share of resources. Meanwhile much of the effort put into education is dissipated.

### *The Reactions*

In spite of difficulties, the fact of expansion is plain to see. In the low-income countries it has involved increases in the percentages of primary school-age children attending school. In the industrialized countries secondary and higher education have been enlarged. Education creates its own demands and its own resistances to new policies. Universal primary education gives rise to expectations of secondary education; a growth in the latter means that pressure becomes greater on the institution of higher learning. As the pressure mounts, two solutions present themselves. Structurally multi-partite systems of secondary and higher education make it possible to select from the whole population members of the *élite*. To these are given a certain kind of education—usually academic in the traditional sense. The rest are sent to other types of school, vocational and technical, or at

the third stage, to technological or professional institutions of higher education. The alternative is radically to change the curriculum of existing secondary schools and the universities. Thus far, Western Europeans have not been prepared seriously to consider reorganizing curricula and have by and large tried to cope with the explosion using highly differential secondary school and higher education systems. Such a policy has been accepted more readily in countries where the economic argument has carried more weight than the human right and social class arguments. In the U.S.S.R. the economic argument which stressed the need for highly trained specialists had tended to restrict curriculum reform. As Mr. Krushchev noted, the educational explosion has at one level been entirely successful; young people clamour to enter institutions of higher learning. But at another level he recognized that the schools had failed through changes in their structure alone to break down the dichotomy between manual work and intellectual endeavour. Perhaps only in the U.S.A. have the curricular consequences of the education explosion been fully appreciated, and since Sputnik criticism has had the effect of checking ongoing changes. Here, then, are vital areas, curriculum, and structure in which the consequences of educational expansion are direct and call for major consideration. Alas, too, often it is assumed that in education the best of all worlds is possible.

Consider further the implications for educational administrators. Expansion offers a choice of two emphases in policy; a growth in the number of schools or growth in the size of roughly the same number of schools. Given the development of large schools and large conurbations, the question of adjusting administrative arrangements arises. Traditions vary and adaptation to large educational units is easier in some countries than others. English educators cling to the small unit myth; they wish to retain the personal contacts possible in a small school or unit thereof. Again, the residential, tutorial, and college principles dominate higher education. They are essentially principles which can appropriately be applied to small units. Socio-economic forces are, however, operating strongly to encourage the growth of large institutions.

Again, national administrative needs should be studied in relation to the education explosions. Here, too, it is not only a matter of the educational environment; the differences between urban and rural conditions suggest that somewhat different forms of administrative and financial control are required. The property tax is notoriously an inefficient and inequitable method of raising money. It was appropriate when wealth was based to a far greater extent than to-day on property and when education was regarded far more than now as a commodity

or service which individuals and communities could and should buy for themselves. Now education is a national social service. Debates about its provision take place at the highest level of public politics, yet all too frequently local authorities, often elected locally, are responsible for implementing policy decisions and raising a large proportion of the money needed to finance them. The conscious detailed planning of education is still rather novel. What is certain, however, is that national systems can only be planned adequately by strengthening (not necessarily enlarging) the power of professionally qualified personnel at the national level with access to all the available information about education and power to initiate and push through needed research. The dilemma in the U.S.A. is a very real one. Educationists have faced the challenge of a political ideology which demanded educational opportunity for all. They have operated common schools at the elementary and secondary stages and are now running them virtually at the level of higher education. They have been prepared to change curricula, and now many of them are prepared to pay special attention to gifted children. They have listened and responded to local and national pressure groups. They have created a national system without national planning, but it is doubtful whether they can continue to do so effectively because the explosion of knowledge has added another dimension to the whole issue of educational expansion. It affects the U.S.S.R. as deeply as it affects Western Europe, and now, perhaps to a smaller extent, the U.S.A.

*'Explosion of Knowledge'*

One reason is that educational traditions, not only in Europe but elsewhere, have within them a tendency to reject technical and vocational education as necessarily illiberal. Formerly the brutish character of industrial labour and the poor monetary rewards accorded to it reinforced Aristotle's view. Recently conditions of work in automated factories and salary scales for industrial workers have somewhat changed the situation. Yet educational resistance continues to be powerful. Moreover, in many systems the natural sciences (even in their purest form) were regarded as inferior competitors for time in the school curriculum. The powerful hold over the school curriculum exercised by the classics emphasized the dichotomy between the humanities and the sciences. The explosion of knowledge has, however, been largely in the realm of the natural sciences and the application of their principles to industrial development. Advances in modes of transportation, media of communication, medical knowledge, and the manufacture of synthetic materials need only be mentioned for the point to be made.

This explosion raises two issues. One concerns the importance to be given to science as a constituent of general education, and the other relates to the need to train scientists and technologists in large numbers for various levels of the occupational structure. Soviet manpower studies reveal the extent to which specialists can be prepared for modern industry. The most difficult curriculum task to-day is in the field of general education. This has to take account of the explosion of scientific knowledge and means that from a mass of information a selection has to be made which will serve the task of preparing young people for adult life. What is needed are science syllabuses and courses of study which will make these concepts relevant to an understanding of everyday phenomena and problems.

Among the industrialized nations commitment to democratic forms of government is widespread. In these countries, too, the explosion of knowledge has been most successfully applied. It is they who have created atomic power, and it is they who are in a position to use it for good or evil purposes. The democratic ideal implies that every citizen should be able to judge policy even if only a few are in a position to formulate it. The political need in these countries is for a population which is scientifically literate in the sense that its members know enough science to weigh the pros and cons of the scientific aspects of most or some of the socio-economic problems facing mankind. A preoccupation with scientific training for industrial purposes has obscured the greater need for a science education which will truly make a contribution to the quality of human life.

### *The Consequences*

The contribution which education can make to the solution of social and political problems has been proclaimed frequently. Dr. Curle's article is a reminder that education is no guarantee of political stability and that the provision of schools of any kind has important political consequences in developing countries. Paradoxically, education regarded as a great unifying force may act powerfully to destroy traditional forms of authority without replacing them with others. Fear of such consequences may create among the elders of a community a resistance to education. Younger men see it as a sure route to power. In Africa, according to Curle, one result of providing education has been to modify the largely egalitarian character of society by forming an exclusive and superior *élite*. He foresees a serious situation when in ten to fifteen years' time these new *élites* are threatened by a flood of educated persons expecting to occupy positions of leadership. Already unemployment among educated Africans has created a dangerous situation which can only be ameliorated if

such persons are prepared, as in time they may be, to lower the level of their political and economic aspirations. In short, in some countries of Africa it seems possible that the education explosion has, or is soon likely to, outrun the capacity of the economic and political offices to absorb its products. If this happens social chaos will follow—a dismal but not unrealistic prediction. Curle compares the likely outcomes of educational expansion in Africa with those which seem possible in the so-called oligarchical societies, e.g. Peru, Iran, West Pakistan, or South Korea.

In many low-income countries priority has been given to the rapid expansion of primary education. The vague hopes that literacy itself would lead to improved economic standards and would safeguard democracy have been dashed and reconsideration of policy has resulted in proposals to find some balance between primary, secondary, and higher education. Such changes represent a victory for the economic argument against the human right declaration. The political consequences of this decision are not yet clear, but it means in effect that some attempt will be made to contain quantitative expansion at some level or other and concentrate more on the qualitative changes demanded by the explosion of knowledge even though these are seen in the light of economic needs.

The foregoing general comparative analysis is followed in the second section of the volume by case studies designed to reveal how the general problems examined in the first section take on very specific characteristics against a background of national circumstances.

The European case studies, for example, show to what a degree educationists have been preoccupied with the reorganization of existing institutions to cope with the expansion of educational opportunity. Articles by M. Cros and M. Merlier reveal how in France the explosion in the elementary school before World War II increased the pressure on secondary schools. The reforms of 1937 failed, however, and the secondary schools remained with unimpaired prestige as schools for an *élite* who hoped to go on to advanced education. Dilution took place more by a process of infiltration than as a result of conscious policy. After the war, organizational changes in secondary education and teaching training took place slowly. The 1959 reform, according to Merlier, moderate and designed to “reassure rather than disturb the supporters of the old regime”, has set in motion rapid changes in the structure of education. Particularly significant were the proposals under which private schools could receive substantial financial support. Manpower plans have revealed the estimated proportions of the labour force needing university post-graduate training, technical and administrative qualifications, and vocational training.

There is also a clear statement by Cros that to direct educational changes towards manpower needs implies more than a concern with vocational training. "Practical skill," he writes, "is now an extension of theoretical knowledge." New industrial skills are needed and general education will have to be concerned with methods rather than results, and with the knowledge explosion.

The U.K. 1944 Act provided a formula which, on the whole, satisfied the churches and allowed for expansion free from denominational strife. Studies by Sir Peter Venables and Dr. King show how in the U.K. the explosions have resulted in a preoccupation with the structure of the educational system, with technical studies, and with the basis of a sound general education. The need for scientists and technologists to participate in government is one facet of the changing scene. The need for new attitudes in industry is increasingly apparent. The inadequacies of part-time vocational courses are revealed. King's conclusion is, however, that the education explosion is "frustrated in several ways" (page 217) both by the structure of the system and an "unofficial down-pulling of technological subjects or the sneers still directed at modern 'soft option' alternatives . . ." and argues that at the tertiary level the explosion should be met, not simply by considering an expansion of multi-purpose universities but by experimentation with parallel alternative organization.

Articles from Belgium and Sweden indicate that in these countries changes of structure and training have been made to meet the quantitative demand and the need for more technical education at the secondary and tertiary levels. By contrast, the problems of expanding education in a multi-lingual state are illustrated in the article about the Soviet Union. The authors point out that the economic argument was one of the major reasons for a change of emphasis from promoting education in the local vernacular to the use of Russian as a *lingua franca*. The technical difficulties of bringing literacy to members of the innumerable small linguistic groups are reviewed. The resources involved in order to maintain this principle are considerable, and obviously in lower-income countries represents a drain which those countries can ill-afford in the light of expansionist policies.

The question in the U.S.A. is how to finance and staff institutions of higher learning which are committed, either through state legislation, ideology, or because parents insist, to a policy of admitting more than half the high school graduates from a school system in which some 90 per cent of the age-cohort remain in high school. Public finance, including government support, is likely to increase but, according to Dr. Davis, not at the same rate as from tuition fees. In fact, the constitutional formula—"promote the common welfare"—allows present

interpretations to take account of the explosion of knowledge and to some extent the explosion of population. The danger is that Federal aid, directed for political reasons largely into higher education and specified fields, may make it difficult over the nation as a whole for the growing numbers of school-age children to enjoy equality of educational opportunity. Some observers, indeed, have remarked that matching grants and close concern for gifted children have widened the gaps between the quality (and quantity) of education provided in the wealthy suburban areas and the less-privileged old conurbations.

The rapid expansion of American education over the last hundred years has, however, had striking consequences. Educators have been more prepared to experiment than politicians claiming support from the states' rights interpretation of the Constitution in their hostility to Federal aid. Curriculum changes have been considerable at the secondary and higher education levels. Dr. Heffernan and Dr. Reynolds contrast the liberal and conservative approaches to curriculum organization. Until recently, an approach involving the "creation of programmes emphasizing an inter-disciplinary view of the major ideas in a wide variety of fields of knowledge" prevailed. Since Sputnik science and mathematics programmes have been enriched, and introduced to gifted youngsters at an earlier age. The dilemma is acute. The need to maintain a balanced programme in the face of competing pressures is paramount in the schools of America.

Another dilemma faces educators at the level of organization. Davis quotes Barzun as saying that the liberal arts college in U.S. is in danger of losing ground as the high schools provide more college course work and the universities turn more than ever to specialized and professionally orientated studies. And this at a time when the need to prolong general education for a greater proportion of the population is from many viewpoints extremely important. Policy in America, or in the U.K., can move either in the direction of institutions of higher learning providing research and teaching in one or a small number of fields or in attempts to expand multi-purpose colleges. The choice is by no means simple; evidently the economic argument would favour one course of action, the political argument the other. The previous growth in the variety of institutions of higher education in the U.S.A. and development of the junior colleges offer opportunities in America of considerable experimentation which, because of the entrenched position of the universities, are less apparent in the U.K.

In the case of Europe and North America a general hypothesis has been made that it is inertia within the educational system or its forms of fiscal management which seriously inhibits attempts to meet the

demands for expansion. Dilemmas there certainly are and some of them cannot be solved until the aims of education have been seriously examined and perhaps modified. The situation in the low-income or developing countries undoubtedly shows similar features. In most cases aspects of one or other of the European systems of education have been replicated, and for this reason curriculum reorganization and structural changes are difficult to bring about. But the major problems associated with meeting the explosive demand for education in these nations, many of them newly independent, arise from the complicated socio-economic and political backgrounds in which school policy has to be decided. Of these, the religious, language, sex, and race factors are perhaps the most important. At one level discrimination in education is a thing of the past. Article 2 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights made clear that there should be no denial of them on the grounds of "race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status". By 1956 a United Nations survey was able to report that legal discrimination in education had virtually disappeared. *De facto*, the situation is somewhat different. For example, to what extent should parental choice determine the kind of education a child receives? And to what extent does it? Again, how far is a government under an obligation to reduce educational disadvantage arising in part from language, religious, and racial differences? Frequently groups identified on the basis of one or more of these criteria suffer by living in depressed areas. Where a number of disadvantages coalesce the problems of raising educational standards under conditions of expansion to the level of the best (or even the national average) cannot be solved by declarations of intent. The complexity of the problems may be appreciated by reference to case studies.

#### *The Question of 'Choice'*

In Africa the complicated character of the background forces makes policy formulation extremely difficult. Before independence many of the new nations were simply administrative areas with little or no sense of nationhood, conflicting tribal traditions, several languages, and a low level of economic development. In his article dealing with what was then Southern Rhodesia, Professor Judges points out that in attempting to meet the education explosion the government was faced with the alternatives "(a) of providing a quite limited number of areas with the full eight-standard primary courses; or (b) of supplying an almost countless number of tribal reserve villages with a primitive ration of lower-primary classes in schools built of pole-and-dagga and home-made bricks" (page 466). The link between educational status



and a claim to the franchise which practically all Europeans possess points up the intensely difficult nature of the dilemma. Separateness is a policy now rejected on political grounds by Africans. But, as Professor Lewis indicates, for many years it was argued that from an educational viewpoint continued use of the vernacular was an advantage. By 1962 the answer was not regarded as quite so simple. Demographic, linguistic, political, and economic factors were then accepted as important determinants of policy. Any attempt to devise a language policy for the whole of Africa seems doomed to failure. There are hundreds of vernaculars, some of which have never been committed to writing. Of those that have, the form of writing profoundly influences the development of the language. In these terms Lewis compares the Yoruba and Ibo languages of Nigeria, both of which are spoken by about 8,000,000 people. In addition, some half-dozen European languages have been imposed and offer, against the vernaculars, tremendous economic and political advantages. Language policies which attempt to take into account all the important considerations are likely to involve children learning their mother tongue, English, French, and perhaps two or three other African languages. In a continent where illiteracy rates are high and where emphasis is placed upon the need to tackle it not only in the schools but among the adult population, the nature of the problem becomes startlingly clear. Master of their own destinies at last, as Fr. Auger argues, African educators faced up to the inevitable issue of priorities in meeting the excess of demand over supply in education. At the Addis Ababa Conference priority was given to secondary schooling and the training of teachers. Universal primary education, for so long given the highest priority as a human right, was hoped for by 1980.

In India careful planning has not succeeded, as Dr. Mukherjee shows, in solving the problems of expansion. Perhaps it is the economic situation in the light of a vast population growing at the rate of 8 millions each year which presents the most serious problems. One of the most important reasons for the two chronic ills in Indian education—wastage and stagnation—is, according to Mukherjee, the fact that the subsistence economy of the country places a high value on the supplementary earnings of young children. Professor Green's case study of Ceylon pays less attention to economic difficulties but emphasizes the problems of making education available to every child, of providing an education suited to the needs of the country, and of fostering the heritage of the people in a cultural complex of religious and linguistic differences. The clashes between the Hindu Tamils and the Buddhist Sinhalese have, Green claims, held back economic development. Lack of resources make the proposed extension of education

difficult to achieve, and consequently communalism gives rise to debates about who is to benefit from whatever expansion is possible. Under these circumstances the establishment of priorities to meet the demand for education becomes a highly charged political issue.

Perhaps the most serious obstacle to effective expansion is the shortage of teachers. This is a world-wide phenomenon, but in most low-income countries is much more acute in the rural areas because of the understandable preference teachers have for posts in or near towns. This vicious circle cannot be broken until many more teachers have been trained. Yet there is perhaps a point in the economic and educational evolution of a nation when the quality of teachers is as important, if not more important, than the number of them. Here again choices, it would seem, should be faced. On the basis of a certain pupil-teacher ratio, teachers' salaries account for some 75 per cent of the running costs of education. Machines could replace some of them. In addition, the explosion of knowledge has placed upon teachers tremendous responsibilities for the moral and scientific education of their charges in face of consequent social change. All too often policies relating to teacher recruitment, training, and certification pay exclusive attention to the explosion of population and to a smaller extent to the explosion of aspirations and the implications of the explosion of scientific knowledge are virtually ignored.

In summary, it might be said that the education explosion presents to educationists and statesmen many hard choices. Each of the ingredients of the explosion— aspirations, population growth, and knowledge—tends to require its own kind of solution. Frequently policies designed to meet one kind of demand are incompatible with those intended to meet another. In general, the human rights and economic arguments can be distinguished as the two most powerful determinants of policy. Evidently they operate at all levels of education—primary, secondary, and higher. The relative strength of the arguments will depend, naturally, on the economic and educational development of the country in which they are made.

Politically the human rights claim is almost incapable of being resisted at the level of theory and legislation. In practice the economic argument is increasingly dominating the determination of priorities. The realization that demand far outpaces supply has led to attempts to establish the order of priorities and to reach decisions on the basis of an assessment of the short- and long-term consequences of policy decisions. Under these circumstances the need to do more than base policy on expediency has been recognized in the creation of planning sections in many ministries of education. Evidently rigorous comparative studies of the problems of expansion are possible. Many of the

data relevant to an understanding of these problems in particular countries are also available. A pattern of policies can be discerned not only in Europe and North America but in the recommendations of the Addis Ababa, Karachi, Tokyo, and Santiago conferences. The enormous problem remains of working out with more certainty and over a wider range the outcomes of policies designed to meet the education explosion. It is one which this WORLD YEAR BOOK has barely touched except in a few articles. It is one to which comparative educationists and the planners are bound to return. We hope that this WORLD YEAR BOOK will make a modest contribution to their future deliberations.

BRIAN HOLMES  
JOSEPH A. LAUWERYS

## SECTION I: COMPARATIVE AND THEORETICAL

### CHAPTER ONE

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#### *The demand for education as a human right*

ON December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Although none of the reputedly sovereign and independent states represented voted against adoption, the vote was not unanimous. The Soviet Union and its satellites, South Africa, and Saudi Arabia abstained. The Declaration consists of a Preamble and thirty articles, most beginning with the phrase "Everyone has the right to . . ."

The thirty articles are introduced by a statement to the effect that the General Assembly "proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights" as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping the Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction".

Having voted and proclaimed the Declaration, the Assembly next called upon member states—on the record, vainly—to make it fully known among their peoples and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions without distinction based on political status of countries or territories".

Of the thirty articles listing and defining human rights and liberties one, the twenty-sixth, deals with education, viz :

(1) *Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.*

(2) *Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.*

(3) *Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.*

#### *Education as a Religious Obligation*

The education designated in this Declaration would seem to be formal and institutional, a function of schooling rather than of living. It is, however, postulated on a conception of human relations that recurs intermittently in the history of mankind's cultures, West and East, but becomes a more or less continuing fighting faith with the Democratic Revolution in the West. Its spread owes something to the invention of printing, which made literacy a practical attainment for the multitudes. It owes much to the Protestant Reformation's insistence that everyone should have free access to the Sacred Scriptures and decide for himself the meaning of the word of his God. The step from this "right of private judgment" regarding divine intentions to the right of private judgment regarding secular rulers and their rules was a step toward the conscious recognition of an always experienced and recurrently challenged fact. This is the fact that mankind is made up of multitudes of individuals, with all their likenesses vitally different each from the others, and each joined together with some others in various agreements on creed and culture, work and play, war and worship, and other relationships which bind aggregations into societies; and all struggling together for a life and a living on the same earth.

The Democratic Revolution idealizes this most obvious of human facts into a common faith for all mankind. The faith contravenes other, less widely distributed, facts of power-organization. The faith affirms that each unit of aggregate humanity, whether a single person or a society of persons is, according to "the laws of nature and of nature's God", the equal of the others in unalienable rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; that these diverse equals institute government "in order to secure these rights"; that governments, be they sacerdotal or secular, may not abrogate these rights but must in every way maintain and advance them.<sup>1</sup> The thirty articles of the

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<sup>1</sup> In 1780, six years after the thirteen British colonies of North America declared themselves independent and sovereign, one of them, Massachusetts, adopted a "Constitution or Frame of Government" in which Chapter V, Sec. II, asserts that education is a human necessity and directs government to provide

Universal Declaration repeat and diversify these rights and freedoms, and for the first time explicitly specify education, however conceived, as an undeniable claim which everyone has upon society and which society must concede and satisfy.

This is a new and unprecedented world-wide appreciation of the function of education in human relations.

Although education is always and everywhere a transaction between teacher and learner, tradition tends to keep it a word for the *what* and *how* of teaching rather than the process of learning. That long seems to have been taken for granted. Teaching transfers something which the teacher already knows to the pupil who doesn't yet know it; the teacher's past thus providing form and content for the pupil's future. In schooling this future is the present concern of both, and to no small degree it is shaped as repetition of others' past. To effect this repetition is a duty which the older generation owes to itself and to the younger, however the younger may take it. For the Israelites it was an obligation laid upon the elders by divine commandment. Thus Deuteronomy (xi. 18-21) reports Moses' admonitions: "You shall therefore lay up these words of mine in your heart and in your soul; and you shall bind them as a sign upon your hand, and they shall be as frontlets between your eyes. And you shall teach them to your children, talking of them when you are sitting in your house, and when you are walking by the way, and when you lie down, and when you rise. And you shall write them upon the doorposts of your house and upon your gates, that your days and the days of your children may be multiplied in the land which the Lord swore to your fathers to give them, as long as the heavens are above the earth."

God's commandment to teach descendants diversifies into a mission to teach everyone. The Roman Catholic sacerdotal establishment claims it for a mandate exclusively its own, and demands that secular and worldly instruction shall conform to their priestly, Otherworldly

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it—viz: "Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties: and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of the legislatures and magistrates in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them; especially the university at Cambridge, public schools and grammar schools in the towns, to encourage private societies and public institutions, by rewards and immunities, for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings; sincerity, good humour, and all social affections and generous sentiments among the people."

doctrines. But all Pentateuch-occasioned doctrines—the Christian and the Moslem obviously—are missionary doctrines. The priestly teachers of them purport to offer those they teach not so much assurance of multiplied days of life in Thisworld, as assurance of lasting *after*-life in an Otherworld. And they make survival, alive or dead, depend on education.<sup>2</sup> Missionary religions like Buddhism, whose goal, *per contra*, is not survival but release from the struggle to survive, also take education for the high road to their release, and set up rules of instruction in the way that becomes sanctified conditions of This worldly survival.

### *Education as a Political Obligation*

Nor was survival less the paramount task of education for the polities of classical antiquity. The object of concern for the world of Plato and Aristotle and the rhetoricians was to train political and military ‘guardians’ of a state ever struggling to preserve itself from factions within and foes without. In their state’s total population such ‘guardians’ would make up a relatively small caste of free men shaping the fortunes of an economy sustained by the labours of multitudes

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<sup>2</sup> In 1780, the year of Massachusetts’ Constitution and Frame of Reference, John Adams drafted a Declaration of Rights which said: “As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community, but by the institution of the public worship of God, and of public instructions in piety, religion, and morality: Therefore to promote their happiness, and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorise and require, and the legislature shall, from time to time, authorise and require the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, to make suitable provision, at their own expence, for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality, in all cases, where such provision shall not be made voluntarily.

“All the people of the commonwealth have also a right to, and do, invest their legislature with authority, to enjoin upon all subjects, an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers, as aforesaid, at stated times and seasons, if there be any on whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend:

“Provided, notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and the other bodies politic, or religious societies, shall, at all times, have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them, for their support and maintenance.

“All monies, paid by the subject, to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher, or teachers, of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any, on whose instructions he attends, otherwise it may be paid towards the support of the teacher, or teachers, of the parish, or precinct, in which the said monies are raised.”

of men and women with knowledge and skills they learned in no school; men and women whose political role was to be subjects, not citizens. They could be aptly defined as tools with life in them. Training might improve their serviceability to their masters; but as learners, their true teacher was precedent and experience. Guardians and rulers, on the other hand, required the doctrines and disciplines of formal education. They could learn the political and military generalship necessary to the ongoing survival and expansion of the state only via a schooling from which the multitude were excluded. As Aristotle observed in the *Politics*: "Of all things that I have mentioned, that which contributed most to the permanence of constitutions is the adaptation of education to the form of government."

The education of its characteristic *élite* has a similar relation to the power structure of every cultural economy. Polymorphous India, Confucian China, Christian Europe before the Democratic Revolution had each a ruling *élite* whose education was necessary for the state's survival, and a non-educated multitude who serve the *élite* as a means to this survival, and to whom the rulers' ends were a matter of indifference. Or if the people were to be educated, it was for the sake of those ends. "For the universe," declares an analect in the Confucian *Yi Ching* ("The Book Changes", *The Great Appendix*), "for the universe the most essential is life. For the sage, the most precious is the state. That which maintains the state is man. That which maintains the people is wealth. The administration of wealth, the education of the people and the prohibition of wrongdoing is his [the sage's] righteousness." Even the humanists of the European Renaissance, who transvalued education from a caste obligation into a personal privilege fitting them the better to exercise their own powers and perfect their own personalities, exploited the distinction between classes subject to education and masses subject to classes. Schooling, formal education, was not conceived as a right for everyone until after the Protestant Reformation. Man's mind is convinced that it was made for liberty, declared Moravian Bishop Comenius in his *Via Lucis*; the conviction is insuperable, and it cannot be satisfied short of a league of nations promoting "universal books, universal schools, a universal college, and a universal language".

#### *Education as a Natural Right*

Nowadays the world is disposed to take such schooling as a right for granted, as it takes breathing and eating for granted as a right. Its equation of direct education to air and food comes with the philosophical transposition of human nature from an immortal soul belonging in a supernatural Other-world into a child of This-world's



nature endowed by its parent with the rights that identify it, that constitute its *haecceitas*. The transposition became manifest late in the sixteenth century and has been making irregular progress ever since. Baruch Spinoza envisioned God as Nature. His redefinition of Nature and man in terms of the new science of his time—especially Galileo’s—was supported by the mathematics of Newton and became an item in the changing commonsense of later generations. In his *Theologico-Political Tractate*, Spinoza wrote (ed. Elwes, Vol. II, Ch. 16): “The power of nature is the power of God, which has a sovereign right over all things; and inasmuch as the power of nature is simply the aggregate power of all her individual components, it follows that every individual has the sovereign right to do all he can: in other words, the rights of the individual extend to the utmost limits of his power as it has been conditioned. Now it is the sovereign law and right of nature that each individual should endeavour to preserve itself as it is, without regard to anything but itself; therefore this sovereign law and right belong to every individual. . . . Whatsoever an individual does by the laws of its own nature it has a sovereign right to do, inasmuch as it acts as it was conditioned by nature and cannot do otherwise.” Thence learning, if not teaching, is a sovereign right, an expression of Nature’s ‘first law’ of self-preservation.

All such expressions are activities of the individual’s struggle for survival. They are not behaviours due to obedience of a divine or any other commandment, nor are they endurance of a penalty or cultivation of a privilege; they are the exercise of natural man’s natural rights, all ultimately formations of his struggle for “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” realized at last as his struggle for survival, and as at once the going and the goal of his existence. Among these survival-values learning is primary, and this makes education as natural a right as eating or drinking or breathing. It is an animal as well as a human activity, since animals do, in greater or less degree, educate their young. But in its human mode, education compensates *genus humanum* for its lack of teeth, claws, horns, quills, venom, and other animal organs of defence and attack. Achieving the compensation is a function, first, of the biological prolongation of human infancy, and second of its social prolongation. Without the desire to know and the power to learn, prolonged infancy would be the same as very short life. So, as Aristotle observed in an early chapter of his *Metaphysics*, “all men by nature desire to know”. And, as various later thinkers noted, all are naturally free to satisfy the desire by exercising the power. In consequence, the natural right to learn becomes a function of the social power to teach; and as the *what* of the teaching multiplies and diversifies in content and increases in amount with the progress of

civilization, a social prolongation of the tutelage of the learner supervenes upon the biological one. Some sacerdotal sovereignties make this a ground of their claim that as the divinely appointed teaching church, it is by the same mandate the ruling power over all things of the believing church. Thus, in 1954, Pope Pius XII, addressing some nine hundred prelates and theologians, advised them that "the power of the church is not bound to matters strictly religious"; that it has been entrusted with "the keeping of the natural law by God's appointment"; that those Roman Catholics are wickedly out of line who "think that the leadership and vigilance of the church are not to be suffered by one who is grown up".<sup>3</sup> This, in sum, is tantamount to the lifelong prolongation of religious infancy which the principle of the right of private judgment repudiates. It assumes a divine mission to teach, and a duty to be taught which is not the same as the right to learn.

Nuclear in this claim is the division of the what and how of education into an infallible truth via a supernatural revelation to which natural reason is but a foreordained handmaiden, and an empirical body of knowledge which men build up by discovery as they struggle on, and which their future experience confirms as reliable. The multitudes are taught the supernatural truth by indoctrination; they learn what knowledge is reliable as they are led themselves to observe, to examine, and to test for consequences. But what they learn thus is appraised as but "the wisdom of this world, and foolishness with God"; while what is indoctrinated is a "wisdom not of this world", an eternal wisdom hidden and unknown but revealed through the spirit, a wisdom rejected by "the natural man, for they are foolishness unto him".<sup>4</sup>

When Francis Bacon argued that knowledge is power, he had in mind St. Paul's "foolishness with God", that wisdom of the world which is power over nature. It was his purpose to better the seeking of this knowledge which men seek "for the benefit and use of life". He knew well enough that the other wisdom, which is foolishness with men, was also power, but the power of men over other men helpless and afraid before nature; men who, hoping for freedom from fear and want, accept supernatural creeds and codes, magical rites and rites as a means thereto. By and large, most of mankind have continued in the condition, regardless of the ever-growing, ever-diversifying body of the knowledge which is power. In the West, the sacerdotal monopoly of the interpretation of Revelation has been to some extent diminished by

<sup>3</sup> See also Leo XIII's encyclical, *Testem Benevolentiae* (1899), and Pius XII's *Mediator Dei* (1947).

<sup>4</sup> See Corinthians, chapters i-iii.

the Protestant right of private judgment and by its application thereto of the sciences of man. In man's struggle for survival, the teachings of the sciences and their implementation "for the benefit and use of life". Among the peoples of the East and of Africa there is now in formation a similar rivalry. Some three hundred years after Bacon, Rabindranath Tagore, poet and sage of British India, and avatar of two cultures, drew the moral: "It must be admitted on all hands," he wrote in a discussion entitled *The Unity of Education*, "that the world belongs to-day to the Europeans. It is their milk cow, and it fills their pails to overflowing." And why? Precisely because of this deplorable "wisdom of the world which is foolishness with God"; because the Europeans have created "a science of life" that is "the most important branch of secular knowledge". To free the world from the West's overlordship is for Tagore at once to share its science and to level the barrier between the two wisdoms. To render the two somehow one will be both the self-liberation and self-preservation of the Orient and the salvation of the Occident.

But even more, levelling the barrier is to free the tribe-centred peoples of non-West to learn to take themselves as the peoples of the West had been learning to take themselves—for individuals first who are ends-in-themselves, not means to others' ends; and only second for parts of tribes, clans, states, churches, economies, and other institutions; the latter are, in the nature of things, ever but means "to secure these ends", and they can best secure them through education; through helping individuals to their greater liberty by assembling, ordering, and communicating the kind of knowledge which Francis Bacon signalized as power.

The formation of this emulative ideal had in the West, some generations ago, shifted the centre of educational concern from the teacher to the learner, from the what and how of teaching to the why and how of learning; from education as the institutional necessity, the survival-value for state, church, or other establishment, to education as an individual human right, the survival-value for each of the diverse billions of human beings being born, growing up, growing old, and dying everywhere on earth. For all of them now, the struggle for survival is a struggle for the Baconian knowledge which is power. For each, the right to education is the right to learn this knowledge.

#### *Education as a Democratic Need*

True, in states committed to the democratic ideal and struggling to establish ideal as fact, the significance of education for the learner as well as for the establishment was assumed implicitly in all discussion of the need and duty of public education, and was more or less an

imponderable of the arguments used to justify it. But the primacy was the establishment's, not the individual's. "Every government degenerates," Thomas Jefferson wrote in his *Notes on Virginia* in 1785, "when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves are therefore its only depositaries. And to render even them safe, their minds must be improved to a certain degree. This, indeed, is not all that is necessary, although it is essentially necessary. An Amendment to our Constitution must come to the aid of public education. The influences over government must be shared by all the people. If every individual which composes the mass participates in the ultimate authority, the government will be safe." In 1816 he wrote to Charles Yancy: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization [one should say, since education is a human right, in any state of society], it expects what never was and never will be." Jefferson had come early to the conviction that lacking education, the human condition could not be bettered, nor social abuses corrected; and that only as he learned it for himself is an individual able to judge what will secure or endanger his freedom.

James Madison, to Americans "the father of the Constitution", was as definite. It was he who had remarked that in Europe charters of liberty had been granted by power, while in America charters of power are granted by liberty, and that all grants of power must be based on adequate information. "A popular government," Madison wrote in 1822 to W. T. Bay—and recent experience everywhere has brought an ample confirmation—"without popular information or the means of acquiring it, is but the prologue to a Farce or Tragedy, or perhaps both."

#### *Education as a Human Right: Condorcet*

It was Jefferson's friend, the Marquis de Condorcet, who, with the precedent of the American Idea as a starting-point, wrote the first enduring brief for the claim that education is a human right. One may read it in his *Report* on education to the National Assembly of the new French Republic, April 22, 1792. Therein he designates education a public debt which the state owes its citizens; he declares it indispensable to the progress of mankind. Not only must education enable the citizen to live better and work better; it must enable him to realize his selfhood and to express it. Alone education can provide him with the knowledge, the tools, and the skills which produce the "actual equality" that "makes real the political equality decreed by law". Alone, education can free men from their prejudices and their enslavement by vested interests. It has no peer as an equalizer of opportunity and as the instrument with which to turn the faith that

all men are created equal into the fact of equality. Ignorance, Condorcet wrote, is a form of poverty; in all their ways of life and work, it keeps the multitudes dependents on the educated. And this is one more reason why every individual must get whatever education is needful for guaranteeing him "the enjoyment of his right". The educated castes, being the beneficiaries of the uneducated multitudes' dependence on them, have therefore been foes of general public education, of individual development, of social progress, and of the search for truth.

But each and every human being has a right to education; the more so, since as a free man he cannot do without it. Nor can he secure his right or meet his need otherwise than as a citizen of a democracy. That which he has need to learn is the means wherewith he safeguards his rights and performs his duties of citizen of a democratic republic, mitigates the hardships of labour, enriches leisure, and brings women to equality with men.

Of all the agencies for levelling the social institutions which impose inequality, education is the subtlest and the strongest—is all this and more, provided, however, that its method is the *libre examen*; the method, that is, of science which replaces tradition's authority and conformity with doubt and inquiry. The use of it would keep priests and their authoritarianism out of education. But, of course, it involves a commitment, a loyalty of its own; commitment and loyalty to the rights of man, of which equal liberty is the vital centre, and from which the method of *libre examen* is also to be applied to the Constitution and to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. If they are not fantasies but basic expressions of the ultimate facts of life, the method can only vindicate them; if they are fantasies, it would expose and dissipate them.

It is difficult to think of a more soberly persuasive exposition of the function of education as a human right than Condorcet's. He recognizes it with a high degree of explicitness in terms of the learner rather than of the establishment and the teacher who is its agent. Yet also Condorcet's emphasis falls on schooling, on the whos, whats, and hows of teaching instead of the schooled and their learning from infancy through adulthood. Given the climate of opinion in which he wrote his *Report*, it had to. Nevertheless, this prevailing disrespected memorandum of his has a present philosophical relevancy greatly exceeding that of earlier essays on education which continue to receive the attention of educators, and of current ones which deal with the subjects of public discussion.

During much of the more than century and a half since Condorcet submitted his *Report*, the centring of attention on learning as against

teaching has come in a slow, uneven, but certain shift. The shift owes something to the realization that learning is a vital field of inquiry for scientific psychology; that since learning is consubstantial with living, it could well be the all for scientific inquiry. But the shift owes most to the shaping influence of the democratic ideal; to the primacy this gives to the individual as an unalienably free man; to the way it orders the aggregation of rights which make up his selfhood into fundamental and consequent human rights and its designation of government as a means to secure these rights. Although it was already educated and well-to-do men who defined the ideal and started the libertarian movements which struggle to enact it—men who could pledge lives, property, and sacred honour for its support—they regarded general education for the individual, if not a privilege which republican government grants, or a duty which it imposes, then a work of self-insurance and self-protection which a republic must perform in order to survive. Only secondarily did they envisage such education as an unalienable right which everyone must demand to have recognized and satisfied.

*The Growth of the Idea of Education as a Human Right in the United States*

In the United States this transvaluation, with the different role it assigns to public education, owes not a little to the trade-union movement, which could not but look upon education from the standpoint of the needs and desires of the labouring multitudes rather than of the already educated *élite*. The trade unions found at first rather unwelcome allies in the women's rights movements. Those two were joined by the immigrants from Europe especially, and all at long last by the Negroes and other deprived minorities. The members of each such minority came in turn to recognize that their struggle to survive is a struggle to know; that how and what they are; what they become; how and where they live and with whom they live; what they do to earn a living, and what sort of living they spend their earnings on, are first and last issues of their education.

In virtue of the fact that the American people are a miscellany who have come together from every land and every culture of the civilized world to form a union *e pluribus unum*, the United States is seen as at once a single nation, a pluralistic society, and a cultural democracy. That, hence, which makes the phrase, *e pluribus unum*, the expression of a style of life cannot be defined in terms of origins, and must be defined in terms of covenanted goals and purposes, methods and means; in terms, to begin with, of the articles of the common faith set down in the Declaration of Independence and the common code

called the Constitution; in terms, ultimately, of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the long run, the peoples of the United States work and strive, with variable success, to give effect to both the national and the international terms in the political, religious, and cultural configurations that are the streets and avenues of "the American way of life". Now the faith, the works, the fight are the objects of ultimate concern. Commitment to them, however, everyone must learn for himself; and it is inward to the national faith that the nation's schools, from the nursery to the graduate school, must needs provide for this commitment. Thus education is understood as concurrently the individual's realization of his rights and the serving of his government's needs based on its being primarily a human right.<sup>5</sup>

In this perspective, the role of education was signaled during World War I by the slogan, "to make the world safe for democracy". This was soon after the dubious peace challenged by the phrase, "to make the world safe". World War II exposed the delusion of this aspiration and was soon described as democracy's war for survival. This hot war, waged by the racist Nazi imperialism, having been 'won', it was almost immediately followed by a cold war, waged now by an imperialism designing to make the world one totalitarian communist society. On the other hand, the aims of the free world are, as the late President Kennedy observed, "to make the world safe for diversity".

*Conclusion: the Propagation of the Concept throughout the World*

Now these three slogans have a global application. The Charter of the United Nations more or less elaborates the intent of the three, and it is implicit in the proposition that everyone has a right to education. For there is a world-wide consensus that education continues to be the one recourse which all mankind can reasonably rely on to bring everyone's survival to the level of equal liberty and equal safety and thus to the democratic peace which the United Nations profess to

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<sup>5</sup> See John W. Gardner, "National Goals for Education", in the *Report to the Presidential Commission on National Goals*: "And in striving for excellence, we must never forget that American education has a clear mission to accomplish with every single child who walks into the school. Modern life has pressed some urgent and sharply defined tasks on education, tasks of producing certain specially needed kinds of educated talent. For the sake of our future we had better succeed in these tasks—but they cannot and should not crowd out the basic goals of our educational system; to foster individual fulfilment and to nurture the free, rational and responsible men and women without whom our kind of society cannot endure. Our schools must prepare *all* young people, whatever their talents, for the serious business of being free men and women." In terms of human rights, this conception of the function of schooling could direct education among all peoples everywhere.

strive towards; which their Universal Declaration of Human Rights urges the powers of the world to teach their peoples, and which the member states of the UN heed only as it may serve their particular business and desires.

Some of the teaching, especially where it is not contrary to particular business and desires, goes on, of course. Some of it dates from the formation of the League of Nations. But now, to complement the requirements of the powers that teach, there is, everywhere in the world—from the most rudimentary sovereignties in Asia and Africa—a ferment of demand to know among the multitudes that can learn and want to. The ferment tells how widely and deeply education is now felt to be a human right. The feeling is emulative; it is generated not alone by the natural desire to know, but also by the craving to become, in oneself, as good as one's acknowledged betters. It is the urge of all the world's have-nots also to possess the knowledge which is life and power that has so long been the monopoly of the world's haves. The first step towards satisfying these demands is learning to read and write, and on occasion providing an alphabet to learn with. So, in the person of Dr. Frank Laubach, "World literacy" has become a global mission which creates as well as satisfies a global demand, becoming more and more the peer of hunger and thirst. Such international studying and teaching agencies as ILO, UNICEF, WHO, and UNESCO—be the motives that created them whose they may and what they may—acquire, as they work on, the values of an instrument of education, realizing it as a human right. So do the free world's various systems of schooling, whether British, Continental, or American, as they help larger and larger numbers of all ages to seek and to learn the knowledge they desire. So do such voluntary missions as the Friends' Service Committee, or the United States Peace Corps. All bear witness to the change in the role and status of education which its classification as a human right signalizes:—the change which turns on renewed and expanding awareness that learning is living, living is learning; that it is the very inwardness of everyone's struggle to live on; that, hence, everyone is a learner having a sovereign right, as Spinoza might say, to all the schooling which facilitates and satisfies his living on.

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