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POLITICAL EDUCATION IN EGYPT
WITH REFERENCE TO ENGLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION

Ahmed K. Mohamed Aly

A Thesis submitted to the University of Durham
for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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School of Education May 1986



-8 OCT 1986

ABSTRACT
Ph.D. THESIS :
POLITICAL EDUCATION IN EGYPT
WITH REFERENCE TO ENGLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION
Ahmed K.M. Aly

The significance of political education is recognized by most countries in accomplishing the desired values in the society, but differs in form according to their ideologies. This research, is an attempt to study the different approaches to the teaching of political education in Egypt, in comparison with England and the Soviet Union. The research report is divided into ten chapters. Chapters two and three are devoted to a study of the theoretical framework of political education, and political socialization. The development of political life and ideology in Egypt, is covered in chapters four and five. Chapter six deals with the different approaches to political education, in the light of official statements of the state. Chapters seven and eight focus on the study of the teaching of political education in the school curriculum, and the approaches to political education. Chapter nine is concerned with the work of political parties in political education. Chapters one and ten cover the introduction, conclusion, and recommendations.

In this research, political education is mainly seen as the political learning which develops the ability of young people to participate in political life, and to influence the system and its values. However, attempts at political learning which aim to support the system and its values, are regarded as political socialization. It has been noted that whilst Egypt encourages a more open approach to political education than before, the approach to political socialization still exists. Improvements in political education in England are greater than in Egypt. Nevertheless, approaches to political socialization have always been emphasized in the Soviet Union. Some recommendations are suggested to improve political education in Egypt. They are mainly based on developing the political awareness of the young people, and their ability to participate in democratic life and to influence the system.

DEDICATION

To Samia, Mohamed and Moustafa.

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ABBREVIATIONS

'A' Level	Advanced level of GCE examination (England).
ASU	Arab Socialist Union. (Egypt).
ASYO	Arab Socialist Youth Organization. (Egypt).
CAPMS	Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics. (Egypt).
CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
CPUNP	Collective Progressive Unitary National Party. (Egypt).
CSE	Certificate of Secondary Education. (England).
DES	Department of Education and Science. (England).
GCE	General Certificate of Education. (England).
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate. (England).
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office. (England).
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority. (England).
Komsomol	All-Union Communist Youth League.
LE	Egyptian Pound.
'O'Level	Ordinary level of GCE Examination. (England).
NATFHE	National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education. (England).
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
NDP	National Democratic Party. (Egypt).
NUT	National Union of Teachers. (England).
TUC	Trades Union Congress. (England).
UAR	United Arab Republic. (Egypt).
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A Brief Historical Background

The Egyptian people's experience during a long struggle for self-determination led to the adoption of democratic socialism with an emphasis on practising democracy through political parties as a guide and ideology for the social and economic development of the country. It was hoped that this ideology would enable society to develop in a way which the different stages of the former struggle had failed to achieve.

In 1250 the Mamelukes' power succeeded in over-running Egypt; however their power was defeated, though not destroyed, when Egypt was occupied by the Ottomans in 1517. In a similar way under the rule of Ottomans Egypt was invaded by the French in 1798 and occupied by Britain in 1882. During the rules of the Mamelukes and the Ottomans Egypt lost its sovereignty and suffered from the conflict which arose between the two authorities of the Mamelukes and Ottomans. The economic and social development of the country was neglected and the Egyptian people were not able to participate in the political life of their country.



The French invasion of Egypt in 1798 was a spark that awakened the Egyptian people's awareness of the spirit of nationalism against foreign occupation. Because of the new spirit of patriotism which was strengthened by several revolts against the French, the Egyptians revolted against the Ottoman Empire demanding rule based on consent and consultation. In 1805 Mohamed Ali was chosen to be the ruler of Egypt and he brought about some improvements in Egyptian society. Yet Mohamed Ali's state collapsed for many reasons. He ruled as a dictator disregarding the role of the Egyptian people in participating in the government and introducing the monopoly system in almost all economic activity.

However, Khedive Ismail's attempts to improve the economy of Egypt came to nothing. Instead, they resulted in foreigh debts which led to an increase of foreign interference, influence and authority and ended in the British military occupation of Egypt in 1882. Despite the failure of the Orabi revolution and his defeat by the British military forces, the revolution proved a starting point on the road towards the demands for democratic government, a constitution for the nation and a parliament to which Ministers of State should be responsible.

By the outbreak of the first World War in 1914, Britain declared her protection of Egypt and the end of the Ottoman supremacy over it. Thus, Britain became the sole foreign power to have influence over Egypt. Britain exploited Egyptian resources, acquired the use

of land for the British military purposes, and repressed uprisings with the purpose of putting an end to any rebellion or protest movement on the part of young Egyptian patriots.

Because of the rigid British procedure, the Revolution of 1919 broke out against the British occupation. The Revolution denounced the British protectorate and claimed the full independence of Egypt. Unable to maintain a position of authority in Egypt, on the 28 February 1922 the British issued a declaration granting Egypt a measure of independence. Nominally the declaration granted independent status to Egypt and ended British protectionism. Even so, Britain still retained the right to preserve British communications, to defend Egypt against any aggression or foreign interference, and to protect and secure foreign interests and minorities in Egypt. The declaration was to remain in force until the issue of a new treaty.(1)

This situation obtained until 1923 when a parliamentary constitution based on a monarchy was introduced. Under the new constitution issued in 1923 Saad Zaghloul formed a responsible cabinet from the members of parliament. With the exception of some of the senate members who were appointed either by the Palace or the

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1). A.A.Moustafa, Egyptian British Relationships (1936-1956), Arab League, Institution of Arabic Research and Studies, Cairo, 1968, pp.11-12.(in Arabic).

government, the members of parliament were elected by the people.[1] Because of foreign influence and privileges together with the multiple parties, parliamentary life was greatly hindered. Thus Egypt was still doomed to be ruled by cabinets formed by the conflicting parties of powerful feudalists who were working for their interest and satisfying the King's desires. Therefore, independence remained superficial and democracy was nothing but hollow rhetoric devoid of its real essence.

However, Egypt continued her struggle towards securing her unconditional independence. This struggle led to the 1936 Treaty between Egypt and Britain. Though that treaty had the advantage of cancelling some of the restrictions stated in the February 1922 Declaration, Egypt still did not enjoy full independence. As a result of the national movement's activity and under the stress of public opinion, negotiations were started with Britain, and in 1951 Egypt declared the renunciation of the 1936 Treaty. This move created considerable tension between Egypt and Britain. The national patriots denounced their criticism to the political and social situation and it was realized that the government had failed to achieve progress or independence or set up a democratic parliamentary life. This situation paved the way for the outbreak of the 1952 Revolution.

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1). A.S. El-Amri, Foundations of Comparative Political Systems, General Egyptian Unit for Books Cairo, 1976, p.299, (in Arabic).

From the very beginning of the 1952 Revolution, the revolutionaries set up six principles for their work. These proved land-marks in providing solutions to the problems which Egyptian society had been facing before the Revolution. Thus, political and social development went hand in hand and gave birth to the socialist transformation stage in 1961. In that year the July Socialist Laws were introduced with the aim of achieving social justice and removing class distinction. The Revolution government adopted the slogans "Freedom", "Socialism", and "Unity".

Owing to the corruption of the political parties during the previous stages of the struggle the Revolutionary government refused to recognize them. Instead the Revolution adopted the system of one political party. This began with the formation of the Liberation Rally which developed into the National Union, and subsequently became the Arab Socialist Union. The purpose of the Arab Socialist Union was to protect national unity and support a socialist structure. In 1962 the National Charter, derived from contemporary socialist principles and in the light of Egyptian social experience and values, came into being. It aimed at reconstructing the principles of the Revolution and combining political and social democracy. "But the predominance of 'the centres of power' over the government caused the Revolution to deviate from the right course. So the Revolution could not fulfil all her promising hopes for the welfare of the people"[1] Realizing this bitter truth, the Revolution

1). S.H.Abo-Taleb, Our Democratic Socialism, Cairo Univeristy Press Cairo, 1978, p.8.(in Arabic). In 1971 some people in the office tried to exploit their authority to rule as dictators. These people were called 'Centres of Power'.

had to renew itself and this resulted in the May Revolution of 1971.

The purposes of the May Revolution were to improve the welfare of Egyptian citizens through assuring the supremacy of law, to liberate the Egyptian lands from Israeli occupation and to rid Egypt of foreign influence. The first step taken by the May Revolution on the road to setting up a sound democratic life was the issuing of the Arab Republic of Egypt constitution in 1971. This stated the supremacy of law as an essential principle of government in the country. Its first article stated that the political system of the country was to be democratic socialism.

In spite of the fact that the Revolution of 1952 aimed to establish a democratic way of life, the Constitution of 1971 emphasized further developments of democracy. The democratic principles were included in many of the constitution articles aimed to secure the rights of each individual and giving him the opportunity to exercise his freedom and to express his own views on the social and political matters of his country. The constitution stated that "All citizens are equal before the law. They have equal rights and duties without descrimination between them..."Freedom of opinion is guaranteed. Every individual has the right to express his opinion and publicise it verbally or in Writing..."(1)

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1). Ministry of Information, Permanent Constitution of Arab Republic of Egypt, Information Department, Cairo, 1971, Articles 40 & 47.

Political and social experiences, however, revealed that the former one party political system was not able to bring about the hoped for democratic life and progress within the society. Therefore, there was declared the reconstruction of political parties "and opening the road wide before actual political tendencies : the Rightists, the left wing and the middle to play their political role publicly".(1) In 1976 three political parties were established and in the last election in 1984 there were five political parties; the National Democratic Party (the ruling party), the Wafd Party (the opposition), the Collective Progressive Unitary National Party, the Labour Party, and the Liberal Socialist Party. Then the Aumma Party was established. The new movement towards the establishing of political parties represented a further development towards democracy and gave the Egyptian citizens real opprotunities to express their viewpoints and to participate freely in the social and political life of their country. The President of the State, H. Mubarak, declared that democracy was essential in giving the opportunity for every citizen to participate in political life, and he also declared that there was "no restriction on ideas or prevention of points of view or any distinction between

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1). Ministry of Information, Democracy in the Age of Sadat, Information Department, Cairo, n.d., p.14. (in Arabic).

opponent or supporter".[1]

Consequently, there have been a series of events and circumstances that have shaped Egypt's national experiences. These events have affected the process of rebuilding the nation and political attitudes, and have brought about many political changes which were finally crystallized in democratic socialism with further consideration to develop democratic practices through the establishment of political parties.

The Problem of Research and the Need for Political Education in Egypt.

Education is influenced by changes occurring in a society. Political changes and a country's ideology, are the most important factors affecting the methods of bringing up children, and bringing about the changes which could develop the values of society. This ideology reflects the laws, the political system, and the political and social attitudes prevailing in a society. At the same time as the Egyptian society aims at making democratic socialism, and stressing the practising of democracy as the style and pattern for life, education must bear its responsibility in preparing the new generations capable of developing democracy and participating freely in political life.

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1). Al-Ahram, 7 November 1983, Cairo.

This responsibility cannot be realized completely unless the teaching of political education is fully understood.

Political education should improve the ability of young people to understand the values of the system and to participate in the country's system of democracy and give them the opportunity to express their own views towards political and social matters of the country. In addition it is expected that this participation will also act as a means of improving the society socially and economically for the sake of realizing the welfare and happiness for every citizen.

Political education in Egypt, however, as in most countries, seems to be used as a means to secure the country's system and reinforcing in the minds of young people the concepts and attitudes of the society and its political system. The importance of political education in preserving the bases of society and the allegiance to the country and its regime appear quite clearly in the terms of formal codes of the country. Law 34 of 1972 concerning the protection of patriotic unity states in its first article that "the protection of the national unity is a duty of each citizen, all establishments of the country and popular organizations must act for their strengthening and securing...the national unity is based on the respect of the country system and the basic fundamentals of the society, as they are stated in the constitution".(1) However, the

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1). 'The Permanent Constitution and Basic Laws Completing it', Attorney, Supplemental Issue, the Sixty year, Dar El-Tebaha El-Haditha, Cairo, 1980, p.103. (in Arabic).

constitution declares in its first part that the system of the country is democratic socialism and the sovereignty is for the people alone and the people are the sources of all authority[1]. Moreover, the constitution emphasizes the practising of democracy and giving every individual the freedom of expressing his view.

It was a failing of Egyptian society in the past not to provide political education and this led the Revolution to deviate from the right course and to delay the introduction of democratic life. The need for political education is now recognised by society. A successful citizen politically is regarded as one who knows his rights and asks for them; knows his duties and performs them; and, at the same time will not be satisfied with the exploitation and the suppression of freedom.

The earlier series of experiments of the Revolution in the process of building the country and organizing its political system resulted in a move away from the revolutionary original purposes, and led to the centralization of authority on every matter. This could have been avoided by social awareness through political education. Unfortunately, social and political awareness developed very slowly in Egypt due to the lack

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1). Ministry of Information, Permanent Constitution.

of political education. Political education is not restricted to political knowledge only : it cannot grow without free practice, open argument and the constructive criticism. Even where there is complete freedom of argument and criticism, political awareness is often confined to cultured people and not open to the public at large.(1) If political and social awareness is to be developed in all people, political education needs to be introduced as an essential part of the school curriculum and for all pupils.

The young pupil is tomorrow's adult and he has a great human energy. He has his abilities, attitudes and his desires, which can be directed socially through the school, its curriculum and its activities. Pupil's positive reaction to the educational process is considered an essential element to guarantee pupils' participation in the affairs of their country. The need for political education becomes more apparent, because of the greatly increased number of pupils in primary, preparatory and secondary education. During the school year 1956/57, the total number of pupils was 2,500,152, in the year 1966/67 it increased to 4,584,014, and in the year 1976/77 the total number of pupils was 6,476,615.(2) In 1984 the total number of pupils was roughly 9 millions(3).

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1). M.E.Afefy, Education and Society Problems, El-Anglo, Cairo, 1972, pp.69-70. (in Arabic).

2). Ministry of Education, The Development of General Education (1950/51-1976/77), The Ministry, Cairo, 1977, (in Arabic)

3). Al-Ahram, Cairo, 15 May 1984.

In the light of this rapidly increasing number of pupils, the necessity for political education becomes more important.

Education plays its part in the upbringing of youth, and in citizenship training in response to the society's demands and changes. Here political education is crucially important to facilitate changes from old to new concepts of society. The development of education ensures a continuing review of the prevailing values in society. This strengthens those values which are considered worthwhile and rejects those values which are no longer appropriate.

If values are to be changed, this must not be limited merely to an expression of words which denounces the old values and replaces them with new ones. Young people are influenced more by action than by words. At the time in which Egypt seeks to develop democracy, practical activity by the pupils plays an important part in assuring the formation of democratic concepts in the pupils' minds. Moreover, participation is a basic concept in the process of making a decision. Although participation becomes more difficult with the growing complexity of the problems in society, at the same time its importance increases. Democracy is more than just a form of government, although the democratic form of government is essential in facilitating what a democratic society wishes to achieve.[1] The purposes of a democratic form of government should be to encourage participation through political education and to provide

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1). L.M.Meleka, Psychodynamics of Groups and Leadership, El-Nahda El-Misria, Cairo, 1970, p.419. (in Arabic.)

people with the opportunity to develop their full potential as human beings.

The democratic experiment in Egypt, like any other democratic experiment, aims at fulfilling a political gap in Egyptian society and giving the chance to participate in political work to people of ability who otherwise could not do so. So far as the opportunity of participation is available to the majority of the people, the democratic experiment has succeeded. This participation is not a case of giving votes in the election but, more importantly, enabling the individual to choose freely among various alternatives and to give freedom of choice without infringing the basic freedoms guaranteed in part III of the constitution entitled "Freedom - Rights and Duties".

Political education helps to develop the ability of an individual to participate in the democratic process and to accept its principles. In a study, published in 1981, on "The Democratic Conduct for the Egyptian Citizen", it is stated : Firstly, it is necessary to instill democratic concepts into individuals as a way of life. Secondly, it is necessary to increase the number of those who accept such concepts and such a way of life.(1)

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1). Al-Ahram, Cairo, 11 September 1981.

The need for political education becomes more important during the recent times. In spite of the fact that the establishment of the recent political parties gives the opportunity to citizens to participate in political life, many of Egyptian youth are in need of political awareness to practise democracy and take an active part in the political and social affairs of their country. In 1983, before the Egyptian Parliament, President Mubarak expressed the alienation of youth from their society's affairs and he referred to the dramatic changes and conflict that had taken place within the society at the time in which youth had no opportunity to understand and assess these changes. Mubarak advised on the necessity of giving youth the opportunity to express their views(1).

In the last election on 27 May 1984, the Egyptian newspapers and The Times reported that the election was unfair and expressed the unawareness of electoral behaviour of many citizens in giving their votes in the election.(2) The unfairness was due to the election law which gave the party with the highest percentage of votes the right to get all the votes of any of the opposition groups who do not get eight per cent of the total. Clearly this law could restrict the freedom of

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1). Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of Information, Public Information Department, President Mubarak's Address on 6 November 1983, Cairo. (in Arabic).

2). The Times, 28 May 1984; The Liberals, Cairo, 31 May 1984; The Wafd, Cairo, 7 June 1984; Al-Ahram, Cairo, 8 June 1984; Al-Ahram, Cairo, 15 June 1984.

the opposition parties and their effectiveness in criticising the ruling party. Moreover, some believed that because President Mubarak was the leader of the National Democratic Party, this party was able to be the ruling party.(1) Furthermore statistical figures indicated that only 43.14 per cent of those eligible to vote gave their votes and most of these who did not participate in the election were young people(2). This lower percentage perhaps reflects the loss of confidence in the process of elections in the former stage of the one party system. Nevertheless, the significant indication from these actions is that a realistic approach to political education is a prerequisite for the Egyptian youth if the Egyptian society faithfully desires to practise democracy. Political education promotes political awareness of youth and develops their ability to formulate a specific view towards political parties with a conviction and also to influence the government.

It has been argued that one of the defects which occurs in democratic societies, in spite of the fact that democracy is based on the rule of the majority, is that in the end power rests with a minority rather than the majority(3).

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1). The Liberals, Cairo, 31 May 1984.

2). The Liberals, Cairo, 31 May 1984; Al-Ahram, Cairo, 15 June 1984.

3). S. El-Tamawe, Democracy and the New Constitution, Ministry of Information, Information Department, Cairo, 1971, p.26, (in Arabic).

El-Gamal, for example, contends that in representative democracy not everybody participates in the election process. Even if we suppose that those who do take part represent the majority of people, the representatives of people are further divided into two sections. The first section is the ruling majority and the second is the opposition. Studies have proved that those who take the decisions at the end are only a minority.(1) If this thesis is accepted, the remedy is to be found in political education which raises the general level of political awareness, encourages all to participate in the election process and provides them with a sound basis on which to make informed and responsible choices in elections.

Some see the traditional party approach to democracy as an undermining influence. Those who affiliate with any party aim to win victory for their party and oppose other parties regardless of whether or not their policies are of public benefit. This leads to the conflict within the state and delays its development(2) This idea assumes that the public who affiliate with parties are politically unaware and easily mislead. But through political education a new generation of voters is being created who can participate in party

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1). Y. El-Gamal, Contemporary Political Systems, Dar El-Shorowk, Cairo, 1976, p.195. (in Arabic).

2). S. El-Tamawe, Democracy and the New Constitution, p.27.

work and practise their political rights with awareness and responsibility. These voters are able to make a creative contribution or constructive opposition to decision making on the framework of the society and its realization of the well-being for all its individuals. It is worth mentioning here that reducing the age of voters to 18 years and giving women the right of practising their political rights in elections in Egypt give a further emphasis on the necessity of political education for young people.

Aims of the Research

The main idea in this research stems from the conception that most countries are involved in political education. The purpose of the research is the study and analysis of the different dimensions of political education and finding out the similarities and differences of the methods of teaching political education in Egypt in the light of the development of political ideology with some socialist and democratic countries. This comparative and theoretical study will also give an understanding to develop political education and suggest some recommendations to improve the methods of introducing political education in Egypt. To realize the aims of the research it is necessary to study and analyse the following aspects: Firstly, from the end of the eighteenth century Egyptian society has gone through three stages of national struggle. The first stage was the pre-revolution stage (before the 1952 Revolution) which was distinguished by a growing spirit

of nationalism and determination to achieve independence by eradicating foreign influence and establishing democracy and parliamentary life. Egyptian society before 1952 was characterized by class distinction and the foreign supremacy. The government was controlled by an exploiting class of feudalists and capitalists which dominated the party system.

The Egyptian people revolted against this sytem to secure independence and a democratic system of society. In spite of the revolts, the Egyptian people failed to achieve their goals. The resulting independence and new pattern of democratic and parliamentary life which replaced the old order was illusory. The new ruling authorities in attempting to introduce a democratic way of life failed to realize the aspirations of the Egyptian people due to continuing foreign influence, domination of feudalism and the conflict among the political parties.

In the second phase, the 1952 Revolution, Egypt managed to achieve complete independence and it was hoped to build on the pillars of democratic and parliamentary life. The Revolution, however, adopted the one party political system to realize its aims. In this stage the Revolution was more successful in achieving socialism and social democracy than developing political democracy. The National Charter declared that "Democracy is political freedom, while socialism is social freedom. The two cannot be separated, they are two wings of true freedom and without both or either of them, freedom cannot soar to the horizon of the

awaited future".(1) However, some negative aspects hindered the progress of the 1952 Revolution and its aims, in particular the domination of 'Centres of Power' and their attempts to gain personal interests.

The Revolution of May 1971 began the third stage. It opened a new way for the development of democratic life, putting an end to the old centres of power and introducing a constitution which acknowledged the supremacy of law. The constitution emphasized that Egyptian society was based on a democratic socialism and on the collaboration of the working people. The essence of Egyptian democratic socialism is, "a political and an economic system including both political freedom and social freedom in one comprehensive entity so that one cannot be separated from the other. This entity grows and developes in a democratic way".(2) Due to the failure of the one party system to realize the hoped democratic life, the political party system was introduced to secure the democratic practices and realize the improvement within the society.

This research is an attempt to evaluate the Egyptian experience in an objective way, through the political life of the Egyptian society and the development of democracy and parliamentary life. This attempt will

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1). Gamal Abdel-Nasser, National Charter, Ministry of Information Information Department, Cairo, 1962, p.40. (in Arabic).

2). Abo-Taleb, Our Democratic Socialism, p.9.

contribute to the analysis of the different approaches to political education in the light of national experience and the development of the political ideology of the Egyptian Society.

Secondly: in Egypt the school contributes, through its curriculum, to the process of political education, and to the development of citizenship. It is also believed that schools play the chief role in implanting and emphasizing the concepts and the political attitudes of the society in Egyptian youth. Civic education and social studies play an important part through various subjects, which develop the spirit of patriotism and loyalty to the country and its political attitudes. These subjects, however, could be directed to develop the ability of young people to take an active part in political and social life and the development of democracy. Political education is not limited to the school. Political parties also influence young people through youth organizations. The Arab Socialist Youth Organization took over the responsibility of political education during the former one political party 'the Arab Socialist Union'. The recently established political parties are also involved in the process of political education.

This research will deal with the methods of formal political education within the school and the role which can be played by political parties in bringing up youth politically through political youth organizations.

Thirdly: it is argued that "All political systems tend to perpetuate their cultures and structures through time,

and they do this mainly by means of socializing influences of the primary and secondary structures through which the young of the society pass in the process of maturation"[1] The political attitudes of the society is related to the means of educating the society politically. Most countries of the world try to make education the means through which particular ideology, the concepts and political attitudes may be implanted in the youth and new generation. It seems that the differences lie in the ideologies of countries and their concepts of political education. This can be clearly seen in the socialist and the capitalist countries.

Education in socialist countries is closely connected with the ideology of the state, and its aims are oriented so as to conform to this ideology. In such countries, the official statements expressing the aims of education are similar and depend on the principle of providing for the needs of the society. In other words education helps the establishment of the socialist society by bringing up youth who have the basic information and socialist values. For example, the basic aims of the socialist educational system in Czechoslovakia were expressed by the Minister of Education

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1). G.A.Almond, 'Introduction:A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics', in G.A.Almond and J.S.Coleman (eds.), The Politics of the Developing Areas, Princeton, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1960, p.27.

as follows:

> ...it is imperative to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist world upbringing, to mould positive political stands and views of the young people, in particular to deepen the training toward Socialist patriotism and internationalism. The international relations towards the USSR and the rest of Socialist countries deserve particular sensibility and attention.(1)

In East Germany, the aim of education was spelled out thus:

> (the school) has the task of developing the socialist national awareness of youth, of teaching youth love for the German Democratic Republic, and to be conscious builders of socialism in the spirit of socialist morality, proletarian internationalism and firm friendship with the Soviet Union.(2)

These aims are achieved by various means such as acquainting youth and children with political theory and its practical application, through school subjects such as social studies and civic education, by means of encouraging youth organizations and by making good use of the mass-media. The political content of school subjects is evident in the attention paid to the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and to the socialist way of life. The basic criteria for socialist morality, the constitutions of the countries and the system of rule are reflected by these subjects. Although social studies are basic subjects and serve an essential purpose for the realization of political education in a socialist society, this aim is also present in other subjects.

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1). Lidov demokacie, August 28, 1969, Quoted by Otto Ulc, 'Czechoslovakia', in I. Volgyes (ed.) Political Socialization in Eastern Europe : A Comparative Framework, Praeger Publishers Inc., London, 1975, p.53.

2). Quoted by Nigel Grant, Society, Schools and Process in Eastern Europe, Pergamon Press, London, 1969, p.90.

In such socialist countries the party always aims to use education to assert its position, to spread its ideology and to emphasize the political authority of its leaders. The party does not distinguish between formal and informal education, it uses all the cultural and educational institutions to indoctrinate every individual to follow the pattern which the party chooses. In the Soviet Union the party continues to intervene in the affairs of education either directly by issuing the laws and decisions or indirectly through orientation and offering suggestions. The Soviet Union believes that the party alone is able to bring up the new generation in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and its morality.

Youth organizations play an important role in political education in all socialist countries. The political aspects constitute a great part of the activities of these organizations, and is clearly seen in their regulations and slogans. Junior organizations for young children try to attract the young by means of introducing their favourite activities in the fields of arts, music, sports, science and camps. In addition there are senior organizations for adolescents and young adults. Such organizations, whether for young children or youth, aim at giving them a distinctive social and political outlook on life. In this respect they are not separated from formal education in implanting political attitudes and loyalty to the party and the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The capitalist countries do not place so great an emphasis on political education. It is believed that

they tend to use education as a means of influencing political attitudes indirectly; they do this to a lesser degree than do socialist countries. The emphasis on formal civic education and the inculcation of patriotism in the United States is greater than in Britain, but less than in France, and far less that in the Soviet Union.(1) It is expected, however, that democratic countries are more interested in developing the ability of young people to take an active part in democratic and political life of their country.

In this research, the researcher is going to study and analyse the various approaches to political education which have been carried out by some of the socialist and capitalist countries. In addition this aspect of the study will contribute to the understanding and developing political education in Egypt.

Fourthly: it is necessary for this research to deal with the theoretical concepts of political education and political socialization because political education and political socialization are part of the same framework. The theoretical framework also includes the development of political concepts in school years and the formal political education in the school curriculum. This part will contribute to a study of the different

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1). Fred I. Greenstein, 'Socialization:Political Socialization', In David L. Sills (ed.), International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol.14, The Macmillan Company & The Free Press, New York, 1969, p.551.

approaches to political education in Egypt and other countries.

Nature of the Research

This research adopts an analytic-descriptive approach which depends on reporting the facts concerning the teaching of political education and its approaches in Egypt. The research relies also on the comparative method for the sake of comparing the approaches of political education in Egypt with some other countries. The comparative study will be limited to England as an example of a democratic country and the Soviet Union as a representative of socialist countries. In the study of the formal political education, the research will be confined to general education; primary and secondary schools, and the work of youth organizations and political parties.

The research report includes ten chapters. Whilst the first and the tenth chapters are devoted to the introduction and the conclusion, the chapters from the second to the ninth cover the main body of the research. Chapters two and three deal with the theoretical framework of political education and political socialization, the development of political concepts in school years and formal political education in the school curriculum. The development of political life in Egypt up to democratic socialization and the recent movement of establishing political parties are covered in chapters four and five. Chapter six is devoted to a study of the different approaches to political education in the light of the

official statements of the state. Chapters seven and eight are devoted to a study of the provision of political education in the school curriculum and the approaches to political education. Chapter nine deals with the work of youth organizations and political parties in political education. The study of political education in chapters six to nine is not restricted to Egypt but also includes England and the Soviet Union and this cross-cultural aspect of the research is held to be significant.

CHAPTER TWO.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF POLITICAL EDUCATION: DEFINITIONS AND IMPORTANCE.

Political Socialization.

Despite the fact that sociologists and anthropologists have used the concept of socialization for over a hundred years, a field of political socialization as a specific research focus is a recent innovation(1). Most researchers accept that Herbert Hyman used the term "Political Socialization" for the first time in 1959 when he studied the psychology of political behaviour under the title "Political Socialization"(2). Hyman defined political socialization as a process by which an individual learns social patterns corresponding to his societal positions as mediated through various agencies of society(3).

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1). Robert Welssberg, Political Learning, Political Choice and Democratic Citizenship, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1974, p.12.

2). Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization : A Study in the Psychology of Political Behaviour, The Free Press, New York, 1959; Herbert Hirsch, Poverty and Politicization : Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture, The Free Press, New York, 1971, pp.1-2; A. El-Gohary (ed.), Studies in Political Sociology Science, El-Taleha, Assiut, 1979, p.73 (in Arabic); R. Welssberg, Political Learning, p.12.

(3) H. Hyman, Political Socialization, p.25.

In the Dictionary of Social Sciences, socialization is defined as referring to the process by which an individual learns to adjust to the group by acquiring social behaviour of which the group approves[1]. An individual learns the social patterns and values of his culture from others in his environment[2].

Most attempts to define political socialization have emphasized in the first place that political socialization is a process of individual learning of political orientations. Langton views political socialization "as the process, mediated through various agencies of society, by which an individual learns politically relevant attitudinal dispositions and behaviour patterns"[3].

As socialization is a process of social learning which takes place not merely in early childhood but also at different times and places through life[4], Greenstein in the International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences refers the term political socialization to "all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicitly political learning but also nominal non-political learning that affects political behaviour, such as the learning of politically relevant social attitudes and the acquisition of politically relevant personality characteristics"[5].

1). Julius Gould & William L. Kalb (eds.), A Dictionary of Social Sciences, Tavistock Publications, London, 1964, p.672.
2). Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization, Oxford University Press, London, 1969, p.3 .
3). Ibid., p.5.
4). Roy Fitzhenry et al., Introducing Sociology, Penguin Education, 1976, p.155.
5). Fred I. Greenstein, 'Socialization', p.551.

Greenstein divides political learning into three sections:

First, learning connected with the citizen role, such as partisan attachment, ideology, and motivation to participate.

Secondly, learning connected with the subject role, like national loyalty, orientations toward authority, conceptions of the legitimacy of institutions.

Thirdly, learning connected with recruitment to and performance of specialized roles, such as a bureaucrat, a party functionary and a legislator(1).

Dawson defines political socialization as a developmental process through which the citizen matures politically. In this process the individual "acquires a complex of information, feelings, and beliefs that help him to comprehend, evaluate, and relate to the political world around him"(2). Easton and Dennis view political socialization as consisting of those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behaviour(3).

All the above mentioned conceptions of political socialization acknowledge that an individual learns political attitudes, knowledge, values and behaviour. Greenstein specifically focuses attention on the various ways by which an individual learns political orientations; formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned. Langton is less precise, while Dawson,

1). Ibid., p.552.
2). Richard E. Dawson et al., Political Socialization, Second Edition, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1977, pp.38-39.
3). David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1969, p.7.

Easton and Dennis do not explore these ways. What is common to all these definitions is the idea that all types of political learning and experience are included in the political socialization process. Political learning can be both functional and disfunctional in relation to the existing political system.

Dawson argues that some students of political socialization view political socialization as a means for developing support for the political system. It is the process through which appropriate values and knowledge regarding a particular system are created among its constituents(1). According to this view, political socialization develops the citizen and it opens up a particular social world : the world of political allegiances, political rules and rituals, political policies and personalities, political symbols and behaviour. Furthermore, Dawson argues that political socialization also includes negative and suppressive aspects(2).

Negative aspects of political socialization do not necessarily create negative feelings towards a political system. They may be utilized to support particular political attitudes. In Czechoslovakia, a Socialist country, pupils study the constitution and state system of the Soviet Union and its advantages as compared with the exploiting organization of the Capitalist states.(3)

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1). R. Dawson et al., Political Socialization, p.8 .
2). R. Dawson et al., p.37.
3). N. Grant, Society, p.91.

Corresponding with this idea Greenstein believes that political socialization seems to have conservative consequences for existing political arrangements. The conservative effects of socialization are not necessarily in the direction of encouraging political stability[1]. In the United States one may learn to be anti-American, anti-democratic, and unalterably opposed to obeying laws, yet such learning, despite its potentially disruptive consequences, is considered political socialization[2].

On the other hand, this approach is rejected by others on the grounds that political socialization is not merely the learning of any political attitude or behaviour, "but only those attitudes and behaviour that contribute to the basic stability of the existing political system"[3]. Within this perspective Langeveld holds that political socialization refers to "learning processes by which social systems protect themselves against collapse or radical change. Socialization has a conserving and stabilising character when it is concerned with the transfer of values and attitudes from one generation to the next"[4].

Whether one accepts the concept of political socialization either in the form of political learning to support a specific social and political system or all types of political learning, the concept is important for this study in revealing different approaches

1). Fred I. Greenstein, 'Socialization', p.555.
2). R. Welssberg, Political Learning, p.14.
3). Ibid., p.14.
4). Willem Langeveld, Political Education for Teenagers : Aims, Content and Methods, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1979, p.14.

to political education, It is expected that not all countries seek to reinforce their political system in the same degree. Thus, a general approach to the study of political socialization should not be restricted to the narrow concept of supporting the status-quo. It should include all types of political learning and attitudes, whether used in maintaining specific social and political values or utilized in improving the social and political values of society.

If this perspective of political socialization is adopted, it could be argued that :

First, political socialization is considered a process of political learning.

Secondly, all types of political learning and experience are included in the political socialization process.

Thirdly, political socialization is a continual process which takes place at every stage of the life cycle of an individual, through various agencies of his society, formal and informal, deliberate and non-deliberate.

Fourthly, political socialization not only helps maintain the existing political system, but also includes consideration of other views of the particular political system of an individual's environment.

Fifthly, political socialization should also include consideration of other political systems and ideologies.

Political Education.

Political education is, in a narrow definition, a course of study or an approach to teaching about politics or government. It has applications to politics.

at local, national and international levels. Judith Gillespie spells out that political education is more extensive than this. It exists in the workplace, the home, the community, places of worship and other such organizations. They are laboratories for political education which have natural linkages into more partisan political arenas at various levels(1).

In Dawson's view, "the term political education is applied to direct, deliberate attempts to transmit political orientations. Instruction in politics is carried on by the family, the schools, political or governmental agencies and innumerable groups and organizations"(2). In political education, instruction is taken by the socializer rather than the individual being socialized. Langeveld defines political education as an "acquiring of the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for the study of politics and for participation in the political process"(3).

The common element in these conceptions is the emphasis that political education is a process of political learning and instruction. Unlike Langeveld, Judith Gillespie and Dawson stress the ways by which an individual learns political orientations through various agencies of society. Within this perspective Dawson is more precise than Judith Gillespie. He spells out that the process of political education occurs by socializer through the agencies of society. In other words political

1). Judith A. Gillespie, 'Introduction', In Derek Heater and Judith A.Gillespie (eds.), Political Education in Flux, SAGE Publications Ltd., London,1981, pp.10-11.
2). R. Dawson et al., p.109.
3). W. Langeveld, Political Education for Teenagers, pp.13-14.

education is an intentional rather than an unintentional process. While Judith Gillespie believes that the study of politics is for partisan political arenas, Langeveld holds that its aim is for participation in the political process.

Within the above mentioned definitions of political education, Patrick defines political education with particular reference to the aspects of political learning and instruction. In his view, political education involves learning and instructing about politics and political actors. Patrick accepts that :

> Learning is a relatively permanent change in competence that results from experience and which is not attributable to physical maturation. A person who has learned can do something new as a consequence of interaction with his environment. Instruction is the creation of conditions that facilitates learning. It involves manipulation of the learner's environment to induce changes in capability efficiently(1).

This conception of political education implies that the purposes of political learning and instructing are to enable students to use their experiences to understand political actors and changes, and participate in political actions effectually. Langeveld in particular emphasizes the importance of this approach. "Politicised political education implies that we have to enter into the socialization experiences of the students to work on their direct interests"(2). Education is a process of socialization into the values of society as well as

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1). John J. Patrick, 'Political Socialization and Political Education in Schools', in Stanley Allen Renshorn (ed.), Handbook of Political Socialization, The Free Press Division of Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1977, p.191.

2). Heitmeyer W. et al., "Curriculum", Schule und Aggressives Konflikthandeln, Opladen,1976. Quoted by W.Langeveld,p.45.

improving these values. Hence political education should take into its consideration the socialization experiences of individuals; their interests and socio-political issues which exist in their society.

Bernard Crick, however, does not support the idea of the direct teaching or learning of political concepts. In his view, a study of politics may be from the simplest component of early secondary school social studies(1). Crick argues that political literacy merely implies using concepts clearly and sensibly. It does not imply solving the problems, getting them right; it only implies understanding and trying to have some effect. So, a conceptual approach to political education does not imply knowing or executing any political philosophy(2). Political education is not the same thing as political studies. It includes some elements of civics and teaches young people to claim their right to influence the society in which they live(3).

Another perspective of political education focuses attention on the essence of education as the development of competencies. Judith Gillespie accepts political education as the development of competencies in thinking about acting in political arenas. Within this conception Judith Gillespie spells out three dimensions of values, acting and political arenas which relate with this conception(4). According to these dimensions, political education includes : firstly, values whether they may

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1). B.Crick, "Basic Concepts for Political Education",In Bernard Crick and Derek Heater, Essays on Political Education, The Falmer Press, England,1977,p.110.
2). Ibid., p.97.
3). Mark Jackson,'The Youth Service Failing to Meet the Social and Educational Needs of Britain's Young',Times Educational Supplement, 29 October 1982.
4). J. Gillespie, 'Introduction',pp.4-5.

support the system or engender criticism in considering social and political issues. In this case, thinking has its significance in developing competencies to inquire into problems, and to propose alternative solutions. Secondly, acting denotes individual actions affecting political life. Individuals have their impact on the political system through political participation. Thirdly, political arenas which mean the thinking in and the understanding of governmental and non-governmental institutions.

The common conclusion is that political education is a process of political learning, it takes place in deliberate and formal ways rather than in undeliberate or informal ones. Political education takes into its consideration all values of the society and the experiences of individuals and their interests. Although political education has a function in transmitting political attitudes and partisan values it focuses attention on the development of an individual's competence in his thinking to understand and evaluate the values of the system whether for stability or change. Moreover, political education should include the development of political participation skills to enable people to play an effective part in the political process, this implies not only learning to solve specific problems but also the promotion of the ability of individuals to know the alternative and the potential solutions of the society's problems.

Political Socialization and Political Education.

As has been seen the concepts of political socialization stress the importance of political stability and emphasize the need to preserve the existing political system. For example, Greenstein contends that political learning includes partisan attachment and national loyalty. Robert Welssberg emphasizes that political socialization is only those attitudes and behaviours that contribute to the basic stability of the existing political system. Moreover, W. Langeveld spells out that the aim of political socialization is to protect the social systems from collapse or radical change.

Within this perspective K.Langton affirms that political socialization refers to the way by which society transmits its political culture from generation to generation. "This process may serve to preserve traditional political norms and institutions"(1).

J. Patrick specifically spells out that :

> Students of political socialization should be concerned primarily with questions about the maintenance of the political system and about the transmission of political orthodoxy. They have to ask how individuals learn to conform to the socio-political status quo so that political norms are observed and established political roles are performed(2).

It can be concluded from this approach to political socialization and from some conceptions of political education mentioned above, that there is a similarity between them all. Both political socialization and political education aid the survival of the existing

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1). K.Langton, p.4.

2). J. Patrick, 'Political Socialization and Political Education', p.193.

political system. Judith Gillespie, for instance, argues political education has natural linkages into political partisan at various levels. Dawson, however, believes that political education is a deliberate attempt to transmit political attitudes. Schools have the obligation of providing instruction by which students will learn "to adapt and internalize the norms, values, attitudes and behaviours accepted and practised by the ongoing system"[1]. Political socialization, however, tends to concentrate on this approach more than political education. Although there is a similarity between political socialization and political education, the latter is not confined to maintaining particular social and political values. Political education encourages knowing and understanding of other values.

Even so it is evident, from the concepts of political socialization, that all types of political learning and experience are included in the political socialization process. This means that political socialization can involve negative aspects for the survival of the existing political system. Dawson contends this view on the grounds that behaviour of the individual which might be detrimental to the stability and well-being of the political community is often inhibited. And as a matter of fact those who are studying political socialization, more often than not have focused on the more positive aspect of

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1). Robert S. Sigel (ed.), Learning about Politics : A Reader in Political Sozialization, Random House, New York, 1970, p.xii.

what is added to the individual through the process of political socialization[1]. Political socialization does not necessarily encourage political stability. An individual acquires information which enables him to understand and evaluate the political actions.

Socialization includes new roles which must be forgotton because it is no longer apt for the new positions that are assumed[2]. Langton argues that "when secondary socialization agencies inculcate political values different from those of the past or when children are raised with political and social expectations different from those of their forebears, the socialization process can be a vehicle of political and social change"[3]. The important factor which diminishes the effect of political socialization on political learning is its restriction to political indoctrination of specific values in order to realize stability. It is natural that society should seek to improve itself, therefore political socialization should stimulate the individuals to know the principles of democratic values. Democracy gives an individual freedom in discussing and participating in the values of the system, its advantages and disadvantages.

Crick believes that political literacy implies understanding and trying to have some political influence. Political education should help youngsters learn to

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1). R. Dawson et al., p.37.
2). P.W. Musgrave, The Sociology of Education, Second Edition, Methuen and Co.Ltd., London, 1972, p.22.
3). K. Langton, pp.4-5.

question basic assumptions of their policy and to consider alternative answers[1]. Judith Gillespie concurs with Crick. In her view political education is the development of competencies in thinking about the acting in the political arenas. Political education includes values which engender criticism in considering social and political issues. It also includes activity through which the individual may make an impact on the political system.

Langeveld stresses this approach to political education which aims at understanding and participating in the political process. He contends that students who have learned to analyse their positions in the politico-social field of conflicts will also be able to do this as adults[2]. Moreover, Patrick sets out specifically political learning and instruction in political education, which relate with change in competence as a result of experiences of the learner's environment to create effectual changes. Political education in schools involves fostering the competence "to think critically and independently, which could lead to rejection of established political beliefs and practices"[3].

It seems concerning the approach of socio-political changes of political socialization, the same approach in the concepts of political education can be exposed, but through another perspective. Political

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1). H. Entwistle, Political Education in a Democracy, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1971, pp.10-11.
2). W. Langeveld, p.43.
3). J. Patrick, p.192.

education relates to students' experiences to be able to understand political actions and changes and participate in them. Besides, it emphasizes constructive scepticism and development of competencies in thinking of political arenas.

The accepted concept of political education and socialization whether for stability or change will lie in the character of the state. T. Brennan quotes:

> One of the basic assumptions underlying both political education and political socialization is that the learning of behaviour has important implications for stability and thus for change. If the state through a planned programme of political education, can induce citizens to act in ways which help to ensure the stability of political order, then presumably the state can also modify these programmes to change individual behaviour patterns and perhaps the nature of the political system.(1)

The political values of a country have their significance whether for stability or change. Non-democratic countries or countries which need stability support the former approach, while democratic or more stable countries embrace the latter approach.

Whilst it is accepted that education alone cannot significantly change the basic structure of a society, conceivably it can be a powerful and persuasive contributory agent. The preservation and strengthening of political democracy can only be achieved if the educational system makes a serious effect to heighten the general level of social and political awareness(2). Therefore the possibilities of political involvement

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1). Quoted by Tom Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981,p.15.

2). T. Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, pp.12-13.

are increased and the attitudes, knowledge and skills of the young are developed and the young themselves become politically sensitive and effective.

In the light of concepts of political education which focus attention on the development of competencies in thinking and criticism about political arenas, Patrick conceives that political education is not the same as political socialization. He believes that some definitions of political socialization (Greenstein's, Easton and Denis's) equate political socialization and political education. All political learning and education, whether for stability or change is viewed as a political socialization. Political socialization for Patrick is a "major facet of political education, which pertains to learning experiences aimed at shaping human potentialities to support the sociocultural order...Political education in schools may be much broader than socialization"(1). Patrick accepts that schools should emphasise broad political education rather than narrow political socialization.

Political education as a broader term than political socialization is rejected by others. Mary J. Turner disagrees with Patrick and considers that Patrick's definition is useful in considering the range of political education instruction(2). Ehman also disagrees with Patrick and conceives that the term of

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1). J. Patrick, p.192.
2). Mary Jane Turner, 'Civic Education in the United States', in Derek Heater and Judith A. Gillespie (eds.), Political Education In Flux, p.79.

political education means that subpart of the political socialization process which constitutes instruction in schools, both direct and indirect, which is aimed at shaping the political attitudes, knowledge and behaviour of youth(1). R. Dawson sets out political education as only a form of political socialization(2).

Moreover, T. Brennan conceives political education as "a part of the wider processes of schooling and socialization which are intimately linked with the nature of society itself"(3). Education is only one part of a more general process which is called socialization. Socialization begins at birth and ends only with death(4). There is a similarity between the terms of education and socialization. Both terms refer to an activity influencing the individual and moulding him. But the shift from education to socialization is from an essentially normative perspective to the perspective of a detached observer, from moral philosopher to social scientist(5).

Political education and socialization are coterminous, both maintain tradition and seek to teach the individual to conform so that political orders endure. Nevertheless, they should teach the individual to create and to change political orders. Students of political education should be interested in the adjustment of society to meet the needs of individuals as well as the adjustment of individuals to meet the needs of

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1). Lee H. Ehman, 'Implications for Teaching Citizenship', Social Education, Vol.43, No.7, November-December 1979,pp.594-95.
2). R.Dawson et al., pp.105-109.
3). T. Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, p.3.
4). R. Fitzhenry, Introducting Sociology, p.159.
5). Kourt Danziger, Socialization, Penguin Books, Ltd.,England, 1978,pp.13-14.

of society[1]. Education consists of increasing the ability to use it so as to adjust to external relationships and events, to extend one's range of choice within them and finally to influence them[2].

In the light of the above mentioned thesis of the different conceptions of political socialization and political education, it is clear that both are part of the same framework of political learning. However, there are some differences in the extent of the role of political socialization and education for stability or create the developments and changes in the values of the system. It can be concluded that political education is a part of political socialization, although political education has deep conceptual content more than political socialization. Political education focuses the attention on the development of an individual ability in understanding and thinking with competence in the values of the system and influence in them.

Taking into consideration this perspective of political education, this study will deal with political education as a part of political socialization because: First, this study deals with formal education, schools and youth organizations, which consider primarily a deliberate attempt of political education while political socialization involved in formal and informal methods of political learning.
Secondly, dealing with political education in this

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1). J. Patrick, P. 193.

2). B. Crick, 'Basic Concepts for Political Education', p.95.

perspective will enable the researcher to study the different approaches to political learning which are undertaken by the countries concerned with the study of political education or political socialization. It seems more useful to consider political socialization as mainly pertains to political learning which supports the values of the system and its ideologies.

Knowledge, Skills and Attitudes.

Most educators have generally emphasized that the main dimensions of instruction and learning about political education are knowledge, skills and attitudes(1). Crick, for example, considers these approaches as "the right and proper holy trinity for all departments of education"(2). Patrick argues that these dimensions can be used to guide appraisals for alternative curricula and the political learning. For Judith A. Gillespie, these approaches are important aspects of political education.

An active citizen in a democratic society needs to have basic knowledge about his social system and how it works. Basic knowledge in political education includes concepts, information and factual judgements about government and politics. It also includes knowing the legal duties and the responsibilities of political and government officials, various patterns of voter

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1). B.Crick, 'Basic Political Concepts and Curriculum Development', In Bernard Crick and Derek Heater, Essays on Political Education, p.85; J.Patrick, pp.193-195; Judith A. Gillespie, 'Introduction', pp.4-10; Mary J. Turner, 'Civic Education in the United States', pp.59-61; H.Entwistle, Political Education in a Democracy,p.22.

2). B.Crick, 'Basic Political Concepts', p.85.

behaviour and the relationship between socioeconomic status and political participation(1). Judith A. Gillespie argues that political education comprises the structures and functions of government as well as how the political process works at the local and national level(2).

The aims of political knowledge are related to the common goal of developing good citizenship. Knowledge provides the citizens with ability to participate in the democratic process and to influence action. An individual does not participate in the political process without encouragement because he needs the confidence created by his knowledge of the machinery(3). Crick stresses the role of political knowledge as a part of political literacy on the grounds that the politically literate person would possess the basic information which is prerequisite to the understanding of the political dimensions of a given context. He would also have the ability to determine the right kind of knowledge applicable to particular circumstances. A politically literate person must be able to use his knowledge in political participation effectively(4). The main role of political knowledge is for effective participation in political action.

Patrick would argue that political knowledge plays another role as many political educators assume that

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1). J. Patrick, p.194.
2). Judith A. Gillespie, 'Introduction', p.6.
3). Derek Heater, 'History Teaching and Political Education', In Bernard Crick and Derek Heater, Essays on Political Education, p.148.
4). Bernard Crick and Alex Porter, Political Education and Political Literacy, Longman Group Limited, London,1978,pp.37-40.

knowledge is necessary in promoting observance of national loyalty. "Good citizens know the glories of their political heritage and the precepts of patriotic behaviour"(1). In fact, political knowledge provides the individual with information which enables him to understand political issues and participate in them. It can also be used to promote patriotic behaviour towards a particular system.

Political participation has two dimensions; intellectual skills and participation skills. Intellectual skills refer to the individual's ability to understand and evaluate political action. This requires "questioning, information gathering, classifying, comparing and contrasting, inferring, analyzing, hypothesizing, evaluating and even intuiting"(2). Intellectual skills, as called "Inquiry" by Judith Gillespie, means analysis, a critical approach and practice of knowledge and attitudes. It involves "the manipulation of evidence and ideas, without which there would be no translation into active citizenship"(3).

Intellectual skills become a fundamental requirement to create a good citizen who will be able to use his critical and evaluative skills effectively in political matters and to participate effectively. However, the development of intellectual skills is related to the nature of the political life and character of the socio-political system. It is usually expected that the

1). J.Patrick, p.194.
2). M.Turner, 'Civic Education in the United States', p.60.
3). J. Gillespie, 'Introduction', p.9.

development of intellectual skills will be encouraged in democratic countries. However, non-democratic countries discourage the development of intellectual skills to prevent challenges to the current régime.

Political participation skills are a consequence of intellectual skills. They pertain to an individual's ability "to interact smoothly to maintain a group, to co-operate with others to achieve a common goal, and to negotiate and bargain to influence and or make decisions"(1). The ultimate end of political education lies in the fact that participation skills do not mean only knowing, but also doing(2). Pupils should learn political skills that enable them to participate effectively and to express their views and ideas. These two approaches of intellectual skills and participation skills are combined together to promote the citizen's ability to understand and evaluate political events so that he may participate knowingly in political issues and actions.

Political education in schools teaches pupils "to know more about politics, stimulates them to take an interest in political events and to participate in civic affairs"(3). It is acceptable that explicit instruction should be provided in the skills of participation. Participation is not restricted to voting in national elections but also include other actions in political affairs. Pupils should learn to

1). J.Patrick, p.195.
2). H. Entwistle, Political Education in a Democracy, p.103.
3). Alex Inkeles, 'Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries', In Lewis Bowman and G.R.Boynton (eds.), Political Behaviour and Public Opinion, Prentice Hall,Inc., Englewood Cliffs,New Jersey, 1974, p.247.

exercise various roles in the political arena and how to influence political issues and policies.

It is maintained that a citizen who has received better political education will be more involved in political activity. H. Entwistle argues that political wisdom is incidentally acquired through political activity itself, and that it could be contended that this diminishes the need for political education in schools. However, he stresses the need for political education on the grounds that participation in government is itself educative. It is quite obviously necessary to ensure that "a large number of citizens are brought into an active relationship with those associations which are often held to provide the best schooling in politics"(1). The disposition towards active responsible citizenship is essentially an educational object. Political education leads to political interest and political interest leads to political activity(2). Education had previously been identified by many studies as a significant factor in developing participation in the citizen role(3). One of the main criteria in democracy is that citizens should be involved in the political process.

Lipset argues that a very high level of participation in itself is not always an indication of a society's political and social well-being. For example, the

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1). H.Entwistle, Political Education in a Democracy,pp.7-8
2). D. Heater, 'History Teaching and Political Education', p.147.
3). A. Inkeles, 'Participant Citizenship', p.244.

events of the 1930's in Germany and the rise of Hitler's Nazi Party show an increase in the level of participation but this reflected conflict and the decline of social cohesion. The principles of democracy require sufficient participation to maintain democracy but not to undermine cohesion(1). Tapper resolves these potential problems of a high level of political participation by holding that the individual should be trained before becoming involved in the political process(2). An individual cannot involve himself in all issues, but he must feel he has a potential influence if the occasion arises. A political participant should be able to advocate his ideas and respect other views. Appropriate participation as has been seen needs skills which enable the citizen to interact smoothly to maintain a group, to achieve a common goal and to make national decisions.

Political education is a significant factor in formulating political attitudes or values. This aspect of political education concerns the feelings of acceptance, rejection or the avoidance of some attitudes rather than others. The principle goal of political education "is weighted heavily with affective concerns such as promoting interest in politics, tolerance of diversity, feelings of efficacy, feelings of trust in government, feelings of patriotism, support for law and order"(3).

Political attitudes take a wide variety of

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1). Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., London, 1973, pp.32-33.
2). E.R.Tapper, Political Education and Stability, John Wiley and Sons Ltd., London, 1976, p.61.
3). J. Patrick, p.195.

perspectives in political education depending upon the attitudes of particular political and social systems. Political education in schools is an attempt to implement a set of values through a particular curricula consistent with the norms of the system[1]. Developing nations and Super Powers, such as the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., are concerned to confirm their political attitudes. For the most part political education in these countries focuses attention on developing loyal, patriotic behaviour, commitment to the existing political system and to nationalism.

Patrick argues that the attitudinal goals in the democratic model takes place in two educational perspectives. Some educators have highlighted the importance of conformity to majority rule and support its values. Superficially, however, they proclaim allegiance to tolerance for diversity, open-mindedness, and constructive scepticism. This is not a valid approach to the development of democracy. The second perspective is that some political educators have tended to stress critical thinking, open-mindedness and freedom of speech[2]. This second perspective maintains that all values are not equal, and that although values should be interpreted in their social contexts, some of them are more valid than others[3].

To realize this approach, political education should

1). E.R. Tapper, Political Education and Political Stability,p.55.
2). J. Patrick, p.196.
3). B.Crick and A. Porter, Political Education and Political Literacy,p.40.

stress procedural values. An effective political education requires teachers to nurture certain procedural values such as freedom, tolerance, fairness, respect for truth and for reasoning. However these values can conflict with each other and with substantive rules such as religious and political doctrines embody. The role of political education is to examine such conflicts[1] The significance of procedural values is accepted by others such as Kohlberg and McNaughton[2]. Therefore political education should encourage rational discussions and procedural values rather than the development of particular attitudes and values.

Political attitudes are shaped by many factors. Almond and Verba make three assumptions concerning the formation of political attitudes. First, early socialization experiences will affect later political behaviour. Second, these experiences include non-political experiences, however, they have later political consequences. Thirdly, the socialization process is an unidirectional one : basic family experiences have a significant impact upon the secondary structures of politics but are not in turn affected by them[3]. These assumptions are focused on early non-political experiences of social situations within the family as a source of political attitudes and play a crucial role in the formation of political pre-dispositions.

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1). Ibid., p.41.
2). A.H.McNaughton,'Cognitive Development, Political Understanding and Political Literacy', British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol.XXX,No.3, October 1982, p.267.
3). Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture : Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, Princeton University Press,New Jersey, 1963, p.323.

Non-political experiences, as indirect political socialization, are illustrated by the assumption that the child, as a result of his relationship with parents, siblings and other relatives, develop certain expectations toward people in positions of authority. From his personal experiences the child acquires a general attitude not only to particular forms of authority but also toward authority in general. When the child develops awareness, these general predispositions toward authority are directed toward other particular authorities(1). In short, the child can derive political attitudes from his contact with his parents and other close relationship by the indirect political socialization in a two-step process. First, a general predisposition is formed by non-political experiences. Secondly, this general predisposition is transferred to particular political objects.

The family is a powerful force in building attitudes towards authority and decision-making which can be transferred to the political sphere(2). Non-political experiences in childhood may play an important part in later political attitudes and behaviour, but these influences can be mitigated and even reversed by other factors.

Whilst non-political patterns within the family have an important effect on an individual's attitudes

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1). R. Dawson et al., p.95.
2). William Gardner, 'Political Socialization', In Derek Heater (ed.), The Teaching of Politics, Methuen Educational Ltd., 1969, p.35.

toward political authority, however, the belief that family is analogous to a political system is too simple. In the first place, certain behaviours of family authority patterns make generalization to political realm somewhat difficult. Furthermore, there are many of other non-political authority patterns to which the individual is exposed : such as schools, peer groups[1]. These patterns may include greater impact upon political behaviour than the patterns of the family.

Political attitudes and behaviours are shaped by various methods. Indirect or non-political learning may be intentional, as when a child is told that he is a good boy if he obeys what he is told by an adult; or unintentional, as when the child learns the rules of games. On the other hand, direct political learning refers to the processes in which the content of orientations transmitted is specifically political and it may be, also, intentional and unintentional[2]. Intentional, as when the pupils in school learn about government and learn to obey the laws. Unintentional, as when the child hears incidentally the views about political issues. Political socialization students emphasize both direct and indirect political learning.

It is difficult to determine which method of political learning has the strongest impact, but generally it may be said that unintentional methods

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1). Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, pp.324-325.
2). R. Dawson et al., pp.95-96.

have greater influence on the child than intentional[1]. For instance, the transfer of partisan allegiance from generation to generation may be unintentional. It may be due to what the children hear from the political views of others rather than upon the intentional teaching of political views. Again, more general attitudes, such as respect or lack of respect for government, might be developed in this way[2].

Schools are important sources of both direct and indirect methods to formulate political attitudes. Pupils learn intentionally political attitudes through curriculum courses in history and social science. Nevertheless they learn unintentionally by styles of behaviour, classroom procedure and attitudes towards children.

The pattern of school authority is less personal than in the family. The teachers are much more like a political authority than parents, that is to say there is a considerable element of separation in the role of the teacher and the person of the teacher. "The child learns to obey any incumbent filling the role of teacher"[3]. Therefore, non-political learning in formulating political attitudes toward authority is more effective in school than in the family. Moreover, the framework of school activities has a considerable impact on formulating pupils attitudes towards authority.

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1). W. Langeveld, p.14.
2). Almond and Verba, p.325.
3). Robert E. Dowse and John A. Hughes, Political Sociology, John Wiley and Sons Ltd., London,1972, p.187.

Peer groups, also, play an important part in the acquisition of political attitudes. Political attitudes attributed to peers during the adolescent years are more significant than the preadolescent years. Dean Jaros refers to four processes through which peer groups can influence political values[1].
First, in homogeneous cultures, peers transmit and reinforce the prevailing values. Secondly, peers may act to instil particular values in a segment of the population who do not have these values. Thirdly, groups of peers may develop new and distinctive sub-cultures of their own. Fourthly, peer groups may provide a process of indirect political learning. For example, peer groups authority structures influence the political behaviour of their members.

Peer groups can transmit and reinforce the political culture of the society. They may provide a social system in which individuals learn new attitudes and behaviour. In this study, Langton examined the relation between class homogeneity - heterogeneity and peer groups and political attitudes of working class respondents. He found that homogeneous and working class peer groups function to maintain working class political orientation and political cleavages which may exist between this class and other classes. On the other hand, heterogeneous working class peer groups appear to be re-socialized

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1). Dean Jaros, Socialization to Politics : Basic Concepts in Political Science, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., London, 1973, p.126.

in the direction of higher class political norms[1]. In general peer groups, through direct or indirect ways, support prevailing values, create new political orientations as well as transferring particular values to their members who do not have these values before.

The combination of knowledge, participation skills and attitudes is accepted by researchers as being important. Gardner defines three factors related to the development of a citizen's role. First, participation in decision-making in school and the feeling that individuals have the right to participate in political processes. Secondly, knowledge of roles, symbols and institutions in the system. Thirdly, a generalized sense of trust in other people[2]. B. Crick suggests political education should be renamed political literacy. He maintains that political literacy must be compounded of knowedge, skills and attitudes, to be developed together, each integrating with the other, knowledge alone is rejected as the object of political education. An individual must know how he can use his knowledge in political participation. At the same time participation without knowledge of the national institutions of the country can be self-defeating[3].

Although political knowledge alone is insufficient, it is no less important than political participation. Crick argues that in democracies :

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1). K. Langton, pp.124-130.
2). W. Gardner, 'Political Socialization', p.30.
3). Crick and Porter, p.31, 37.

> People must know, however vaguely, what decisions are made by government, how they are made and what is happening.... Governing authorities of all kinds are more apt to urge participation because they know that in a widespread manner it is impractical, than they are to study how to make themselves govern more openly and less secretively... Governments are more restrained by knowing that their acts are publicized than by participant devices themselves.(1)

It can be argued that political information about the system is more important in reformulating a citizen's political orientation towards the system. However, political participation to influence and change the character of the system is an ultimate object of political education.

In comparison with other factors such as the family and peer groups, school is an important factor for transmitting political knowledge to pupils, since school is more successful in teaching knowledge than attitudes and behaviour. Lee Ehman, in his research(2), argues that a systematic and carefully developed curriculum can result in the successful transmission of political information in elementary and secondary schools. Knowledge is the cornerstone of citizenship education, but the overemphasis of knowledge or lower level knowledge outcomes may have negative attitudes consequences. A careful balance must be maintained between basic knowledge, decision-making, and participation outcomes.

The Importance of Political Education.

The importance of political education has long been

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1). B. Crick, 'The Introducing of Politics', in Derek Heater, The Teaching of Politics, pp.17-18.

2). Lee H. Ehman, 'Implications for Teaching Citizenship', pp.594-596.

emphasized by philosophers. From ancient times, Plato and Aristotle were interested in the importance of education and its role to maintain political stability. In their view, the main function of education was to produce a harmonious state and a stable government. The function of the state was to make the education of its citizens a means of achieving harmony with the law. Plato and Aristotle gave the priority to education and believed that the educational function of the state was to rear the citizen in the spiritual life of the state.

For Plato, law is the common spiritual substance of a society; it is the cohesive force and sovereign of a society. This substance has to be transmitted and imparted by education, citizens must be educated by the state according to the law, so they may receive its content into their being(1). Plato, in his Republic, wrote:

> When children have made a good beginning....education has instilled a spirit of order, this reverence for law...will attend them in all doings and foster their growth, restoring any institutions that may earlier have fallen into decay(2).

The main idea of Plato's state is that the ideal state must be a stable state. Plato hoped to realize political stability by the institutional control of succession in leadership. The control was to be educational, based upon an authoritarian view of upbringing, the authority a learned expert and a man

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1). Ernest Barker, Greek Political Theory : Plato and his Predecessors, Methuen and Co.Ltd., Great Britain,1960,p.43.
2). Plato, Republic,trans. F.M.Cornford, Oxford University Press, London,1961, p.113.

of proven probity[1]. So the educational system must provide not only soldiers but philosophers. The need for philosophers is derived from the idea of a stable state. "The first and the most important function of the philosopher king is that the city's founder and lawgiver....only a philosopher....is able to see, and to copy, the heavenly original"[2].

To avoid change citizens must be educated according to their proper roles, "there are innate differences which fit them for different occupations"[3]. Without proper education, citizens lose their right to social positions, "the interference and exchange of social positions....or the attempt to combine all.... forms of work in the same person, would be fatal to the commonwealth"[4].

The special emphasis placed by Plato upon education has been affirmed by Rousseau. "If you wish to know" writes Rousseau, "what is meant by public education, read Plato's Republic. Those who merely judge books by their titles take this for a treatise on politics, but it is the finest treatise on education ever written" [5]

Aristotle, like Plato, was quite aware that there was a connection between education and social ideals. The aim of political education was to achieve the stability of the country's constitution, so its citizens must be educated inthe spirit of that constitution.

1). K.R.Popper, The Open Society and its Enemies:The Spell of Plato, Vol.1, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London,1962,p.137.
2). Ibid., p.145.
3). Plato, Republic, p.55.
4). Ibid., p.126.
5). Rousseau, Emile,trans.by Barbara Foxley, J.M.Dent & Sons Ltd., London, 1961,p.8.

The education function has been seen to train children in good habits. For Aristotle, there is no profit in the best of laws, even when citizens are sanctioned by general civic consent, if the citizens themselves have not been attuned by the force of habit(1).

Aristotle conceived that civic training is to create the character appropriate to the constitution whether by democracy or oligarchy. "The education of a citizen in the spirit of his constitution does not consist in his doing the actions in which the partisans of oligarchy, or the adherents of democracy, delight. It consists in his doing the actions by which an oligarchy, or democracy, will be enabled to survive"(2).

The ideal state is a common end, therefore the system of education must be the same for all citizens. This system must be directed by the state because "we must not regard a citizen as belonging just to himself: we must rather regard every citizen as belonging to the state"(3). The ruler is needed to regulate the political aims through a uniform system for all, and so the ruler should "make the education of the young his chief and foremost concern"(4).

Both Plato and Aristotle moved in harmony and they were aware of the crucial importance of political education in securing the stability of regimes by state control of the educational system. The difference

1). Aristotle, Politics, trans.by Ernest Barker, Oxford University Press, London, 1961, p.233.
2). Ibid., p.233.
3). Ibid., p.333.
4). Ibid., P.332.

between them is that "Plato separates the ideal from the material world of particular things and sees the physical environment of man as necessarily more or less imperfect"[1]. Therefore Plato interprets education, at least at the higher level, as a purely intellectual activity. For Aristotle, however, education emphasizes sense experience as the starting point of learning, and not pure thinking. The provision of the system of education "must be a matter of public action"[2].

For John Locke (1632-1704), political education derived from the authority of the family and school, and this authority must be without ascendance or horror. Unlike Plato and Aristotle, Locke emphasized the principles of freedom in education. In his view parents and government have their authority but "they should use it with great moderation, and not make themselves such scarecrows that their scholars should always tremble in their sight"[3]. Every child had a particular nature which required freedom in activity and decision but at the same time he must conform to the pattern and values of his society[4]. Locke argued that the curriculum should include subjects such as history, civil law and geography. He regarded history as the great mistress of prudence and civil knowledge, and ought to be the proper study of a gentleman[5].

1). George Howie, Aristotle (on education),Educational Thinkers Series, Collier-Macmillan Limited, London, 1968, p.13.
2). Aristotle, Politics, p.332.
3). John Locke, On Politics and Education,Edited by Howard R.Renniman, D.Van Nostrand Company, Inc., London, 1947,p.345.
4). F.W.Garforth,Locke's Thoughts Concerning Education, Heinemann Educational Books LTD., London,1964,p.11.
5). J. Locke, On Politics, p.360.

Rousseau (1712-1778) also emphasized the importance of political education. The main idea of Rousseau's thinking was to achieve the general will. Each citizen "must put his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will....each member as an indivisible part of the whole"(1). At the time, although the social compact gave the political body absolute power over all its members, this power was also to be under the direction of the general will. And this could be fulfilled within the collective masses and sovereignty of people.

Government cannot ever make the laws. Laws can be enacted only by the sovereignty of people, acting directly and not by way of representation(2). On the ground of these conceptions, Rousseau stressed the importance of political education for guidance with a view to producing harmony. Citizens cannot legislate without prior instruction, they cannot see the good of the general will. Therefore, all citizens have equally the need of guidance, they must be taught to know what is their will."If that is done, public enlightenment leads to the union of understanding and will in the social body : the parts are made to work exactly together, and the whole is raised to its highest power"(3).

In another place, Rousseau reveals the need for political education directly through specific cases.

1). Rousseau, The Social Contract and Discourses, trans. by G.D.H.Cole, J.M.Dent & Sons Ltd., London, 1961, p.13.
2). Ibid., p.xxii
3). Ibid., p.31.

In his educational plan for Poland he advocated a system of national education. The primary concern of his State-controlled education was to produce tough, patriotic citizens able to defend their country in the time of need. To realize this object school should develop the feelings of nationalism by teaching children the history, geography and traditions of their country(1).

J.S. Mill (1806-1873) considered education a potent instrument in the development of democracy. He defended representative government on the ground that education was the character and intelligence gained from participation in public functions(2). Representative democracy fulfilled the essential criterion of good government. This could be achieved by diffusion of responsibility, by allowing citizens "a voice in the management of their own affairs, by encouraging active participation at local and national level"(3).

It is quite clear that famous philosophers, ancient and modern, have emphasized the importance of political education. The common element in their thought is that the purpose of the educational system is to encourage stability and harmony in the social order, but they differed in the ways and in the extent to which this purpose could be achieved. For Plato and Aristotle, the educational system was to maintain the political

1). F.C.Green, Rousseau : A Study of His Life and Writings, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1955,p.309.
2). E.Barker, Greek Political Theory, pp.44-45.
3). F.W.Garforth, John Stuart Mill's Theory of Education, Martin Robertson & Company Ltd., Oxford, 1979, p.132.

system and produce a harmonious state. The state control of the educational system was to be thorough and absolute. State control in education was necessary to produce harmony, balances within the state and protect citizens from negligence.

Modern philosophers have emphasized the role of political education in political action in fluid ways and in the presence of freedom and democracy. John Locke spells out the importance of authority within the family and school in the presence of freedom. Rousseau emphasizes the general will and sovereignty of the people by beholding that political education must be for all citizens by guidance to achieve the harmony and enable them to participate in enacting the laws. Nevertheless, he stresses the importance of political education through state control in education in urgent cases as happened in Poland. Rousseau doubts the ability of the representative democracy of government, whereas Mill's defence shows the connection between education and representative government.

The importance of political education has been revived in recent times. Most societies, whether democratic, totalitarian or developing, give their citizens the chance to have extensive information about their ideology and political system. They encourage and provide methods of political education in order to

inculcate loyalty, patriotism and support for their political system.

> ....Each (national educational) system tries to involve the young, implicitly or explicitly, with its particular notions of authority, legitimacy, the role of the citizen, and of the good life; at the same time it tries to present negative interpretations of politically alien systems (1).

Most political systems conceive the significance of the transmission of their particular values through the different agencies in society as an important instrument to sustain the system. Easton and Hess emphasize this approach and interpret the importance of political education by holding that:

> Regardless of the specific devices any system utilizes to perpetuate itself, no system is able to function, much less maintain itself for any length of time, without educating its young politically in the broadest sense of the meaning of these terms. Either intuitively or consciously it must undertake to transmit some of its political heritage to the maturing members of the society or to construct a new heritage for them so that a system that is undergoing serious transformation may anticipate future supports (2).

Most countries tend to encourage loyalty to their ideologies, consciously or unconsciously, through the educational system. The Soviet Union gives priority to the educational system to achieve political consensus for the political system and ideology. Frankly, all school curriculum, in particular history, is taught to promote loyalty to the communist party and an acceptance of its rulers. In England, history textbooks provide examples of this approach: for instance, in describing the War of Spanish Succession, British books

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1). Quoted by R. Jackson, 'Political Education in the European Economic Community - Some Observations', Teaching Politics, Vol.2, No.3, September 1973, p.21.

2). David Easton and Robert D. Hess, 'The Child's Political World', Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol.vi, No.3, August,1962, pp.231-232.

tend to mention only British victories and omit French ones. On the other hand, French books tend to minimize or completely omit the part played by Marlborough[1].

Political education has its importance in supporting and achieving political stability, but the political system may be changed. Easton refers to the importance of political education in securing system maintenance, but at the same time the system could change or fail to maintain itself[2]. Easton and Dennis argue that political education could perpetuate either stability or instability, depending upon the character of the polity[3].

Political stability has different concepts. According to Lipset the criterion of stability is the continuation of political democracy[4]. Another criterion has been offered by Needler, who regards a polity stable, "if it has been functioning over a long time in keeping with its set of official prescriptions"[5]. The latter concept does not distinguish between all types of political system.

The important feature of stability is that it does not refer to the structure of the political system but only to its behavioural aspects. Sharma argues that:

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1). P. Musgrave, The Sociology of Education, p.270.
2). David Easton, 'The Function of Formal Education in a Political System', The School Review, Vol.65, 1957, p.309.
3). D. Easton and J. Dennis, Children in the Political System, p.4.
4). S.M. Lipset, Political Man, p.48.
5). M.C.Needler, Political Development in Latin America, Pandom House, New York, 1968, p.20.

> The political system, for its survival and effectiveness is a "feedback system". Like a thermostat it responds to the environment outside the system; the nature, degree and polarity of the feedback usually have a decisive effect on its stability or instability. In a working system, therefore, a variety of disturbances will evoke a variety of matched responses. Failure to do so will result into disorder or instability(1).

Thus, the stability of a system is not determined by one of its components but by the whole of the system. The whole of the system includes social, political and economic status and not the government alone. For example, in his study on economic status, in stable democracy, Lipset found that various indices of economic development such as average wealth and degree of industrialization are much higher for stable democracies(2). A stable system responds quickly to a change of opinion or interests in its components and keeps the balance between action and reaction.

In the light of the above mentioned concepts of political stability, political education, as a factor, has its importance in achieving political stability. Lipset has shown the connections between stable democracy and several indices of education. He compared stable democracies of 13 countries with unstable democracies and dictatorships of 17 countries in Europe and English-speaking Nations. Lipset found that the indices of education are much higher for the more democratic countries(3). Education is essential for a stable democracy. In Britain, the extension three years

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1). J.C. Sharma,' Education and Political Stability: A Comparative Analysis of Relationships Between Education and Political Stability with Illustrative Case Studies,'University of London, 1972, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, p.24.
2). S.M. Lipset, Political Man, pp.50-54.
3). Ibid., pp.45-33.

earlier of the vote to the male urban working class necessitated the establishment of State-aided elementary education in 1870[1].

It can be argued that there is a positive correlation between formal education and political stability. However, this correlation does not mean that education is the only factor achieving political stability. There are also many other factors.

Sharma concluded that the significant positive correlation between formal education and political stability on his sample does not mean that political stability is the only product of formal education. Education is, nevertheless, involved in the input of political functions[2] as one of the many structures. Its influence will have to be looked at viz-a-viz other structures which perform political socialization. Sharma derived from the cases of Afghanistan and Japan that both these countries shared a common level of political stability, although the education level in Afghanistan is less than in Japan. In both cases he found the dominant value orientations in the polity and political socialization were performed by the primary structures of family, kinship, lineage, clan tribe, religion and community. This resulted in the similar level of political stability in these two countries[3].

Political stability is due to the relationships

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1). P. Musgrave, The Sociology of Education, p.272.
2). Input political function includes political socialization, see G.A.Almond, 'Introduction:A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics', p.17.
3). Sharma,'Education and Political Stability,'passim. This research was conducted in 1972. The situation now is changed because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

established between the political system and orientations of citizens toward the system. Initially, there are general feelings of acceptance or rejection towards the system. To realize stability the system tries to convince people to accept its values[1]. But groups of people will have different backgrounds and perspectives; some may attempt to influence policies, others may accept the values of the system and others may be completely ignorant of the system.

Political education has its significance in responding to these relationships either to achieve stability or change. It is accepted that citizens need actual information about the system and to develop critical thinking to enable him to evaluate the system. Therefore, the possibility of stability or change will be mainly related to the values of system and its ability to change itself to be consistent with the demands of change. A political system will be more stable if the people accept its values and orders with conviction based on educational criteria rather than indoctrination and violence.

Political education has its importance at times of crises and it is also important for achieving nationalism and integration within a society.

> Civic training becomes a deliberate policy when elements of potential instability are perceived in a political system. For instance, when an attempt is being made to weld together divers and antagonistic populations into a single

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1). W. Gardner, 'Political Socialization', p.24.

> nation. Extensive formal political education also occurs where, as in the case under totalitarianism, the state caries on many of the functions ordinarily performed by other institutions (1).

At times of radical transformations, an educational system becomes much more vital and subject to close scrutiny. For example, after both the French and Russian Revolutions, the new régimes immediately directed their attention toward renovating their whole educational systems. Curriculum and provision of education were modified to be consistent with the demands of the new regimes(2). In Britain, according to Entwistle, the period before and immediately following the Second World War was a period of heightened interest in the training of citizens and the development of civic courses in schools(3). This interest had to do with the reinforcement of nationalism in a time of crisis.

Similarly, before the Second World War, schools in the United States emphasized the virtues of the American system, stimulated students to take an active part in civic services and stressed the duty of voting. During the Second World War, considerable attention was paid to arousing feelings of patriotism and allegiance to the country(4).

Hitler realized the significance of education; he reiterated the need to exploit it in the service of National Socialism. The whole of the German Education system was promptly and efficiently linked to social

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1). Fred I. Greenstein, 'Socialization', p.551.
2). D. Easton, 'The Function of Formal Education in a Political System', p.310.
3). H. Entwistle, Political Education in a Democracy, p.2.
4). Mary J. Jurner, 'Civic Education in the United States', p.53.

and political ends. Curriculum subjects, especially history and biology were exploited to support the glorification of the German race and Nazi theories of race[1].

For most countries, especially younger nations, nationalism is a major important reason for introducing political education. They want their citizens to associate themselves not only to the local community but also to the larger community of the nation. Furthermore, it is hoped that these feelings will create nationalism and loyalty to the system. The existence of nationalism is strongly related to "the extent to which it is able to undermine local community loyalty and create a loyal national citizenary"[2].

The state promotes broader allegiance to a national entity. Belle and Goncalves support this idea and accept that a state has two important objectives. One of the goals of a state is to subvert local sources of solidarity and loyalty. The second goal is to legitimate state authority and the establishment of a uniform ideology[3]. The French Revolution is an example of the unification of different groups toward a common national purpose in the overthrow of aristocracy, and the establishment of a nation-state under the

1). F.W.Garforth, Education and Social Purpose, Oldbourne Book Co. Ltd., London, 1962, pp.30-31.

2). N. Paulantzas, Pouvior Politique et Classes Sociales, Vols. 1 and 2, Pètite Colection Maspero, Paris, 1975, Quoted by T.J. la Belle and J. da S. Goncalves, 'Control and Service of School : The Community and the State', Compare:A Journal of Comparative Education, Vol.10, No. 1, 1980, p.4.

3). T. Belle and J. Goncalves, 'Control and Service of School', p.4.

control of the national bourgeoisie[1].

Most systems, in particular new systems, try to integrate their members and create a national community. However, the integrative role of education depends upon the ideology of the system and its capacity to accommodate national unity. The integrative role of education is also related to the extent of differences between the subcultures of a society. These factors have their significance, but education can be an instrument for understanding the similarities and differences within society and trying to minimize the differences through common uniform objectives.

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1). H. Lefebvre, De l'etat:De Hegel a Mao, Vol.2., Union Generale d'editions, Paris, 1976, Quoted by T.Belle and Goncalves, 'Control and Service of Schools', p.4.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF POLITICAL EDUCATION: FORMAL POLITICAL EDUCATION.

The Development of Political Concepts in School Years.

Piaget examined political understanding in an early study of "The Moral Judgement of the Child". From his research it can be concluded that political terms develop through a child's experience and cognitive development. Piaget noted that children, before the age of 10, see rules as unalterable facts derived from the authority of adults. "Children harbour an almost mystical respect for rules : rules are eternal, due to the authority of parents, of the gentlemen of the commune, and even of an almighty God."(1) But after the age of ten, Piaget found that the concept of democracy follows on from theocracy and gerontocracy. "Consciousness of rules undergoes a complete transformation. Autonomy follows upon heteronomy...the child no longer thinks that everything has been arranged for the best in the past...he believes in the value of experiment in so far as it is sanctioned by collective opinion."(2)

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1). Jean Piaget, The Moral Judgement of the Child, Trans. by Marjorie Gabian, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1975, p.52.

2) Ibid., p.56-57.

The development of cognitive thinking is related to the capacity of the individual to understand his environment. Cognitive thinking develops through a series of stages of the individual's life and it differs from stage to stage. Political learning coincides with other types of learning according to individual capacity for cognitive thinking. Therefore, "older children whose cognitive capacity is further advanced are in a position to understand and think about politics in a manner quite different from younger children." (1)

Piaget discovered that children's thinking takes place in different ways at different periods in their lives and that is what is called cognitive development. Piaget postulated three states in which cognitive development occurs through childhood and adolescence.

First: the period of preoperational thought, this stage starting from the age of 2 to 7. Children can distinguish between the words and symbols and what they represent, and their behaviour is largely "egocentric" and non-social. Because of that they cannot deal with or understand the viewpoints of others and they believe that everything they think is right and everyone thinks as they do.(2)

Second: between the ages of 7 and 11, the child acquires what Piaget called concrete operations. At this period the child is able to think about things.(3) Concrete

1). R. Dawson et al., p.71.

2). Barry J. Wadsworth, Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development, Longman Inc., New York, 1977, pp.70-71, 116.

3). David Elkind, Children and Adolescents:Interpretive Essays on Jean Piaget, Third Edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1981, p.23.

operations are only useful for the child in solving problems involving concrete objects and events. Although the child can think logically, he cannot apply his logic to verbal and hypothetical problems.(1) At the period of preoperational thought the child is unable to deal with the viewpoint of others and needs to be told what is right, but at the period of concrete operation he becomes aware of the difference between his thinking and others. In other words his thoughts become social.

Third : the stage of formal operations between the ages of 12 and approximately 15. Formal thought permits adolescents to think about their thoughts, to construct ideals and reason realistically about the future.(2) During this period, the adolescent's cognitive structures enable him to think similarly to adults. But at the same time adolescent thought is not the same as adult thought : it is only that the adolescent achieves a new potentiality.(3) During the period of formal operations children can solve most problems which they cannot solve in the concrete operations stage. They can apply their logical thought to complex verbal and hypothetical problems.(4) The main difference between the formal and concrete operations stages is that concrete thinking is restricted by tangible problems of the present and children cannot understand

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1). B. Wadsworth, Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development, p.90.

2). D. Elkind, Children and Adolescents, p.24.

3). B. Wadsworth, Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development,p.101.

4). Ibid., p.116.

verbal and hypothetical problems. But in the formal operations stage children can deal with abstract ideas and verbal and hypothetical problems of present, past and future.

The theory of cognitive development contributes to an understanding and an illustration of the development of political concepts. It is reasonable to infer from this theory that the development of political concepts follows the capacity of individual thinking from egocentric, personal, and concrete to formal operations. During the formal operations stage "the adolescent is able to confront political issues and ideologies."(1) In children of six and seven, concepts of the political world are vague, personal and nondiscriminate because their cognitive thinking is not yet developed. "Only as their cognitive capacities are developed can they begin to come to grips with the complex and often abstract notions and relationship of the political world and their own role in it."(2)

To study the development of political concepts during the period of preadulthood, it is useful to divide this period into two sub-periods: 1) Childhood which includes early childhood from the age of 5 to 9, and late childhood from the age of 9 to 13. 2) Adolescence, roughly, from ages 13 to 18.(3) These age categories are

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1). Selma Gillman and Elaine Graham Sofer 'Children, adolescents, and politics: a selective review', Cambridge Journal of Education, Vol.8, Nos. 2 and 3, 1978, p.81.

2). R. Dawson et al., p.38.

3). Ibid., p.50.

approximate. Human behaviour is complex and affected by many social factors. It is not expected that all individuals follow the same age categories.

The Development of Political Concepts in Childhood.

Most researches dealing with the development of political concepts during childhood, and adolescence, have been conducted in the United States (Greenstein, 1965; Hess and Torney, 1965, 1967; Hess and Easton 1960, 1962; Easton and Dennis, 1965, 1969; O'Neil, 1960; Kagon and Coles, 1972) and some such research has been undertaken in Britain (Jahoda, 1963; Morrison, 1967; Jackson, 1971; NcNaughton, 1982; Stevens, 1982). These studies have indicated that the most important political concepts are acquired in early childhood.

Easton and Hess have concluded about the American child that : "every piece of evidence indicates that the child's political world begins to take shape well before he even enters primary school and that it undergoes the the most rapid change during these years."(1) Greenstein found that, when he asked children aged 11 what changes they would make in the world, the majority of the responses were political.(2) Hess and Torney's research was conducted with children in the age range 7 to 9. They found that acquisition of political information and attitudes proceeds rapidly during the primary school years. (3)

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1). D. Easton and R. Hess, 'The Child's Political World', p.235

2). Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1965, p.69.

3). Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, 1967,p.26.

Studies conducted in Britain have also concluded that development of political concepts and awareness of political events come in early years. English children too can begin to develop their political outlook before they enter primary school. Jackson's study concluded that children develop their political concepts between the age of four and eight.(1) According to Stevens' study, at the age of seven many children were able to take part intelligently in discussion about politics.(2) Jahoda's study on the acquisition of the concept of nationality revealed that between the age of six and eleven, children acquired a set of conceptual tools enabling them to organize their environment meaningfully and to identify traditional conventions in their society.(3)

Early development in childhood of political concepts and a sense of nationality occur in other nations as well. Studies by Bereday and Azrael have indicated that Soviet children acquired political attitudes and patriotic feelings in the early years.(4) Gillman and Sofer argue that Australian children at the age of five begin to acquire political concepts and attitudes towards authority.(5)

Although the above mentioned studies have been conducted with children from different nations and although these studies had different aims, they indicate in the first

1). R. Jackson, 'The Development of Political Concepts in Young Children', Educational Research, Nov.1971, pp.51-55.

2). Olive Stevens, Children Talking Politics:Political Learning in Childhood,Martin Robertson & Company Ltd., Oxford, 1982,p.168.

3).G. Jahoda, 'The Development of Children's Ideas About Country and Nationality', The British Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol.33, February and June, 1963, p.151.

4).George Z. Bereday and Bonnie B. Stretch, 'Political Education in the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.', Comparative Educational Review, Vol.7, No.1, June 1963, p.9; Jeremy R. Azrael, 'Soviet Union' In J. Coleman (ed.) Education and Political Development, p.239.

5) S. Gillman and E.Sofer, 'Children, adolescents, and politics', p.81.

place that children in most countries start to acquire political concepts and feelings of national loyalty in early childhood even before they enter primary school. It seems that the early acquisition of political attitudes occurs regardless of the ideology and political system of the country concerned.

Studies investigating the development of political concepts in childhood conclude that different aspects of political learning take place at different stages of the cognitive development. Basic attachments and identifications are acquired as the first political outlook in childhood. Studies indicate that early attachment to the nation and political system is associated with the head of the state, monarch or president.

American children first become aware of their political system and authority through a knowledge of the President. Hess and Easton concluded that American children between the age of 7 and 13, especially at an early age, have a high positive image of the President. The primary school child tends to view even unfamiliar figures of authority in positive terms.(1) Positive attitudes towards the President and national symbols derive from two factors :

First, children see the President on the television screen as the most important figure in national and international affairs.

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1). Robert D. Hess and David Easton, 'The Child's Changing Image of the President', Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol.24, 1960, p.636, 639.

Secondly, the President is seen as the foremost authority in the American political system.(1)

English children acquire positive feelings towards national identification and loyalty through the monarch and the Union Jack. In his study conducted with children between the age of 4 to 8, Jackson found that nearly three-quarters of 4 year olds liked the Queen and the national flag although they were unable to identify them as political concepts until one to three years later.(2) Children developed positive feelings towards the Queen because they had seen pictures of the Queen in court dress and participating in state activities on the television. Thus the Queen was relatively easy to identify as a symbol of state power. Positive feeling develops towards the national flag because of its proximity and familiarity.

Although a young child has strong positive feelings towards his nation, he cannot justify his patriotic feeling. By late childhood, however, young people are able to justify their patriotism. Hess and Torney concluded that the American child's strong attachment to the United States is quickly established at an early age, but his attachment is vague and crude. A child at the age of 7, when asked if he would like to be an

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1). Ibid., p.633.

2). R. Jackson, 'The Development of Political Concepts in Young Children', p.53, 55.

Englishman or an American, said : "Well I wouldn't like to be an Englishman because I wouldn't like to talk their way, and I'd rather be an American because they have better toys...better beds and blankets...and better schools and teachers."(1)

Young American children have little information about their country and acquire national loyalty through "concrete objects" and "national symbols" such as the flag and the Statue of Liberty. As they develop, concrete objects and national symbols become less important and the child's image of national pride includes ideological components and abstract ideas. Older children justify their patriotism by using words such as "freedom", "right to vote", and "political system."(2) Responses become more sophisticated at the threshold of adolescence and they often approximate to the ideas of their teacher. While children of 7 said that it was the United States that kept peace in the world, children at 13 said it was the United Nations.

It is difficult for a young child to understand political institutions. Although there are symbols of government, they are not used with the same frequency as the flag and other similar national symbols. Government is an abstract idea and includes many complex institutions

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1). Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p.27.

2). Ibid., pp.28-30.

which differ in their organization and purpose. Therefore a young child tends to see government in terms of personalities. In Easton and Dennis's research, children said: "Government is a man that helps people when they are in need."(1) Hess and Torney found children aged 7 or 8 referred to government as "the man who signs cheques", "the state and city government are different men, but they both are government", or "the government is a nice man".(2)

Through attachment towards the head of state, the child relates to government and political authority. British children first become aware of the political system through the monarch, who is initially seen as the effective ruler of the country. To the young child the Prime Minister is a helper of the Queen.(3) For an American child, Congress is a lot of men who help the President.(4)

As has been seen, the child acquires early attachment to nationality without the ability to justify his patriotism. He cannot describe adequately what the concepts of government and of the political system are. Easton and Hess concluded that an American child "learns to like the government before he really knows what it is."(5) Gillman and Sofer argue that Australian children at the age of 9 are aware of government, but with no concept of

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1). Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System, p.129.

2). Hess and Torney, p.33.

3). Barrie Stacey, Political Socialization in Western Society, Edward Arnold, London, 1978, p.10.

4). Hess and Torney, p.32.

5). Hess and Dennis, Children in the Political System, p.138.

government as a social structure.[1]

As children grow older, they see concepts of government in less personal terms. Dawson argues that by the age of 11 children begin to move away from the highly personal and emotional perception and begin to understand more abstract ideas and relationships. By the ages of 12 and 13 their cognitive capacity increases and they become more able to understand and distinguish between different political roles.[2] Gradually, the child becomes aware of governmental institutions and learns some things about the norms of democracy such as voting and representation. Hess and Torney investigated the responses of children between the ages of 7 and 13 towards making laws and governmental institutions. They found older children believed that Congress is more important in law-making than the President. At the age of seven 76 per cent chose the President and 5 per cent Congress when asked who makes the laws. In contrast, by the age of 13, the majority of children chose Congress.[3]

Easton and Dennis supported these results. They concluded that at the mid point of this period (7-13), i.e. approximately at 10 years, significant changes toward the understanding of concepts of government occurred. The child moves from a personal image to a cognitive image

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1). S. Gillman and E. Sofer, 'Children, adolescents, and politics',p.81.

2). R. Dawson et al., p.54.

3). Hess and Torney, p.33.

and functional conception of government through its institutions such Congress and the Senate. The child "elicits democracy in his interpretation of what American government is. At the same time, he is beginning to sharpen his knowledge about the boundaries of government by sorting what is outside the realm of government from what is within it."(1)

It seems that the child moves from a personalized concept to an impersonalized one, from one or a small number of persons to a large group, from crude political concepts of government to more rational; and concepts of government authority and norms of democracy become more meaningful. According to these studies, the child first begins to identify government simply as a person, then becomes aware of the group character of government; governmental institutions and their authority. At the same time children show more awareness of the representative character of democracy and law making.

Another aspect of the development of political concepts is an attachment to political parties. Individuals learn to prefer some political parties to others. Attachments to political parties are formed by an early age in different ways. Hess and Torney's research in connection with attachments indicated that the first awareness of political parties was associated with

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1). David Easton and Jack Dennis, 'Politial Socialization of the Elementary School child', in Donald H. Riddle and Robert S. Cleary (eds.), Political Science in Social Studies, 36th Yearbook of National Council for the Social Studies, The Council, Washington, 1966, p.233.

candidates who were Democrats or Republicans.[1] As children first become aware of nation and government concepts in personal terms, their first understanding of a political party comes when they label the presidential candidates either Democrats or Republicans.

The process of party identification is not clear to young children and "their preferences are only a reflection of the adult world of parents, relatives and neighbours."[2] Identification is important to distinguish between the child himself and others, at the same time to provide a link between the child and his parents and other significant individuals. Therefore, the child in early years acquires the same orientation towards the political parties as his family.

It is clear that early party attachment is an emotional feeling rather than a cognitive linkage. Young children do not understand the differences between political parties and political parties have no ideological meaning for them.[3] The young child develps a party preference before he can make adequate distinctions between party philosophies or identify partisan positions on crucial issues.[4]

As the child grows older, he develops his capacity for understanding the nature of a political party. Studies

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1). Hess and Torney, p.82.

2). Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics, p.74.

3). B. Stacey, Political Socialization in Western Society, p.13.

4). W. Gardner, 'Political Socialization', p.37.

conducted by Greenstein and Easton indicated that children do not become familiar with the term of political party until the age of 9, although they were able to assert a party attachment before this age (age 7 for Easton and age 9 for Greenstein.[1] By the age of 9 the majority of children could not name the leaders of the two American parties. After the age of 10 children can name one party leader and by the age of 13 children name leaders of the two parties.[2] Children cannot understand the differences between political parties on specific issues before the age of 13.[3]

Attachment to a political party seems to be acquired in early age in personal terms. Like attachment to national loyalty or the political system, initial partisanship lacks cognitive content. The child has feelings about political parties without information or understanding of what constitutes a political party, the differences between them and their attitudes toward specific issues. As the child grows older, he acquires information about political parties and at the age of 13 he becomes aware of the differences between them. He also begins to distinguish between the different views of political parties towards specific issues.

It is quite clear that the different aspects of

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1). Easton and Hess, 'The Child's Political World', p.245; F. Greenstein, Children and Politics, p.71.

2). F. Greenstein, Children and Politics, p.71-72.

3). Hess and Torney, p.80.

political concepts in early childhood are related to the stage of the intellectual development of the individual. Young children are tied to personal figures of nation attachment and political system. Early attachment to the political system seems to be in positive feelings. Although many children have little knowledge, they rapidly develop their political attitudes during the period of childhood. As the child gets older personal aspects become less important and are replaced by impersonal concepts. Children's thinking becomes more cognitive and at the end of this stage (at age 13) their thinking becomes more abstract.

The young child's failure to understand political concepts in the abstract is due to intellectual limitations. Political concepts such as the political system and community are abstract ideas and they include a wide range of relationships not merely between persons but also between groups in the society as a whole. They also embrace many purposes and ideological concepts of their own. Young children's thinking is restricted by egocentric thought. In their research Adelson and O'Neil concluded that until the age of 11, young children's failure to grasp political concepts in the abstract can be attributed to two factors. "First : these children are,in Piaget's sense, egocentric, in that they cannot transcend a purely personal approach to matters which require a sociocentric perspective. Second : they treat political issues in a concrete fashion and cannot manage the requisite abstractness of attitude". (1)

1). Joseph Adelson and Robert P.O'Neil,'Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence:The Sense of Community', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1966, Vol.4, No.3, p.297.

The Development of Political Concepts in Adolescence.

Researches indicate that major increases in political knowledge, with an understanding of political processes and more interest in political events, take place during the period of adolescence. The adolescent begins to develop his political thinking and interests in a more adult way.(1) During this period much is learned about the structure and mechanisms of government, the political system and a sense of community. Perspectives of time are developed: past, present and future. "The adolescent begins to understand historical occurrences in their chronological sequence and also to anticipate the potential sequences of political actions. Ideological thinking begins to develop and social groupings increasingly take on political relevance."(2)

The early years of adolescence, from the age of about 12 or 13 to 16, are marked by important developments. Basic orientations towards politics and the norms of the political system are established.(3) Adelson found, during these years, that the adolescent's understanding of the political world is like that of adults. The adolescent moves with some agility within the terrain of political concepts, he has reached the stage of being able to understand abstract ideas and his capacity to deal

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1). S. Gillman and E.Sofer, 'Children, adolescents, and politics' p.83; R.Dawson et al., p.58.

2).B. Stacey, p.19.

3) William A. Welsh, Studying Politics,Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., London, 1973, p.125; R. Dowson and J. Hughes, Political Sociology, p.187; Easton and Hess, 'The Child's Political World', p.236.

with ideological thinking increases.[1] Early adolescence is also characterized by increased interest in political affairs and the ability to reason politically.

Morrison investigated British children's attitudes towards international affairs. He concluded that children, in early adolescence, become aware of the concept of the Cold War in terms of the Western viewpoint of East-West affairs. This awareness was achieved before international affairs were taught by formal instruction in schools.[2] The American child at approximately the age of 14 was able to reason politically. Sigel quoted from the responses of children to unreasonable behaviour of the President, "...we would not re-elect him. Congress would not pass his bills, he would not be voted money to run government, he might be impeached".[3] These reponses were beyond the capacity of the younger children. Stacey argues that the period from 13 to 15, in comparison with the period from 16 to 18, is characterized by quick growth in political cognition.[4]

Although the studies on the development of political concepts during adolescence have emphasized the importance of the early years of adolescence, this does not mean that no development takes place as the adolescent matures. Children's knowledge and ability to understand and think

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1). Joseph Adelson, 'The Political Imagination of the Young Adolescent', in Jerome Kogan and Robert Coles (eds.), Twelve to Sixteen:Early Adolescence, W.W. Norton and Company Inc., New York, 1972, p.106.

2). A. Morrison, 'Attitudes of Children Towards International Affairs', Educational Research, Vol.9. No.3, 1967, p.201.

3). R. Sigel,'Political Socialization:Some Reflections on Current Approaches and Conceptualizations', Unpublished paper presented at the Meetings of the American Political Science Association, New York, September 1966, p.8, Quoted by R.Dawson et al., p.54.

4). B.Stacey, p.31.

about politics continues to grow during adolescence. Their political thinking becomes more crystallized and refined than it was previously.(1)

Joseph Adelson and his associates have investigated the shifts in character of political thought through interviews with about 450 adolescents, ranging in age from 11 - 18, in the United States, Great Britain, and West Germany. Their findings indicate that the development during this period is due primarily to ageing. Although there were some national differences in political thought during the period of adolescence, these differences are by no means as strong as the effects of ageing. "A twelve-year-old German youngster's ideas of politics are closer to those of a twelve-year- old American than to those of his fifteen-year-old brother".(2) There were some differences in sex, intelligence and social class, but these differences also do not count as a potent factor in the growth of political concepts. "Bright adolescents are capable of abstract thought a bit earlier; members of the upper middle class are somewhat less authoritarian, but these differences are on the whole minor. What does count, and count heavily, is age".(3)

Although the sense of community is primarily due to ageing, the responses of the American and German adolescents

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1). R. Dowson et al., p.5; R. Dowson and J.Hughes, Political Sociology,p.187.
2). J. Adelson, 'The Political Imagination of the Young Adolescent', p.108.
3). J. Adelson, p.107.

emphasize the importance of community, social harmony, and strengthening the state more than British adolescents.[1] It is believed in Britain, in contrast to the United States and Germany, that the benefit of the law and political decisions accrue to the individual rather than to the community as a whole. "For the British, what comes first is the well-being of the individual citizen. Whereas the German or American might say that what is good for the community is good for the citizen, the British clearly believe that what is good for the citizen is good for the country. "[2]

Authoritarian attitudes decline from early through mid-adolescence to late adolescence. In early adolescence there is an ingenuous belief in the goodness and justice of authority. It is difficult for the young adolescent to imagine that authority might be arbitrary or mistaken. Thus he supports any law, even when he is not altogether clear about its purpose. He feels that his duty is to obey the law. The young adolescent's orientation towards government and law is trusting, uncritical and acquiescent. These concepts change as the adolescent moves through adolescence. At fourteen, fifteen and beyond, the adolescent's thinking towards authority becomes critical and pragmatic.[3] He understands that concepts of

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1). J. Adelson, pp.139-140.

2). Ibid., p.136.

3). B. Stacey, p.33; S.Gillman and E.Sofer, 'Children, adolescents, and politics', p.85; J. Adelson, pp.117-119.

individual rights and becomes aware that law and social policy can be changed or amended.

Adelson concluded that the most important change is the achievement of abstractness in the transition from the threshold of adolescence to middle adolescence (ages 14 and 15). This change is illustrated by comparing the responses to the question : what is the purpose of laws? The answers for the age of twelve or thirteen were: "they do it, like in schools, so that people don't get hurt. If we had no laws, people could go around killing people. So people don't steal or kill." The answers for the age fourteen or fifteen were : "to ensure safety and enforce the government. To limit what people can do."(1) It is clear that the difference between these two responses is that the political thinking of adolescents at the threshold is related to concrete examples, while at the middle of adolescence, political thinking takes place in abstract conceptions.

The youngster by mid-adolescence can deal with abstractions in relating to society or community. At the threshold of adolescence the youngster gives few signs of a sense of community. He cannot imagine social reality in the abstract. He enters adolescence with only the weakest sense of social institutions : their structure,

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1). J. Adelson, p.108.

functions, norms and principles which link these institutions to each other. With advancing age, the adolescent begins to understand the structure and functioning of the social order as a whole. At the same time he also begins to understand the specific social institutions and their relations to the whole. The failure to achieve abstractness does not permit young adolescents to understand political concepts such as community, authority, rights, liberty, equity and representation. By the age of fifteen they can understand these concepts. In the early years of adolescence, the child's mind is locked into the present. He shows little sense of history or a precise and differentiated sense of the future.(1) Gradually he becomes able to link past and present to understand that the present is influenced by the past. At the same time he develops the ability to imagine the future and what aspects of the present may be important for the future.

As in Piaget's model on the theory of cognitive development, it seems that the adolescent moves from concrete operations to formal operation in understanding his political world. His thinking ability to deal with political concepts in the abstract has been achieved. By the age of 11 children's political concepts are understood in terms of concrete and egocentric thinking.

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1). Ibid., p.109,110; J. Adelson and O'Neil, 'Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence', p.304.

But by the age of 13, approximately, children begin to be able to deal with political abstractions and to use the hypothetico-deductive method of formulating and testing hypotheses.

Adelson and O'Neil, in their study on development of political concepts in children at the age of 11, 13, 15 and 18, concluded that the child at 11 cannot achieve the capacity for formal operations. His thinking is concrete, egocentric, tied to the present; he is unable to envisage long-range social consequences; he cannot comfortably reason from premises; he has not attained hypothetico-deductive modes of analysis. At age 13, the child achieves these capacities some of the time, but he is unable to display them with any consistent effectiveness. The child at this age is on the threshold of mature modes of reasoning.(1) The 15 year-old has an assured grasp of formal thought. He neither hesitates nor falters in dealing with the abstract. The differences between age 15 and 18 are less than between age 11 and 13 or 13 and 15. The 18-year-old is the 15-year-old, but he knows more, he speaks more fluently and he can elaborate his idea. His thinking becomes more philosophical and ideological.(2)

The development of political concepts over the school years has its importance in the process of political

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1). Ibid., P.305

2). Ibid., p.306

education. Each period has its characteristics. Therefore, it is not permissible to assess any one period as the most important.

The period of childhood which consists of early childhood (between the ages 5 to 9) and late childhood (approximately ages nine to thirteen) is an important period of the process of political education. It is believed that what an individual acquires in the way of political concepts in the early years plays an important role in the development of individual personality and the individual's attitudes towards politics. Early political learning is not easily changed later in life because what individuals learn as children is more permanently ingrained than what they learn in later life.(1) In recent times this belief has been supported by psycho-analytic theorizing which stresses both childhood as a major formative period of life and the inter-relationship of authority structures in family and society.(2)

As has been seen, studies indicated that positive feelings toward nationality and the political system are acquired in early years. Easton and Dennis supported these findings and they found positive feelings toward the political system continue until even the end of childhood and the beginning of adolescence. "When the child is thirteen or fourteen years of age...(he) still

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1). P.W. Musgrave, The Sociology of Education, p.22.

2). B. Stacey, p.5.

regards government and individual authorities as great blessings...He seems reluctant to give up his initial, highly positive evaluation...the early formation of a bond...is hard to loosen."(1) Easton and Hess concluded also, that children at the age of 12 and 13 have developed highly favourable opinions towards the political system and government.(2)

According to these findings, it is difficult for children to lose their early attachment to the political system and nationality. Positive feelings in this period, therefore, count as important factors in the process of political learning in order to support the political system. If the political system desires to perpetuate itself, and it does, it is easy to do that through political socialization. This can be done by providing children with the informations and attitudes creating positive feelings.

It has been shown that the development of political outlook rapidly changes during the period of childhood. Great changes take place at the beginning of the period of late childhood, at the ages of 9 and 10.(3) Nine seems to be the age of the " world view" and there is an increase in children's ability to discuss and understand political concepts. By the age of eleven, children are capable not only of acquiring political information, but

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1). Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System,p.128.

2). Easton and Hess, ' The Child's political World', p.240.

3). Hess and Torney, p.26.

of using it intelligently."[1] In addition, it has been concluded that between early childhood and the age of eleven, approximately, children's thinking lacks the cognitive element and they cannot understand the political world in abstract conceptions. They acquire their political concepts in personal perceptions or concrete fashion. By the end of late childhood and threshold of adolescence, the capacity of children increases to comprehend abstract political ideas and to distinguish between political roles. Development of cognitive thinking during these years enable children to understand and think about their political world more than the children before these ages.

From this perspective the period of childhood is important with respect to the changes in the development of political concepts. Children develop their information and knowledge about the political world in late childhood. This development has an important implication for political education with an emphasis on the personal, symbols and concrete thinking until the age of 11 approximately. Political and social attitudes, relationships between individuals and society, are too complex and too difficult for children at these ages to comprehend. They must be symbolized by material or symbols to be understood. The end of late childhood and threshold of adolescence, ages 12 to 13 approximately, becomes more important because the child begins to understand the political world in more impersonal and abstract thinking.

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1). O. Stevens, Children Talking Politics, p.168,173.

As has been seen, studies investigating the development of political concepts during the pre-adult period suggested that Piaget's stages of development of cognitive thinking coincide with the development of political concepts. However, Piaget's model of cognitive development is not necessarily a rigid model for the development of political learning. Piaget and his scholar followers, such as Adoleson and O'Neil, were more interested in the interpretation of the development of political concepts on the basis of the theory of cognitive development. In spite of the significance of this theory, political learning and the acquisition of political concepts can also be explained and reinforced through environmental stimuli and social status.

For example, Jahoda replicated Piaget and Weil's study, on the development in children of the idea of homeland and of relation with other countries, with Scottish children between the age of 6 and 11 in Glasgow.(1) He found that it was impossible to follow exactly the limited procedures in Piaget and Weil's research. Jahoda's findings paid considerable attention to social status. Jahoda concluded that Piaget made a mistake in his assumption that children under the age of 11 were not able to understand nationality relations because of their inability to make logical class inclusions. However, both studies revealed that children between 6 - 7 and 8 - 9 years showed a marked increase in awareness of other

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1). B. Stacey, Political Socialization in Western Society, p.51.

countries. The more significant finding in the Jahoda study was the "white-collar" children revealed a higher level of awareness than other children. Moreover, as has already been indicated although Adelson attempted to attribute the development of political thought mainly to age and cognitive development, it is clear that national differences and social status have their impact upon the development of political concepts.

Furthermore, Greenstein and Easton and Dennis's findings showed that upper class children exceed lower-class children in their political interests.(1) Tapper argues that adolescents from privileged families are more interested in politics than those who come from other families.(2) Social class differences are due to the differences in the home atmosphere and the political interest of parents from different social classes.(3) Middle and upper class American parents are generally more interested in politics and current events and have a more developed educational background than lower class parents. Children from the middle and upper classes are more inclined to acquire , from their parents, an interest in political affairs, than children from the lower class, although there are obviously inter-class variations.

Other studies proved that some children are able to

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1). Freed I. Greenstein, Children and Politics, p.94, 115; Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System, p.349.

2). E.R. Tapper, Political Education and Stability, p.64.

3). Hess and Torney, p.100.

think about political concepts in the abstract before they reach the age of eleven or twelve. Dowse argues that children between the ages of seven and thirteen years come to perceive the political world in a more abstract manner. (1) In another study conducted with children in the age range four to eight, Jackson found that the political concepts of Prime Minister and the notion of the state are somewhat abstract to the young English child. (2) However, Olive Stevens found that some children at the age of nine were able "to construct the possibility of alternative social and political arrangements to their present ways of life, and to justify these alternatives according to certain principles." (3)

This ability is related to the stage of formal operations or abstract thought which takes place at the age of 12, approximately, in Piaget's model. It would seem, however, that the development of political concepts may occur earlier than the expectations of the theory of cognitive development. The process of political education may speed up the development of political concepts.

According to studies of the development of political concepts during adolescence, it can be concluded that the period from the onset of adolescence (age 12 or 13)

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1). R. Dowse and J. Hughes, Political Sociology, p.187

2). R. Jackson, 'The Development of Political Concepts in Young Children', p.55.

3). O. Stevens, Children Talking Politics, p.169.



until mid-adolescence (roughly age 15) is characterized by significant developments. Maturation of abstract thought has established during these years. The ability to think in abstract enables the adolescent to deal with political concepts in an abstract and critical way. He becomes able to understand political processes and is more interested in political affairs. These developments have their importance in the implications for the process of political education during the ages 13 to 15 approximately.

If an understanding of politics depends on the criticial thinking and abstract concepts and if political education aims at the development of criticial thinking and an interest in politics, these ages can be considered as an important time to introduce political education. Political education can be continued through late adolescence because the adolescent's political thinking becomes more crystallized than in the previous ages.

It is quite clear that political learning is not confined to specific ages, but it can be introduced to all ages in the pre-adult, from early childhood to late adolescence, in primary and in secondary schools according to characteristics of the development of political concepts at these periods.

Formal Political Education in School.

Researchers generally regard school as primarily a

formal institution of political education.(1) Formal instruction of political education within the school can take several different forms, for example, it can be included within the curriculum as a subject in its own right or in other subjects such as history and civics. The styles of administration of the school can also be regarded as an influential factor in political education.

Although the formal educational system is only one among the many agencies and processes involved in the formation of political orientations, it is accepted by some researchers that formal schooling is the most important agent of political education.(2) This idea is derived from the fact that school is more readily controlled by the state than other agencies of political education. Schools transmit political beliefs through conscious and planned instruction. That is to say schools are direct rather than indirect, although they include indirect methods, agents of political education and transmit their political role in a deliberate way rather than a non-deliberate way.

Formal schooling in most nations is used as a legitimating agency for the dominant ideas and values in society and for the social order and its power structure.(3)

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1). For example, I. Volgyes, 'Political Socialization in Eastern Europe: A Conceptual Framework', in Ivan Volgyes (ed.), Political Socialization in Eastern Europe:A Comparative Framework, Praeger Publishers Inc., London, 1975, p.13; J.S.Coleman, 'Introduction:Education and Political Development', in J.S.Coleman (ed.), Education and Political Development, p.19; W.Gardner, 'Political Socialization', p.47; R.Dawson et.al., p.138; R.Douse & H.Hughes, Political Sociology, p.186, R. Welssberg, Political Learning, p.15.

2). E. Tapper, Political Education and Stability, p.38.

3). B. Stacey, p.75.

Volgyes argues that formal educational institutions in the communist countries are more important as agents of political learning than in non-communist countries. Educational institutions under communist direction attempt to inculcate the norms of the regime in pupils' minds.(1) It is expected that the communist system subdues all educational institutions under its control more than in the democracies in order to create compliance to the communist ideology.

School is not restricted to formal political education. It also includes informal, direct and indirect learning of political orientations. Social climate, styles of behaviour, and unplanned activities contribute to the acquisition of political orientations. Langton argues that school can implant political beliefs informally through unintentional, casual experiences in the school environment.(2) It appears that although schools include informal political learning, it is in the first place formal instruction of political learning. Curriculum, styles of administration, most activities and ritual life are consciously introduced into school and are planned by official bodies.

It is difficult to separate or distinguish between the formality and informality of some school activities,

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1). I. Volgyes, 'Political Socialization in Eastern Europe', p.13.

2). K. Langton, p.84.

but certain school activities mainly take place in an informal way. Nevertheless, informal activities and indirect learning have a significant impact upon the development of political education. For example, voluntary activities develop the children's ability to take a part in, to organize and to make responsible choices in their activities. "Learning to weigh the alternative claims of different activities, choosing between them and then committing oneself to them fully, is essential to maturity and requires, in itself, a skill essential to the democratic society".(1) The significance of these activities lies in the fact that they occur voluntarily away from school authority and in an interesting way. Moreover, voluntary activities give children the opportunity to contact and deal with other institutions, bodies, and personnel outside the school.

Entwistle argues that school activities outside the curriculum encourage children in considerable participation, management and the making of policy. He quotes from Coleman:

> Suppose we take the focus away from internal government - that is, decisions about the way the school should be run - and put it on external actions, actions which the student body can take towards the outside : interscholastic competition, expositions, class excursions, parties, community surveys, or work projects. Students can be given a wide range of authority over such activities without endangering the policies or procedures of the school. (2)

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1). Entwistle, Political Education in a Democracy, p.65.

2). Ibid., p.63

The Effect of School on Political Education.

The effectiveness of political education within the school depends on many factors both internal and external. Internally it is related to the curriculum, teachers and their attitudes, styles of administration, activities and the social climate. Externally, agencies such as the family, peer groups, and mass media either support or negate the work of the school. Dawson says "although education programs are more uniform, manipulable, and deliberate than the family, they are generally short of total control and uniform effect."(1) Langton suggested that schools' impact is still an unsettled question because very little has been done to examine systematically the influence of the school environment. (2) Beck supports this view and attributes the unsettled role of school influence to two reasons. First, researches in political learning have considered the family as the primary model in the process of political socialization, at the same time relegating schools to a secondary role. Second, severe methodological problems in demonstrating a school's influence have hindered researchers. (3)

In spite of these findings, school has its prominent role in political learning. Langeveld argues that studies which prove that school has the primary role in the

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1). R. Dawson et al., p.169.

2). K. Langton, p.84

3). Paul Allen Beck, 'The Role of Agents in Political Socialization', in S.A.Renshon (ed.), Handbook of Political Socialization,p.128.

formation of political attitudes are not less than studies which have relegated the role of school to a subordinate position. (1) Dawson stresses that although there are some factors working against the role of school, it remains one of the more controllable sources of political learning. (2) Almond and Verba suggest that the school is more influential in the formation of political behaviour than the family. (3)

School has been used as an institution of political learning since ancient times. In recent times it has become more important since the political role of traditions, churches and elites have diminished. (4) Heater emphasizes that if the school omits politics from the curriculum, it will neglect its duty to prepare the young for the life. (5) Key and Gardner concur with Heater and they see the educational system as a powerful force for induction into citizenship and in providing a view of the political world. (6)

It seems that although some research has relegated the importance of school on political learning, school still has a significant role in the process of political education. School is closer to the political system, therefore it is more responsive than the family to state controls. Consequently it has a greater significance for

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1). W. Langeveld, pp.31-32.

2). R. Dawson et al., p.169.

3). Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, p.268.

4). W. Langeveld, 'Political Education:Pros and Cons', in D.Heater and J. Gillespie,(eds.) Political Education in Flux, p.24.

5). H. Heater, 'Political Studies in the School', in B, Crick and D. Heater, Essays on Political Education, p.23.

6). V.O. Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, Alfred A.Knoph, New York, 1961, p.317; W.Gardner, 'Political Socialization', p.39.

shaping political attitudes. In addition, the significance of school is related to its influence during the crucial years of the development of political attitudes in childhood and adolescence.

In the United States school is the most important agent of political education. An American educator reports

> School is the greatest and most effective of all Americanization agencies. This is the one place where all children in a community or district, regardless of nationality, religion, politics, or social status, meet and work together in co-operative and harmonious spirit...The children work and play together, they catch the school spirit, they live the democratic life, American heroes become their own, American history wins their loyalty, the Stars and Stripes, always before their eyes in the school room, receive their daily salute. Not only are these immigrant children Americanized through the public school, but they, in turn, Americanize their parents carrying into the home many lessons of democracy learned at school. (1)

It seems that the American school is an important instrument in promoting the community spirit, Americanizing the citizens and preparing them for the American way of life in a democratic society. This aim of school is derived from the fact that the United States have a large number of immigrants who differed in their social and political values. This aim is derived also from the belief that the American political system is a democratic one. Moreover, the United States is considered a super power which tries to prove and display its ideology against the Soviet Union.

In line with the previous case, the schools in most modern countries and the Soviet Union occupy a significant

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1). A. Dahl, Who Governs?, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1961, pp.317-318, Quoted by R. Dawson, et al., p.3.

role in learning its political orientations. Beck argues that the Soviet Union is alleged to have played a critical role in socializing children to the norms of communism.(1) Key observed that schools are used as a major element of the apparatus of the modern state in learning apecific political orientations. In his comparative observations "elementary and secondary schools mould children into little Americans, little Germans, little Russians. They propagate the historical lore of the people, the myths, the beliefs and the faiths....Beyond its inculcation of values and beliefs, the educational system develops intellectual skills and basic attitudes that are reflected in the political behaviour and opinion of the adult long after he has left school."(2) English school is not the same as American or Russian school, although the former is considered a centre at which an individual acquires the characteristics of citizenship.(3)

In fact, educational systems in most societies reflect their social and political ideology. Although most societies use schools to transfer the social and political values to the new generation, they differ in the aims and ways of political education which depend on the values of a society and the norms of its political system.

School influence on political learning has two

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1). P.A. Beck, 'The Role of Agents in Political Socialization', p.131.

2). V.O. Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, p.315.

3). E. Tapper, Political Education and Stability, p.45.

dimensions. It is utilized to encourage the loyalty and commitment to the country and the values of its political system. School contributes to integration within the society and to maintaining the political system. It helps, develops and transmits certain bases of political orientation that members of a society should share in a specific era.(1) This aim can be realized by introducing a curriculum which informs students of the system and its norms, and through ritual life inculcates patriotism, positive feelings and attitudes towards political leaders and institutions.

Educational policy makers assume that systematic exposure to the national symbols will produce greater attachment and respect for the nation and its institutions.(2) Patriotic feelings are transmitted to children through the ritual life of the school : saluting the flag, repeating the pledge of allegiance and singing patriotic songs. In addition, pictures of historical figures, national heroes, sayings and maxims of leaders and their pictures are displayed to inculcate patriotic feelings in children. In the American school, "the feelings of respect for the pledge and national anthem are reinforced daily and seldom questioned by the child."(3) Rituals surrounding the flag and other national symbols are more

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1). D. Easton, 'The Function of Formal Education in a Political System", p.311.

2). R. Dawson et al., p.146.

3). R. Hess and T. Torney, The Development of Basic Attitudes and Values Toward Government and Citizenship During the Elementary School Years, The University of Chicago, Chicago, 1965, p.202

frequently presented to young children than to older children.

It is assumed that these acts produce awe for government, attitudes of submission, respect and dependence. Ritual life in the early years of school establishes "an emotional orientation towards country and flag even though an understanding of the meaning of the words and actions has not been developed. These seem to be indoctrinating acts that cue and reinforce feelings of loyalty and patriotism. This early orientation prepares the child for later learning and stresses the importance of loyalty for citizens of all ages."(1) The importance of ritual life springs from the nature of group activities and their behaviour which is considered more meaningful and effective when these acts are practised collectively in school. From this perspective school is more important than the family in implanting loyalty and patriotic feelings towards the nation, political system and its values.

Inculcation of political knowledge and emphasis of loyalty towards the political system is an indoctrination process. Schools in most régimes use political indoctrination with the aim of inculcating loyalty, values and norms of the system and its institutions to the nation. Deliberately or unintentionally through textbooks and ritual life, school tries to advocate and justify the social and political system of a particular society.

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1). Ibid., pp.202-207.

In the Soviet Union it is believed that political indoctrination plays a significant part in the educational process. Soviet political indoctrination was emphasized by educational leaders in the early years of the Soviet state to implant communist morality. In bringing up children Soviet educational leaders suggest that the aim is "the formation of behaviour, character and traits of personality necessary to the Soviet State."(1) The major task of education is to inculcate loyalty and to support the political system and its leaders.

Schools in the Soviet Union are the most important agent in carrying on political indoctrination. According to Merriam, "the Communists in Russia have seized upon the schools as one of the most effective agencies for the purpose of building up a new generation impregnated with communist doctrines and ideals.(2) In all stages of the educational ladder schools impress upon the mind of the pupil the values of communism and its norms. With great enthusiasm they teach revolutionary history, struggles, victories, heroes, the philosophy of Marx and Lenin, and the principles of communism.

The Soviet Union is not the only country which utilizes schools as a means of political indoctrination. Governments in all new nations use their educational system to introduce socio-political indoctrination.(3) Political

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1). N.A.Lyalin (ed.), Kollektiv i razvitie lichnosti, Leningrad, 1962, p.28, Quoted by Frederick C. Barghoorn, Politics in the USSR, Second Edition, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1972, p.94.

2). Charles Edward Merriam, The Making of Citizens:A Comparative Study of Methods of Civic Training, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1931, p.93.

3). B. Stacey, p.3.

indoctrination is also to be found in some democratic nations. As has been mentioned schools programmes in the United States also have political content with a view of instilling political beliefs and loyalty to the nation. Jaros concludes from various pieces of research that direct indoctrination has important political consequences. American school programmes are designed to buttress the young against the influence of Communism. In spite of this approach of political indoctrination, educators stress the virtues of democracy and encourage participation in the affairs of government.(1) Political learning in the United States is not restricted to political indoctrination. It takes into its consideration the democratic attitude by giving the opportunity to discuss political affairs.

It seems that most countries teach their political values and support their system. Political indoctrination is related to what the norms and values of a country are and to what extent it needs to support the specific political system it embraces. Political indoctrination depends on how much the values of the society permits it.

It is expected that : first, a new nation feels the need for political indoctrination more than older nations. Secondly, while indoctrination in non-democratic countries

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1). D. Jaros, Socialization to Politics, p.15.

has a prominent role in the process of political education, democratic countries do not encourage this fashion of political education. The first expectation relates to the need of new nations for unity and harmony within the society and also the need to support their new system. The second expectation derives from the fact that democratic attitudes give an individual the opportunity to learn about other values and have the right to select between different alternatives with the aim of improving the values of the system.

Although democratic attitudes do not encourage indoctrination within the process of political education, Heater argues that the fear of indoctrination is one of the factors which leads to the neglect of political education in Britain.(1) Langeveld, however, maintains that indoctrination should not be a fundamental reason to hinder political education because this fear is common in other subjects such as history and religion.(2)

The common impression, then, is that whilst the degree of political indoctrination depends very much on the values and political ideology of a country, political indoctrination has its enthusiastic advocates in most countries. This belief is supported by Merriam.(3) Dawson also argues that most political regimes and

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1). Derek Heater, 'A Burgeoning of Interest:Political Education in Britain',International Journal of Political Education, Vol.1. Part 4, November, 1978, p.325.

2). W. Langeveld, 'Political Education:Pros and Cons', p.46.

3). C. Merriam, The Making of Citizens, p.19.

educational leaders accept political indoctrination as an important part of education. (1)

Although indoctrination in political education has its advocates, some researchers reject this dimension of political education. Crick contends that teachers "should not advocate one doctrine or another." (2) Leming argues that indoctrination in school is not effective in shaping either student's moral knowledge or moral behaviour. (3) Dawson argues that political indoctrination may be quite ineffective. (4) In his view there is not clear evidence that particular values that are taught are internalized by the student. Moreover, attempts to introduce political indoctrination in some school courses seems to be boring to the student.

It seems there are two related issues in which political indoctrination is regarded as acceptable. First, loyalty to the nation is different from support of specific values and a political system. What justifies this view is there are many revolutions against specific values and systems. These revolutions are led by patriotic individuals with the aim of realizing the development of a society. In the light of this perspective political indoctrination is an important approach of political education with the aim of supporting loyalty to the nation.

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1). R. Dawson et al., p.169.

2). B. Crick, 'The Introducing of Politics in Schools', p.15.

3). James S. Leming, 'Implications for Teaching Values', Social Education, Vol.43, No.7, November-December 1979, p.597.

4). R. Dawson et al., p.146.

Second, and related to the first, societies are always changeable, therefore political indoctrination to specific values is not permitted. In this perspective political indoctrination diminishes political education. School indoctrination is only one dimension of political learning, it should not be restricted to particular values and a system.

As well as conserving values in a society the educational system has also a role in introducing wider social and political values. Schools "are in the position of being able to do something about changing an ethnocentric atmosphere to a more global one".(1) Crick concurs with this approach of political education and he argues that teaching of politics should help to embrace other political viewpoints.(2) Political education within the schools can include studying international leaders, other political and social values which are different from one's own, and issues in international politics. From this dimension of political education within the school, it is expected that the ability of pupils in critical thinking can be developed. Moreover, they can discuss and participate in political affairs and become able to improve their social and political values of the society. The basis for this idea is that children of today will be the adults

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1). W. Gardner, 'Political Socialization', pp.48-49.

2). Crick and Porter, p.33.

of the future.

Thus Crick suggests three logical stages of comprehensive and objective political education within schools. First, political education should take into consideration knowledge of the political system; its values and how the system works. Secondly, political education creates active citizens who can participate in public affairs and influence them. This requires an appreciation of different viewpoints, values and interests within a society. The third stage is related to the possibility of changes or alternative values to the system. (1) To realise the third stage it is necessary for students to be habituated to use critical thinking of the values of society and other values he will meet in the real world. Thus any good programme of political education should include all of the three stages.

These three stages of political education within the school are related to both conservative and progressive theories. Conservative theory regards political education as a means of respecting values and traditions of a society and maintaining the status-quo. "If the main goal of political education is the legitimization of the status-quo with all its injustice, inequalities in power....it is understandable that progressives reject it." (2) The progressive view is to give an individual the opportunity to use his ability as much as possible to create and

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1). B. Crick, 'Basic Political Concepts and Curriculum Development', pp.90-91.

2). W. Langeveld, 'Political Education:Pros and Cons', p.31.

improve the values and system of a society.

Most political régimes desire to perpetuate their values and systems. In many countries educational policy makers and school programme designers are in a position of authority and also close to the government. Therefore, it is difficult for political education to work in such a way that contradicts the values of the system, that is to say the progressives view is not easy to realize. Even so the educational system can be used to improve the values of a society.

It can be concluded that political education should teach children not only the values of the system to cope with that society as conservative theory believes, but also how to improve values and systems of their own society as it is believed in the view of progressive theory. In other words it is necessary for political education to take into consideration conservative and progressive theories in maintaining the political values and system of society in addition to improving and changing them.

School influence on political learning can take three different forms, the provision of knowledge, the development of participation skills and the shaping of attitudes. School provides pupils with political knowledge about the system and its values and how the system works. It also develops students' participation skills and their attitudes towards the system and its values. As has already been discussed, (1) children learn significant

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1). See the part of the Development of Political Concepts.

information and acquire political attitudes towards the system during the years of primary and secondary schools.

Almond and Verba in their cross-national studies in five nations (United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Mexico) stressed the crucial influence of the school on political attitudes. Among other factors and variables, "none compares with the educational variable in the extent to which it seems to determine political attitudes. The uneducated man or the man with limited education is a different political actor from the man who has achieved a high level of education...even when these additional factors are controlled, respondents of lower and higher education still differ substantially in political attitudes."(1) In all the five nations, the study's findings proved strong correspondences between the level of education and political attitudes. There were substantial differences between an individual who had received more education and an individual who had received less education in his attitudes towards politics. Compared with a less educated person, a more educated person:

1) is more aware of the impact of government.
2) is more likely to report that he follows politics and pays attention to election campaigns,
3) has more political information,
4) is more interested in political subjects and more likely to engage in political discussion,

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1). Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, p.379.

5) feels free to discuss politics with a wider range of people,

6) is more likely to consider himself competent to influence the government,

7) is more likely to be a member of some organization, and

8) is more likely to express confidence in his social environment.(1)

In each of the five nations, the degree of the differences between those who have had a primary education and those who have had a higher education is at least twenty percentage points. "More complex attitudes depend upon such basic orientation as awareness of the political system, information about it, and some exposure to its operations. It is just this basic set of orientations that those of limited education tend not to have".(2) The prominent role of a school's influence on political orientation has been emphasized by other studies. Key, in his research, concluded that : (1) a more educated individual feels that his duty is to vote and to fulfill his political role, (2) a well educated citizen feels more competent in his political efficacy, and he thought that the government has regard for him and he could reach it, 3) a better educated person is more active in politics.(3)

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1). Ibid., pp.380-381.

2). Ibid., p.382.

3).V.O. Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, pp.323-331.

In a large measure Key's findings correspond with Almond and Verba cross-national studies. The common conclusion is that schools have a significant effect over the process of the formation of political attitudes and acquiring political knowledge. Political outlook varies with the extent of education. The well educated person has more political knowledge, more interest and activity in politics, he feels more competent in discussing political issues and in influencing the government than those of limited education. These differences which refer to educational differences are associated with other differences in social and political behaviour. In school an individual learns specific subjects, acquires political information and skills that develop his political attitudes and helps him to participate and to involve in political actions. In a large measure schools also reflect the values of society and its political system and transmit them to an individual.

Although political information has an important role in understanding the political system and issues, in formulating political attitudes, in participating in political affairs and in making decisions, Ehman argues that an over emphasis on political knowledge goals can result in negative outcomes of attitudes. (1) It is a predominant role for schools to take into consideration knowledge, participation and attitudes and also to achieve the balance between them.

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1) Lee H. Ehman, 'Implication for Teaching Citizenship', p.595.

Political education is considered a significant factor in creating a predisposition towards political participation and preparing young people for this activity. A school's environment and structure can be viewed as a minor political system. Pupils may extrapolate the styles of authority and relationships within the school to the political system.(1) Schools can provide students with many opportunities to be involved in a participating process. Students can improve their participation skills from experiences within the school such as taking part in classroom discussion and curriculum decisions, school activities, interaction between different individuals and groups, and election processes. These experiences develop competence in decision-making.

When Welssberg examined the behaviour of participation in American high school, he found that most students participated in electoral activity. However less than 50 percent participated in school decisions; only 40 percent participated in classroom discussion and only 45 percent felt free to protest against unfair treatment from teachers. (2) Political participation within schools is not restricted to voting and elections. It includes other aspects of participation such as school decisions and classroom discussion and these are considered more effective in improving participation skills than the participation in elections. Thus although democratic

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1). R. Welssberg, Political Learning, pp.88-89.

2). Ibid., pp.89-91.

values are predominant in America, American students have a low level in involving themselves in the most important processes of participation.

In spite of the fact that participation in American schools is low, there are other nations in which school participation has an even lower level. Almond and Verba's study indicated that in Britain only 16 percent of students participated in school discussions and debates, and only 35 percent felt free to discuss unfair treatment in school or to disagree with teachers. In Italy the figures were 11 percent for the former and 29 percent for the latter.(1) In Britain political education in schools was neglected during the period of the sixties.(2) Despite the high standard of democracy in Britain, the neglect of political education resulted in a low level of political participation within schools.

In a study undertaken by the Education Commission of the States in 1973, Patrick deduced that only 25 percent of 17-year-old students could mention four ways of political participation, and only 11 percent could list five techniques for exerting political influence. Less than half of the sample could participate in ballot correctly. In Patrick's view political knowledge was more prominent than participation skills in the process of political education.(3) These findings reflect a low-level

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1). Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, pp.332-333.

2). H. Entwistle, Political Education in a Democracy, p.2.

3). J. Patrick, p.199.

of political participation associated with political education.

Although political participation is a significant approach of political education, the common conclusion is that schools alone cannot develop all aspects of political participation in a large measure. In other words schools are not able to improve all approaches of political education in the same degree. Political knowledge can be taught more directly than attitudes and the intellectual skills of participation. Low-levels of political participation within schools reflect the fact that participation needs intellectual skills which require in turn high levels of cognitive thinking.

Although political educators have acknowledged the virtue of participation skills in democratic attitudes, "they have given little attention to teaching these skills."(1) Political participation depends upon many factors within the school such as curriculum and its content, attitudes of teachers, the relationships in the school community, and how much students participate in these acts.

Hess and Torney consider teachers a model in the processes of identification and imitation. (2) Thus teachers are influential in formulating children's political attitudes. Stacey sees that most teachers seek to instil

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1). Ibid., p.200.

2). Hess and Torney, p.111.

a particular view of a given society and to support its system.[1] Although teachers share in transmitting the political information and in shaping political attitudes, there is evidence to suggest that teachers can not completely develop the ability of students in political participation.

Langton deduced that American public school teachers "are often hostile or uncommitted to democratic principles".[2] When Langton examined the effect of teachers performance of secondary school on the political impact of civics curriculum, he found that teacher performance did not significantly alter curriculum effect.[3] Hess and Torney found that teachers avoid discussing the attitudes dealing with partisan conflict and disagreement in the classroom, while they express their opinions concerning other attitudes.[4] Langeveld's observations concur with Hess and Torney's findings. He observed that teachers avoid discussing national political conflicts in their classroom and they discuss international conflicts without making links to national politics.[5]

Teachers' attitudes undoubtedly have a significant role either in reinforcing or minimising the impact of classroom discussion participation in the teaching of politics. On the one hand teachers are in a sensitive

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1). B. Stacey, p.75.

2). K. Langton, p.86.

3). Ibid., p.98.

4). Hess and Torney, p.111.

5). W. Langeveld, 'Political Education: Pros and Cons', p.33.

position in discussing some political issues in the classroom such as partisan values and national policy or controversial issues. On the other hand political education should include knowing and understanding these political issues. The teacher can improve this task of political education and encourage students to political participation by introducing and discussing partisan values and controversial issues without giving any particular view or bias towards any political issues. Political participation depends very much on the variety of viewpoints. Thus teachers should help students to express all their points of view and to feel free in discussing such issues. Consequently, teachers can improve their role in reinforcing the effect of classroom discussion in political participation.

A school's role in developing the ability of students in political participation becomes more effective by introducing political knowledge to students in a critical way, to help them express their opinion, and to give them the will to participate effectively and responsibly. Participation is not developed without political information that gives students the confidence and enables them to avoid the fear and illusion in practice. Participation does not necessarily solve specific issues, it rather provides students with competence to discuss and to understand political issues.

Curriculum.

The curriculum is regarded as a significant instrument in the process of political education. "The school curriculum that lies in the heart of educational systems of western societies is one of the great cultural forms of human history. Its content embraces diverse culture traits believed to be requisite for participation in the society...Many of the basic values of the society are to reinforce (if not originally transmitted to pupils) by means of the choice of materials placed before them in society"(1) In order to transmit and reinforce social and political values of the society, the school curriculum in most countries tends to teach children subjects or lessons about politics and values of the society.

The curriculum in American primary and secondary schools includes American history and government. The aim of teaching social studies is to give children an understanding and appreciation of the American political traditions and values, in addition to implanting in them these values and preparing them to participate in the American system.(2) Learning about politics is not restricted to social studies but also occurs in other subjects such as reading, English and art.(3) Socialist countries are involved in political learning by using most of school curricula even mathematics.(4) It seems that

1). Arnold and S. Fisher, 'The Curriculum as an Instrument for Inculcating Attitudes and Values', Comparative Education Center, University of Chicago, unpublished manuscript, 1967, Quoted by R. Dawson et al., p.140.

2). Marian D. Irish and Elke Frank, Introduction to Comparative Politics: Thirteen Nation-States,Second Edition, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1978, p.154.

3). R. Welssberg, Political Learning, p.15.

4). I. Volgyes, 'Political Socialization in Eastern Europe', p.16

democratic or socialist countries utilize the school curriculum to introduce and inculcate students in their social and political values according to a specific ideology.

Social studies are more related to social values and politics, therefore, they are more significant than other school subjects in providing children with political information and in shaping their political attitudes. Civic education is one of the prominent subjects of social studies. In an early study undertaken in eight democratic and socialist countries, Merriam concluded that, "in all the systems appraised in this study, the school emerges as the heart of civic education of the political community, and in all probability will continue to function increasingly in this role."(1) The significance of civic courses in learning political orientations has been emphasized in more recent times.(2) Civic education in the United States included courses about the political system and political affairs such as American Government, Problems of Democracy, Americanism, Communism and Democracy, International Relations, World Citizenship and Comparative Politics. (3) The overriding aim of these courses is to create "compliance to rules and authority."(4) Civic education is designed to introduce children into the norms

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1). C. Marriam, The Making of Citizens, p.288.

2). O.V.Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, p.317; D. Jaros, Socialization to Politics, p.9.

3). K. Langton, p.90.

4). Hess and Torney, p.110.

and character of the system.

Langeveld argues that civic education provides students with knowledge and understanding of the processes of the political system to create a strong conviction with the existing political system.(1) Bourne observed that civic courses aim to develop the pupils' performance of their duties of citizenship by studying the structure of government and the duties of individuals towards it and by learning them the performance of social duties.(2) A wider aim of political education requires more than loyalty to the system or knowing and performance social duties.

Civic education should include the various aspects of society which are related to individuals. It must involve the concept of democracy that gives an individual the opportunity to share power, share responsibility, share respect, and to share knowledge. Therefore civic education has its important role in stimulating an interest in the processes of democratic government and in providing students with knowlexge and experiences will make them more active as citizens in the political affairs. (3) Civic education can create a good citizenship by providing students with knowledge and understanding the process of the system and its values, and by knowing the rights and duties towards the society. It should also

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1). W. Langeveld, 'Political Education:Pros and Cons', p.37.

2). Henry E. Bourne, The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and Secondary School, Longmans, Green, and Co., New York, 1921, pp.93-94.

3) Benjamin Nispel,'Teaching Civics' in Joseph S. Roucek (ed.) The Teaching of History, Peter Owen Limited, London,1968,pp.246-47.

improve the ability of students to participate in political matters.

Some studies, however, indicate that some courses in civics fail to promote political learning. In the United States some courses in government and civics failed to provide pupils with the ability to discuss political affairs.(1) From various pieces of research , Langton deduced that some courses on civics and politics had little impact upon the ability of students to participate in political affairs, although these courses have significant impact on supporting patriotic feelings and democratic beliefs.(2) These findings refer to two factors, on the one hand political participation needs practical experiences, on the other hand civic education provides children with theoretical experiences.

Although there was a lack of evidence that civics had a significant impact on political attitudes in American secondary schools, Langton's research does not support the thinking of those who look to the civics as a minor source of political learning. (3) Generally his findings revealed that civic courses had their impact on political attitudes. In his words "the more civics courses the student has had, the more likely he is to be knowledgeable, to be interested in politics, to expose himself to the

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1). David G. Armstrong, Social Studies in Secondary Education, Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1980, p.377.

2). K. Langton, pp.87-88.

3). Ibid., pp.115-16.

political content of the mass media, to have more political discourse, to feel more efficacious, to espouse a participative orientation, and to show more civic tolerance".[1] The significant role of civic courses had been reinforced by other studies. Almond and Verba's findings suggest that teaching about politics increases the political competence of an individual in the United States, Great Britain and Mexico.[2] In another study, Hess and Torney indicated that American teachers felt that teaching about politics was at least as important as other subjects (reading and arithmetic) in citizenship training.[3]

The common conclusion is that, although some researches minimise the impact of civic education in formulating students' attitudes towards political participation, it is still one of the more significant instruments in citizenship training. Langton, in his research, found that American students taking courses on traditional American Government, compared with students taking the American Problems courses, more often stressed the loyalty rather than the participation aspect.[4] It appears from this study that the impact of civic courses depends upon their content. Courses related to the political system and its values can develop loyalty and patriotic feelings,

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1). Ibid., p.97.

2). Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, p.361.

3). Hess and Torney, pp.109-110.

4). K. Langton, p.97.

while courses dealing with political affairs and problems have their impact on the development of attitudes towards political participation.

Civic education becomes more effective if its programmes are not discrepant with the child's actual observations in political life. (1) Civic education has little impact if it is only seen as a part of social and political life. So "it cannot long be forgotten that political loyalty depends upon the balance of social interests of which it is an index, and without which it is nothing...Understanding of systems of civic education will not be reached unless they are taken as a part of a total social situation". (2) Civic Courses should take into its consideration what children learn and meet in other agencies of political learning and the different attitudes within the society. Children are not satisfied if their learning differs from what they perceive in their actual life.

Bourne argues that there is "no subject in the school curriculum touches deeper-rooted or stronger interests than history." (3) This belief reflects an important implication in facilitating and simplifying the political learning through history teaching, "actual historical case studies can help breathe life into the textbook statements." (4)

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1). R. Dowse and J. Hughes, Political Sociology, p.188.

2). C. Merriam, The Making of Citizens, pp.8-11.

3). H. Bourne, The Teaching of History and Civics, p.4.

4). D. Heater, 'History Teaching and Political Education', p.151.

On the one hand history is related to politics and political life. On the other hand teaching politics includes many abstract ideas which can be drab. So many of these abstract ideas can be learned in the interesting subject of history.

History is a prominent vehicle for political education. In the United States the history curricula includes citizenship training through the study of American traditions, ideals, achievements and failures, political systems and the principles of democracy.(1) In France national history is used to foster patriotic feelings by revealing the superiority of French culture. (2) Official educational reports in Britain have asserted the importance of history for political education. The Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council in 1943 argued that through the teaching of history "we believe the best contribution can be made in schools to the growth of an informed democracy."(3) History is a significant subject in the creation of good citizenship in a democracy. In most developing countries schools use history to reveal national achievements and struggle. (4) The principal aim is to realize patriotic feelings and introduce the values of the society to children. It seems that most countries utilise history as an important instrument for

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1). B. Nispel, 'Teaching Civics', p.248.

2). W. Langeveld, 'Political Education:Pros and Cons', p.34.

3). Board of Education, Curriculum and Examination in Secondary Schools, H.M.S.O., London, 1943, p.100.

4). R. Fitzhenry, Introducing Sociology, p.173.

political education whether to create a love for the country and support for the system or to promote good citizenship. This depends upon the ideology of the country.

The significance of history in political learning is that history has wider approaches of instruction which are closely related to the different meaning of political education. History is an important subject in creating loyalty and patriotic feelings towards a particular nation. "It is impossible to look for patriotic feeling from one who is ignorant of what his country has stood for in the development of civilization".(1) National history provides children with many lessons in patriotism such as national achievements, specific civilization, victories, stories of national heroes and by transmitting a specific ideology.

This aim of history is to be found in ancient and modern time. During the Greco-Roman period history consisted largely of stories of the exploits of regional and national heroes.(2) Burston argues that history in Victorian times was seen as the "school of statesmen", at other times history is used to engender the right kind of patriotism by teaching children the heritage of their societies.(3).

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1). H. Bourne, The Teaching of History and Civics, p. 89.

2). Mehdi Nakosteen, 'Philosophies of History and the History Teacher', In J. Roucek (ed.), The Teaching of History, p.18.

3). W. H. Burston, ' The Place of History in Education', In W.H. Burston and C.W. Green (eds.), Handbook For History Teachers, Second Edition, Methuen, Educational Ltd., London, 1972, p.3.

In modern times history has served specific national interests. "Each national crisis was reflected in the history program. Republic France, independent Belgium and United Italy naturally wanted their former historical accounts revised and brought into line with the new situation. The World War had a similar effect. Revised programmes appeared in nearly all the countries, and in most instances they reflected on accentuated nationalism.[1] Whatever the degree of using history to support patriotic feelings and specific system, this approach of history depends upon the time and the need of the country to support its system although love of the country is desired by most countries regardless of the time and ideology.

History has always had a socializing function by teaching the values achieved by a country to the new generations. Consequently, history teaching could exert an influence in perpetuating the values of society. However, the purpose of history is not restricted to this approach since history can be used to evaluate and promote the values of society. This purpose can be realized :

> If the objective procedures of history are followed, it may well be that they produce pupils with knowledge and insights that will strengthen their loyalty to, and acceptance of, the values in ....society, which may be shared. On the other hand those same skills and insights may enable other pupils more effectively to challenge, indeed to seek to change, those values. If history teaching seeks to guarantee either of those outcomes, it ceases to be history and becomes indoctrination.(2)

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1). Wesley, Edgar Bruce, Teaching the Social Studies, D.C.Heath and Company Boston, 1942, 2nd. ed., pp.177-178, Quoted by Mehdi Makosteen, 'Philosophies of History and the History Teacher', p.19.

2). John Slater, 'The Case for History in School', The Historian, No.2, Spring 1984, p.16.

Political education is not restricted to preserve or promote the values of society and its system. It includes knowing and understanding international events and activities. History can develop this approach of political education by studying history of the other societies. Corresponding with this approach the D.E.S. in 1967 argues "that we ought to be teaching world history rather than British history."(1) Professor Batho deduces, from L.E.A. Guidelines for the teaching of history in the years of compulsory school, that the purposes of teaching history are "to allow the pupils' handling of a wide range of evidence, to offer a balance between local, national and world history". Moreover, the concern of history as in Cheshire's discussion document is "to make clear the inter-relationship of political, social, economic, cultural and technological factors and others over a sufficient span of time to show change and continuity and to allow comparison with the present day."(2) Therefore, history could develop students' ability to understand that one particular society is different from another and to conceive that societies have different political and social backgrounds and attitudes. Moreover, it enables a student to compare the development of his own society with that of others and detect real evidence of progress.

In spite of the significance of history in teaching

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1). Department of Education and Science, Towards World History, Pamphlet No. 52, H.M.S.O., London, 1967, p.2.

2). Gordon Batho,'History:A most Crucial Element of the Curriculum', Teaching History, No.42, June 1985, pp.4-5.

political education, some researchers have relegated the role of history in the development of political education to a secondary position . For example, Ian Lister states that "Perhaps the most common objection to the introduction of political education is the claim that an adequate political education is already gained through such subjects as history...This claim, which has been accepted by too many for too long, needs to be challenged".(1) Moreover, Brennan argues that history may be "a necessary condition for political understanding, but it is not , of itself, a sufficient condition".(2) Although the present can be understood in the light of studying the past, Heater contends that "there is no necessary transfer of understanding from the political past to the political present. The civic education function of history can only be performed by studying the past in such a way as deliberately to illuminate the present...The function of history is to understand the past, not the present."(3) Perhaps the limitation of the role of history in teaching political education is due to the belief that history is mainly a study of the past and it alone cannot develop the understanding of political institutions and issues which are more relevant to the present conditions.

The function of history, however, is not restricted

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1). Ian Lister, 'Political Education and the Schools', New University, May 1969, p.23.

2). T. Brennan, Political Education and 'A Framework for the School Curriculum', Documents of the Political Education Research Unit, Department of Education, University of York, 1980, T S. p.5.

3). D. Heater, 'History Teaching and Political Education', pp.153-154.

"to promote an enlarged understanding of the human condition; principally in the past, but also by inference in the present and the future".(1) Consequently, history plays an important role in preparing students for citizenship by enabling them to understand the present and also by providing them with perspectives for the future. Burston argues that history is significant for citizenship training for two reasons: first, history consists of a selection of materials based on what is important in the present. Secondly, the past is directly connected with the present, and history is the study of this connection.(2) Historical studies enable students to understand that the present is the result of what happened in the past and to understand that the present is different from the past, therefore, the future will be different from the present. (3) From this approach of studying history, students are aware that society is always changeable. This fact is allied with one of the important aims of political education which considers that changes within the society an its system are significant factors in realizing the development of society.

In line with the previous approach, history enables an individual to "understand previous stages of civilization, discover the achievements and mistakes, adopt what has

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1). Richard Aldrich, An Introduction to the History of Education, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1982, p.165.

2). W.H. Burston, 'The Contribution of History to Education in Citizenship', History,Vol.XXXIII, October 1948, p.227.

3). D. Heater, 'History Teaching and Political Education', p.150.

proven useful and discard what has proven erroneous and obsolete."[1] History is not restricted to studying the achievements of the society. It includes the failures and mistakes of the society. This is an important aspect of political education since it enables an individual to understand the problems of the society. History helps students to understand how present problems often have their roots in the past and encourages them to think logically and historically to disover the facts of these problems.

The significance of history in teaching political education relates to the fact that history develops the ability of young people in intellectual thinking. History is relevant to the questions how do I know this is true? , what was it like to be?, and what would I have done if...?[2] The responses to these questions need a series of skills and insights which are relevant to the evaluation of evidence. Thus studying history helps students to think, discuss, and examine the evidence which support their own conclusions. From this perspective history is related to evaluating and understanding political and social developments within an open society.

Moreover, history has become more political in recent time. Most history teachers "accept that one of their roles is to try to make the world in which young people live

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1). Mehdi, Nakosteen, 'Philosophies of History and the History Teacher', p.19.

2). J. Slater, 'The Case for History in School', p.16.

less incomprehensible by putting it in its historical context."[1] Batho argues that history in recent time becomes more politically-minded and a fundamental feature in preparation for life.[2] This purpose can be realized by teaching young people contemporary history and equipping them with knowledge and skills which enable them to understand political and social contemporary issues. The characteristics of contemporary society which the history teacher ought to help pupils understand :

> is a society which at all levels, politically, socially, in the appearance of our cities and countryside and in our moral attitudes which is inescapably and profoundly affected by developments in science and technology; it is globally interdependent; (it is also) an open society which gives young people constant opportunities, and sometimes the obligation, to make choices between alternative points of view. (3).

Furthermore, history provides students with opportunites to develop certain concepts, attitudes, and skills which are related to political education. For example, history can develop political concepts such as power, welfare, freedom, socialism, conservatism and nationalisation. Attitudes such as tolerance, compromise and open-mindedness can also be developed by studying history. Moreover, history seeks to develop pupils' skills by evaluating evidence and identifying bias and propaganda.[4]

It could be argued that school can be one of the most

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1). Ibid., p.14.

2). G.R. Batho, History:The Useful and Cost-Effective Subject, Report of a survey on the position of history in the polytechnics and colleges of H.E., The Historical Association,1983, p.4.

3). J.Slater, 'The Case for History in School', p.15.

4). ILEA, History and Social Science at Secondary Level:History, Part two, ILEA, London, 1981, p.68.

important instruments of political learning to support the approaches of either political socialization or political education. The importance of school in political learning relates to the fact that schools are usually more closely under the control and supervision of the state. It seems that new systems and non-democratic countries attempt to exploit this feature of schools in order to propagate the desired values and ideas of the system and to realize their perpetuation. Although it expected that political understanding in democratic countries will be further developed through the approach of political education, it is likely that in some democratic countries the two approaches of political socialization and political education will be found. On the one hand these democratic countries are aware of the significance of school in the acquisition of feelings of loyalty and patriotism to the country and the system. On the other hand they emphasize the principle of democracy by encouraging young people to practice democracy and participate in political affairs, enabling them to discuss and to change the values of the system. Consequently, it could be argued that the promotion and development of political education depends to a large extent on the values of the system and its ideology. That is to say school is not always in a position to promote political education except in a more democratic country.

School has its influence on the acquisition of political knowledge, the shaping of children's political attitudes, and stimulating them to political participation. The influence of school lies in the purpose and content of

school curriculum and the way in which the curriculum is communicated. A school curriculum can develop all approaches to political education. However, schools are usually more explicitly concerned in teaching political knowledge than political participation. In spite of the fact that the curriculum can provide for the development of children's skills in political participation, such skills can be further developed through most formal and informal school activities.

Social studies have a prominent role in the introduction of political learning. The significance of social studies lies in the fact that they are more closely related to the values of society and consequently social studies are more appropriate in teaching pupils particularly social and political values and shaping their political attitudes. Courses in civics provide young people with knowledge and understanding about their present political system, society's values and institutions, and prepare them for citizenship by teaching them their duties and rights. Moreover, civic education can promote the ability of children in participating in social and political matters of their country. The purpose of civic education depends upon the values of the system and its ideology. Some countries utilize civic education to develop loyalty to the system and its values, while the purpose of civic education in other countries is to develop the ability of children to understand and evaluate the values of the system and participate in political affairs.

It could be argued, however, that not all courses of civic education do develop children's skills to discuss

and understand political affairs and participate in them. Participation skills can only be promoted through courses derived from political affairs and interesting issues from everyday political life at the national and international level. Moreover, attempts to relate theoretical to real experiences within a society have their influence in developing the ability of children to participate in political life.

Teaching of history has various approaches which serve the wider concept of political education not only in supporting loyalty and patriotic feelings but also in understanding and improving the values and system of the society. History helps pupils to understand and interpret the present political action in its historical context and also provides them with perspectives for the future. The acquisition of knowledge and understanding of international events and activities contributes to understanding and evaluating present evidence and values of a particular society. Contemporary history could be utilized in reinforcing this approach and enabling students to a further understanding of social and political issues specifically in their country and generally in the world.

Moreover, historical studies develop the ability of pupils in conceptual thinking through the evaluation and discussion of evidence. Conceptual thinking through, weighing the evidence is a necessary approach to the development of political education not only in understanding political and social development but also in giving the reasons behind them. Therefore, young people could

develop particular and alternative viewpoints towards what has been done and what could be better, that is to say their critical thinking could be developed. These characteristics of history enrich its effect in the development of political education. However, the responsibility for political education does not lie only within the field of teaching history. Other subjects and branches of social studies also have their influence in teaching political education, especially courses which concentrate on present social and political issues and institutions.

CHAPTER FOUR.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL AND DEMOCRATIC LIFE IN EGYPT BEFORE THE REVOLUTION OF 1952

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the development of political life and the extent to which the Egyptian people participated in political institutions during the period 1517 to 1952. The chapter will also trace the effects of educational developments on political life and growth of political awareness.

The Ottoman Occupation (1517 - 1881).

From 1250, Egypt was under the rule of Mamelukes who were white slaves brought from the middle and the west of Asia and used in the armies by rulers until they seized the authority. (1) During the rule of the Mamelukes, Egypt was invaded and occupied by the Ottomans in 1517. Their aim was to establish some sort of sovereignty over Egypt and then to control the country by the elimination of the existing governors (2). Hence the Ottomans tried to remove the Mamelukes, put an end to their authority and prevent them from taking part in the political and

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1). Said Abdel-Fatah Ashor, Egypt in Age of Navy Mamelukes State, El-Nahda El-Misria, Cairo, 1959, pp.12-13.(in Arabic).

2). Halil Inalcik, 'Ottoman Methods of Conquest', Studia Islamica, Vol.II (1954), P.103, Quoted by P.M. Holt. 'The Pattern of Egyptian Political History from 1517 to 1798'. In P.M.Holt (ed.), Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt, Oxford University Press, London, 1968, pp.80-81.

social life. Nonetheless, the Mamelukes retained a share in the government of Egypt(1).

In spite of the Ottomans' declared sovereignty over Egypt the influence of the Mamelukes and their distinctive military power existed alongside the Ottomans' authority. Therefore Egypt began to suffer from the two authorities and the conflict that took place between them.

The conflict reached a crisis in 1769 when one of the Mamelukes, Ali Bey Al Kabeer, seized power and declared Egypt independent of Ottoman rule. His attempted coup failed largely because he did not use effectively the Egyptians' hatred of the foreign occupation(2). The continuous conflict between the Mamelukes and the Ottomans led to a neglect of economic and social development and to the exclusion of the Egyptians from political life.

The poor economic and social condition of the country during the rule of Mamelukes had deteriorated further with the discovery of the way round the Cape of Good Hope at the end of the 15th century. This tended to leave Egypt socially as well as economically isolated from Europe at a time when the European renaissance was beginning. The Ottomans did little to change the situation. The principal aim of Ottoman rule was to get maximum exploitation of its resources for the benefit of the Imperial Treasury(3).

The Egyptian farmer worked the land without owning it and was subject to high taxes imposed by the Sultan and the Mamelukes. Furthermore, skilled Egyptian tradesmen were

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1). P.M.Holt,'The Pattern of Egyptian Political History from 1517 to 1798',p.81.

2). Girgis Fauzy, Studies in the Political History of Egypt Since Mamelukes Age, El-Dar El-Misria, Cairo, 1958,p.21,22.(In Arabic).

3). Stanford J. Shaw,'Landholding and Land-tax Revenues in Ottoman Egypt', in P.M.Holt (ed.),Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt,p.94.

sent to Turkey to participate in developing Turkish industry, whilst high taxes were imposed on Egyptian industry[1]. Moreover the Ottomans did not significantly contribute to the cultural development in Egypt[2].

The political and military conflict between the Ottomans and the Mamelukes only served to aggravate the economic and social situation. The Egyptians received little encouragement to develop agriculture and industry and little progress was achieved during the four centuries of Ottoman rule.

During the latter part of the 18th Century, Turkey suffered increasing internal and external problems arising from its colonial conquests. At the same time Britain was emerging as one of the most advanced industrialised countries in Europe, and France was beset by unrest which eventually led to a revolution. The growing competition of European countries for markets and resources, the desire of England and France to extend their empires, and the advantages of the geographical position of Egypt as a route to the East led to the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon in 1798[3].

The French occupation was short lived but highlighted the strategic position of Egypt as a trade route to India. Furthermore it opened the door to the introduction of modern western progress and culture to Egypt[4]. During the short French occupation France tried to change the image of the feudal Egyptian society into a capitalist society on the

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1). G.Fauzy, Studies in the Political History,pp.18-19.
2). Mohammed Anees and S.Ragab Haraz, The Revolution of 23 July and its Historical Foundation,Dar El-Nahda El-Arabeia, Cairo, 1969, p.6. (in Arabic).
3). G.Fauzy, pp.22-23,p.26.
4). Sobhy Wahead, Foundations of Egyption Question,El-Anglo El-Misria, Cairo,1950, pp.129-130. (In Arabic.)

line of the French capitalism. This was important for three reasons.

First, the French expedition was successful in arousing a patriotic spirit and popular resistance on the part of the Egyptians against the Ottomans and Mamelukes as well as the French. While the Mamelukes and the Ottomans claimed that they were defending the Islamic civilization, it was obvious that the religious imperialism of the Mamelukes and Ottomans was no different from the imperialism of France.

Secondly, by trying to overturn feudalism in Egypt the French were obliged to weaken the authority of the Mamelukes. They passed a law on the 16 of September, 1798, that a person who planted the land also had the right to own the land. The French also proposed the abolition of taxes on the land(1). Although these two reforms were not implemented due to the departure of the French from Egypt, nevertheless they did mark the beginning of the move away from feudalism in Egypt.

Thirdly, the French expedition initiated the idea of building the Suez Canal. Furthermore groups of scientists who accompanied the French expedition introduced significant ideas which were later made use of by Mohammed Ali in the subsequent development of Egyptian society.

With the aid of a British force the French expedition was expelled from Egypt(2). Although the circumstances

1). M. Anees and R. Haraz, The Revolution of 23 July,p.30; G. Fauzy, p.30.

2). A. A. El-Gamal, Introduction to Foundations of Political and Social System, First Edition, Dar El-Nahda El-Misria, Cairo, 1957, p.364. (in Arabic).

appeared to provide an opportunity for the establishment of an Egyptian government, in fact, there were no Egyptians capable of assuming power. Thus the country remained under the rule of Ottomans and Mamelukes.

This situation, however, changed dramatically after 1805 when a Turk, Mohammed Ali, became ruler of Egypt. Mohammed Ali enjoyed the support of both Turkey and the Egyptians. He quickly seized on the hatred of the Egyptians for the Mamelukes, whose position had already been weakened by the French, to drive them from power[1]. Thus Ali became regarded as a saviour who had put an end to the rule of the Mamelukes which had lasted for more than five-hundred years. Clearly, the support of the Egyptians for Ali's action reflected their desire to achieve independence and a share in their country's government. Nevertheless, in the absence of effective Egyptian leadership, Mohammed Ali and his successors were to remain in power until the July Revolution of 1952.

Although in effect Mohammed Ali was a dictator, his rule was a curious mixture of autocracy and consultation through various councils and departments which he established to investigate, discuss and administer state affairs. The most important council was the high council whose functions were to investigate all affairs except finance[2]. Other important councils and departments included the Department of Accounts, the Schools Department, the Military Department and the Council of Public Health.

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1). Anees and Haraz, p.71.

2). M.F.Shokry (ed.), Structure of Mohammed Ali Egypt State, Dar El-Fekre El-Araby, Cairo, 1948, pp.8-12. (in Arabic.)

Mohammed Ali was concerned to foster the development of Egypt, and no doubt his style of government could be justified, to some extent initially, given the shortage of trained people. Even so, it was clear that Ali did not trust the Egyptian people and was determined to retain control over all the authorities in the state. Thus the Egyptians were not provided with an opportunity to develop and exercise effective political power.

Ali's main aim was to replace the Ottoman rule by his own dynasty. Thus he attempted to establish a powerful army supported by economic development. His economic policy was based on securing national economic independence and socialist government. Consequently his government attempted to control all the means of production and to control any profits(1).

Agriculture and industry became state monopolies. In respect of agriculture, Ali sequestrated most of the land and granted vast areas to certain classes of society. Although he was keen to improve agricultural productivity by the introduction and development of new tools, farmers were tenants who were required to sell their crops to Ali at a fixed price. In respect of industry, the state received all profits and workers, in effect, became state employees(2).

To achieve his political aims, however, Mohammed Ali realised the necessity of extending educational provision. Therefore he attempted to increase the number of schools

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1). Gamal El-Deen Mohammed Said, The Way to Socialism, El-Nahda El-Arabeia, Cairo, 1962, pp.137-144. (in Arabic).

2). Anees and Haraz, pp.74-75.

and missions[1].

In improving the social and economic conditions of Egyptian society, Mohammed Ali was less concerned about the welfare of the people than in securing his own ambitions and establishing a powerful army. This can be seen in the London Treaty of 1840 by which the Ottoman Sultan granted the rule of Egypt to Mohammed Ali and his descendants in return for a decrease in the size of the Egyptian army. Subsequently, many of the projects which had been introduced by Ali were neglected[2]. In any case, many of the social, economic and cultural projects had been implemented somewhat hastily and did not attempt to solve the deeper and long-standing problems of the Egyptian people.

The trend to autocratic and totalitarian government was carried further under the rules of Abbas I (1848-1854) and Said (1854-1863). Attempts to improve society were abandoned, heavy taxes were imposed, individual freedom was restricted and there was a rise in the incidence of injustice[3]. Furthermore, Egyptians were removed from important offices and replaced by Turks and other foreigners[4]. Consequently the Egyptians were largely excluded from the political affairs of their country.

As a result of Said's extravagances the debt to foreign countries rose to approximately L.E.11,160,000 in 1863 and led to foreign interference in Egypt's affairs. Table (1) shows that the expenditures exceeded revenues

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1). H.El-Fiky, The Cultural History of Education in the United Arab Republic,El-Nahda El-Arabeia, Cairo, 1966,Chapter 2.(in Arabic)
2). Ibid, p.59
3). A. El-Gohary (ed.), Studies in Political Sociology,pp.252-253
4). H. El.Fiky, The Cultural History of Education,pp.64-66.

during Said's rule.

TABLE 1

Expenditure and Revenue During Said's Rule.

Years	Expenditures	Revenues
1854	2.817.000	2.200.000
1855	2.383.000	2.078.000
1856	2.637.000	2.474.000
1860	2.984.000	2.154.000
1862	8.868.000	3.707.000
1863	14.395.000	6.094.000

Source: Mohammed Fahmy Leheta, Economic History of Egypt in Modern Ages, El-Taalef Press, Cairo, 1945, p.239. (in Arabic)

The sucession of Khedive Ismail to power in 1863 brought little change in the mode of government. In 1866, however, Ismail established a Representative Council of 75 members elected from the great landlords. Unfortunately, the landlords tended to be mainly concerned with protecting and furthering their own interests. Moreover, the Council's terms of reference were limited to discussion of secondary affairs such as taxation and irrigation, with the Khedive retaining the right to make decisions and formulate final orders on all important political matters[1].

A further disadvantage of the Council was the fact that the members were indirectly elected. In the process of indirect election, the people who had the right to vote elected their representatives in two stages. First, people in each area were divided into groups and each one elected an envoy to represent them at the second stage. Secondly,

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1). A. El-Gohary (ed.), Studies in Political Sociology,p.253; G.Fauzy, pp.80-81.

the envoys from the groups elected the member of Parliament[1]. In other words, the role of the people was restricted to electing their envoys. This system was very different from the true democracy through which the people choose their representative directly.

In spite of these disadvantages the growing mood of Egyptian patriotism and other factors conspired to encourage the Council to press for a greater measure of democracy.

Perhaps the most important of these factors were Ismail's attempts to introduce European civilization to Egypt and his imposition of heavy taxation[2]. The introduction of European civilization reinforced the growing cultural and social awareness in the country and the claims for sound democracy. This was further strengthened by the spread of the education and the sending of missions to the European countries. The imposition of heavy taxes led to a feeling of oppression among the people and that the Khedive was not prepared to tackle the economic and social problems facing Egypt.

These factors led to the emergence of the pioneers of the social movement such as Refaha El-Tahtawi, Gamal El-Deen El-Afaghani, and Mohammed Abdu. They had considerable influence in encouraging the growth of national awareness and claims for constitutional life and sound democracy.

During the rule of Ismail the foreign debts rose from

1). T.Badawe, Political Systems, Dar El-Nahda El-Arabeia, Cairo, 1975, pp.260-261. (in Arabic).

2). Saleh Ramadan, Social Life of Egypt in Ismail Age (1963-1879), Mansheit El-Maharef , Alexanderia, 1977,p.82.(in Arabic).

L.E.11.160.000 to one hundred million pounds. These debts were incurred by unwise and wasteful spending[1]. As a result of the growing imbalance between revenue and expenditures, see table (2), Ismail had to mortgage the provinces of the country, and the profits of the railways. Ultimately, he was forced to sell the Egyptian's share in the profits from the Suez Canal. Public opinion became alarmed at the growing economic problems and pressed the government to solve the problems of the debts.

TABLE 2

EXPENDITURE AND REVENUE DURING ISMAIL'S RULE.

Years	Expenditures	Revenues
1864	13.551.000	6.972.000
1865	10.785.000	5.362.000
1866	15.278.000	5.058.000
1867	10.854.000	4.129.000
1868	16.637.000	6.011.000
1869	10.530.000	5.255.000
1870	12.309.000	5.389.000
1871	15.084.000	5.711.000

Source : G.Fauzy, p.62.

Although Ismail drew up a plan to pay back foreign debts within 60 years, some of the creditor countries refused to accept the plan[2]. This led to European interference in Egyptian affairs. Ismail requested officially that Britain send financial experts to help the Egyptian ministers in regulating the financial affairs.

A committee of five English experts was formed and

1). S. Ramadan, Social Life of Egypt, p.82,116.

2). G. Fauzy, p.66.

they reported that the financial conditions of Egypt could be improved only under the supervision of the creditors. Consequently, Ismail established the debt box as a response to the creditors' demand. The purpose of this was to raise a sum of money for the payment of debts. When this failed, a European Committee was set up in January 1878 to investigate the financial affairs of Egypt. In March, 1878 Ismail granted the Committee the right to supervise the financial affairs of Egypt. At the same time that committee demanded guarantees for the payment of the debts by mortgaging Ismail's possessions to the state. In August,1878 Ismail had to agree to the demand of Britain and France to form a new ministry including two European ministers - an English minister for the Ministry of Finance and a French minister for the Ministry of Business(1).

During the new Ministry Ismail attempted to concentrate power in his own hands and insisted on attending Cabinet meetings. Nobar Basha, the Prime Minster, resisted these moves and was dismissed from office by Ismail. Britain and France, however, compelled Ismail to form a second Ministry in March 1879 under the supervision of his son Mohammed Tawfeek. Furthermore, they required that the Khedive should not attend Cabinet meetings and that the two European ministers should have a right of veto over the Cabinet's decisions(2).

Many Egyptians resented this growing interference in Egyptian affairs and reacted strongly. They demanded the

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1). S.Ramadan, Social Life of Egypt, Chapter 3.
2). Ibid.,pp.127-128.

formation of a Cabinet which would be constitutionally responsible to an Egyptian Parliament and which excluded foreign membership. Faced with this rising tide of patriotism and his position weakened by foreign interference, on the resignation of Tawfeek's Ministry, Ismail acquiesced to these demands[1].

Britain and France objected vigorously to Ismail's action. In the meantime,however, the Ottomans had decided to depose Ismail from power, and on the 26 June 1879 Tawfeek was appointed as ruler of Egypt[2]. Tawfeek was clearly shaken by the factors that had led to the deposition of Ismail and he quickly abolished Parliament[3]. Although the Parliament had been shortlived it gave birth and impetus to a movement for constitutional reform.

Tawfeek was faced by a deepening crisis in Egyptian affairs. It was difficult to maintain the army due to indebtedness; the price of crops was falling; and there was a marked decline in the economic and social welfare of Egyptian society. Tawfeek responded by adopting an autocratic pattern of government, exiling some of the pioneers of Egyptian patriotism such as Jamal El-Deen El-Afaghani and Mohammed Abdu, and refusing to approve the draft of the first constitution and laws of election which had been prepared by national representatives[4]. The aim of this first constitution had been to widen the authority of Parliament and to restrict the power of the Khedive.

At this time, however, the idea of forming a National

1). G.Fauzy, p.84.
2). A.El.Gamal, Introduction to Foundations of Political and Social System, pp.368-369.
3). G.Fauzy,p.85.
4). A.El-Gamal, Introduction,pp.369-370.

Party was emerging and reflected the desire of patriots to secure a democratic form of government. This Party was later led by Moustafa Kamel (1874-1908) and Mohammed Farid (1868-1919) and succeeded in spreading and re-inforcing the spirit of nationalism among the Egyptian people[1]. The policy of the Party was to save Egypt from totalitarian rule, to pay back outstanding debts, to expel foreign influence and to implement urgent reforms to improve living standards[2].

Moreover, armed patriotic groups under the leadership of Ahmed Orabi were formed and in 1881 Orabi led an armed revolution. The main purposes of the revolution were to free Egypt from foreign interference, to regularise the country's financial affairs, to replace totalitarianism by constitutional government[3], and to exile the Khedive[4].

The British Occupation (1882-1922).

The nascent national movement and Orabi's armed revolution had a dramatic impact on the development of constitutional and democratic institutions. Khedive Tawfeek was forced to issue a new constitution on 7 February 1882 followed on 25 March by a law for electing members of Parliament. The most important principles underpinning the new constitution were:-[5]

1 - Members of Parliament were to be free to express their opinion.

2 - The Representative Council (Parliament) was entitled to question Ministers.

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1). Arthur Goldschmidt, 'The Egyptian Nationalist Party (1892-1919)', In P.M.Holt (ed.), Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt,p.308.
2). A.El-Gohary (ed.),Studies in Political Sociology,p.254.
3). G.Fauzy,p.86.
4). Anees and Haraz,p.107.
5). El-Gamal, Introduction,p.371; A.El-Gohary (ed).,Studies in Political Sociology,pp.255-256.

3 - The Cabinet was to be responsible to Parliament.

4 - Parliament must approve the state budget.

5 - Ministers had the right to attend sessions of Parliament to express their points of view. Ministers could also submit proposals for legislation. Such proposals, however, required the approval of Parliament and the ratification of the Khedive.

Electoral law decreed that every Egyptian citizen over the age of 21 who paid an annual government tax of not less than 25 pounds was entitled to vote. People of the educated classes, however, were exempted from this tax. Despite the inequities in the polling system, the Constitution represented a further step forward on the road to democracy.

Unfortunately, this step in the development of democratic life in Egypt only existed for 47 days until 26 March 1882. After that the parliamentary sessions were not run according to the democratic principles of the 1882 Constitution(1). This can be attributed to the following factors.

First, it is true that the 1882 Constitution had been introduced as a result of growing national political awareness. But this awareness was restricted to cultured class and did not extend to the great majority of the Egyptian people. Furthermore, this awareness was a relatively new phenomenon and not the product of long term social evolution. A wide gap remained between the class of feudalists and the great landlords on the one hand and the majority of the society on the other. In 1914, for instance,

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1). E.S.El-Dawla, Parliamentary System and Democracy Problem, Dar El-Thakafa El-Arabeia, Cairo, 1976,p.153. (in Arabic).

7% of the total number of landlords owned 36.7% of the total cultivated area in Egypt[1]. Nevertheless, the great landlords formed the majority of those who participated in government and political life. Between 1914 and 1917, 80% of the ministers came from the great landlords and capitalists[2]. Ministers represented the executive power and consequently they had the opportunity to work for their own political and social interests at the expense of the interests of the majority of the people. A similar situation was reflected in Parliament. This was supposed to represent the people. However, in 1913, for example, 76% of the members of Parliament came from the great landlords[3].

Secondly, the political awareness which emerged during the period was a reaction to the dictatorship of Mohammed Ali's dynasty represented by Khedives Ismail, Tawfeek and then Abbas II. This dictatorship, presumably, should have ended with the disappearance of this group of rulers who were originally non-Egyptians. Nevertheless, Mohammed Ali's successors continued to exercise considerable political power. It was because of this possible situation that Orabi had stressed the need to declare Egypt a republic governed solely by Egyptians.

Thirdly, the 1882 Constitution had been secured partly by national awareness but also by armed force represented by the Orabi Revolution. To ensure the continuity of this democratic gain, it was necessary to some

1). Quoted by Asem El-Dosoky, Great Landlords and their Role in Egyptian Society (1914-1952), First Edition, Dar El-Thakafa El-Gadeda, Cairo, 1975, p.57. (in Arabic.)
2). Ibid., pp.218-219.
3). Ibid., p.211.

extent for the constitution to continue to be supported by armed force until its roots had extended to most classes of the society. However, the armed force was suppressed.

One of the most important reasons for European interference and the occupation of Egypt was the dictatorship of rulers. This made it Orabi's major goal to end this rule. Orabi's Revolution represented a threat to Tawfeek who asked for the protection of foreign countries. In response to this call, the British and the French armies entered Alexandrian waters and both Britain and France asked for Orabi to be exiled from Egypt(1).

As a result of Turkey's call for the withdrawal of these armies, France withdrew its forces; the British forces, however, remained and fighting between these forces and the Egyptian army headed by Orabi broke out. Orabi was defeated(2) and Egypt was occupied by Britain when the latter entered Alexandria on 11 July 1882(3). The 1882 Constitution was shelved and a new stage of the struggle for both independence and the constitution started.

Although Orabi's Revolution was suppressed, it supported the national movement for establishing democracy and participation in political life. Orabi's Revolution, however, ended with the occupation of a foreign power supporting a regime opposed to the demands of the people. Orabi's Revolution came to an end for four reasons(4): First, there was a lack of solidarity among the leaders, and

1). A.El.Cohary (ed.,), Studies in Political Sociology,p.256.
2). A.El.Gamal, Introduction,p.372.
3). G.Fauzy,p.90
4). Anees and Haraz, pp.107-108.

Orabi's Revolution failed to gain the support of the political and civil forces. The split was intensified by a disagreement over relieving Khedive Tawfeek of his post and declaring a republican system. The great landlords also refused to support the Revolution because there was a direct relationship between the monarchy and the preservation of land ownership. Thus, the Revolution was only backed by the middle cultured class. This class was not politically influential whereas the class of great landlords played an important role in political life. Secondly, Orabi neglected the popular forces and did not enlist them in preparing for the struggle against occupation although the people were ready to face the invasion and support the Revolution. Thirdly, the army included elements that supported the Khedive. Fourthly, Orabi miscalculated the intentions of the European military forces. He believed that France would not allow Britain to interfere in Egypt and he also hoped for the assistance of the Ottoman Empire.

Orabi's Revolution may appear to have been the direct cause of the occupation of Egypt by the British. There were, however, other factors which also contributed to the occupation.

First, the aspirations of the European countries motivated by capitalist interests which emerged at that time. France had tried to occupy Egypt in 1798. In response, Britain had also attempted to occupy Egypt in 1807. With the defeat of France at the battle of Trafalgar in 1805,

Britain had gained full control over the area of the Mediterranean[1]. Secondly, the weakness of the internal situation in Egypt and its inability to practise democracy. This is due to the fact that despite the realization of some democratic principles, this democracy did not emerge through social evolution. At the same time dictatorship continued to prevail and this led to Orabi's Revolution and Tawfeek's call for the protection of foreign countries. Thirdly, Britain's military power and the Ottoman's weakness, the latter having the real control over Egypt should have been able to defend Egypt. Fourthly, Egypt's strategic position both econimcially and politically.

With the advent of the British occupation of Egypt, the constitution of 1882 was cancelled and the British and Ottoman authorities laid down a new constitutional system in May, 1883. This established an Advisory Legislative Council and a General Assembly. The Advisory Legislative Council was entitled to give advice regarding draft laws and budgets submitted to the Council by the government. If, however, the government rejected the Council's recommendations, the Council was entitled to be informed of the reasons for rejection. The Council, however, was not entitled to question the rejection. The most important duty of the General Assembly was to decide upon taxes. The Advisory Legislative Council had no right to object to the General Assembly's decisions[2].

Thus, the parliamentary system was a set back along

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1). Anees and Haraz, p.49.

2). A.El-Gamal, Introduction, pp.373-374.

the road to democratic life. According to the previous constitution (1882) the legislative body was authorized to question the Cabinet and to pass laws. According to the new system, the parliament's terms of reference were only advisory. This prevented the people from practising true democracy and centralized authority was in the hands of the government and the Khedive whose position was strengthened by the British occupation.

Although the British authorities had declared on several occasions that their occupation of Egypt was temporary, "Cromer acting from day to day to solve Egypt's most pressing financial and administrative problems, gradually established a set pattern of government. Under this system, often called "the veiled protectorate", the appearance of rule was retained by the Khedive and his ministers, while the real power rested in the hands of Cromer, aided by the British officers in the Egyptian army and in the army of occupation, and by a growing corps of advisors in the Egyptian ministers".(1)

Consequently, the occupying authority strengthened its position. This situation aroused national feeling and renewed the demands of the national movement. The chief goal of the national movement had been to set up a democratic life. But after the occupation it also became concerned with the necessity of achieving independence and the evacuation of occupying forces.

When Khedive Abbas II came to power in 1892, the

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1). A.Goldschmidt, 'The Egyptian Nationalist Party', pp.308-309.

national movement and resistance to the occupation intensified. Abbas II tried to exert his full authority and this soon brought him into conflict with Lord Cromer[1]. In his struggle against the British authorities Abbas II sought allies among ambitious patriots, thus becoming a popular figure and succeeding in arousing animosity against the British occupation[2].

The alliance between Abbas II and the national movement was perhaps more apparent than real. The former was intent on retrieving his power from the British whereas the latter was trying to achieve independence. Although the national movement did not trust the Khedive, they found the alliance a temporary convenience. This situation was a major feature of the political life during that period.

Another factor which gave impetus to the national movement and reflected the desire to participate in the political life was the emergence of political parties during the period. Political parties are considered the real channels through which the individual can take part in the political life. Moreover, they are one of the most important means by which individuals develop their ability to comprehend the problems of the country and to find various solutions to them.

The political parties which emerged during this period can be classified into a majority party and a number of smaller parties representing the minority. The

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1). Ibid., p.310.

2). Mohammed Zayid, 'The Origins of the Liberal Constitutional Party in Egypt', in P.M.Holt, Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt, p.336.

majority was represented by the National Party headed by Moustafa Kamel. This party was established in 1907 although the idea of forming this party had emerged in the period preceding the issue of the 1882 Constitution.

The popularity of the National Party can be attributed to its adherence to the necessity of achieving independence and establishing democracy. Moreover, the Khedive also backed Moustafa Kamel because the former wanted to curtail the authority of the occupation. Furthermore, Moustafa Kamel's own personality was highly influential in attracting the national forces towards the goals of the party. His magnetic personality, his vigorous patriotism and his abilities as a writer and orator enabled him, with the assistance of the Khedive, to build up the national movement in Egypt(1). These factors enabled the party to carry the standard of popular opposition against the British occupation of Egypt(2).

The programme of the National Party consisted of ten principles which aimed at achieving Egypt's independence with no foreign protection or mandate and forming a constitutional government in which the sovereignty must be in the hands of the nation. Moreover the executive power should be responsible to a parliament having full authority. The National Party was also concerned to improve health conditions, to extend education to the poor, and to revitalise the Egyptian economy(3).

Among the minority parties established were the Party

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1). Ibid., p.336.
2). A. Goldschmidt, 'The Egyptian Nationalist Party',p.308.
3). Younan Labeb Rezk, Egyptian Parties Before the Revolution of 1952, Center of Strategic and Political Studies of Al-Ahram,Cairo,1977, p.95. (in Arabci)

of the Nation, in 1906, and the Reform Party, in 1907. Both parties supported the national movement although the former concentrated on improving education and the economic aspects and the latter supported the Khedive[1].

The Noble Party, in 1908, was established to defend the interests of the Turks, and the Liberal Party, in 1902, was the only party which supported peaceful acceptance of the occupation and sought benefits from the occupants[2]. The goal of the Liberal Party was based on a misconception that weak countries like Egypt must make peace with strong ones. In addition to these parties, there was the Constitutional Party which emerged in 1910 and which concurred with the Reform Party in their support for the Khedive.

Two other small parties the Republican Party and the Socialist Party, which were set in 1907, were characterized by ideological goals[3]. The Republican Party demanded the establishment of a republican system of government on the grounds that this was closest to the principles of democracy and justice. In spite of the validity of this idea, it could be argued that a constitutional monarchy as in the case of the United Kingdom would also achieve these principles. Perhaps the call for a republican system could be justified by the past experience of the Egyptian people with the dictatorship of the inherited rule of Mohammed Ali's dynasty. The Socialist Party believed that the adoption of socialist principles represented an alternative for solving the problems of the society

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1). Ibid., p.28, 96.
2). Ibid., pp.33-35.
3). Ibid., Chapter 5.

and eradicating feudalism and capitalism.

Clearly, the national movement for demanding independence and democratic life had increased during that period. Two factors supported the national movement - the agreement of the majority party and Khedive Abbas II on the goal of shaking off the authority of the occupation, and the emergence of several other parties. It seems clear that many of these parties generally agreed on the necessity of achieving independence and sound democratic life. This goal had the utmost priority to the party of the majority. Despite the Khedive's support of that party, its goals reflect clearly a desire to reform the government system, and to establish a constitutional system in which the executive power should be responsible before the people.

There were other parties such as the Party of the Nation and the Reform Party which supported the National Party in achieving independence and democratic life but their priorities were the reform of the society economically and culturally. It is clear from the goals of some parties such as the Reform Party and the Constitutional Party that they tended to support the Khedive. Naturally the achievement of democracy was not embraced by the Khedive. This was understood by the National Party which refused to declare its support for the authority of the Khedive and instead called for independence and the constitutional life.

The national movement had its effect on the occupying

authorities who attempted to soothe down public opinion. In 1913 the previous parliamentary system which comprised the Advisory Legislative Council and the General Assembly was amended and replaced by the Legislation Assembly. The government appointed the head of the Legislation Assembly and one of its two deputies whereas the other deputy was elected by the Assembly from among the elected members. The only important authority of the Assembly was to decide upon taxes. The government was required to consult the Assembly before passing legislation. The Assembly was also consulted in the affairs of the state. However, the government had the power to abolish the Legislation Assembly(1).

Clearly then, the Assembly did not meet the demands of the national movement for establishing democratic life and constitutional government. With the exception of the Assembly's power to block new taxation it was mainly an advisory body. Moreover the right of the government to appoint the head of the Assembly and one of the two deputies hardly represented sound democracy.

In 1914 when World War I broke out, Turkey sided with the enemies of Britain. This affected the political life in Egypt. Britain declared Egypt under her protectorate on 18 December 1914. Meanwhile, Britain deposed Khedive Abbas II and replaced him by Sultan Hussein who was succeeded by Sultan Fuad in 1917(2). The protectorate ended any remaining Turkish control over Egypt and all

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1). A. El-Gamal, Introduction,p.376.

2). A.El-Gamal, Introduction,p.377.

authority passed to the hands of the British occupation.

The Egyptian struggle continued throughout the war. When the war came to an end, Egypt looked forward to realizing its aspirations for independence and a constitution. The declaration of the principle that peoples had the right to decide their self-determination by the American President Wilson strengthened the determination of the national movement to achieve independence. The national movement led by Saad Zaghloul rejected the protectorate and demanded full independence. A communiqué issued by Saad Zaghloul asserted:

> ...All scientists of international law assert that the protectorate cannot be valid except through a contract between two parties, one of which demands to be under the protectorate of the other who accepts the responsibility of this protectorate...In 1914 Britain declared her protectorate of its own accord and without being requested or accepted by the Egyptian nation. Thus it is an invalid and illegal protectorate. It is a necessity of the war which has to be cancelled once the war comes to an end it can never live after the war.(1)

Saad and his colleagues requested to be allowed to attend the Reconciliation Conference held in Europe in order to call for Egypt's independence. However, Saad and his colleagues were exiled in Malta in March 1919(2). This led to angry demonstrations and strikes in Egypt denouncing and protesting against this action and to the 1919 Revolution. Saad returned from exile and independence was negotiated with Britain. These negotiations culminated in the British declaration of 28 February 1922.

The declaration terminated the protectorate, declaring the independence and full sovereignty of Egypt. It

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1). Al-Ahram, Fifty Years After the Revolution of 1919, Centre of Documents and Historical Research of Contemporary Egypt, Cairo,1969, p.172. (in Arabic).

2). M.A.Drowza, Arab Unity, Publications of Commercial Bureau, First Edition, Beirut, 1957, p.477. (in Arabic).

also established Egypt as a constitutional monarchy[1]. On the 15 March 1922 Sultan Fuad issued a communiqué assuming for himself the title of His Majesty King of Egypt[2]. The declaration, however, included certain provisos ensuring British transport through Egypt, retaining Britain's power to defend Egypt against any foreign aggression, and protecting foreigners' interests. The provisos were enforced until a later agreement between the Egyptian and British government[3]. The 1919 Revolution ended with a declaration of superficial independence devoid of content and the conditions which preserved occupation. However, this Revolution ended the British protectorate and opened the way to participation in political life through demands for the introduction of a constitutional state based on the principles of democracy.

The 1923 Constitution (1923-1952).

The previous period was characterized by the rise of the national movement whose aim was to achieve participation in political life through the setting up of a governing regime on democratic and constitutional lines. Furthermore, the national movement aimed at achieving independence. This period ended with renewed demands for the issue of a constitution and the achievement of complete independence as a result of the declaration of 28 February 1922. The following period from 1923 to 1952 was generally characterized by developments in democratic and constitutional life

1). A.S. El-Amri, Foundations of Comparative Political Systems,p.299.
2). Al-Ahram, Fifty Years After the Revolution of 1919, p.533.
3). A. El-Gamal, Introduction,pp.377-378.

based on the 1923 Constitution. There were, however, obstacles to the implementation of the democratic principles set out in the 1923 Constitution. Moreover, Egypt was not able to achieve full independence though the national movement tried hard to secure this goal.

The new constitution was issued on 19 April 1923[1]. It stated that the people was the source of all authority. The legislative power was taken over by both the King and an elected parliament comprising the Senate and the Representatives' Assembly. One fifth of the total number of the Senate was appointed by the King and the others were elected. As for the Representatives' Assembly, all its members were elected. Article 19 of the constitution asserted the principle of the sovereignty of the people by stating that the members of parliament represented the whole nation[2].

According to the constitution, the executive power was to be taken over by the King and the Cabinet. The Cabinet was to be responsible to the parliament which had the right to require the resignation of a government. The government could, however, request the King to dissolve the parliament. Moreover, the constitution secured the freedom of the press and of individuals and the formation of political parties[3].

The 1923 Constitution was considered to be a reaction to the national movement and the outbreak of the 1919 Revolution. This constitution set out many of the pillars

1). Galal Yehea, Foundations of the Revolution of 23 July, Dar El- Kawomia Le-El-Tebaha, Alexanderia, 1964, p.131. (in Arabic).
2). E. El-Dawla, Parliamentary System, pp.156-157.
3). Y. El-Gamal, Constitutional System in Arab Republic of Egypt, Dar El-Nahda El-Misria, Cairo, 1974, p.107. (in Arabic).

of democracy and a parliamentary system which facilitated opportunities for participation in political life on democratic lines. Although the 1923 Constitution reflected the aspiration of the Egyptian people to establish a sound democratic life, it was only a theoretical gain. Subsequent experience revealed that many of the democratic principles included in the constitution were not followed in practice. This was due to two factors.

First, the constitution required that members of the Senate should be from the higher classes of the society such as ministers, deputy ministers, reputable scientists and lawyers, great landlords and professionals. The polling law also imposed severe financial restrictions on nomination for the Representatives' Assembly(1). Clearly, these restrictions confined participation in political life to a limited class within the society and deprived the majority of the opportunity to practice their political rights.

The electoral law issued on 30 April 1923 gave the right to vote, without any financial conditions, to every Egyptian over twenty one years of age, for the Representatives' Assembly and twenty five years for the Senate. Nevertheless, it also imposed some restrictions. In effect, these restrictions made the election of the members of the Representatives' Assembly a two stage process and the election of members of the Senate a three stage process(2). In the case of election to the Representatives'

1). E. El-Dawla, Parliamentary System, pp.156-167.
2). Ibid., pp.157-158; T.Badawe, Political Systems,p.250.

Assembly every thirty individuals were required to elect one representative who in turn would elect the members of the Representatives' Assembly. In the three stage process every thirty individuals elected one representative. Every five representatives were required to elect an envoy who in turn would elect the members of the Senate.

In contrast, democratic practice normally gives the right to every individual to elect members of parliament directly and not through the mediation of another person. It must be mentioned, however, that variations were made to the electoral system during this period. For example, election Act 4 of 24 June 1924 cancelled the multi-stage voting system and asserted direct public voting. However, this act was discontinued and cancelled on 8 December 1925 and the multi-stage voting was resumed with further financial restrictions on voters. As a result of the rejection of this action by the national movement, the 1924 Act was reintroduced on 22 February 1926(1).

The 1924 direct voting Act asserted an important principle of democracy by providing the majority of the people with an opportunity to participate in the political system. The purposes of the act were not fulfilled except in the first year's elections when the majority party won the right to form the cabinet(2). When the act was reintroduced in 1926 the election of members of

1). T.Badawe, Political Systems,pp.260-261; E.El-Dawla, Parliamentary System,p.158,167.

2). Hassan Yousef, 'Democratic Practice in Egypt (1924-1952)', in Al-Ahram, Democracy in Egypt:Quarter Century After the Revolution of 23 July,Centre of Strategic and Political Studies of Al-Ahram, Cairo,1977, p.13. (in Arabic)

parliament was not conducted in a democratic way. The representatives of the bourgeois class subsumed under the various parties formed one front and held an agreement which was declared on 3 April 1926 to share seats of parliament[1]. This was not consistent with the principles of democracy embodied in the 1924 Act since it deprived the people of practising their own right of selecting their representatives in the parliament.

The second factor was related to the misuse of the principles of democracy brought about by the 1923 Constitution. When the first Representatives' Assembly was formed in the light of the constitution, the Wafd Party held the majority of seats. At the first meeting of the Representatives' Assembly, the majority decided to select Saad Zaghloul as its head. But the monarch rejected this and issued an order dissolving the parliament only a few hours after it was formed[2]. According to the constitution the King's order was an unconstitutional procedure since the King was not entitled to dissolve parliament except on the request of the government. The King tried to replace majority governments by weak governments which felt the need for his protection and consequently led to the King's directing policy.

The Wafd Party, which was set up on 13 November 1918 led the constitutional movement and the negotiations with Britain to achieve independence. It was the biggest party and supported the participation in political life for

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1). E. El-Dawla, Parliamentary System, pp.167-168.
2). Y. El-Gamal, Constitutional System in ARE, p.108.

a great sector of the people. The party formed seven ministries between 1927 and 1952, a greater number than was achieved by any other party(1). This contrasts with the fact that 36 ministries were formed during this period with an average of only nine months in power. Some ministries in fact only lasted for three months(2).

Collectively these figures reflect the realities of political life in Egypt during this period. First, the constitution asserted that the nation was the source of all authority. Since the Wafd Party was the largest party electorally it could be argued that it had the right to form the government for long periods. However, this did not occur. Furthermore, attempts were made by the King to prevent the majority party from participating in political life. Secondly, in spite of the King's action, the Wafd continued to participate in political life. In fact the Party managed to form governments for periods longer than any other party. Furthermore, it could be argued that the Party was more successful when in opposition rather than in power in confronting the authority of the palace and the occupation. Thirdly, the figures reflect the political instability during that period.

Whilst theoretically the 1923 Constitution represented a democratic gain, nevertheless the disadvantages of the rules for electing the members of parliament, the dictatorship of the King, and the structure of society led to the domination of political life by the class of

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1). Y. Rezk, Egyptian Parties Before the Revolution,pp.44-48

2). A. El-Dosoky, Great Landlords and their Role in Egyptian Society, pp.218-219.

of feudalists and capitalists. This class succeeded in wielding the authority and preventing the majority from practising their political rights. For example, during the period 1923-1933, between 60 to 80 per cent of the ministers came from the great landlords. Moreover, between 1924 and 1936 half the members of the Senate came from the class of feudalists(1). This enabled a minority class to work for their own political and social interest and to neglect the interests of the majority class.

A further hindrance to the development of democratic and political life stemmed from the lack of developments in education to promote the ability of citizens to practise the democratic principles of the 1923 Constitution and to develop social and political life within the Egyptian society(2). Whilst the educational system did not provide universal education for most children and the majority remained illiterate, the feudalist and capital class received a privileged education. Thus, in effect, the educational system merely served to reinforce the domination of the minority class over the political and social life. Even so, some of the members of the middle class, and perhaps a few of the poor class, who were able to complete their education, had a great impact in the development of the national movement and political and social life.

In spite of national demands for the full implementation of the democratic principles of the 1923

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1). A. El-Dosoky, Great Landlords, pp.212-219.

2). See part 'The Effect of Educational Development on Political Life and the Growth of Political Awareness'.

Constitution and for the achievement of independence, the King succeeded in abolishing the Constitution of 1923 and replaced it by a new constitution in 1930. The new constitution extended the authority of the King and reduced the power of parliament. The King was accorded the right to appoint three-fifths of the total membership of the Senate and indirect voting was reintroduced(1).

The introduction of the 1930 Constitution proved a strong nationalist reaction and the majority party demanded the reintroduction of the 1923 Constitution. The nationalist movement also renewed the demands for independence through negotiations between the British and Egyptian governments. Consequently, the 1923 Constitution was reinstated on the 12 December 1935 and subsequent negotiations with the British authorities ended with the issue of the 1936 Treaty(2). The treaty terminated the British military occupation but contained provisos giving Britain the right of transport through Egypt particularly in circumstances of warfare. Furthermore, Britain retained some power in respect of the Suez Canal zone(3). In effect the Treaty fell short of Egyptian hopes for complete independence except for the protection of foreigners' interests. Most of the provisos of the 1922 Declaration remained.

Despite the reintroduction of the 1923 Constitution, deomcratic principles were not implemented due to the continuing of political and social deterioration. The King continued to fail to abide by the principles of the

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1). E. El-Dawla, Parliamentary System, pp.169-170.
2). H. Yousef, 'Decmocratic Practice in Egypt (1924-1952)',p.14.
3). A. Moustafa, Egyptian British Relationship (1936-1956),pp.13-15.

Constitution. Statistics indicated that between 1924 and 1952 parliament was dissolved nine times and in three instances the dissolution was followed by political overthrow[1]. Parliamentary life was subject to continual hindrance and cabinet responsibility to parliament was shelved. The political parties were subject to internal conflict and the minority parties supported the King in order to wield power and realize their own interests.

It seems the period preceding the 1952 Revolution was distinguished by two aspects. On the one hand, the period was characterized by the emergence of the national movement and the growth of political awareness. Orabi's Revolution, the 1919 Revolution, The Constitutions of 1882, and 1923, and the independence negotiations were an expression by the Egyptian people of their desire to develop democracy and achieve independence. On the other hand, the political and social experiences of Egyptian society failed to achieve the development of democracy and social and political life. Moreover, Egyptian governments were unable to achieve the complete independence of Egypt. Contributory factors to this failure were the power of the King, the domination of feudalists and capitalists over the political and social life, the conflict among political parties, the lack of political awareness, the existence of occupation, and economic and social backwardness. Clearly, great changes were needed in most aspects of society.

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1). H. Yousef, 'Democratic Practice in Egypt (1924-1952)', p.16

The Effect of Educational Development on Political Life and the Growth of Political Awareness.

Although educational developments took place during the period from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the middle of the 20th Century, in general, they did not meet the cultural and social needs of the society. Egyptian society was still characterised by cultural and social backwardness which hindered democratic life. It had been hoped to develop an educational system based on the principles of equality of opportunity.

In 1920, a sub-committee of the Milner Commission, which had been sent by the British government to investigate the political unrest in Egypt, castigated "the failure of the administration to establish any system of education which extends to the mass of people" and asserted that "no true social, economic or political progress can be looked for without complete revision of the educational system in Egypt."(1)

In essence the existing educational system reflected the political aims of a dictatorial rule and a fuedal society. Instead of promoting changes in a corrupt political and social system it merely served to reinforce the status-quo.

The modern educational system in Egypt which had begun during Mohammed Ali's rule continued until about the first half of the 19th Century. The goals of education were related to Mohammed Ali's political and military aims. Mohammed Ali sought to create a modern state.

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1). 'Recommendations of Sub-committee "A" on Education' , manuscript, private papers of Lord Milner, New College Library, Oxford, England, Quoted by Malcom H. Kerr, 'Egypt', in J.S. Coleman (ed.), Education and Political Development,p.173.

He admired the international power of Great Britain and France which he believed was based on military force. Consequently, he wanted to establish a strong Egyptian army which would enable him to secede from the Ottoman Empire[1]. His first requirement was skilled manpower, and this led to the introduction of a new education system.

Educational provision before Mohammed Ali's reforms had been of a traditional and religious character provided in mosque schools. This form of education was largely based on indoctrination and rote-learning rather than understanding and discussion. Moreover there was no organized pattern of administration to supervise educational matters. Thus, the existing provision was inadequate to meet Mohammed Ali's needs. He placed the supervision of education under the military department[2] rather than a special educational body and first of all attempted to establish a system of higher education before reforming primary and secondary education.

During the first year of his rule he set up higher schools which recruited from El-Azhar students. The aim of the higher school was to prepare students for employment in government departments and military affairs . As the need arose for students with a knowledge of military preparation and modern science, Mohammed Ali was subsequently obliged to establish the secondary schools which became known for their military characteristics.

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1). Joseph S. Szyliowicz, Education and Modernization in the Middle East, Cornell University, London, 1973, p.102.

2). Eventually, Mohammed Ali established the Department of Education in 1837.

The first secondary school was established in 1825. The students for the secondary school were drawn from those who had completed their education in mosque schools. The aim of the school was to prepare these students for entering higher schools. Finally, in 1833 Ali established primary schools to provide students for secondary schools[1].

Alongside this new system the traditional Islamic educational provision continued. This included the Kuttab (Koran-memorization schools) and mosque-schools which were the only form of education for the majority of children. These schools were devoted to teaching the children the Koran and a simple Islamic doctrine. At the apex of this system there was the ancient university of Al-Azhar in Cairo, where students studied the Islamic religion and the Arabic language in depth[2]. Some of the students from this traditional pattern were transferred into the modern educational system or were sent to Europe, and eventually a few of them made interesting contributions to the intellectual and political life of Egypt.

Although the modern system which was introduced during Mohamed Ali's rule led to the appearance of men of thought and to the leaders of national movements, it was not a system of universal education. The objective of the system was to fulfil Mohammed Ali's political ambitions. Thus the emphasis was placed on the development of higher education to produce a restricted élite for the army and employment in the government. Furthermore, primary and

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1). Georgie D.M. Hyde, Education in Modern Egypt:Ideals and Realities, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1978, p.3; H.El-Fiky, Chapter 2.

2). M. Kerr, 'Egypt', pp.170-171.

secondary schools were concerned with preparing pupils to enter higher education for eventual service in the army and government.

The new educational system was still characterized by indoctrination, the neglect of discussion and introduction of modern ideas[1]. Moreover, "Regardless of whether this was owing to Mohammed Ali's concern for rapid results or to fear of consequences of a people exposed to modern ideas, the result was that the traditional school remained the only source of education available to the mass of the populace".[2]

In the year 1840 Mohammed Ali was obliged by European powers to reduce the size of his army and this was followed by the closure of many primary, secondary and higher schools. Indeed, by 1841 only five primary schools and one secondary school remained. Some educators would argue that these reductions were a direct result of the restrictions placed on the size of the army[3]. This would seem to support the contention that Mohammed Ali had been more interested in securing his military and political ambitions than in promoting the education of the people. So, when his ambitions were thwarted, education was affected and the number of schools decreased.

At the first stage of education Mohammed Ali's policy left a small group of rich people receiving "primary" education, but the majority of children still continued to receive an "elementary" education. Furthermore,

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1). H. El-Fiky, p.61.
2). J. Szyliowicz, Education and Modernization,p.108.
3). Ibid., p.107; H.El-Fiky, p.35,55.

the aim of preparing a small élite number for government service dominated the provision of state education for many years. Moreover, the division of the society between rich and poor reinforced educational differentiation.

At the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, education provision suffered further set backs as the result of foreign debts incurred by Said. Further schools were closed, expenditure on education was reduced from L.E. 26,528 in 1857 to L.E. 12,756 in 1863 and the department of education was closed(1). Some attempts, however, were made to redress the situation by a group of cultured people who had been educated during Mohammed Ali's reign. Their aim was to improve the primary stage of education and extend it to the majority of people. They argued that education should prepare citizens for life and not only for service with the government. When the Representative Council was established in 1866 some of its members demanded the extension of education as a means of developing political awareness among the majority of people(2).

This led to the Department of Education being re-established in 1863 (renamed the Ministry of Instruction in 1878) and the number of the first stage schools was increased. From 1869 to 1875 the number of primary schools expanded from four to 102 schools. During the same period the number of Kuttab schools grew from 1219

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1). A.E. Abdel-Karim, History of Education in Egypt, Vol.1(1848-1863), Cairo, p.189, Quoted by H. El-Fiky,p.70.

2). A. El-Fiky, Chapters 3 and 4.

to 4696. Furthermore, there was also an increase in the number of secondary and higher schools and the finance allocated to education rose from L.E. 50,000 in 1871 to L.E. 81,949 in 1881[1]. These developments reflected the emergence of the national movement and a deepening political awareness in society during the second half of the 19th Century.

Nevertheless, educational developments were retarded by the legacy of Mohammed Ali's educational policy. Although improvements took place during the latter part of the 19th Century and the first half of the 20th Century, the system did not achieve significant progress in providing education for social development or enabling members of society to participate in democratic and political life. Certainly, there was no conception of political education during this period. Democratic and political life cannot be achieved without a style of education which is sympathetic to the principles of democracy and allows the individual freedom of opinion, discussion and criticism. Not only were these requirements absent in Egypt but the majority of the people were deprived of even the rudiments of education.

The defects in the educational system continued during the period of the British occupation of Egypt (1882-1922). It is alleged that the aim of the colonial policy was to maintain the status-quo, in order to maximize economic benefits and minimize political instability.

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1). Ameen Samy, Education in Egypt, Matbahet El-Maharef, Cairo, 1917,p.31. (in Arabic).

Consequently, in an attempt to discourage the spread of the national movement against colonialism, education was neglected and not given a high priority. Szyliowicz argues that,

> This was particularly the case in Egypt, where the British, explicitly viewing the occupation as a period of tutelage during which they should not make basic changes in the local society, could therefore sponsor no fundamental reforms in Education. Buttressing this philosophical orientation was the fear of Lord Cromer (the British agent and consul general who actually ruled the country), based on the Indian experience, that educational reform and expansion would lead to the development of a nationalist, anti-British elite, and his belief was not, in any case, a governmental responsibility. Hence previous educational expansion not only came to an almost complete halt, which was justified in British eyes by the need to eliminate the large Egyptian debt and restore financial stability to the country, but various steps were taken to minimize the politically destabilizing potential of the existing educational system. (1)

Lord Cromer's educational policy aimed at reducing expenditure on education. He sought to make education self supporting by eliminating fellowships and finally by cancelling free education. In 1881, 70 per cent of the students had received some sort of subsidy from the government; by 1892, 73 per cent of students were paying all their own expenses(2). By 1893 only 1337 students were receiving free education and in 1904 free education was abolished completely(3). In 1900 funds for education only amounted to 1.03 per cent of the budget(4).

It could be argued that this policy of reducing educational expenditure was the result of Cromer's over-riding concern of solving the problem of Egyptian foreign debts. "But even when the financial crisis had been

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1). J. Szyliowicz, Education and Modernization, p.122.
2). Quoted by Ibid., pp.122-123.
3). H.El-Fiky, p.115.
4). Alia Ali Farag, Education in Egypt, Dar El-Mahrefa El-Gamehia, Alexanderia, 1979, p.134. (in Arabic).

resolved only limited additional resources were diverted to the schools...It is therefore, impossible to avoid a conclusion that extreme parsimony remained the rule in educational matters, even when change was possible".[1] The total expenditures on education in 1910 was only 3.33 per cent of the budget[2]. As a result of this policy the percentage of illiteracy in Egypt decreased only slightly from 91.7 per cent in 1882 to 91.3 per cent in 1917[3]. Whatever the justification of Cromer educational policy the result was reflected in a continuing backward social and cultural society and the inability of the masses to participate in political life.

Other factors also hindered the development of education. There was a rapid growth of population which was not matched by the growth in the economy.

The population grew from 6,712,000 in 1882 to 18,967,000 in 1947[4]. In the absence of government funds clearly the growth of population hampered the education movement and prevented educational reform. An extension of education to the majority of the people requires a considerable number of years. Even after the 1952 Revolution when serious attempts were made to extend education and make it compulsory, the population factor presented a difficult problem in the development of the first stage of education.

After Cromer's departure in 1907 the occupying authorities agreed to the national demands for an extension of education. Considerable progress was achieved after Egypt

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1). J. Szyliowicz, Education and Modernization,p.132.
2). A. Farag, Education in Egypt,p.134.
3). H. El-Fiky, p.113.
4). Central Agency For Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMS), Statistical Yearbook (1952-1981), Cairo, 1982,p.6.

had gained partial independence and the new constitution was issued in 1923. Although there was an increase in the number of pupils in all stages of education the aim of universal provision at the first stage was not achieved. The percentage of illiteracy remained high. It was 85.6 per cent in 1927 and it had only decreased to 75.7 per cent in 1947[1].

During the period of partial independence, the proportion of the total budget allotted to education rose to 6.8 per cent in 1925-26 and to over 12 per cent in 1945-46[2]. The number of secondary school pupils increased from 8100 in the year 1925-26 to 38,823 in the year 1945-46 then to 93,767 in the year 1951[3]. The increase which took place during the last five years was roughly double the increase which had taken place during the first twenty years. However, the desire of the people for universal secondary education was not met until 1951 when secondary education became free.

The most important reform introduced by the 1923 Constitution was in the field of the first stage of education. Under article 19 of the Constitution, for the first time, education was made compulsory for every child from 6 to 12 since it was felt acutely that a healthy social life could not be achieved unless people were educated. Education was seen as the royal road to social reform and to a truly democratic state[4]. Compulsory education at the first stage was an important step in the

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1). Calculated from CAPMS, The different censuses of Egypt.
2). M. Kerr, 'Egypt', p.172.
3). A.H. El-Koussy, 'Egypt', in G.B.Jeffery, The Year Book of Education (1951), Evans Brothers, London, 1952, p.454.
4). El-Koussy, 'Egypt', p.446.

development of democracy since it provided a means of preparing individuals for citizenship. Furthermore to some extent it enabled the people to understand and share in the country's affairs. Moreover, it provided the basis for the further development of knowledge and skills, and political and social values.

In Egypt there were two kinds of education at the first stage. First, there were fee paying primary schools which were the preserve of the aristocracy and provided access to the next stages of education. Secondly, there were the elementary schools which provided popular education for the children of the poor and peasants. Whilst primary schools were provided with good facilities, modern curricula and trained teachers, the elementary schools were characterized by limited opportunity, traditional curricula and untrained teachers(1). Although the 1923 Constitution introduced compulsory education for every child, this was restricted to attendance at elementary schools and primary schools were not included in the provision. Thus dualism at the first stage continued.

Under the 1923 Constitution, the Ministry of Education introduced their project for the extension of education. 127 elementary schools were established in which education was free for six years(2). However, the Ministry did not complete the initial project and instead decided to extend compulsory education by establishing what were called compulsory schools. The Ministry

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1). Moustafa Darwish, Some Problems of Primary School, Dar El-Maharef, Cairo, 1974,pp.31-32. (in Arabic).

2). Moneer Solieman, History of Education System in the United Arab Republic, Third Edition,El-Anglo El-Misria, Cairo,1969,p.147. (in Arabic).

established 762 compulsory schools in which education was free for six years but reduced to five years in 1930[1]. Although pupils received only half-time education, financial obstacles prevented the Ministry from extending the provision of compulsory schools.

As a result of the 1923 constitution, the number of pupils in the first stage of education increased. The number of elementary and compulsory school pupils rose from 190,673 in 1925-26 to 862,929 in 1950-51, whilst the number of primary school pupils rose from 31,053 to 122,144 during the same period[2]. Nevertheless, there were two and a half million children within the first age group[3]. Consequently, in effect, only 39.4 per cent of the age group were receiving some kind of education.

In 1951 under law 143 compulsory attendance was extended to primary schools[4]. The law also stated that the first stage of education should be renamed primary education and should be free for six years[5]. Although the law appeared to introduce unity of provision within the first stage of education, nevertheless, this gain was theoretical and legislative only. "In fact both elementary and primary schools remained as they were."[6].

The primary schools still retained the better facilities with generally better qualified teachers and greater opportunities for the children. The primary school also favoured by government funding. Between 1949 and 1951 the

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1). H. El-Fiky, p.162,174.
2). A.H. El-Koussy, 'Egypt', p.449.
3). H. El-Fiky, p.175.
4) National Centre of Educational Research, A Report on the Development of Education in the Arab Republic of Egypt(1974/75 - 1975/76), Centre of Educational Documentation, Cairo,1977,p.2. (in Arabic).
5).Ministry of Education,General Administration,Primary Education in the United Arab Republic, Ministry of Education Press,Cairo,1969,p.13.(in Arabi
6).Asmail M.El.Qubain, Studies on Education Organization in Egypt, El-Nahda El-Misria, Cairo,1958,p.211. (in Arabic).

amount of money provided by the Ministry of Education rose from 19 to 29 million pounds. The funds allocated to elementary education increased from 7,633,000 to 8,876,000 which represented only an increase of 16 per cent. However, the funds for general education had increased from 5,893,000 to 10,785,000 which amounted to an increase of 83 per cent. Furthermore, half of these funds were allocated to primary shcools(1).

The leaders of the movement for educational reform were very much concerned with the continuing deficiency in educational provision. Taha Hussien argued that education was as necessary to everyone as air and water. He contended that it was not only a means for developing culture but also a means for introducing political education and realizing democracy. In 1938 he wrote that education was "The means by which people know the source of oppression and till they punish those who oppress them and humiliate them...and oblige them to believe in equality and verbally and actually, tell them to realize equality in their conduct not by words which mislead people"(2). When Taha Hussien became the Minister of Education he used the opportunity to translate his ideas to action. In 1944 he abolished fees in primary schools. In 1951 he abolished fees in secondary schools and created more opportunities for free education in higher education.

Though the extension of general education to different

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1). Ibid., pp.185-186.

2). Taha Hussien, Future of Cultural in Egypt,El-Maharef Press, Cairo,1938, pp.117-118, Quoted by H. El-Fiky, p.88.

classes in society is an important factor for the development of democracy, it is not, however, the only factor. The development of political awareness through political education is also important to enable people to participate in political life. Most Egyptians had little knowledge of the constitution. Furthermore, their political awareness was not sufficiently developed to enable them to participate in electing their political representatives in any meaningful way[1].

Qubain and Taha Hussien argued that the lives of most people were governed by an unwritten law based on customs and traditions which obliged them to follow customs and traditions[2]. This was reflected in the educational system and no doubt explains the lack of political awareness among the majority of people. The nature of the duties and traditions imposed by the authority on the young hindered freedom of thought and prevented discussion or criticism on the need for change in society.

In 1935 the Minister of Education criticised the curriculum of secondary education. He argued that it was overloaded and failed to develop the constructive and critical faculties of students[3]. This criticism was reinforced by a study of the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO)[4]. The main aim of secondary education remained preparation for higher education. However, at a time when Egypt was in need of cultural and social growth, secondary education

1). A. Goldschmidt, 'The Egyptian National Party (1892-1919)',p.332.
2). G.Hyde, Education in Modern Egypt, p.1.
3). El-Koussy, 'Egypt', p.451.
4). Arab League, Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO), Meeting of General and Technical Secondary School, The Organization, Cairo, 1972, p.115. (in Arabic)

failed to prepare students to meet, appreciate and solve the wider problems of society.

The curriculum of schools continued to be based on indoctrination and memorising knowledge. Teaching methods neglected thinking and consideration of alternative views and attempted in inculcate attitudes of obedience and discipline[1]. Moreover, the curriculum did not deal with national problems, the development of political life and the trials of the national movement in resisting corruption in social and political situations[2].

Undoubtedly, the absence of democracy and the ability to participate in political life to a large extent can be attributed to educational conditions in Egypt. The limited extent of educational provision, the defects within the system and the high level of illiteracy were important factors in preventing the development of democracy and political awareness.

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1). J. Szyliowicz, Education and Modernization,p.127.

2). A. Farag, Education in Egypt, p.131; H. El-Fiky,p.176.

CHAPTER FIVE.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL AND DEMOCRATIC LIFE SINCE THE 1952 REVOLUTION AND THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST ATTITUDE.

The period which preceded the Revolution was distinguished by the growth of theoretical concepts of democracy. The existence of a dictatorship, conflict among the political parties, and the domination of political life by capitalism and feudalism, however, prevented the implementation of democratic practices. Furthermore, in addition to the cultural and social deterioration which had taken place Egypt was not in a position to achieve its independence.

As a result of this situation a group of free officers in the army under the leadership of Gamal Abdel-Nasser instigated the 1952 Revolution. Thus the 23rd of July Revolution began within the army as an expression of the will of the people. Nevertheless partly because of historical factors the response to the Revolution was disorganized. Gamal Abdel-Nasser, in his book The Philosophy of the Revolution,describes this in more colourful terms by saying:

> Prior to that date (July 23rd) I imagined that the whole nation was on tip-toes and prepared for action, that it awaited the advance of the vanguard and the storming of the

> outside walls for it to pour down in a solid phalanx marching faithfully to the great goal...Endless crowds showed up, but how different is the reality from the vision! The multitudes that arrived were dispersed followers and contrasted remnants...We needed discipline but found chaos behind our lines. We needed unity but found dissensions. We needed action but found nothing but surrender and idleness. It was from this source and no other the Revolution derived its motto.(1)

The new revolutionary regime was faced with a number of serious problems including underdevelopment. Furthermore, the new leadership was hindered in the implementation of its aims by the political inexperience of the masses.

The 23rd of July Revolution was an expression of the people to rule themselves and to get rid of economic and social retardation. In The Philosophy of the Revolution Nasser comments "...the Revolution of July 23rd was the realization of a hope that dangled before the eyes of the people of Egypt since they began, in modern times, to think of governing themselves and having the final word on their destiny."(2) The problems of social and political life were reflected in the aims of the Revolution which were embodied in six declared principles:

1. Getting rid of imperialism.
2. Getting rid of feudalism.
3. Getting rid of the domination of capitalism.
4. The establishment of social justice.
5. The establishment of a strong army.
6. The establishment of a sound democratic life.

Although the establishment of a sound democratic life

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1). The motto referred to was "Unity, Discipline and Work", Gamal Abdel-Nasser, The Philosophy of the Revolution, Dar Matabeh El-Shahb, Cairo,1966,pp.19-20.

2). Ibid., p.17.

was the last principle in the declared list, this does not mean that the Revolution regarded it as less important than the other principles. The principles, however, reflected the fact that society had suffered socially and economically leading to a deterioration of democratic life during the preceding years. Thus, in effect, the six principles attempted to fuse both political and social democracy. This philosophy has been crystallized in the democratic socialist attitude as the ideology of the society.

The first step in the Revolution was the dismissal of King Farouk on 26th of July 1952. This was followed on 18th of June 1953 with a declaration introducing a republican system of government to replace the monarchy(1). The Revolution now turned its attention to achieving the country's independence and on 19th of October 1954 issued an agreement of evacuation. This involved the evacuation of British forces from Egypt within 20 months and also cancelled the 1936 treaty. By 17th of June 1956, the evacuation of the British forces from Egypt was completed(2).

The Development of Political and Democratic Life.

Since the 1952 Revolution, democratic and political life in Egypt has passed through many stages. The starting point was the Liberation Rally which inaugurated a one political party system, and which ended by the adoption of

1).Y.El.Gamal, Constitutional System in ARE, pp.106-107

2).A. Moustafa, Egyptian British Relationship (1936-1956),p,129,180.

a multi-party system as a means of practising sound democracy. At first the nature of the revolutionary action had necessitated the adoption of the one party state to achieve the necessary radical changes in society. Unity and consolidation were essential and it was felt that a one party system was the most practical way of achieving these objectives.

Although the one party system had disadvantages, nevertheless, it reflected the nature of society and its political immaturity. At that time the life-style of Egyptian society was not conducive to practise democracy through a multi-party system. The experience of political parties before the Revolution revealed that participation in political life was dominated by a minority of feudalistic and capitalistic interest. Political parties did not achieve their political aims and were beset by internal dissension. The economic structure was also dominated by capitalist and feudalist interest and large areas of the fertile land were held by a small number of individuals. The government had failed to develop natural resources and industry, and social and economic problems had been neglected. Moreover, due to the low cultural level of the majority of Egyptians at the beginning of the Revolution it was not possible to introduce a system of democracy based on a multiplicity of political parties. Consequently a decision was taken to adopt a one party system during the first years of the Revolution.

The Liberation Rally and The National Union.

The first year following the Revolution witnessed the abolition of existing political parties. On the 18th of January 1953, the Revolutionary Command Council issued an edict dissolving the previous political parties. Articles 2 and 6 of the edict prevented the members of the dissolved political parties from participation in any political activity and from forming new political parties. The political parties were replaced by the Liberation Rally which was formed on 23rd of January 1953 and which continued until the 2nd of December 1957. The aim of the Liberation Rally, as stated in its charter, was to realize the essential interests of the people and the fundamental political and social freedoms for citizens[1].

Essentially, the Liberation Rally was the only political organization permitted. It was considered the first expression of the shift from the revolutionary action inside the army to popular participation in political life. Although the Liberation Rally adopted the motto, "We are all members in the Liberation Rally"[2], the nature of its political procedures, the abolishing of the political parties and the invoking of the emergency laws, however, prevented many sections of the population from participating in political activity.

Although it can be argued that the nature of the tasks facing the revolutionary government required state domination, nevertheless this affected political life.

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1). 'Documents of Political and Parliamentary Life in Egypt(1952-1976)', in Al-Ahram, Democracy in Egypt:Quarter Century,p.92-Hereafter referred to as 'Documents(1952-1976)'.

2). El-Said Yassen, The Revolution and Social Change:Quarter Century After July 23rd,1952,Centre of Strategic and Political Studies of Al-Ahram, Cairo, 1977, p.51 (in Arabic).

The abolishing of political parties was followed by a limited period of three years of transformation which began from 13th January 1953. A constitutional declaration was issued on 10th of February 1953 which explained the system of rule which would be adopted during the period of transformation.(1) Under this system, the authority of the state was concentrated in the hands of the Revolutionary Command Council and a Minister's Council. The Minister's Council was responsible for the legislative and executive authorities and the Revolutionary Command Council was concerned with overall policy and implementing rules to protect the Revolution.

The purpose of this period of transformation was to create conditions which would facilitate the introduction of a democratic society. The constitutional declaration had justified the system on the grounds that it was necessary "to realize settlement and production and to be able to set up a democratic constitutional rule".(2) Moreover, articles 1 and 3 of the declaration asserted that the people was the source of all authority and protected freedom of opinion and other personal freedoms.

It is clear that this declaration was imposed through the needs to secure a settlement between conflicting economic, social and political interest. Although the purpose of the settlement was to prepare for the establishment of a sound democracy, it resulted in limited participation in political life. The limitations

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1).'Documents (1952-1976)', pp.91-92

2).'Documents (1952-1976)', p.91

on participation in political life were perhaps acceptable during the period of transformation. However, it was expected that the political system would be adopted to realizing democratic aspiration, and providing the opportunities for participation in political life. Unfortunately, the Revolution was not able to establish a sound democracy for more than twenty-five years when a system of political parties was adopted.

At the end of the period of transformation, the Constitution of 1956 was issued which replaced the Liberation Rally by the National Union. Article 192 of the Constitution stated that the citizens should form a National Union to work to realize the aims for which the Revolution arose and to urge efforts to build the nation in a right way politically, socially and economically. The National Union will undertake the process of nomination to the National Assembly (Parliament). The way of forming the National Union will be determined by a decision of the President.(1)

By law the National Union included all people.(2). The purposes of the National Union were to realize a democratic socialist society through improving political, social and economic life and planning the overall policy of the country. Furthermore, the National Union was required to assess wrong practices and to request their correction, to determine good practices and seek their implementation, and to establish procedures for the

1). 'Documents (1952-1976)',p.93.

2). 'Documents (1952-1976)',p.95.

introduction of a sound democratic life.

In spite of the fact that the National Union was working to achieve the aims of the Revolution and to initiate a sound democratic system, however, the Union's policy had defects. Although it was the only political party, the effectiveness of the National Union was limited by the executive authority of the President, and the legislative authority of Parliament was limited by the National Union. The President was the head of the executive authority and he determined the form of the National Union. Although the National Assembly (the Parliament) was an elected body, the proposals for nomination for the National Assembly had to be approved by the National Union. Thus, whilst to some extent there was an inbuilt system of checks and balances, overall executive authority rested with the President, and the National Union exercised restrictive powers over the National Assembly.

Whilst the purpose of the National Union's domination over the National Assembly was to exclude anti-Revolutionary elements, reactionaries, feudalism and capitalism, in fact these elements tainted both the National Union and the National Assembly. Furthermore, from the start the National Union was also hindered by the nature of the revolution which did not represent varying viewpoints. Clearly, the one political party system could be justified by the circumstances, but it was incapable of encompassing all attitudes. Consequently it became

increasingly apparent that a multi-party system was necessary.

In 1959 Nasser attributed the reasons which hindered the National Union from achieving its aims, to two factors.[1] First, the Revolution, faced with the necessity of social change, was unable to establish guidelines and a programme for revolutionary action which had the support of different interests. Secondly, the Revolutionary thinking which looked forward to national unity mistakenly believed that the feudalist and capitalist classes would accept national unity based on populist powers.

During 1961 and 1962[2] Nasser declared in his formal communiques that reactionaries had infiltrated into the National Union and dominated the principal offices resulting in the corruption of the National Union. Accordingly, it was necessary to reform the National Union to be a revolutionary instrument for the patriotic masses only. Nasser also announced the formation of a new political organization with a membership restricted to workers[3], farmers, educated people, traders, owners whose properties had not been freed from exploitation, and military personnel. The new political organization which replaced the National Union was called the Arab Socialist Union (ASU.). It was based on broad representation and it gave the people practising control over the affairs of the state.

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1). Gamal Abdel-Nasser, Democracy, Dar El.Kawomia, Cairo, n.d., pp.97-98.

2). P.J.Vatikiotis, 'Some Political Consequences of the 1952 Revolution in Egypt', in P.M.Holt (ed.) Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt, p.376; G.Nasser, Democracy, p.62; E.El.Dawla, Parliamentary System, p.187

3). Not just labourers but anyone who works for his living.

The Arab Socialist Union (ASU.).

The Arab Socialist Union became the only political party permitted. The features and aims of the ASU were defined by a law issued on 18th December,1962. According to this law and the Constitution of 1964, the ASU became the highest authority in the state and represented all working people. The authority of the ASU was based on the effective control of national programmes to promulgate democratic socialist attitudes.

The law instituting the ASU states that it was established "to be the socialist pioneer which leads the people, to express their will, and to direct national work and perform the effective observation on its action on sound lines". The ASU also worked for "the realization of the sound democracy...and social revolution which is considered the revolution of the working people".(1) Moreover, the law defined the participatory membership of the ASU in such a way as to include all the different classes of people except the exploiting class of capitalists and feudalists.

The structure of the ASU was based on the local unit in the village, factory or city.(2) The conference of each local unit which included all the membership of the ASU then elected an executive committee. Then at the regional level there was a governorate conference which consisted of the members of the executive committees elected from basic units. The governorate's conference

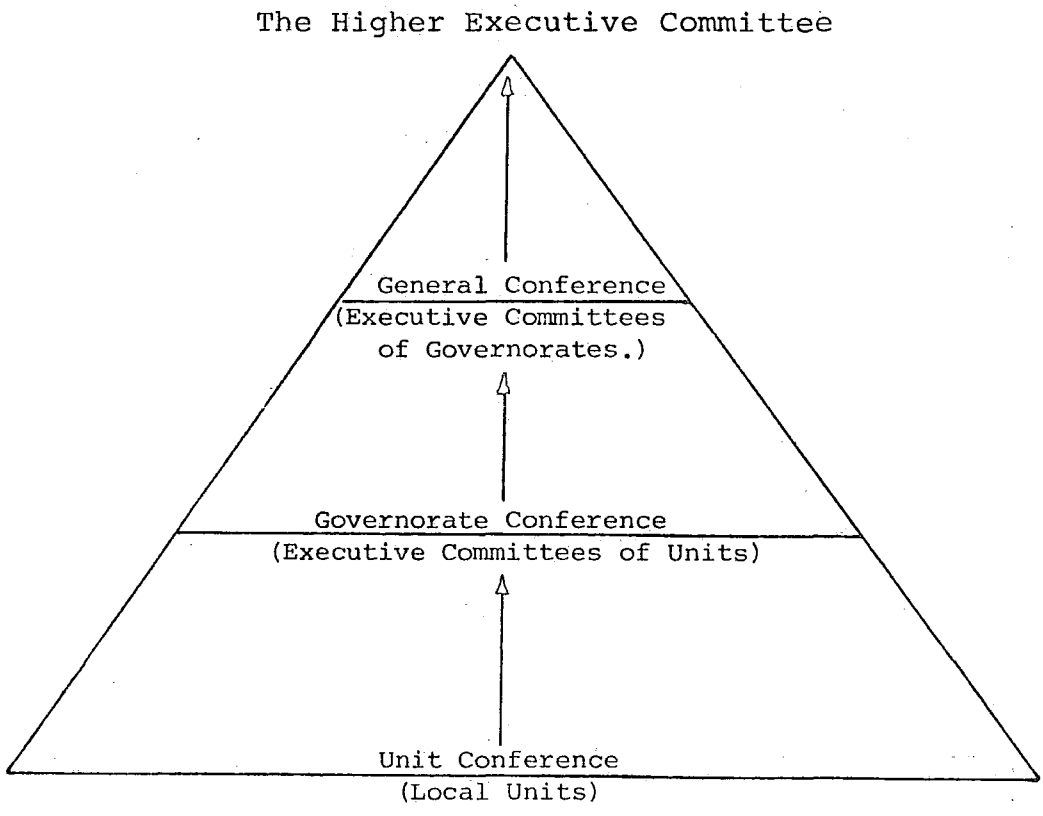
1). 'Documents(1952-1976)', pp.97-98.

2). G.Nasser, Democracy, pp.100-101.

also elected an executive committee. The members of the executive committees of the governorates were then eligible for election to the higher executive committee of the ASU by the general conference which consisted of all the executive committees.

Figure (3)

The Structure of the ASU.



The Constitution of 1964 made the ASU the highest authority in the State. The ASU observed and directed all the authorities of the State. Article 3 of the 1964 Constitution stated that "Working people...make up the ASU, as the power representative of the people, driver

of the Revolution's potentialities, and protector of sound democratic values"[1] In the light of this article, the ASU posssessed, as power driver of the Revolution's potential, the right to direct authorities and to urge them to realize the aims of the Revolution. Moreover, the ASU, as the protector of sound democratic values, had the right to reprimand any authority when it deviated from democratic attitudes.

Article 12 of the Constitution of 1964 reinforced the authority of the ASU, as a representative of the people, in its direction of the different institutions of the State. This article asserted that "The people control all means of production...to increase the wealth and continuously to raise the standard of living".[2] Similarly, Article 13 confirmed the power of the ASU over the responsible sectors of development inside the society, whether the public sector or the private sector.

The functions of the ASU were not only limited to the direction and monitoring of all authorities and institutions inside the state. The ASU also had an important relationship to legislative authority and the professional organisations. These organisations were required to carry out the policy of the ASU. The law stated, "The ASU, which is the popular authority, performs the leading and orientating action drawn from the people, while the National Assembly and professional syndicates carry out the policy drawn up by the ASU".[3]

1). U.A.R., Ministry of Culture and National Guidance, The Constitution, March 25,1964, Information Department, Cairo.

2). Ibid.

3). 'Documents (1952-1976)',p.98.

Clearly,popular support was assured for the A.S.U. As the only political organisation, it absorbed the popular and professional organizations which adhered to its policy.

Although the A.S.U. represented the authority of people, its functions could conflict with those of the National Assembly which also represented the authority of people. Whilst the A.S.U. had no rights to legislate, the National Assembly was required to carry out the policy of the A.S.U. This situation restricted the freedom of National Assembly in legislation. Although the membership of the A.S.U. was a necessary precondition of membership of the National Assembly, it was still possible for disagreement to arise between the A.S.U. and the National Assembly. Furthermore, the requirement for professional syndicates to follow the A.S.U. policies led to a conflict of interest within the syndicates.

The A.S.U., in this way, was similar to the National Union in being the only political party which was allowed to determine democratic socialist attitudes and orientate national work. The A.S.U. differed from the National Union in that the former represented the people in a broad way often excluding the exploiting classes. Whilst the A.S.U. limited the percentage of workers and farmers to 50% in all its units,[1] this limiting percentage was not present in the National Union. Moreover, the A.S.U. had assured, in large measure, the domination of the people and their monitoring of the state's authority, while the

1). P.Vatikiotis, 'Some Political Consequences', p.377.

power of the National Union was confined to tracing errors and trying to remedy them.

In general, the A.S.U. represented the will of the people and took active steps to monitor and orientate the authority of the state. This was one of the most important aspects in the changing practice of political life conferring the right of sovereignty on the people. Political participation of the people was guaranteed by the supplementary laws of the 1971 Constitution. Law 74 stated that "the ASU...gives the widest range for free discussion inside its formations..."(1). However, the law could not be completely effective except through a multiplicity of political parties which provided opportunities for the emergence of opposing points of view and constructive discussion.

The result of this situation was that a number of people were deprived of the opportunity of participating in effective political discussion for three reasons: First, because the ASU was the only political party it became the apparatus of authority inside the state and controlled state policy. Thus, the ASU became the policy making body of the state rather than fulfilling its brief of guiding authority and observing its actions. The ASU also became intolerant of opposition and of the other points of view. Moustafa Khalil, one of the political leaders, argued that "the ASU did not permit the expression of opposition inside it. Moreover its internal

1). 'The Permanent Constitution and Basic Laws', p.104.

elections were of a undemocratic form and their results were an expression of the interests of the leaders of the ASU."[1] Secondly the ineffectiveness of the opposition within the ASU to its authority meant that many of its decisions represented the desire of the leadership rather than the desire of the people. Eventually this led to the appearance of the Centres of Powers within the ASU which attempted to control policy. Thus, there was a gap between the leaders of the ASU and its membership. Thirdly, in political life, in spite of the fact that the membership of the ASU was theoretically voluntary in reality it was obligatory. Any citizen who had the desire to participate in political and social activity had to be a member of the ASU and adhere to its policy. For example, a law issued by the National Assembly in 1963 stated that only persons who were members of the ASU and whose membership had been approved for at least one year had the right to be nominated to the membership of the National Assembly. Similarly, a precondition of taking a leading role in professional syndicates was membership of the ASU. Furthermore, law 59 of 1964 required that anyone who was appointed a sheriff or Sheikh had to be a member of the ASU.[2]

Clearly, these defects limited real participation in political life. Such participation is distinguished by the effectiveness and the ability to involve the largest number of citizens. Participation necessitates the

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1). Moustafa Khalil, 'ASU and Political Parties' in Al-Ahram, Democracy in Egypt: Quarter Century, p.61.

2). Gamal El.Hetafy, 'ASU a Political Power' Quoted by E.El-Dawla, Parliamentary System, pp.198-199.

existence of continual contact between the people and their leaders. People should be able to participate in decision-making and directing the policy of the state. The decision-making process must also include opportunities for the expression of the opposing views and the acceptance of criticism. This was not to be found in the ASU.

Quantitatively,to a large extent, the idea of participation was present in political life. During the period between 1964 to 1971 the ASU included about one-seventh of the Egyptian people. The membership was more than four and a half million as compared with a population of 31 and a half million in 1968. The membership also included a great percentage of young people within the 18-21 age range.(1) These numbers reflected the fact that the people had the desire to participate in political life and apparently the ASU had realized its aim in including a great percentage of the people regardless of these points of view.

However, not all of these members were active within the ASU. Thus, the effectiveness of the ASU, as a means of securing participation in political life, was much less than indicated by the figures. No doubt, the passivity of some of the members was due to the intolerance of the opposition within the ASU. However, it is clear that many citizens joined the ASU to exercise their rights of participating in political life in a positive way.

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1). Yassen, The Revolution and Social Change, p.52;CAPMS, Statistical Yearbook, p.8.

The extent of participation in political life is also reflected in the number of people voting in elections. The number of people who had the right to vote were approximately five and a half millions in 1957. By 1976 this had increased to approximately nine and a half million citizens. However, only approximately four million citizens or 40 per cent of those eligible to vote took part in elections.(1) This indicates a low level of political participation and an absence of political awareness on the part of many people.

A further indication of the low level of political participation is seen in the numbers nominated for National Assembly. In 1957, 2508 citizens were nominated decreasing to 1698 in 1964 and then to 870 in 1969. This can be explained by the fact that there were certain restrictions which made some people ineligible for nomination to membership of the National Assembly. Following the issue of the Constitution of 1971 which abolished these restrictions the number of nominations for the National Assembly increased from 1522 citizens in 1971 to 1660 in 1976.(2) The latter figures was also clearly influenced by the abolishing of the membership condition which was issued in 1975.(3)

In spite of the weakness of the ASU, the one party political system represented an important stage in the development of political life in Egypt. It became clear, however, that the extension of democracy and the one

1). Yassen, The Revolution and Social Change,p.56.

2). Ibid.,p.56

3). E.El-Dawla, Parliamentary System, p.226.

political party system were incompatible. Consequently, attempts were made to replace the ASU by a multiplicity of political parties.

The Emergence of Political Parties.

Political parties represent the most important aspect of democracy in the machinery of government. The function of political parties in a democratic nation is to orientate and organize the struggle for the wielding of the authority. Political parties are the means through which the populace can exercise choice and participate in democratic process.

The democratic significance of political parties is that a party cannot achieve power unless it secures the support of the largest number of voters in an election in comparison with other parties. Moreover, by regulating the conflict which arises from the competition for authority, political parties embody the democratic atmosphere. In multi-party régimes the electorate chooses between several candidates, each of whom is nominated by a party. A party can be considered as organised opinion and as such, it clarifies issues for, and canalizes the views of, the electors. Where there is a number of parties, opposing views can be expressed and represented, the opposition constraining to some extent the actions of the majority party and helping to ensure that the government pursues policies consistent with the welfare of the people.

The political party system plays an important part in the political life of nations such as Britain and U.S. The democratic function of these parties is to enable citizens to become involved in the political activity of the society. Political parties represent different insights into the problems of society and attempt to influence the solutions proposed by government. Consequently, opposition parties in a democratic system provide a means for the expression of different attitudes to political life. They bring the other points of view within society to the attention of the government. In contrast, a one political party system can lead to the neglect of other view points within a society. Furthermore, the function of the party may be merely confined to endorsing the authority and policies of the party leaders. This could result in political apathy.

These negative aspects of the one party system appeared in the ASU which failed to promote democracy and participation in political life. Consequently, the state began to look towards the introduction of a multi-party system. At first a "Multiplicity of Forums" was established which later became the basis of the subsequent political parties. In August, 1974, a paper was issued on the future development of the ASU. The paper outlined proposals to provide opportunities for the expression of different opinions within the ASU. On the 23rd of July,1975 the general conference of the ASU established

three forums inside the ASU namely:-

1 - Egypt's Arab Socialist Organization, which represented the Centre.

2 - The Liberal Socialist Organization, which represented the Right.

3 - The Collective Progressive Unitery National Organization which represented the Left.

Each organization has the right to express its opinion, within the framework of the ASU and in compliance with the three basic principles: the necessity of the socialist solution, social peace, and national unity. Whilst this development was an initial step towards the formation of political parties and the termination of ASU it could hardly be described as a multi-party system.

In 1976 the People's Assembly (Parliament) decided to transform the three forums into political parties and to abolish the ASU. Furthermore, the parties were to have the right to direct their activities in accordance with the constitution and within the necessity of the socialist solution, social peace and national unity.(1) In the same year the law of political parties was issued which enshrined this new attitude to democracy by giving Egyptians the right to form political parties and to affiliate to any political party.(2) This law allowed the parties to participate in government and to put forward programmes for the development of society. However, the political parties were required by the law to adhere to principals of national unity, social peace, and the

1). 'Corrective Revolution After Nine Years', Al-Ahram,Cairo,May 13, 1980.

2). 'Documents (1952-1976)',p.106; Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of Information, Public Information Department, Political System in the Arab Republic of Egypt, Cairo, 1984, p.35 (in Arabic)

furthering of democratic socialist attitudes.

Accordingly, Article 5 of the Constitution of 1971 was amended to comply with the termination of the ASU and the establishment of political parties. Article 5 stated : "The political system of the Arab Republic of Egypt is a multi-party one, within the framework of the basic elements and principles of the Egyptian society as stipulated in the Constitution".(1) The most important principles of the constitution required the maintenance of the democratic socialist state with the aims of realizing justice and narrowing the gap between the classes. Consequently, the political parties in Egypt were required to function within the state policy and its aims of realizing a democratic socialist society. This did not prevent, however, the emergence of the varying opinions within the parties on how a democratic socialist society might be achieved.

Four parties were established. First, the National Democratic Party which represented the Centre and was initially called the Egyptian Arab Socialist Party. Secondly, there was the Collective Progressive Unitary National Party which represented the Left. Thirdly, there was the Liberal Socialist Party which represented the Right. Fourthly, there was the Labour Party.

The intention of the state was to work towards the establishment of the democratic socialist attitude through the involvement of both the private and public sectors in

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1). Ministry of Information, Permanent Constitution.

the field of social and economic development. The public sector was completely owned and supervised by the state. However, the private sector depended on the provision of capital from private individuals under the supervision of the state in order to prevent exploitation. The left party advocated greater state intention in the field of economic and social development. The right wanted more encouragement to individuals and private capital. The middle party argued for a balance between the two sectors, the private and the public. Nevertheless, all of the parties were committed to achieving a democratic socialist society.

Whilst the establishment of the political parties in Egypt was a significant step in the direction of democracy, nevertheless, there were limitations and restrictions on the activities of parties and their participation in political life.(1) The law of parties imposed restrictions on the freedom to form parties. Moreover, traditionally the executive authority had always exercised a strong power and this tended to diminish the effectiveness of opposing parties in criticising and influencing government policies. Furthermore, ministerial responsibility in the People's Assembly was divided into two divisions; one was subject to the principle of responsibility whilst the other was not. Consequently, it was difficult to define the responsibility of the ministry and this hindered the opposition in fulfilling the function

1). Al-Ahram, Cairo, July 18,1983; Tarek El-Beshry, 'The Revolution of 1952' in Al-Ahram, Democracy in Egypt:Quarter Century,p.22; Ali El-Deen Helall, 'The Problem of Democracy in Egypt',in Al-Ahram, Democracy in Egypt, p.67-68.

of monitoring government policy.

Recently, two other parties were in the process of being established during 1983 and will clearly have an impact on democratic life in Egypt. In particular the re-constituted Wafd Party (originally set up before 1952) is likely to provide a more effective opposition to the ruling National Democratic Party. Historically the former Wafd Party had strong association with achieving the independence of Egypt and the movement towards a secure democratic state. Its current policies[1] are securing the narrowing gap of classes; encouraging development of national capitalism; opposing exhaustive intervention of the state in the economic development; and encouraging the development of democratic practices.

Thus, the Wafd Party appears to support both the socialist democratic attitude and the important contribution that can be made by the private sector and individual initiative. If the Wafd party can enlist successfully the support of other opposite parties it is likely to compete successfully with the National Democratic Party. Consequently, the National Party will feel the need to take into account wider political viewpoints when it realizes that it could be defeated in an election.

It is also likely that the other new party, the Aumma Party, will have popular appeal. Fundamentally, the party supports the principles of the 1952 Revolution and these principles are popular with a large section of

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1). El-Akhbar, Cairo, 28 January, 1984.

the population especially among the farmers and workers who have limited incomes.

In recent years the inadequacies of the one party system have become increasingly clear. Further, social and economic and political development requires a multi-political party system with each party putting forward clear policies. As Ali Helall stated "What is reasonable in a democratic life is to continue for a time dealing with mottos and broad principles but the time will come when the people asks every party to say what it has done about the problems of the society. In short, what is needed is to have plans, policies, and programmes and offer them to the people".(1)

Although the historical background of political parties began before the Revolution of 1952 the actual experience of political parties in operation is a new one. Given the social and economic problems it is hardly surprising that there have been some negative aspects to the new experience. Nevertheless, it represents growing maturity in the development of democratic life in Egypt. Furthermore,the adoption of the multi-party system is likely to contribute to the realization of political, social and economic progress although this takes some time.

Constitutional Life.

The emergence of political parties in Egypt was one

1). Ali El-Deen Helall, 'The Future of Parties in Egypt', Ros El-Yousef, December 5th,1983, pp.44-45. (in Arabic.)

of the important aspects in the development of political and democratic life. Moreover, the introduction of the constitutional system was also another significant development. From the beginning of the Revolution the aim of constitutional reform was to provide a framework for achieving democratic life. Initially the constitutional system failed to achieve this objective due to the contradiction of the one political party state and the nature of democratic life.

The first constitution following the Revolution was issued in January 1956 and set out many democratic principles which were later subsumed im the Constitution of 1964. A revised constitution was issued in 1971 and, apart from the abolishing of the ASU and the establishment of political parties has remained in force today. The constitutions have been mainly concerned with emphasizing democratic principles . Both the Constitutions of 1956 and 1964 allocated legislative authority and oversight of the action of executive authority to the National Assembly.(1) The significant feature of the 1956 and 1971 Constitutions was that they were referred to the people for approval.

The 1956 Constitution declared Egypt to be a democratic country and sovereignty vested in the people. The state guaranteed freedom, security, and equal opportunity for all citizens. The national economy was to be organized according to plans which ensured social justice and raising

1). 'Documents (1952-1976)' , p.93; A. El-Amri, Foundations of Comparative Political Systems, p.309.

the standard of living.[1] The Constitution of 1964 expanded the concept of freedom of opinion and expression. The article 35 stated that "Freedom of opinion and scientific research is guaranteed. Every individual has the right to express his opinion and to publicise it verbally or in writing or by photography."[2]

The Constitutions of 1964 and 1971 extended the right of participation in political life to farmers and workers in legislative assemblies. The article 49 in the 1964 Constitution stated that "at least one half of the members of the Assembly must be workers and farmers".[3] This was reaffirmed in the article 87 of the 1971 Constitution.[4] The 50 per cent allocation to the farmers and workers in the legislative authority was considered a compensation for being previously denied the right of representation in parliamentary life. Undoubtedly, this encouraged some farmers and workers to become more involved in politics and to develop political skills and understanding. Nevertheless, there is a need to raise the general cultural and social standard of these classes to enable them to participate fully in the political process.

General election and the use of referenda are important aspects of Egyptian democracy and have been emphasized in the constitutions. For example, the 1956 Constitution stated that whilst the function of the National Assembly was to nominate the President of the Republic

1). S.H. El-Nassage, Egypt and Phenomenon of Revolution, Dar El-Nahda El-Haditha, Cairo, 1969, p.207. (in Arabic).
2). UAR, The Constitution, March 25, 1964.
3). Ibid.
4). Ministry of Information, Permanent Constitution, p.28.

the nomination had to be referred to the people for a plebiscite. It also stated that the President, after consulting Parliament, could also call a referendum of the people on important matters affecting the supreme interest of the country.(1) In addition to confirming these practices the Constitution of 1971 required that any modification to the constitution must be referred to the people for a plebiscite (article 189). A parallel development took place in the extension of franchise. All citizens who reach the age of 18 have a right and duty to vote. This includes women and the armed forces.

Democratic safeguards are also provided in other charters. For example, the National Charter also stated that :

> The freedom of an individual to shape his destiny, to define his position in society, to express his opinion, and by means of his thought and experience and hopes to take an active part in leading and directing the evolution of his society as an inalienable human right which must be protected by law.(2)

In spite of the changes in the nature of Egyptian Constitutions the aim of establishing a democratic society was not fully realized. Political freedom, freedom of opinion, meeting, publication or criticism were not practised. The ruling leadership exploited their authority in suppressing the freedom of opinion and opposition. Furthermore, they adopted the practices of imprisonment, internment and confiscation of property against those who

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1). Y. El.Gamal, Contemporary Political Systems,p.141.

2). G.Nasser, National Charter, p.54,90

criticized and opposed the policies of the leadership.[1] The October Paper of 1974 stated that:

> Whereas the Revolution has accomplished so much in the field of social freedom, we must honestly concede that political freedom has not run the course people wanted. Centres of power and other bodies rather imposed their custody on masses and several restrictions and measures ensued.(2)

These negative aspects prevented people from participating in political life, in spite of the democratic principles which were included in the constitutions.

Whilst the subsequent constitutions included many democratic principles the one party system often prevented them being put into practice. It seemed that the ASU often failed to observe the democratic principles in the constitutions and the ASU itself became the source and expression of the authority in the state. Eventually, this resulted in the emergence of the Centres of Power within the ASU which tried to exploit the authority by trying to restrict the freedom of citizens and by imposing their will on the people. This position led to the rise of the Corrective Revolution in 1971.

The Corrective Revolution paved the way for the democratic principles of the 1952 Revolution to be re-asserted. The most important steps taken by the Corrective Revolution were the adoption of the system of political parties and the abolition of the one party state. The Corrective Revolution began with the eradication of the Centres of Power and interment.[3] Furthermore, it issued Egypt's permanent Constitution in 1971 which included

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1). Universities Higher Council, Democratic Socialism, General Egyptian Unit for Books, Cairo, 1977, p.58. (in Arabic)

2). M. Sadat, The October Paper, pp.25-26.

3). Ministry of Information, 15th May: Correction of the Path of the Revolutionary Trend, Public Information Department, Cairo, 1974, p.14. (in Arabic).

many democratic principles.

The most important principles included in the 1971 Constitution was the sovereignity of law which is considered the basis for setting up the democratic state. Article 64 stated that "Sovereignty of law shall be the basis of the rule in the State". In addition article 65 stated that "The State shall be subject to law". As the practice of personal freedom and freedom of opinion were some of the most important guarantees for democratic practices, article 66 emphasized that "There shall be no crime or penalty except by virtue of the law. No penalty shall be inflicted except by a judicial sentence..."(1) Moreover the constitution protected the freedom of individuals and assured that every citizen, even the most impecunious, had the right to defend himself and to refer matters to judicature (articles 68 and 69).

Individual freedoms, freedom of opinion, and freedom of the press were assured by many of the articles of the Constitution. These stated that all citizens were equal before the law and that they all had equal civic rights regardless of race, ethnic origin, language, religion or creed. Freedom of expression of beliefs and opinion were also guaranteed. Moreover, the Constitution emphasized the right to peaceable and unarmed private assembly and the right to form societies and syndicates. (articles 40, 46, 67, 54 - 56).

The democratic principles enshrined in the 1971

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1).Ministry of Information, Permanent Constitution.

Constitution provided the basis of participation in political life without the feeling of fear or threat. As President Hosny Mubarak commented in a speech to the Egyptian Parliament in November 1983,

> "...democracy is the essential characteristic which influences the national work and political participation. Guaranteeing freedoms are important matters of general interest, and no restriction on ideas or prevention of point of view or any distinction between opponent or supporter can be permitted".(1)

It would seem that the emphasis on democratic principles contained in the Constitution was contrary to the existence of the one party state represented in the ASU. However, the abolition of internment and the assurance of the sovereignity of law represented a significant step in minimizing the authority of the ASU. The next step was the gradual establishment of the political parties. In 1975 the state set up three forums to provide the opportunities for political groups and people to express their opinion. This was followed in 1976 by setting up the political parties. The adoption of the political parties, in effect, provided the means for the implementation of the democratic principles set out in 1971 Constitution.

In general, it seems clear that since the beginning of the Revolution of 1952, Egypt had tried to create a democratic state. However, the one party system had hindered democratic development and participation in political life. The period of the end of seventies is considered the beginning of a new approach towards democracy through the political parties and the democratic

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1). Al-Ahram, Cairo, 7 November,1983.

principles of the 1971 Constitution.

Undoubtedly, the experiences through which Egypt has gone has given it the ability to judge appropriate democratic practices and to try to avoid practices which hindered the development of democracy. In addition to the need to create a political awareness and to develop the ability to participate in political life, this is one of the most important factors in the emergence of a democratic state.

The Democratic Socialist Attitude.

From the very beginning the Revolution of 1952 sought to establish a democratic socialist state. The purposes of the Revolution were:-

> First, to overthrow imperialism, feudalism and the domination of capitalism over the system of government.
>
> Secondly, to establish social justice, a strong army and a sound democracy.

The movement to social democracy was reinforced by constitutions issued in 1956, 1964 and 1971 and in formal charters such as the National Charter issued in May 1962. The Constitution of 1956 attempted to lay down the foundation for the development of social and political democracy.(1) Social democracy was to be achieved through social justice and promoting of the standard of living of the majority through state control of the means of production. The National Charter also stated that "Democracy is political freedom while socialism is social freedom. The two cannot be separated."(2)

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1).Y. El.Gamal, Constitutional System in ARE, p.110.

2).G. Nasser, National Charter, p.40.

For the first time the 1964 Constitution used the expression of "Democratic socialist" as a basis for the nation's philosophy. The first article of that constitution stated that "The United Arab Republic is a democratic socialist State based on the alliance of the working powers of the people".(3) Similarly, the first article of the 1971 Constitution stated that "The Arab Republic of Egypt is a democratic socialist state..."(2)

It has already been argued that the development of the democratic life had been hindered due to the adoption of the one political party. Experience of the one party system suggested that true democracy could only be realized through the existance of several political parties. Consequently the one party system was abolished and replaced by a multi-party system.

On the other hand, however, a great deal of interest was shown in the first years of the revolution in encouraging socialist attitudes. This was due to the revolution's attempts to dominate the means of production through the process of nationalization which was implemented after the issue of the socialist laws of July 1961. It was believed that the aims of developing democratic practice and socialist attitudes through social justice and state control of economic development were not at variance. In fact, however, state control through one party system proved detrimental to the development of democratic practice and socialist attitudes. The adoption of the multi-party

1). U.A.R. The Constitution, March 25, 1964.

2). Ministry of Information, Permanent Constitution.

system now provides Egypt with the opportunity to realize the democratic socialist state. Political parties have resulted in the minimizing of the concentration of power and the domination of the state over the means of production, thus offering opportunities for private capital investments to contribute to the development of the society.

Since the end of 1960's several factors have slowed the rate of economic development which had been achieved during the early years of the revolution. These included the newness of the socialist experience together with some negative aspects of the style of planning and administration, the wars with Israel, and the population explosion. All this led to a re-evaluation of the democratic socialist experience. The state now attempted to encourage the private sector to contribute to economic development. At the same time Egypt also had found a solution to the hostilities with Israel through a peace treaty and the re-possession of Egyptian territories.

Before 1952 one of the foremost factors which hindered the development of the democratic life was economic and social deterioration. Feudalists and capitalists dominated the economic resources while the majority of the society had a low economic and social standard. Egyptian society was divided into three classes:(1)

First; there was a limited number of great landlords and capitalists. This class dominated social, economic and political life. Secondly; there was a middle class which

1). Refhat El-Mahgoub, Socialist System in the United Arab Republic First Edition, Dar El-Taleha, Beirut, 1967,p.17 (in Arabic).

was limited in number and was unable to realize social mobility. However, some members of the class contributed to social reform. The third class consisted of a large number of poor farmers and simple workers who had limited income. This class was characterised by a low social standard.

This social system reflected the injustice in the distributing of wealth and income and the exploitation by the class of landlords and capitalists of farmers and workers. Indeed, there tended to be a widening in the gap between social classes. This is shown by the fact that the annual average income of 1.3 million poor families in 1950 was about L.E.26 whilst the annual average income of the family of great landlords, from the rents of their land only, was about L.E.15 thousand.(1)

Statistics issued in Almossawar magazine in February 1952(2), in an article entitled "Half the population of Egypt live the life of animals", indicated that four million Egyptians had a per capita income which did not exceed one pound per month and a further, five millions received no more than two pounds per month. Though there was an increase in the average income in some years, generally the average income decreased from L.E. 14.2(3) in year 1913 to L.E. 7.6 in year 1952, taking into account the purchase values of the Egyptian pound.

Further evidence of the poor economic and social condition of the majority and the increasing gap between the

1). Yassen, The Revolution and Social Change, pp.29-30.

2). Quoted by Ibid., pp.22-23; M.Metwaly, Historical Foundations of Egyptian Capitalism and its development, General Egyptian Unit for Books,Cairo, 1974, p.256 (in Arabic).

3). £1 = L.E. 1.56 according to the price on 9th April,1985

classes is found in the distribution of agricultural land at a time when the Egyptian economy depended on agriculture. In 1952 the statistics indicated that about 35 per cent of the total area of agricultural land was owned by more than 2,600,000 with an average ownership of 0.8 feddan [1]. In the meantime 20 per cent of the total area of agricultural land was owned by only 2,000 individuals with an average ownership of 551 feddan.[2]

The significance of the maldistribution of the cultivated land becomes clearer when it is considered that more than 70 per cent of the population depended on agriculture. Moreover, the agricultural production constituted the greater part of the national income. Between 1937 and 1949 the average value of the agricultural income was 48 per cent of the national income as compared with 8 per cent produced by industry.[3]

This meant that most farm workers had either a very limited ownership or worked as farm employees. Without doubt this was an uneconomic method of production in the most important field of development. Moreover, the domination of the feudal system and the absence of a minimum wage for agricultural workers provide a disincentive for agricultural workers to improve their productivity.

The agricultural production was also inadequate in meeting the needs of the increasing population. Population increased by 64.5 per cent from the beginning of the 20th century to 1937 whilst in the same time the growth

1). Feddan = 4200.8 sq.metres = 1.05 acres.

2). Mahammed Roshdy, Economic Development in Egypt, Vol.2, Dar El-Maharef, Cairo, 1972, p.181 (in Arabic).

3). S.El-Nassage, Egypt, pp.160-161.

of land in the cultivation only increased by 3.8 per cent. Similarly in the year 1947 the population increase was 99.5 per cent whilst the increase in cultivated area was only 13.3 per cent.(1)

The industrial sector also failed to expand adequately and thus contributed to social and economic deterioration. In Egypt industrial growth was not planned and tended to respond to special circumstances such as the first and second world wars. One of the studies(2) has indicated that in spite of the increase in industrial production between 1938 and 1952, this failed to meet the demands for employment and increasing consumption. A major problem facing the industrial sector was clearly a lack of experience at all levels. All industries were based on simple production techniques and did not meet the demands for increased productivity and the changing requirements of the market.

Statistics show that in 1950 the industrial income represented less than 10 per cent of the national income.(3). In 1952 the industrial sector employed less than 10 per cent of the work force. Moreover, the income of 33 per cent of the total number of about 19527 industrial institutions did not exceed L.E.500 annually and the production of 60 per cent of them did not exceed L.E. 1000 annually. Furthermore, 75 per cent of these institutions did not employ more than ten workers. The Egyptian industry Union addmitted that the period from

1).M.Roshdy, Economic Development in Egypt, p.280.
2).Ibid., p.194, 301 -302.
3).Rached El-Barrawy, Economics of Arab World., Second Edition, Maktabet El-Nahda El; Misria, Cairo, 1968, p.289. (in Arabic).

1950 to 1952 was a period of crisis.(1)

This economic and social position reflected the fact that Egyptian society was distinguished by its low standard of living for the majority of the people, the gap having widened socially and economically between the class of landowners and capitalists and the majority of the people. This was due to the bad distribution of land-ownership and the inability of the industrial and agricultural sectors to meet the increasing needs of the population.

On the other hand, social and economic conditions were related to the democratic and political life. The class of feudalists dominated political life wielding authority, while the majority of people were deprived of participation in political life. The feudalists and capitalists exploited their own social and economic position whilst restricting the political freedom of the poorer classes. During the time in which the majority of the people were distinguished by their poor social and economic position the rich class could deceive these poor classes in the elections, attaining authority and realizing their own interests. This was intensified, as has been seen from the previous chapter, by the inability of the educational system to educate the poor classes, and to develop political awareness and participation in political life. This prevented the development of democratic practices.

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1) M. Metwaly, Historical Foundations, pp.253-255

Consequently, Egyptian society before 1952 was characterized by two main aspects. First, economic and social deterioration and undemocratic political life. Secondly, a strong connection between economic and social life from the one side, and the political life from the other side. The philosophy of the state was affected by its economic and social problems, and it became clear that political democracy could not be realized given the state of the economy and the wide gaps between classes in society. This meant that the introducing of democratic practices depended on raising social and economic standards, liberating society from exploitation and domination by capitalists and feudalists.

A way forward could only be found by the elements of Egyptian society joining together to solve the country's economic, social and political problems. This necessitated the adoption of the democratic socialist attitude with the aim of solving economic and social problems and realizing the social freedom to guarantee the safety of the democratic practices - in other words fusing social democracy and political democracy. The National Charter expressed this philosophy by saying:

> Political democracy cannot be separated from social democracy. No citizen can be regarded as free to vote unless he is given the following three guarantees:
> 1 - He should be free from exploitation in all its forms.
> 2 - He should enjoy an equal opportunity to have a fair share of the national wealth.
> 3 - His mind should be free from all anxiety to undermine the security of his life in the future. (1)

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1). G. Nasser, National Charter, p.50.

Clearly, the democratic socialist attitude has emerged in Egypt as a result of social and economic needs on the one hand and the impact of these needs on democratic life on the other hand.

Furthermore, the adoption of the democratic socialist attitudes referred to the belief that the traditional democracy which assures economic freedom could not apply in a society like Egypt where the majority of its people were characterized by social and economic backwardness. This was due to the fact that the principle of economic freedom depends on the freedom of ownership, work, industry and commerce. The functions of the state are limited to its defence from outside attack and keeping peace inside and promoting justice among individuals without interference in their economic activity except in ways which would help these functions.(1) However, the principles of economic freedom cannot be applied in a society like Egypt if they merely maintain position of the poor class whilst benefiting the minority class of feudalists and capitalists because they own the means of production.

However, the principle of economic freedom has a positive effect in the capitalist system since the majority of such societies are distinguished by their high social and economic standards. These systems have realized great progress in the field of industry and means of production. The capitalist system becomes more effective

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1). T.Badawe, Foundations of Political Thought, Dar El-Nahda El-Arabeia, Cairo, 1976, pp.177-178. (in Arabic.)

if the state contributes to the treatment of economic and social problems and offers protection for workers from exploitation and trying to raise the standard of limited income.

Comparing this situation with a developing country such as Egypt it seems clear that economic progress cannot be achieved through capitalism alone. Western capitalism emerged from the industrial revolution and the appearance of modern inventions and industries. Moreover, the western countries had their own means of production and scientific renaissance. These factors led to the appearance of capitalism and the development of industrial economies. This condition was not present in Egypt. Egyptian capitalism had a negligible effect on economic and industrial development. This was because of the lack of capital to establish effective industrial projects or to face the competition of western capitalism.

In the light of these considerations the adoption of a capitalist system did not correspond with Egyptian circumstances in realizing economic development. In the meanwhile the economic problems had increased. Moreover, dependence on capitalism would have meant the continuation of its domination over political life and the widening of social differences. Thus it was necessary to promote social improvement through state intervention in economic development to achieve social justice and a narrowing of the gap between classes.

To realize these ends, from its first years the revolution tried to establish state control over the means of production and a re-distribution of wealth to the working classes. It is remarkable that there is a relation between socialism and economic development, that is to say that the distribution of national wealth on the right bases requires economic progress in order to realize the aim of socialism in raising the standard of living for the working classes.

In realizing the socialist attitude in the light of the problems of the society, the state drew up the following means:(1)

1. Fixing a maximum for land ownership and re-distributing the surplus among poor farmers.
2. Creating a public sector to bear the responsibility in the development plan and nationalizing the important projects.
3. Achieving state control on the special sector in order to support the domination of the people on the means of production.
4. The re-organization of the relations between work and capital by limiting the hours of work, fixing a minimum for payments, offering the workers a share in the profits and the administration of their companies.
5. The re-distribution of the national income on behalf of the classes with limited income by imposing graduated taxation and the expansion of free services.

Accordingly, the state issued the first land reform law in September 1952 which limited land ownership to 200 feddans as a maximum. The second land reform law was issued in 1962 which reduced the maximum of land

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1) R. El-Mahgoub, Socialist System in UAR, pp.28-29

ownership to 100 feddans, to be further reduced to 50 feddans after a few years. The lands taken were re-distributed among the poor farmers. Moreover, the laws of land reform established the co-operative agricultural societies which provided the farmers with the needs of agriculture.

The laws of land reform resulted in an increase in the number of landowners from 2,801,000 before the 1952 law to 3,211,000 in 1965. The percentage of holdings which were less than 5 feddans rose from 35.4 per cent to 46.6 per cent immediately after the issue of the first law and then to 58.1 per cent in 1965. At the same time the holdings which were more than 200 feddans decreased from 19.7 per cent in 1952 to 5.9 per cent after the issuing of the first law and were terminated after issuing the second law. Moreover, the number of land-holdings of 50 feddans was reduced from 34.2 per cent in 1952 to 12.6 per cent in 1965.(1)

The state aimed to increase the area of agricultural land by reclaiming about 102,000 feddan in the period between 1952-1960. This can be compared with the figure of only approximately 50,000 feddan reclaimed between 1931 and 1952.(2) Laws of land reform were important steps taken to phase out feudalism and to minimise its social and political domination. Moreover, these laws led to a re-distribution of wealth to the poorer classes and narrowed the gaps between classes in society. The laws

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1). S. El-Nassage, Egypt, pp.234-235; CAPMS, Statistical Yearbook, pp.69-71.

2). Quoted by M.Roshdy, Economic Development in Egypt, p.294.

also led to a rise in the value and efficiency of agricultural production through the establishment of co-operative societies which provided farmers with modern means of cultivation.

The Socialist Laws of July 1961 were a further means of promoting socialist attitudes. These laws gave the public sector a greater part to play in the development process and over the means of production. At the same time, the laws also aimed at reducing the domination of capitalists over the means of production by abolishing the special ownership of banks, and big industrial and commercial institutions. In general, these laws contributed to a change in the structure and functioning of the economy with the state now controlling the greatest part of the means of production.

For example, the law 117 in 1961 nationalized the banking and 149 companies from different sectors of industry and electricity. Law 118 gave 50 per cent of the ownership of 91 companies to the public sector. Other laws were issued in 1962 and 1963 extending the power of the public sector to supervise completely the policies of companies.(1) Moreover, the Socialist Laws included legislation intended to extend the rights of workers and to raise their social and economic standard. A minimum and a maximum for salaries was introduced which reduced the great differences in income. Workers were given a share in the administration and profits of companies in which they worked.(2) Furthermore, working hours were

1).M.Roshdy, Economic Development in Egypt,p.306

2).M.Metwaly, Historical Foundations, pp.300-301

fixed by statute and workers were protected from dismissal or exploitation.

To encourage economic and social development the public sector assumed the major responsibility in the five year plan (1960-1965). During the years 1963 and 1964 the public sector contributed 79.8 per cent of the total industrial production. The aim of the plan was to increase the national income by 40 per cent at the end of a five year period and to invest L.E.1576.9 million in the economy. The plan achieved 95.9 per cent of the investment and the increase in national income at the end of the plan amounted to 37.1 per cent at an annual rate of 7.4 per cent. The growth of the national income was more than the rate of increase in population, which was 2.8 per cent during the years of plan. This led to the increase in the average income of the individual from L.E.52 in 1959-60 to L.E.59.8 in 1965-65.(1)

In respect of industrial production an increase of 23 per cent in the contribution of industrial income to the national income was achieved as compared with the aim of 30 per cent. The agricultural income of the national income increased to 18 per cent as compared with an expected 26 per cent increase. The production of food increased by a percentage more than than of the population.(2) Whilst the plan did not achieve all that had been hoped for, the rise in the contribution of industrial production to 23 per cent marked a significant

1) .R. El-Mahgoub, Socialist System in UAR, pp.58-59,65,85.

2) .Ali El-Geretly, Twenty Five Years:An Analytic Study on Economic Policies in Egypt (1952-1972), General Egyptian Unit for Books Cairo, 1977,p.19 (in Arabic).

change from the 10 per cent in 1950.

The success of the plan was not confined to economic development but also included social aspects, whilst wages increased from L.E.546.6 million in the base year (1959-60) to L.E.878.9 million by the end of the plan which represented an increase of 60.8 per cent. The size of the workforce increased from 6,006,000 in 1959-60 to 7,333,400 in 1964-65 which represented a 22.1 per cent increase. Moreover, the percentage increase in the individual labourer's wages rose to 46.7 per cent for agricultural workers and 22.8 per cent for the industrial workers. Furthermore, the state expanded the free service such as education and health with an increased expenditure of L.E.54 million over the base year.(1)

Unfortunately, the relative success of the first five year plan was not maintained after 1965 until the middle of the seventies. The subsequent seven year plan aimed to invest L.E.3200 million with an annual rate of L.E.457 million according to the current prices. The plan failed to achieve this aim due to the economic obstacles which Egypt encountered after 1966. Annual planning replaced long term planning and investment did not increase noticeably between 1966 and 1974. It was not until 1975 that investment reached 75 per cent of the planned figures. In 1976 the investment aimed at was L.E. 1075 million of which L.E.850 million was achieved.(2)

Clearly, from the rise of the Revolution until the

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1). Quoted by R.El-Mahgoub, Socialist System in UAR,pp.52-53; P. Vatikiotis, 'Some Political Consequences', p.376.

2). A. El-Geretly, Twenty Five Years, p.20,pp.22-23,253.

middle sixties Egypt enjoyed some measure of success and progress in moving towards establishing socialist attitudes. This was followed by a period during which the development was hindered until the middle of the seventies when renewed attempts emerged to push forward economic development. The progress which was achieved in the first years can be explained by the enthusiasm of the state in new found socialist attitudes and the nationalization of the main means of production. The subsequent years until 1976, however, were beset with difficulties arising from a rapid increase in the population, the wars with Israel, and the style of national planning.

Statistics indicate that the population in Egypt in 1897 was 9,669,000. The population increased to about 19 million in 1947 rising to more than 38 million in 1976[1]. Thus the population had doubled during the first 50 years of the twentieth century and doubled again during the subsequent 29 years. Recent statistics indicate that the population in 1983 was 45 million who occupy 4 per cent of the total area of Egypt. The present rate of population growth amounts to 2.8 per cent annually and it is expected that the population will be 70 million in the year 2000[2]. Therefore any planning for social and economic development must take into consideration the annual increase of population.

For example, this increase in population caused an increase in consumption by rates which were more than

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1). CAPMS, Statistical Yearbook, p.6,8.

2). Al-Ahram, Cairo, 7 November 1983.

expected. It rose by 46.9 per cent in the first five year plan, while the expected figure was 24.5 per cent only.(1) In spite of the successes achieved by the plan, the unexpected increase in consumption adversely affected the increase in national income. The increase in consumption was due to the fact that the plan assumed the rate of population growth of 2.4 per cent, but in fact the rate was 2.8 per cent annually during the years of the plan.

Moreover, between 1952 and 1976 the area of agricultural land increased by 10 per cent while the population increased from 21,437,000 to 38,198,000. The increase in population represented 78.2 per cent. This resulted in a reduction of the size of the average land ownership and the value of agricultural production compared with the size of the population. While Egypt succeeded in increasing the production of food to a higher percentage than the increase in population during the years 1960 to 1965, the latter was outstripped by the production of food in the following ten years.(2) This led to an increase in grain imports which placed the balance of payments under pressure.

The rapid increase in population was not the only factor which hindered the plans of development. The wars with Israel during the years 1967 to 1973 also had a significant effect. Priority in expenditure was given to defence and re-constitution of areas which were damaged

1). R. El-Mahgoub, Socialist System in UAR, p.55.

2). A. El-Geretly, Twenty Five Years, pp.92-93; CAPMS, Statistical Yearbook, p.8.

during the wars. El-Essawy and Nassar[1] argued that between 1960 and 1962 5.5 per cent of the total national income was spend on defence. This increased to 10 per cent after the 1967 war then to 20 per cent in 1973. From these figures it can be concluded that without the 1967 war, the Egyptian economy could have progressed with the same success of the first five year plan and the losses of war will extend to 1985. Apart from losses in military equipment and weapons and the economic value of losses in men, the rate of losses in the Egyptian economy after the 1967 war was between LE.20 and 24 million according to 1973 prices. These losses were equal to between 4 and 5 times the national income in 1975.

Mistakes also inevitably arose from the new experience of national planning which retarded economic development. For example,[2] there was no strategy in whose light the five yearly and annual plans can be prepared. There was little movement towards the achieving economies of scale through the specialization of production. Furthermore, the apparatus for observing and supervising of economic development lacked technical and administrative experience. In spite of the successes that had been realized during the sixties, these problems, together with the lack of financial resources diminished the effectiveness of the planning apparatus. In view of the decline in available resources, a formal report indicated that the existing aims of plans were no longer relevant.

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1). E.El-Essawy and M.Nassar, 'Egyptian Economy and War' in Ismail Sabry Abd-Alla (ed.), Egyptian Economy in Quarter Century (1952-1977), General Egyptian Unit for Books, Cairo, 1978, pp.127-156. (in Arabic.)

2). A. El-Geretly, Twenty Five Years, pp.196-201.

For instance, the aims of the crossing plan, drawn up in 1975,were no longer attainable.

Although the public sector was accorded the greatest share of resources in the development processes, it failed to achieve the anticipated successes and can be compared to the experience of other nations such as the Soviet Union and Italy.(1) This was due to political and social problems and the domination of the one party system. In Egypt the apparatus of the one party system responsible for the application of socialism proved a bad example with a large number of people seeking to exploit socialist principles in their own interest(2). Propaganda was used to support state policies even where they were wrong. Freedom of expression and opposition were limited although these were considered to be important elements in the development of Egyptian society.

Investigations into the losses of the public sector began with a study conducted by the People's Assembly on ten loss-making companies in 1971-72. The study attributed the causes of loss to the newness of the public sector experiment although some of the causes were attributed to mistakes of planners and ministers. A report of the Central Agency for Accountancy in 1968-69 revealed that 240 companies in the public sector realized total profits of L.E.125 million while 79 companies did not realize any profits. Though the public sector in 1973 had achieved profits equal to 11 per cent more than the

1).Ibid., pp.204-206.

2).Universities Higher Council, Democratic Socialism, p.59.

previous year, however, some units lost L.E.42 million[1].

Moreover, the private sector failed to support the public sector in the development process., Although nationalization had enabled the public sector to realize many of its responsibilities, this resulted in a decline in the private sector and in individual initiative thus weakening its ability to contribute to the processes of development. Furthermore, the economic policies did not utilize foreign capital and the international economy. In the second half of the seventies this tended to lead to the adoption of a more open economic policy with the world and encouraging the private sector. However, the one party system was terminated. These changes indicate that the state was attempting to inter-relate socialism, democracy and economic freedom.

The adoption of an open economic policy was due to the failure of the Egyptian economy to raise the rates of savings and utilize foreign experiences. Although the first years of the Revolution and the period of the first five year plan had realized a considerable success in the growth of the Egyptian economy, it was the most closed period to the world. Moreover, one of the most important criticisms of the performances of the Egyptian economy was failure to raise the domestic savings ratio of economy.[2] In 1959-60 the ratio of gross domestic savings was 12.8 per cent of the cross domestic product and it decreased to 11.6 per cent in 1962-63 then to

1).A. El-Geretly, Twenty Five Years, pp.206-207.

2).Robert Mabro, The Egyptian Economy (1952-1972), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1974, p.181.

10.6 per cent in 1969-'70.[1] It seems clear that the nationalization processes had caused a decline in private and individual effort and the inability of the state to mobilize individual savings.

The aims of the open economic policy were to attract the Arab and foreign capital, to utilize foreign experiences, and to import modern technological ideas. The new policy also included the reorganization of the public sector and the introduction of the new style of administration and methods of production. Moreover, domination of the state over the national economy was decreased and encouragement was given to development and investment in the private sector.

The open economic policy was implemented through legislation introduced in 1974, 75 and 77.[2] Thc legislation attempted to encourage an inflow of Arab and foreign capital and to promote the development of the private sector by encouraging private investment in economic projects and securing them against nationalization. Moreover, the legislation guaranteed tax free profits for certain projects. Import restrictions were also relaxed.

Although the open economic policy had led to an increase in production and employment, some studies[3], however, have indicated that this policy will lead to an over emphasis on the commerce and an increase in the production of the consumption goods. Furthermore, it is

1).Bent Hansen,'Planning and Economic Growth in Egypt(1960-65)' , in P.J.Vatikiotis (ed.), Egypt Since the Revolution,Frederick A. Praeger, New York,1968,p.36.;Quoted by R.Mabro,The Egyptian Economy,p.181.

2).G.Abdel-Khalik,'The Most Important Indications of Economic Opening' in I.Add-Alla (ed.),Egyptian Economy ,pp.367-369.

3).Ibid., pp.363-402; G.A.Ameen,'Some Issues of Economic Opening in Egypt',in I.Abd-Alla(ed.),Egyptian Economy ,pp.403-433.

argued that the Egyptian economy will develop along the lines of western capitalism and increasing differences between the income of individuals as a result of the growth of private capital in the hands of a few. Moreover, national production will be replaced by foreign imports and ownership of firms.

In response, however, it can be argued that every policy has positive and negative aspects. Although the policy of the public sector was successful especially in the first five years plan, defects appeared in the form of the neglect of the private sector and individual initiative. The adoption of the open policy and the encouragement of the private sector were attempts to overcome the defects in the public sector. An attempt has been made to balance the development of both the public and the private sector and the open economic policy.

The criticism of the open policy can be met, for example, by the restrictions on foreign exploitation. Furthermore, foreign competition is likely to be a strong incentive to improve local production. This would seem important at a time when Egypt needs to invest government capital in the principal sector of production leaving the production of consumption goods to individual efforts. The fear of an increasing gap of an individual income can be overcome by an incomes policy. The advantages in the long run of the open economic policy are likely to be an increase in employment and a rise in the standard of living.

Under the new policies, Egypt has already experienced economic improvements. For example, in 1977 the private sector contributed about 46 per cent of the total national income as compared with between 25 and 30 per cent in 1974[1]. The most recent five year plan, which began in July 1982, aims to increase production and achieve rates of development greater than the rates of population increase. In the first year of the plan prodution increased by 98.9 per cent of the expected figure. Furthermore, this created 347,000 new jobs.[2]

It can be argued that during the first years of the democratic socialist experience in Egypt an appropriate relationship between democratic and economic development was not realized. Although the socialist attitude developed from the fifties to the middle of the sixties, the development of democratic attitudes proceeded more slowly due to the one party system. It was argued that by giving the control of production to the people this would lead to the development of social justice.

In the non-democratic society dominated by the one party system the aim of social justice, to liberate the individual socially and economically to practice his political rights, was not secured. In the absence of democracy, state domination over the means of production did not necessarily guarantee the will of the people over the means of production or the realization of social justice. This absence of democratic practices led to the appearance

1). A.El-Ceretly, Twenty Five Years, p.256.

2). Ministry of Information, Public Information Department, Prime Minister's Address at the First Conference of Egyptians in Abroad, Cairo, 1983, pp.7-9. (in Arabic)

of negative aspects of socialism such as the exploitation of socialist principles to serve the interests of a few individuals in power and inefficient administration and planning.

Since the introduction of a multi-party system moves have been made towards a democratic system of planning and administration. A re-evaluation of the democratic socialist attitude has begun in the light of a new approach to the private sector and individual initiatives through the adoption of the open economic policy. In spite of the defects which may emerge from open economic policy, it has necessitated a review of the relationship between democratic socialism and the principle of economic freedom.

The democratic socialist experience in Egypt is new and inevitably has been accompanied with difficulties. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the state is attempting to overcome the perceived problems. It has become clear that the most difficult problem has been achieving a correct balance between socialism, democratic practices, and individual initiative and freedom.

CHAPTER SIX.

OFFICIAL ATTITUDES TO POLITICAL EDUCATION.

It is, perhaps, important first to draw attention to the fact that there is a lack of studies on political education in Egypt. As recently as 1984 Abou El-Magd, who was responsible for the activities of youth in the ASU, noted that this area of study had been neglected in Egypt.(1) The study of political education is inevitably subject to the values of the political system and this was probably the main factor in preventing the study of political education in Egypt. Nevertheless, this study draws on a large number of available references, mainly primary resources such as constitutions, official documents, addresses of political leaders, and the publications of the Egyptian Ministry of Education.

During the period preceding the 1952 Revolution, the educational system in Egypt was affected by the shortcomings of the political and social situation. In spite of attempts to expand and reform education for the masses, the education system failed to meet the political and social desires of the reformers. From the very beginning,

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1). A.K. Abou El-Magd, 'Youth Organization in Egypt', Al-Ahram, Cairo, 14 October 1984.

the revolution recognised the significance of education in accomplishing the desired changes within society. Therefore an aim of the revolution was to extend and develop education. The state's concern over education was reflected in its constitutions, official documents, and the laws of education.

The Constitution of 1923 stated that elementary education was to be compulsory and free. Under the Constitution of 1956 free education was extended to all stages. This constitution stated that education was a right of all citizens to be guaranteed by state through the establishment and gradual expansion of different types of school. The constitution also reasserted the principle of compulsory education at the primary stage. The Constitution of 1964 re-emphasized the importance of state supervision of education (1). Moreover, the permanent Constitution of 1971 asserted the significance of education to meet the needs of society and promised the extension of compulsory education to include other stages of education. Article 18 of the 1971 Constitution stated :

> Education is a right guaranteed by the State. It is obligatory in the primary stage and the State shall work to extend the obligation to other stages. The State shall supervise all branches of education..., with a view to linking all this with the requirements of society and production. (2)

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1). M.M. Moursy, Administration of Education, Alaam El-Kouteb, Cairo, 1974, p.35. (in Arabic.)

2). Ministry of Information, Permanent Constitution, p.7.

Furthermore, the National Charter issued in 1962 emphasized the principle of equal opportunities for all citizens as an essential aspect of democracy. The Charter stated :

> Equality of opportunity as the expression of social freedom can be defined in basic rights for every citizen. Efforts can be devoted for their realization...Every citizen has the right to receive education which suits his abilities and talents. Education is the means of consolidating and honouring human freedom; it is also the energy which can rejuvenate national action and daily adds new ideas to it, bringing leading and serious elements in its various fields.(1)

It would seem from these documents that the main purposes and features of educational provision were :

First, to establish an educational ladder open to all citizens and to abolish the dualism and categorization in the first stage of education.

Secondly, to implement compulsory education for all children between the ages of 6 to 12 and subsequently to raise progressively the school leaving age.

Thirdly, to make the provision of education at all stages free.

Fourthly, to establish the principle of equality of opportunity based on pupils' abilities and talents regardless of their social and economic position.

Fifthly, to secure state supervision over education.

As a first step towards achieving these purposes, the revolution stressed the importance of primary education as an essential requirement in educating the mass and to face

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1). G. Nasser, National Charter, p.87.

the needs of society within the framework of the revolutionary aims. Although the revolution was successful in securing unity of provision within the first stage of education and substantially extending primary provision to accommodate most of children, this was at the expense of the quality of education. Furthermore the objective of compulsory education was not completely achieved.

At first there were difficulties to the introduction of unity within the primary stage. As it has already been seen the educational law of 1951 abolished the dualism at the first stage of education and introduced primary education as the only kind of education for the first stage. However, in practice this law was not fully implemented. Subsequently, in 1953 Law 210 re-emphasized unity of provision during the six years of the first stage of education, but the law permitted pupils to join the next stage of preparatory schools after completing only four years of study in the primary schools(1). This created a new kind of dualism since many children left their schools after four years of study due either to the desire of their parents or to the lack of preparatory schools in some areas. To remedy this defect the Ministry of Education issued Law 213 in 1956 which stated that "Primary education should be one complete unit of six years study during which education is considered compulsory

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1). M. Darwish, Some Problems of Primary School, p.34.

and for all children starting at the age of six."[1]

Law 68 issued in 1968 set out the obligation of both the state and parents in respect to the provision of education. The law stated "Primary education is the right of all Egyptian children...It is the State's responsibility and it is considered at the same time the indispensable responsibility of the child's father or his guardian".[2] Thus, the state was charged with the duty of providing sufficient schools for the children. Furthermore, parents or guardians were required to ensure that their children received education.

It became clear, from experience, that the six years of compulsory education was insufficient in preparing children for citizenship and in realizing social and economic development within the society. Furthermore the six years' compulsory education was the only education received by many children and some citizens who had only completed the primary stage remained illiterate and unable to participate socially and politically. Modern societies have attempted to solve these problems by raising the school leaving age. For example, in England compulsory education was extended to a total of 11 years and in the Soviet Union to 10 years.

A significant development in the extension of schooling was implemented by Law 139 in 1981. This law expanded

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1). 'Law 213' in Ministry of Education, Ministerial Laws, Dar El-Tebeha, Cairo, 1960 (in Arabic).

2). Ministry of Education, The 1968 Education Act, Ministry Press, Cairo, 1968, Article 36. (in Arabic).

compulsory education to nine years and included the primary and preparatory stages which were now categorized as the basic stage of education. Article 15 stated that "The basic education is the right of all Egyptian children who are at the age of six...and for nine years." (1) The Ministry of Education reported that the application of this law was accomplished gradually and was fully implemented in 1984/85(2). This extension of the compulsory period of education was a response to the needs of society. It was intended to provide citizens with the necessary knowledge, values and skills, and prepare them to participate effectively in social and political activities within the society. However the implementations of the Law 139 in 1981 aggravated many existing problems which affect adversely the quality of education for example, overcrowding in the classroom and the lack of provision and qualified teachers. Moreover, the nature of some areas in the countryside prevented many children from receiving compulsory education because of the shortage of preparatory schools in these areas. In a report,(3) the Ministry of Education noted the lack of school buildings and the provisions of education, the imbalance between education in the cities and countryside, and criticised the methods of teaching and examinations.

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1). Ministry of Education, The 1981 Education Act, August 1981, TS. (in Arabic).

2). Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of Education, Basic Education Guide, Ministry Press, Cairo, 1984, p.8. (in Arabic).

3). Ministry of Education, Working Paper on the Development and Modernization of Education in Egypt, The Minister's Office, Cairo, 1979. (in Arabic).

Between the period 1953/54 to 1964/65 the number of children in the first stage of education increased from 1,392,471 to 3,294,832 and the rate of increase was 236 per cent. During the same period the finance allocated to primary education rose from L.E. 11,812,000 to L.E. 30,250,000.[1] Subsequently, from 1970/71 to 1975/76 the number of primary school pupils increased from 3,740,590 to 4,120,936 [2]. Consequently, there was also an increase in the number of pupils in all stages of education. Table (4) shows the increase of pupils from 1976/77 to 1983/84. The considerable increase which took place in preparatory education between 1980/81 and 1983/84 was due to the extension of compulsory education to include preparatory education.

TABLE 4

The Development of Education in Egypt (1976/77-1983/84)

Years	Primary Education	Preparatory Education	Secondary Education
1976/77	4,151,956	1,435,529	796,411
1977/78	4,211,345	1,518,478	848,317
1978/79	4,287,124	1,547,304	928,244
1979/80	4,434,557	1,556,462	1,010,762
1980/81	4,548,058	1,574,233	1,107,233
1983/84	5,349,575	1,884,419	1,301,893

Source: CAPMS, Statistical Yearbook, pp.171-176; Some figures collected from Education Museum, Ministry of Education, Cairo, 1984. (in Arabic).

1). M. Harby, Education Development (1920-1970), The National Division of UNESCO, Cairo, 1970, p.104.(in Arabic); H. El-Fiky, pp.244-245.

2). Ministry of Education, A Report on the Development of Education (1970/71), Centre of Educational Documentation, Cairo, 1971; National Centre of Educational Research, A Report on the Development of Education (1974/75 - 1975/76). (in Arabic).

These figures indicate the level of success and progress of the movement towards compulsory education. Compared with the total number of children within the primary education age group, however, the figures also show that not all Egyptian children were provided with compulsory education. The Ministry of Education had planned to introduce compulsory education for all children during the period from 1960/61 to 1969/70. However, it was only successful in securing compulsory education for 76 per cent of the children in the relevant age group[1]. To a large extent this was due to the unexpectedly rapid growth of population. The Ministry had assumed an annual growth rate of children within the compulsory education period of 2.1 per cent, but the actual growth rate was 2.7 per cent. Additionally, economic factors and circumstances of the wars led to a decrease in the budget for education. For example, in 1968/69 the total budget allocated to education decreased by 43 per cent.[2]

In 1982 the Ministry was only able to provide 85.2 per cent of children with primary education,[3] but by 1984 this had risen to 91.5 per cent. According to the present Five years Plan (1982/83-1986/87) it is expected that 96 per cent of children will receive primary education and by the end of the 1980's all children will receive primary education. Gradually, the revolution was able to

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1). M. Darwish, Some Problems of Primary School, p.38.

2). Ministry of Education, Report of Arab Republic of Egypt on the Working Plan of the fourth Conference of the Arab Ministers of Education, Ministry Press, Cairo, n.d., p.48. (in Arabic).

3). Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of Information, Education in the Arab Republic of Egypt, Cairo, n.d., p.16. (in Arabic.)

progress towards the provision of universal education and equality of opportunity for children in the various stages of education. From 1952 to 1984 the number of pupils in all education increased from 2.1 millions to 9 millions. (1)

It is clear that the promotion and expansion of education in most countries serves social and political objectives. The differences in educational aims lies in the ideology of the different countries. As Lawton pointed out, "Whether you want to change society in a particular way or leave it as it is this is a political stance; whether you want to educate all people or only some of them is a reflection of social and political values." (2) The purpose of mass education depended on the official pronouncements of leaders, state documents, goals and policies of education, the nature of knowledge and its significance.

In Egypt the policies of education and equality of opportunity had mainly a political and social significance. The starting point of the inevitable connection between education and the state was due to the fact that education was a human right. This right obliged the government to provide education for every citizen. However, as Thompson remarked :

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1). Al-Ahram, Cairo, 15 May 1984.

2). Denis Lawton, Education and Social Justice, Sage, London, 1977, p.171.

> In developing countries it has long been recognised that education is a fundamental lever for social change, that investment in education is an essential feature of national development, and that where resources are scarce the nature of that investment must be carefully planned together with other aspects of national development (1)

In this situation, the policies and aims of education will be subject to the political and social concerns of the state.

Since the Egyptian Revolution of 1952, considerable attention has been paid to political education and to the relationship of education to state ideology. The political aims of education were expressed frankly in most of the official statements issued by political leaders and the Ministry of Education. In the first year of the Revolution, Nasser considered education and educators the essential means of realizing the aims of Revolution. In his book "The Philosophy of Revolution", Nasser argued that educators had the principal care for students who were to be the force in building the new society.(2) In 1960 Nasser created a Committee of National Education whose task was to form a new generation of youth with an understanding of the stage through which their nation was at present passing.(3)

In most of his addresses Nasser focused attention on youth in realizing the aims of revolution. He wanted to create a new generation which believed in socialist concepts

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1). A.R. Thompson, Education and Development in Africa, The Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1981, pp.47-48.

2). G. Nasser, The Philosophy of the Revolution, p.22.

3). Derek Hopwood, Egypt : Politics and Society 1945-1981, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1982, p.137.

as a basis for achieving justice, equality, and freedom. At the Primary Education Conference held in August 1954, Nasser said :

> "If we want to keep pride, dignity and strength, we have to look to the future...with a new and sensible policy starting from the rising generation. By this a strong and dignified country can be built up, in which everyone enjoys justice and freedom, pride and equality". (1)

Nasser recommended teachers to look to their responsibilities in achieving these aims, and the Conference resolved to develop the curriculum for schools consistent with the aims of the revolution.

Political aims in education were not restricted to Egypt. The Soviet Union also completely exploited its educational system to serve the ideological and political aims of communism. To a large extent, however, the situation was different in England. State intervention in education was regarded with suspicion. In a multi-party democracy, educators refused to leave educational policies to frequent change according to the party in power. They consider education a human right to develop the talents of the individual enabling him to participate freely within a free society. (2) In spite of this belief usually the party in power had an effective influence in shaping educational policies. However, other interest groups were also involved in policy making.

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1). Primary Education Union, The Leading Teacher, The fourth year, No.1, September 1954, p.16.

2). A Thompson, Education and Development in Africa, p.44.

All education in the Soviet Union is public and free for all citizens. Nurseries and kindergartens are voluntary for children between the ages of 2 and 6, but are under state supervision. The authorities were able to raise the compulsory education from seven years in 1949 to ten years in 1975.(1) Compulsory education now covers the ages between 7 and 17 and consisted of three levels; elementary school for 3 years (grades 1-3); incomplete secondary school for 5 years (grades 4-8); and complete secondary school for 2 years (grades 9-10). Moreover, great official efforts have been made to eliminate illiteracy. In 1939 the Soviet campaign against illiteracy was able to raise the percentage of literacy to 95 per cent for men and 83 per cent for women. (2) Soviet literacy rate during the period from 1955 to 1965 was the highest rate (98.5 per cent) among the countries of Western Europe, Africa, Asia and North and South America. (3) The great attention which was paid to expanding education was mainly political. Communist leaders saw education as the most significant means to realize the communist ideology.

Lenin defined the necessity of abolishing illiteracy in political terms. "An illiterate person" Lenin remarked, "stands outside; he must first be taught the ABC. Without this there can be no politics; without this

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1). Joseph I. Zajda, Education in the USSR, First Edition, Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1980, p.39.

2). J.J. Tomiak, The Soviet Union, David and Charles, Newton Abbot , 1972, p.14.

3). Wasyl Shimoniak, Communist Education, Rand McNally, & Company, Chicago, 1970, pp.68-70.

there are only rumours, gossip, tales, prejudices, but not politics".(1) Moreover Lenin spelled out the main task of education as to rear youth in the spirit of communism. "The whole task of the upbringing" Lenin said, "education and teaching contemporary youth should be the rearing of communist morality."(2)

This explicit political role of education was reinforced by the Communist Party and its leaders from the very beginning of the October Revolution. For example in 1919 the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party stated:

> In the field of education the RCP aims to complete the task that began after the October Revolution of 1917, transforming the school from the weapon of the ruling class of bourgeosie into the weapon of total obliteration of the class division within the society, into the weapon of a communist metamorphosis of the society..., the school not only must be a leader of communist principles in general but also a guide of ideological, organizational and educational influence of the proletariat on semi-proletarian and non-proletarian strata of the working class, aiming at training the generation capable of establishing communism completely. (3)

This task of education was also reaffirmed by the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party. The Party stated:

> To fulfill the original purpose of the October Revolution of converting schools from aristocratic and bourgeois - dominated selective to complete destruction of the divison of society into classes. (4)

Lenin also asserted the political function of education to support the class struggle of the proletariat and the idea of communism.

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1). Nigel Grant, Soviet Education, Fourth Edition, Penguin Books, England, 1979, pp.32-33.

2). Lenin's speech, Zadachi Soyuzov Molodiozhi, 2 Oct. 1920, in Khrestomatiya po Pedegogike, Moscow, 1976, p.72, Quoted by J. Zajda, Education in the USSR, p.109.

3). KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh..., Vol.2, Moscow, 1970, p.48. Quoted by Zajda, Education in the USSR, p.11.

4). KPSS v regoliutsiiakh i resheniiakh s'iezdov, Vol.1, p.420; Boldyrev, Direktivi VKP(b) i sovetskogo pravit el' stva po narodnom obrazovanii, (vypusk 1), p.120. Quoted by W. Schimoniak, Communist Education,p.72.

He wrote in 1920:

> All educational work in the Soviet Republic of workers and peasants, in the field of political education in general and in the field of art in particular, should be imbued with the spirit of the class struggle being waged by the proletariat for the successful achievement of the aims of its dictatorship, i.e., the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of classes, and the elimination of all forms of exploitation of man by man . (1)

In Egypt, the official attitudes which formulated the approaches to political education were supportive of the new system and its political ideology. To some extent these approaches are still prevalent, however changes have been introduced due to the state's attempt to develop democracy and the adoption of the multi-party system.

From 1952 to 1970 the concepts of the revolution and Arab unity were the prominent political ideology. The successful achievements by socialism and the movement of Arab nationalism, however, in the absence of democracy, had its effect on political education. During this period Nasser's announcements and the Ministry of Education official statements were to support the revolution and the new political system in spite of the many state documents which assured the principles of democracy. Whilst Sadat was in power between 1970 and 1981, political socialization was emphasized. In spite of the serious attempts to develop democracy, official attitudes to political education were not significantly reshaped on the principles of democracy. Since 1981 a considerable

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1). V.I.Lenin, 'On Proletarian Culture', Collected Works, Vol.31, 1966, P.316, Quoted by David Lane, Politics and Society in the USSR,Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1970, p.490.

number of changes have occurred in official statements emphasizing loyalty to the country and participation in a democratic society.

In his address to the Egyptian Parliament in 1965, Nasser emphasized the necessity of preparing a new generation capable of leading the revolution and re-constructing the society politically and socially. Nasser said :

> "The main task that must be taken into our consideration during the forthcoming stage is to pave the way in front of the new generation so as to lead the revolution in all its political and economical fields. We cannot say that our generation has already fulfilled these duties unless it was able to keep the progress going on...The continuity in progress will be maintained, when we have, at any time, a new generation capable of carrying its duty towards the progress. " (1)

The Egyptian ideology in supporting the idea of an "Arab Nationalism" had a significant interest in rearing the rising generation not only to be faithful to their country but also to all of the Arab world. In 1959 Nasser asserted :

> "The new generation must be made aware that their country will be built up from all aspects and all the Arab countries must be alike in all aspects of life; and what affects any part of it must influence the other parts." (2)

The 1967 war between Israel and Egypt had a significant impact in reinforcing the movement of Arab nationalism and the co-operation between the Arab countries. At the conference of the General Arab Students Union held in 1968

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1). Arab Socialist Youth Organization (ASYO), Abdel-Nasser, the Organization, Cairo, 1972, p.97.

2). ASYO, Abdel-Nasser, p.99.

Nasser declared that the events which the Arab countries had experienced demanded that the insight of educated youth and their responsibilities to the Arab world must be transferred to the new generation.(1)

Clearly, the official attitudes to political education in Egypt was related to the ideology of revolution. The aim of the revolution was to reform the society politically and socially by transforming a society of dictatorship, dominated by feudalism and capitalism, into a society of sufficiency and justice : a democratic society of the working people. Furthermore, past educational experiences had also a significant impact on the development of political education. As has already been argued political and social deterioration before 1952 had an adverse effect on educational development. Egyptian youth were deprived of practising their right of participation in political life because the education provided failed to develop their political and social awareness. The National Charter issued in 1962 noted this failure :

> Successive generations of Egyptian youth were taught that their country was neither fit for nor capable of industrialization. In their textbooks, they read their national history in a distorted version. Their national heroes were described as lost in a mist of doubt and uncertainty while those who betrayed the nation's cause were glorified and venerated.
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> Successive generations of Egyptian youth attended schools and universities, whose educational programmes aimed at nothing more than to turn out civil servants to work for the existing system under their laws and regulations which disregarded the interests of people, completely unaware of the need to destroy them or change them radically. (2).

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1). ASYO, Abdel-Nasser, p.99.

2). G. Nasser, National Charter, p.49.

It seems from the very beginning that the revolution attempted to realize these aims. This necessitated changing the prevalent political and social concepts which existed before 1952, and supporting the new political and social concepts of the revolution. The state paid considerable attention to education as an essential instrument to establish and support the new political system by inculcating loyalty to system and country in the new generation.

The trend to political socialization was not restricted to the official statements of the revolution. The Ministry of Education also formulated policies to foster rising generations capable of building a democratic socialist society and adhering to the revolution and its leaders. Many official documents were issued by the Ministry of Education setting out this policy. For example, in 1960 the Minister of Education said:

> "We have been reconsidering the educational and cultural affairs, ever since the revolution....We are serious in getting a straight forward, principled, stable policy, derived from the essence of revolution and in conformity with its objectives. A policy that is aiming to demolish all traces of educational and cultural imperialism. A policy that builds up generations' belief in God, Country and the principles of Arab Nationalism. Generations enjoying freedom in their country, generations living in a co-operative, democratic, socialist society which possesses justice and prosperity". (1)

On Teacher's Day in 1961, the Minister of Education re-affirmed the significance of education to support the

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1). Ministry of Education, Education Policy in the United Arab Republic, Government Press, Cairo, 1960, p.2. (in Arabic).

development of a democratic socialist society and he declared the commitment of education to Nasser's struggle for developing society. The Minister stated :

> "During the current-period of our life our efforts, duties and responsibilities have been duplicating. The revolutionary mobilization is in need of instructors, directors and leaders to enlighten the mass with what has been achieved in victory and gains to clarify to their citizens the socialistic and democratic principles on which their society is based,... and to make each citizen a revolutionary power working very hard to achieve the values set out by our revival leaders and the resurrector of our glories, Gamal Abdel- Nasser." (1)

Indeed Nasser was very faithful to his country and secured many successful developments in Egyptian society. However, there were negative aspects to the developments which took place in political and social life. In respect of education attempts to inculcate support for the system and its leaders prevented an open approach to political education and hindered the development of society.

The Ministry of Education drew up educational goals consistent with the objectives of the new system and the pronouncements of its leaders. Educational aims were intended to support the ideology of the new system based on the principles of democratic socialist attitudes. Primary education aimed at rearing children in the belief of the democratic socialist system and in a feeling of pride towards their homeland and the Arab countries.(2) These aims were reinforced in preparatory and secondary

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1). Ministry of Education, Teacher's Day, Minstry Press, Cairo, 1961, pp.13-14. (in Arabic).

2). Ministry of Education, Education Goals in the United Arab-Republic: Primary Education Aims, Government Press, Cairo, 1961, pp.34-42 (in Arabic).

education in such a way as was consistent with the growth of the pupils. The aim of preparatory education was:

> Enlightening the pupils as to the foundations of the Arab nation,...to be acquainted with the Arab national development, their leaders and the role of President Gamal Abdel-Nasser in the propagation of Arab national ideas and the expansion in studying the history of the Arab world, their glories and partriotism...Establishing the basis of democracy...Giving the pupils at this stage the opportunity to realize the aspects of social justice,...and to enlighten the pupils of the ideas of the ASU, its goals and organizations. (1)
> Similarly, the aims of secondary education were:
> To plant the principles of revolution in our pupils mind,... studying the contemporary Arab problems with more understanding and precision in order to know the reasons which lay behind them...Enlightening the pupils of the philosophy of our new society as a co-operative, socialistic, democratic one and the origins of this philosophy and its relation to our history and development. (2)

Since secondary stage pupils had the ability to think and discuss critically, the aims of this stage sought to provide opportunities for pupils to practise democracy through school activities. However, this aim could not be achieved whilst schools attempted to instill in the children the acceptance and loyalty to the system and its leaders.

Sadat (1970-1981) attempted to remedy the negative social and political aspects of society which arose from the adoption of the one party system. He tried to bring to society a democratic approach not rigidly based on a socialist ideology. However, official statements on political education have continued to endorse most of the

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1). Ministry of Education, Aims of Preparatory Education, Ministry Press, Cairo, 1964, pp.16-18. (in Arabic).

2). Ministry of Education, Aims of General Secondary Education, Second Edition, Ministry Press, Cairo, 1964, pp.21-23. (in Arabic)

previous attitudes to political socialization.

The state documents and the Constitution of 1971 frequently mentioned "Democracy", "Freedom of Opinion", and "Individual Freedom". The October Paper (1974) stated also "It is the right of every citizen to feel safe and secure, as to his freedom of opinion, his job and legitimate livelihood...political freedom...is the prerogative of every man."(1) However, loyalty to the Revolution and the system was the main approach of political education. In his address to the Youth Conference held in 1973, Sadat said to the youth "At the present you are the majority and the future is completely your own. You have to make efforts consistent with the principles of your Revolution."(2) In 1976, Sadat also said to the Egyptian youth in their General National Conference :

> "Today I say to you with an open mind, responsible freedom and the true democracy that you are always trustworthy and loyal to the thought of Revolution so as to renew its youth. " (3)

Moreover, the President, in most of his addresses(4) re-emphasized the significance of education as an essential instrument in supporting loyalty to the country and its system by teaching pupils national history, especially the victories of the October War. He argued that history

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1). M. Sadat, The October Paper, p.31.

2). M. Sadat, Address Before the Youth Conference in July 1973, Ministry of Information, State Information Service, Cairo, 1973. (in Arabic)

3). Arab Socialist Union , Arab Socialist Youth Organization , Official Documents of the General National Conference of Youth (30 March - 2 April 1976) Cairo, p.21. (in Arabic.)

4). Ministry of Information, State Information Service, Sadat's Addresses (1 July-31 December 1974), Vol.9, Cairo. (in Arabic.) ; National Council for Youth and Sport, Features and Lights on Building up the Youth, Dar El-Taawen, July 1979, Cairo, p.49. (in Arabic.)

was an important vehicle to promote national awareness and loyalty to Egypt. In his address in 1979 before the staff of the universities, Sadat recommended educators to teach their students from early ages national courses in order to inculcate in them the love of Egypt and protect them from alien attitudes. (1) This address was made following demonstrations by some students in several universities against certain state policies. In effect, the aim of state policy in teaching national courses was not only to support loyalty to Egypt but also an attempt to support the political system.

Loyalty to the political system and the motherland was also emphasized in the 1971 Constitution and in other state documents. The constitution stated :

> The Defence of the motherland is a sacred duty...Safeguarding, Consolidating and preserving the socialist gains is a national duty...Protecting national unity and keeping State secrets is a duty of every citizen. (2)

Moreover, the constitution created a new post, the Socialist Public Prosecutor, to secure and safeguard society and its political regime. The constitution declared that :

> The Socialist Public Prosecutor shall be responsible for taking procedures which secure the peoples' rights, the safety of society and its political system, the preservation of the socialist achievements, and commitment to socialist behaviour. (3)

Similarly, in 1980 the Law for the Protection of Values

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1). Arab Republic of Egypt, State Information Service, Dialogue Between President Sadat and Assiut and Menia Universities Staff, (14 April 1979), State Information Service Press, Cairo, pp.21-22. (in Arabic.)

2). Ministry of Information, Permanent Constitution, Articles 58-60.

3). Ibid., Article 179.

was issued to safeguard the political and social values within society. This law stipulated that "The protection of the basic values of society is the duty of all citizens and the violation of these values will be regarded as a defect in political responsibility...All state institutions are requested to protect and support these values."(1) Moreover, the law asserted that any body trying to encourage the younger generation to violate or be disloyal to the country would be subject to political investigation.

It seems that official attitudes during the seventies continued to adopt the approach of political socialization. Although many official statements stated the desire of developing democracy, political education tended to preserve the political system, the ideology of the revolution, and loyalty to country. This constituted a contradiction between the goals of political education in a democratic society and the attitudes towards supporting the system. The aim of political education in a democracy is to understand and develop the values of the system and provide opportunities to participate in political life.

Until approximately the end of the 1970s there was a similarity between the approaches of political education in Egypt and the Soviet Union with both countries attempting to inculcate in their children the ideology of the state and loyalty to the system and country. According to communist ideology and the declaration of its political

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1). 'The Permanent Constitution and Basic Laws', pp.177-178; Al-Ahram, Cairo, 20 April 1980.

leaders. Soviet education had the leading role in achieving the political aims of the system. The Soviet education system was required to socialize a new generation capable of building the communist society. In this respect education therefore was completely shaped by communist ideology and under the control of the state officials.

Although "Karl Marx wrote virtually nothing about education...." Williamson argues, "The broad outlines of Marxist theory of education are, however, clear enough, and follow from the Marxist theory of class society, the state and of ideology."(1) Soviet society was defined as a socialist society moving towards communism. This society needed qualified citizens to realize the task of social transformation to communism. Accordingly, education had a political function : providing the younger generation with knowledge, skills and values which could induce them and enable them to create a communism society. This idea was expressed clearly by Khrushchov at the Twenty-first Congress of the Communisty Party. He said "to arrive at communism, that most fair and perfect society....we must start right now educating the man of the future".(2)

In line with this idea education was seen as a dictatorial political institution to eliminate the preceding influence of thought and attachments and to secure

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1). Bill Williamson, Education, Social Structure and Development : A Comparative Analysis, The Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1979, p.90.

2). N. Grant, Soviet Education, p.26.

the Communist state. This was expressed by a leading educator from the very beginning of the Revolution in 1918:

> We must exempt children from the pernicious influence of the family. We have to take account of every child, we candidly say that we must nationalize them. From the first days of their life they will be under the beneficial of communistic kindergartens and schools. Here they shall assume the ABC of Communism. Here they shall grow up as real communists. Our practical problem is to compel mothers to hand over their children to the Soviet Government. (1)

Similarly, in 1963 an official Soviet pronouncement stated :

> Today we should pay special attention to rearing the rising generation in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and devotion to the cause of communism...The success of upbringing is decided precisely in the early years, when the character of a person, his attitude toward people and to life, is being formed. (2)

To achieve their objectives the Soviet authorities exploited education to impose totalitarian political aims over all citizens from an early age and attempted to carry on many of the essential functions of non-governmental institutions such as the family.

Consequently, educational aims were drawn up by the highest authority of the Communist Party. For example in 1958, during one of the most important educational reforms, the Central Committee of the Communist Party defined the purpose of education in the following statement :

> Upbringing must inculcate in the schoolchildren a love of knowledge and work, and respect for people who work; it must shape the communist world outlook of the pupils and rear them in the spirit of communist morality and of boundless

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1). Quoted by James Bowen, Soviet Education : Anton Makarenko and the Years of Experiment, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, Second Printing, 1965, p.36.

2). Komsomolskaya Pravda, 10 July 1963, trans. in The Current Digest of Soviet Press, 15, (14 August 1963), Quoted by Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics, p.4.

> loyalty to the country and the people, and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. (1)

Moreover, in April 1971, the 24th CPSU Congress issued a decree for the Five-Year National Economy (1971-1975) which defined the role of national education as :

> To carry out the further comprehensive development of public education and socialist culture...to raise the quality of training of future specialists and to improve their ideological and political upbringing. (2)

Educational law completely adhered to the policies of the Communist Party and declared frankly that education was the most important agent of political socialization in the Soviet Union. The fundamental law of 1973 on education emphasized that "The task of moulding a new man - a builder of communism - is being carried out under the guidance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union". (3) The implementation of the unity and harmony of communist instruction, according to this law, requested all society's organization to work with the state in building the communist society. Article 4 stated that the principles of public education in the USSR were "...Unity of instruction and communist upbringing : the co-operation of school, family and society in the upbringing of children and youth. Connection of instruction and upbringing of the rising generation with life, with particular communist instruction" (4)

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1). Strengthening the Ties of the School with Life, Thesis of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the USSR Council of Ministers, November 1958, Section 20, Quoted by N.Grant, Soviet Education, p.25.

2). Pravda and Izuestia, 10 April 1971, Quoted by Seymour M. Rosen, Education in U.S.S.R. : Recent Legislation and Statistics, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington D.C., 1975,p.13.

3). Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics on Public Education, Moscow : Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1975, p.4, Quoted by M. Irish and E. Frank, Introduction to Comparative Politics, pp.154-155.

4). Uchitel' skaia gaseta, July 12, 1973, Quoted by S.Rosen, Education in the USSR, p.20.

However, the Communist Party retained the right to make decisions and formulate all educational policies. Moreover, as it has already seen, the Soviet authorities did not trust non-governmental institutions in upbringing children. Due to the importance of the family and the early years of childhood in formulating children's attitudes, the Soviet authority tended, under its supervision to expand nursery and kindergarten schools. This belief was recognized by early communist leaders such as Lenin who called nursery schools and kindergartens "the green schools of communism."(1)

The purposes of education, according to the 1973 Fundamental Law on Education, indicated that the main source of Soviet education was the Marxism-Leninism ideology. This law stated :

> The goal of public education in the U.S.S.R. is preparation of highly educated, well rounded, physically healthy and active builders of communist society, brought up on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and in the spirit of respect for Soviet laws and socialist legality, capable of working successfully in various areas of socio-economic cultural construction, actively participating in social and state activity, and ready to defend selflessly the socialist homeland...(2).

Similarly, according to article 19 of this law the chief tasks of elementary and secondary general education were "...formation in the young generation of a Marxist-Leninist world view, educating them in socialist

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1). M. Irish and E. Frank, Introduction to Comparative Politics, p.155 (in footnote).

2). Osnovy zakonodatel' stva SSR i soiuznykh respublik o narodnom obrazovanii. (Basic Law of 19 July 1973, text in Uchitel' skaya gazeta, 5 April 1973.), Quoted by N. Grant, Soviet Education,p.25.

internationalism, Soviet patriotism, and readiness to defend the socialist homeland..." (1)

Pronouncements issued by authorities continued to reinforce the political function of education in supporting communist ideology. The trend to political socialization has been carried further in recent years. The 25th Party Congress in 1976 paid great attention to ideological education and preparing the new capable Soviet man of building communism. In his report, Brezhnev stated :

> Comrades! The strength of our order lies in the consciousness of the masses. And the party considers the inculcation of communist consciousness, the readiness, will and knowledge needed to build communism to be its constant concern. In the period on which I am reporting (the previous five years), questions of ideological education, and the problems of the formation of the new man, a worthy builder of communism, have occupied a big place in all our work. (2)

Brezhnev's emphasis on ideological education was conceived earlier by Lenin to promote communism. Lenin said "It is our task to overcome all kinds of capitalist resistance, not only military and political...but also ideological, which is the most profound and powerful of all." (3)

Although the Soviet Union achieved much through its policy of political socialization, Morison observed that Brezhnev warned against complacency even though all school-children were now learning the fundamentals of political

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1). Uchitel' skaia gaseta, July 12, 1973, Quoted by R. Rosen, Education in the USSR, p.20.

2). L.I. Brezhnev, 'Otchet tsentral' nogo komiteta KPSS i ocherednye zadachi partii v oblasti vntrennei i vneshmei politiki', Materialy XXV s'ezda KPSS (Izdatel' stvo politicheshoi literatury, Moscow, 1976), pp.71-81, Quoted by J. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR' in J.J. Tomiak (ed.), Soviet Education in the 1980s, Croom Helm, London, 1983.

3). Lenin, Sochinenia, (III ed.), Vol.15, Moscow, 1931, p.45, Quoted by Z. Katz, 'Party Political Education in Soviet Russia,' School of Economics, London, 1957/58, Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis, p.5.

knowledge and "the mass study of Marxism-Leninism is the most important distinguishing feature of the development of social consciousness at the contemporary stage", (1) Brezhnev, at the 25th Party Congress, demanded greater effectiveness in this work. The Congress reaffirmed its concern to implant deeply the feeling of soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. Brezhnev also stated :

> The great cause of building of communism cannot move forward without the all-round development of man. Communism is impossible without a high level of culture, education, (and) social awareness. (2).

In accordance with Brezhnev's emphasis, a Central Committee decree published on 26 April 1979 drew attention to ideological and political education to support the struggle for communism. The decree entitled "On the further improvement of ideological and political-educational work", declared :

> The path of economic, socio-political and cultural development of the country, the full realisation of the possibilities of developed socialism, the realization of the Leninist foreigh policy course of the Soviet Union and the strengthening of its international position depend all the more on the success of ideological and political educational work. (3).

At the 26th Party Congress on 23 February 1981, Brezhnev referred to this decree. As J. Morison remarked, Brezhnev asserted that political education and agitation had to be conducted in lively language and to be firmly connected to real issues of everyday life. (4). However,

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1). J. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR' p.145.

2). M. Kashin, 'Concerning the result of the Soviet school's adoption of new curriculum', Soviet Education, May 1977, Vol.XIX, No.7,p.7.

3). O Dal' neishem uluchshenii ideologicheskoi,..., pp.3-15. Quoted by J. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR', p.145.

4). J. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR', pp.146.

real issues of everyday life must be seen in the terms of communist ideology.

As previously stated above, recent official emphasis on political socialization has also had its effect on the practice of political education. For example,[1] the response of the Ministry of Education to the decisions of Congress was to instruct all Soviet teachers to introduce studies for their pupils presenting ideological communism in an interesting way with concrete links to life and to contemporary reality. The Minister of education asserted the significance of education to instil in the school children not just ideas, but also communist convictions and communist morals.

Clearly, the main task of political education in the Soviet was to build a communist society based on the beliefs of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The Communist Party and Soviet authorities paid a great deal of attention to the function of education as a means to indoctrinate the children with a love of knowledge and values of communism, respect for work, sharing of the communist world outlook, the spirit of communist morality, loyalty to their country, and defence of the socialist homeland. Moreover, education was an essential instrument to realise the future aim of communism in supporting proletarian internationalism and socialist internationalism. Thus it was clearly stated that the aim of political socialization in the Soviet Union was to support an extreme

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1). Quoted by J. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR', pp.146-147.

political system and its leaders in securing the subservience of all citizens to its orders and values.

The birth of the multi-party system in Egypt was a significant step towards introduction of political education in Egypt. In spite of the political significance of the attempts to develop education, achieving democracy was the most important aim of education. In his Teacher Day address in 1984 President Mubarak said:

> "The augmentation and expansion of the right of education includes as well as social, political, and economic dimensions. Moreover, the expansion of education on a large scale plays an essential part in establishing the principles of democracy and making them deeply rooted." (1)

Loyalty to the country was the main task of political education. In his address to the Parliament in 1983, Mubarak declared :

> "School plays a leading role in the citizen's life and thoughts since his childhool by forming his concepts and crystalizing his values and principles so as to be a useful element in his country... Thus the educational process is of great importance to planning for the coming generations and decisive to the determination of the future of this country". (2)
>
> (He also asked teachers) to spare no effort so that education may become more effective in realizing its aims and in contributing to the development of life on our dear land and in arousing the feeling of belonging and loyalty to the country". (3)

In contrast to the old official attitudes, emphasis on loyalty to the leaders has not been found in recent statements Mubarak asserted :

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1). Al-Ahram, Cairo, 4 March 1984.

2). Al-Ahram, Cairo, 7 November 1983.

3). Al-Ahram, Cairo, 4 March 1984.

> "There is neither loyalty to a person nor holiness to an individual. All-embracing loyalty is to our country and all-comprehensive glory is to Egypt...In order to achieve loyalty, each individual-whatever his position- must consider the interest of the country more important than his own interest, see things objectively and judge his deeds according to their fruitful use to his society".(1)

Patriotism and loyalty to the country are not necessarily the same as loyalty to the political system and its leaders. Loyalty of citizens can effect the perpetuation of the political system. However in the absence of democracy the system may collapse. Loyalty and patriotism should be mainly regarded directed to the country even if this contradicts the political system and necessitates the criticism of its policies.

The Ministry of Education has also been affected by the recent development of democracy. The formal emphasis on political socialization has not been apparent in recent official attitudes of the Ministry. In a speech to the staff of the universities in May 1984, the Minister of Education argued that democracy mainly meant the right of every citizen to receive education and in turn the educated people would be able to practise and develop democracy. The Minister said :

> "The concept of education in democracy is not confined merely to giving the right of education to Egyptians but its primary aim is to inculcate democracy in young people's minds, because democracy is meaningless in a society predominated by ignorance. If democracy positively reflects its shadow on education in turn firmly establishes the content and significance of democracy."(2)

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1). Arab Youth, Cairo, 25 July, 1983.

2). Al-Ahram, Cairo, 15 May 1984.

Corresponding to this development the current educational law, issued in 1981, did not refer to support of the state political system. However, the law asserted the role of education was to inculcate in school children loyalty to the country and to prepare them to participate in society's affairs. The law stated :

> Pre-university education aims at preparing the Egyptian citizen who believes in God, his country, values of good, right and humanity. It is also providing him sufficiently with knowledge, attitudes, and skills...to achieve the development. welfare and progress of the society.... Preparing the pupils (in secondary schools) to participate in public life and emphasizing the inculcation of religious and patriotic values. (1)

It seems clear that at the beginning of the Revolution, State official attitudes towards political education were to use education to support the new political system, acceptance of its ideology, and loyalty to the revolutionary leaders. Moreover, political education officially represented a significant vehicle in strengthening not merely loyalty to the motherland but also to Arab nationalism. From the beginning of the seventies most of these approaches were carried further and attempts to perpetuate the system were significant features in the most important official documents, though these documents contained many democratic principles. From the beginning of the eighties political education began to be re-shaped to reflect the moves towards more democratic society. However, loyalty to the country remained the most important role of political education in Egypt.

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1). Ministry of Education, The 1981 Education Act, Articles 1,17,22.

In spite of the great differences between the political ideologies in Egypt and the Soviet Union, there was a similarity in the political aims of the educational system. In both Egypt and the Soviet Union the official attitude towards the educational system was that education should support the political system and loyalty to the country. Whilst the political ideology of the Soviet Union implied the continuing attention of communist doctrines, however in Egypt the political aims of the educational system were to support a new political system which could be eventually developed according to the principles of democracy.

Although the educational system in England has enjoyed greater freedom from political direction and influence than in Egypt and in the Soviet Union, official reports and pronouncements have had a significant effect on the content of education. Some observers have argued that political education in England has tended to be neglected in schools.(1) However, official attitudes revealed the need for political education and contributed to its development in a democratic society.

By the late nineteenth century, political education was concerned with loyalty to the country, conveying the prevalent attitudes, the glories of the empire, and the responsibilities of citizenship. No significant change was expressed in official attitudes throughout the greater part

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1). Crick and Porter, p.1.

of the first three quarters of the twentieth century. Official statements towards political education have been "cautious, vague and occasionally downright hostile. The climate began to change in the 1960s, but it was not until 1975 that we get a really positive assertion that political education is a right to be expected and provided for in a democratic society."(1)

The earlier reports discouraged the introduction of political education into school curriculum. The Spens Report (1938) asserted that "...since with pupils under 16 the theoretical dicussion of economic questions is impracticable, and objections to direct discussion of current political questions are considerable, recent political and economic history is the best introduction to the study of politics". The report suggested that teachers "by precept or still more by breadth of their own sympathies...can best educate pupils to become citizens of a modern democratic country". (2)

Although the Norwood Report (1943) expressed the idea of education for citizenship, it was limited in concept. Education for citizenship was mainly the study of the social and political institutions within the society and, incidentally, to support desirable attitudes. The report stated :

> We wish to consider one of the many topics which have been brought to our attention for inclusion in the curriculum, namely education for citizenship...British men and women should have clearer conceptions for the institutions of their country,..., and that they should realise their duties and responsibilities....Teaching of the kind desired

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1). Tom Brennan, 'Political Education and the Curriculum', Documents of the Political Education Research Unit, Department of Education, University of York, Spring 1982, TS., p.1.

2). Board of Education, Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education, H.M.S.O., London 1938, p.174.

> can best be given incidentally, by appropriate illustration and comment and digression, through the ordinary school subjects, particularly History, Geography, English and foreign languages and literatures. (1)

This incidental approach to political education was not effective. Political education had its specific requirements to develop children's understanding of necessary political matters and this was difficult to realize in an incidental way. Even so an incidental approach to political socialization is not enough to support the system and in this situation the system may resort to the violence to support the necessary demands of the system. Entwistle expressed well the objection of the incidental approach to political education:

> The problem of teaching anything incidentally is that appropriately illustrative incidents may occur too rarely for necessary conceptual development to be fostered systematically and adequately. Proper understanding and mastery of facts, concepts and principles require that these be encountered repeatedly at intervals and in different sorts of context...For in an educational context, 'incidental' has a habit of meaning 'haphazard' and there is no more reason why a child's political education should be left to chance than should his mathematical education. (2)

Section 43 of the 1944 Education Act encouraged the teaching of political education for young people over 16. Section 43 required local authorities to establish County Colleges for young persons "to enable them to develop their various aptitides and capacities" and to "prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship. (3)

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1). Board of Education, Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools. p.58.

2). H. Entwistle, Political Education in a Democracy, p.108.

3). George Taylor and John B. Saunders, The Law of Education, Eighth Edition, Butterworths, London, 1976, pp.136-137.

It seems that the discouragement of the introduction of political education into schools was based on the belief that children under 16 were too young to receive direct discussion of political affairs. It is not surprising, therefore, that the 1944 Act recommended the introduction of civic education for young people over 16. In the event, however, County Colleges were not established[1] and section 43 remained a dead letter.

The intentions in a succeeding official statement, issued in 1947, were to develop community, citizenship and responsibility within society. However, the implementations of these intentions were concentrated on political knowledge of the country. The New Secondary School pamphlet stated:

> The individual pupil needs to develop as a member of a community and he must learn to live with other people. The secondary school can make deliberate efforts to include a leading feature of its syllabuses and training a study of what has come to be known as 'Citizenship', or 'Civics", that is, the basic information about local and national government, rates and taxes, the judicial system, and so on. It can lead the pupil to wider conception of his status and responsibilities as a citizen of this country and of the relation between this country and the British Commonwealth and the United Nations. (2)

The Ministry of Education pamphlet Citizens Growing Up, issued in 1949, also emphasizes the need for civic education by preparing an active citizen and preserving the system of society. The pamphlet recognized :

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1). J.P.Parry, The Provision of Education in England and Wales, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1971, pp.29-30

2). Ministry of Education, The New Secondary Education, Pamphlet No.9, H.M.S.O. London 1947, p.15.

> ...In a democratic community we must all take a share in preparing our young people for the responsibilities of active citizenship...It would be as unreasonable as it would be unwise to exclude today from the school curriculum, information about these institutions, local and national, through which we govern ourselves, earn our living and manage our affairs. And so we find that secondary schools today very generally recognise a need for introducing at least their older pupils to the political, social and economic life of our times.(1)

It seems clear then that the official attitudes mentioned above, saw the need for political education in terms of citizenship and duties and maintaining the traditions of society. Moreover, official attitudes were still cautious to the introduction of political education for young children. As T. Brennan argued, education for citizenship in effect was never implemented and official publications were largely descriptive and informational.(2)

In the late fifties and sixties official pronouncement became more sophisticated and tended to encourage the development of political education. Whilst strong objections to introducing politics to all children remained, the Crowther Report (1959) argued that :

> What is true of ethics and philosophy is true also of politics. The fact that politics are controversial - that honest men disagree - makes preparation for citizenship a difficult matter but it ought to be tackled, and not least for the ordinary boys and girls who now leave school at 15 and often do not find it easy to see any argument except in personal terms. (3)

The Newsom Report (1963) also asserted the necessity for political education through teaching history and social

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1). Ministry of Education, Citizens Growing Up, Pamphlet No.16. H.M.S.O., London, 1949, p.2, 21.

2). T. Brennan, 'Political Education and the Curriculum', p.3.

3). Ministry of Education, 15 to 18 : A Report of Central Advisory Council for Education, England, Vol.1, H.M.S.O., London, 1959. p.114 (Para.175).

studies and warned :

> The importance of history and geography, or social studies in which are sometimes merged, seems obvious. A man who is ignorant of the society in which he lives, who knows nothing of its place in the world and who has not thought about his place in it, is not a free man even though he has a vote. He is easy game for the hidden persuaders. (1)

The School Council's working paper No.2, written in response to proposals to raise the school leaving age to 16, also expressed concern over education for citizenship particularly in terms of the humanities and of responsibilities and rights. The document emphasized :

> Members of a civilized society have to grasp - the rule of law, a sense of justice, a willingness to accept responsibility, an honourable carrying out of undertakings, freely entered into, a sense of debt to the past and responsibility towards the future, government by consent, respect for minority views, freedom of speech and action and readiness to recognise that such freedom depends on trust, friendship and individual responsibility for the manner in which they are exercised.(2).

Whilst the Crowther and Newsom Reports were more positive than earlier official reports, however, they did not contain a full discussion of political education and its role in curriculum. Heater observed that "The Newsom Report... has more to say, but the thought behind the scattered comments is very superficial"(3) Moreover, traditional subjects remained the most desirable medium to implant patriotic feeling and to teach political and social norms. This attitude was reinforced by the two ministry pamphlets, namely Teaching History (1952) and

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1). Ministry of Education, Half Our Future : A Report of Central Advisory Council for Education, England, Vol.1, H.M.S.O., London, 1959, p.163 (para.499).

2). Schools Council, Raising the School Leaving Age, Working Paper, No. 2, H.M.S.O., London, 1965, p.16 (para.68.)

3). D. Heater, 'A Burgeoning of Interest', p.327.

Towards World History (1967). The attention of these pamphlets, inevitably, was on "the relationship that can be built into a history syllabus between the traditional aspects of the subject and political education".(1) The pamphlet Towards World History emphasized the significance of history as an appropriate vehicle for teaching political education. The pamphlet stated :

> It will be as well to give (the next generation) as good a political education as may be, which means giving it an education in history....Most history teachers tend to stress the preliminary training which the subject provides in responsible citizenship. (2)

The criticisms of official attitudes to political education in England reveal that political education has been neglected and there is a need for further development. This neglect can be attributed to several factors. First of all was the belief that England, unlike Egypt and the Soviet Union, had a more stable and mature democratic system. Therefore, it was believed that there was no need to socialize the new generation into the norms of the system. However, civic education for the masses, in contrast to emphasis in Public Schools on preparing political leadership for government, "successfully produced the type of citizen that ensured stability"(3) and "remained virtually confined to the annual flag-waving ritual of Empire Day"(4). However, in democratic societies

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1). B. Crick and D. Heater, Essays on Political Education, p.29.

2). DES, Towards World History, p.2.

3). Clive Harber, 'Politics and Political Education in 1984', Educational Review, Vol.36, No.2, 1984, p.114.

4). D. Heater, 'A Burgeoning of Interest', p.226.

it could be argued that massive political education is required in order to promote a citizen's ability to practise democracy and to participate in political life.

Until the late 1960s and the advent of 1970s, the school leaving age in England was 15 and the voting age was 21. Perhaps this gap of six years appeared to diminish the responsibility of schools in providing political education. Nevertheless, this factor was eliminated by lowering the voting age to 18 in 1970 and raising the school leaving age to 16 in 1972.(1) Consequently, it was expected that this new situation would promote a significant interest in political education. Many observers recognised that "if education for citizenship was to become a reality it must be undertaken during the last year or two at school otherwise it was unlikely to be undertaken at all."(2) In Egypt, in spite of the lowering of the voting age from 21 to 18 in the early 1970s and the raising of the school leaving age from 12 to 15 in the early 1980s there was no significant change in official attitudes towards political education during the 1970s. It was hoped that school curriculum provided young people with sufficient political education to enable them to practise their civic rights at a time when Egypt was implementing further developments in democracy.

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1). C. Harber, 'Politics and Political Education in 1984', pp.114-115.

2). T. Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, p.48.

The British system of parliamentary democracy has always been seen as representative democracy and it has been thought that this system required only very limited political skills on the part of citizens. (1) This argument is only true if there is an evidence that the actions of the representatives are always sound. In a representative system citizens should participate in the political orientation of their country's affairs.

Other factors which contributed to the neglect of political education in England included the "lack of teachers professionally committed to this field of work; a belief that the study of politics can only be an adult activity, and the fear of indoctrination". (2) Whilst these factors are significant, however, the lack of qualified teachers can be tackled and indoctrination can be avoided to a large extent in the school curriculum. It has been seen from the theoretical framework that political education can be introduced to secondary school pupils and Crick and Porter argue that these factors should not hinder the introduction of political education into schools. They state:

> ...there is no need to fear what is one of the greatest parts of our cultural heritage...because of fears of bias or indoctrination - of that in a moment. But it can be done better than it often is. There is sometimes a need for greater professionalism...There is a need for a small core of political education to be part of teacher education at every level. (3)

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1). C. Harber,'Politics and Political Education in 1984',p.114.

2). D. Heater, 'A Burgeoning of Interest', p.229.

3). Crick and Porter, p.5.

Since the late 1960s and early 1970s a significant interest in political education has emerged through the activities of the Politics Association in company with the Hansard Society of Parliamentary Government, attempts by responsible bodies to reform the school curriculum, popular interest of the major political parties, and other official activities.

The Politics Association was established in 1969, to promote and improve political education. Prominent supporters of the work of the Association have included Reginald Prentice and Sir Keith Joseph. (1) Moreover, the Politics Association was established at an opportune time since politics have become a more widely accepted discipline in universities and polytechnics thus providing a potential source of teachers in schools. The main function of the new Association were to handle matters relating to political education by holding an annual conference, publishing a professional journal on Teaching Politics, and evaluating school curricula.

In January 1973, a row broke out over the arrangements of Sixth Form Conferences by the Conservative Party. The Conservative Party was accused by a Labour Party spokesman of trying to indoctrinate pupils. The situation was resolved by Crick, the acting President of the Politics Association, who drafted a series of ground rules for Sixth-Form Conferences which were accepted by all three major parties. (2)

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1). T. Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, pp.46-47.

2). D. Heater, 'A Burgeoning of Interest', p.333.

The ground rules emphasized the educational criteria and the need for maintaining political balance in such matters. The rules recommended:

> That politicians talking to pupils on controversial matters in school time should only do so in circumstances where they fit into a systematic programme organized by the school or group of schools and when there has been preparation by the teachers. Isolated visits tend....to be a waste of everyone's time, and schools should not think that their responsibilities for civic education are met simply by talks from the parties; they must be prepared for and followed up afterwards by the schools. (1).

Prominent work by the Politics Association was undertaken together with the Hansard Society in 1978 to develop the introduction of political education to secondary schools. The main aim of the programme was to enhance political literacy. The Working Party identified three possible objectives of political education which were seen as political alternatives. These objectives were drawn from three theories : the conserving approach of knowing the existing system of government and its beliefs; the liberal or participatory approach of development of knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary for active participation; and the approach to possible change of direction of government. The three doctrines had their considerations in any programme of political education. "All three objectives must find their place in a curriculum together and not be in insolation or to the exclusion of the others. (2).

The Politics Association and the Hansard Society

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1). 'The Conduct of Political Sixth-Form Conferences (Appendix)' in Ibid., p.342.

2). Crick and Porter, p.12.

accepted the three approaches of conservation, participation and change. This approach would seem to be justified since not all aspects of existing systems or status-quo need changing or supporting. Therefore it is to be preferred in order to enhance political literacy through which a citizen "would be somebody who can appreciate plausibility of, give some good account of the nature and implications of, each of these three doctrines."(1)

Political literacy combines knowledge, attitudes, and the skills needed to make the vast majority of young people informed about politics. It draws from the politics of everyday life to enable them to participate effectively in political life. A politically literate person requires to know what the main political disputes are and how these affect him and others and to try to do something to affect them. Political literacy gives a person the knowledge and concepts of political issues which enable him to express and defend his view and recognise that other people's viewpoints can be different from his own view. (2)

Although the Working Party did not assert the assumption that political literacy was best gained by teaching about political literacy directly, it was posited that political literacy would "be advanced through other subjects, for instance, History, Geography, Social

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1). Crick and Porter, p.13.

2) Crick and Porter, p.33.

Studies, Sociology and Economics [1]. Nevertheless, the findings noted that there were difficulties in teaching political literacy indirectly through conventional history and A-level courses in British Government. The report of the working party stated that :

> Despite obvious advantages, History and British Government as vehicles for political literacy showed some signs of, at the worst, crushing the hitch-hiker beyond recognition or, at the best, of simply taking him somewhere else, certainly compared to even a few hours' journey in a vehicle, however small, deliberately set aside for courses designed to enhance political literacy. Yet realistically the only opportunity for political education in many schools may be its infusion through the cognate established subjects of curriculum. (2)

Whilst the teaching of occasional political issues or issues that arose incidentally in lessons was less successful, the report emphasized that a more successful approach to political education courses was to concentrate on one or two issues and to explore them in depth. This approach would encourage the development of political literacy through creating "a disposition and a skill that is readily transferable to other issues by the pupil himself, than any attempt to cover in a short time the main issues of modern British politics". [3] The purpose of political education was not to study specific issues but to develop the ability of pupils to evaluate, understand and handle any issue. Therefore, it was suggested that political literacy was most successful

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1). Crick and Porter, p.2.

2). Crick and Porter, p.24.

3). Crick and Porter p.25.

through courses "which have been constructed with exclusive political literacy objectives". However, the programme expressed the "need to explore the possibility of political literacy objectives being successfully infused or integrated into courses designed to meet other objectives. (1)

It seems clear that the programmes of the Politics Association and Hansard Society were more interested in political literacy and in asserting that the school curriculum should pay more attention to political education either through exclusive courses or other school subjects. Nevertheless, exclusive courses were more positive than indirect approaches through other subjects. The report was more efficient than earlier official reports and encouraged the involvement of the three concepts of conservation, participation and change in political education. However, the programme emphasized the study and understanding of relevant issues to politics derived from every day life to develop skills of active participation. In this way it seems that political literacy was closer to the liberal concepts of a democratic society than to the approaches of a conservative state or to radical change.

The Schools Council issued a working paper in 1975 which outlined the problems facing teachers and set out principles for the content of the curriculum. The report drew attention to the significance of participation and

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1). Crick and Porter, p.27.

criticism in a democratic society. It also argued that political education should not advocate the policy of any political party. The report stated:

> Pupils may reasonably expect to receive a political education appropriate to participation in the life of democratic society. The school should not advance on its authority the standpoint of any political party or the personal views of its staff. All political opinions should be subject to impartial and critical scrutiny. Schools should help pupils understand our society as it stands and equip them to criticise social policy and to contribute to the improvement of society. (1).

Subsequently, in a report issued in 1981, the Schools Council reasserted the need for political education and the aim of promoting the understanding of the political system and society values. The objectives of education were the same for all children "to acquire understanding of the social, economic and political order, and a reasoned set of attitudes, values and beliefs; and to prepare for their adult lives". (2)

The increasing interest in political education was reflected in official statements issued by H.M.I. and the D.E.S. H.M.I. Working Paper (1977) on the curriculum 11-16 examined the introducing of political education during the period of compulsory schooling. It was recognized that the social and political area should be one of the essential areas of experience introduced in the school curriculum. Furthermore, it was of equal importance as other areas of experiences. The working paper stated :

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1). Schools Council, The Whole Curriculum 13-16, Working Paper No.53, Evans/Methuen Educational, London, 1975, p.25.

2). Schools Council, The Practical Curriculum : a Report from the Schools Council, Working Paper No. 70, Methuen Educational, London, 1981, p.15.

> ...many young people will find that they are expected to play a responsible part in their local communities, and at the age of 18, to cast their votes...They will need to understand different viewpoints, appreciate conflicting motives, resist tendentious influences, and appraise critically... They will therefore, require not only a basic knowledge of how society is run and how resources are distributed but also an introduction to citizenship involving not so much a study of institutions but of issues...(1)

In contrast to some of old official statements, this report encouraged the introduction of political education during the early stages of secondary and it emphasized that the purpose of political education was to promote the study of political issues rather than political institutions. The report stated that "it is not the responsibility of education in this country to give direct ideological support to every aspect of the existing political system, in the sense that would be required in a totalitarian state". The report, however, recognized that "in any curriculum the selection of subjects and skills that are taught and of the attitudes and activities that are encouraged implies certain political and social assumptions and values, however unconscious".(2) Thus, it seems that H.M.I. did not deny the possibilities of support for the existing system in an incidental way.

In line with this approach the D.E.S. advocated the idea of creating a national consensus in their document "A Framework for the School Curriculum (1980)". This document suggested a core curriculum for all pupils

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1). Department of Education and Science, Curriculum 11-16 : Working Paper by H.M. Inspectorate, H.M.S.O., London, 1977, pp.11-12.

2). Ibid., p.10.

according to their ability. "Such a core, it is hoped, would ensure that all pupils, whatever else they do, at least get a sufficient grounding in knowledge and skills which by common consent should form part of the equipment of the educated adult."(1) Furthermore, other publications of the School Council and the D.E.S.(2) support the idea of creating the coherence within the British Society.

Concern for the development of political education has also been expressed in various pamphlets issued by the D.E.S. For example, in Aspects of Secondary Education (1979) H.M.I. observed from a survey on secondary school in England that :

> Teachers generally acknowledge the need for more personal education in the curriculum for all pupils, by including careers education, health education and political education , and by stimulating awareness of economic realities and social obligations. (3)

In a report issued in 1983 on the development of secondary school curriculum, the D.E.S. reasserted the need for political education to develop the pupils' ability to participate socially and politically in a democratic society. The report stated :

> Pupils have common needs to develop, with maximum enjoyment, skills and attitudes necessary for their individual autonomy now and in the future and for work and political and social participation in the democratic society to which they belong.(4)

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1). Department of Education and Science, A Framework for the School Curriculum, (The Department) , London, January, 1980, p.5.

2). Schools Council, The Practical Curriculum, p.13; Department of Education and Science, Curriculum 11-15 : Towards a Statement of Entitlement, H.M.S.O., London, 1983, p.25.

3). Department of Education and Science, Aspects of Secondary Education in England : A Survey by H.M. Inspectors of Schools, H.M.S.O., London, December 1979, p.42.

4). D.E.S., Curriculum 11-16 : Towards A Statement of Entitlement, p.25.

The need for political education has also received support from government, ministers of education and political parties. Reginald Prentice, a former Secretary of State for education and Science argued that there was no difference between introducing political education into schools and any other subject and the fear that teachers might impose their views on their pupils should not be a reason to exclude political studies from schools.(1) Introducing political education required a teacher to encourage his pupils to express themselves freely without fear from the teacher's viewpoints. In a speech to the Fifth Annual Conference of Politics Association at Bingley College of Education in September, 1974. Prentice emphasized the significance of political education in supporting democracy. Whilst he did not support the belief that school could solve society's problems, however, he believed that schools could help. Prentice said:

> "The second general election of 1974 is bound to be a tough struggle in which politicians of all parties will fight hard to win. Nobody has any right to complain about that. But we might reflect for a moment on how we shall conduct that struggle. On the eve of this election we should ask why so many of our fellow citizens are saying : 'A plague on all your houses'. Why is there so much cynicism and disbelief?"(2)

To reconcile political conflict and improve society Prentice argued that politicians, teachers and citizens needed to be stimulated to sustain the principles of democracy.

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1). Reginald Prentice, 'Civic Education', reported in Teaching Politics, Vol.4., No.1., January 1975, p.5.

2). Ibid., p.6.

In his article entitled "Now is the time for all good men....", Norman St.John-Stevas mentioned that the "Prime Minister has regretted the political alienation of youth".(1) In the government Green Paper "Education in Schools" issued in 1977, the then Secretary of State for Education, Shirley Williams, also expressed her support for political education. She asserted the necessity of creating a greater awareness of community and the importance of getting a basic understanding of how the British system works to develop the ability of the individual to participate in a democratic society. She said :

> Likewise within schools there should be a greater awareness of community at large; the needs of the nation as a whole; the working of a modern industrial society; and the role of the individual participating in a democracy....Young people need to be equipped with a basic understanding of the functioning of our democratic political system, of the mixed economy and the industrial activities, especially manufacturing, which create our national wealth. (2).

More recently Sir Keith Joseph the present Secretary for State for Education, in his talk to the Historical Association Conference held in 1984(3), explained the importance of history in introducing political education into schools. He emphasized that national history should be an essential component in the curriculum for all pupils up to 16. "For the child brought up in this country", Joseph said "British history has something to

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1). Norman St.John-Stevas , 'Now is the time for all good men...' The Times Educational Supplement, 25 November 1977

2). Department of Education and Science, Education in Schools : A Consultative Document Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Education and Science, H.M.S.O., London, July,1977, p.37, 41.

3). Keith Joseph, 'Why Teach History in School', The Historian, No. 2, Spring 1984.

convey which cannot, however expert the teaching, be conveyed through Roman history or American history or Caribbean history." The Minister was more enthusiastic for teaching British history. The main aim of studying other nations history was to understand the British society. Joseph said "History is indispensable to understanding the society we live in : to an awareness by pupils of the place of themselves, their families or communities in the developing story of the nation, a story which itself involves other nations and peoples."

This approach to the teaching of history could lead to indoctrination in certain values of British society. Consequently, Sir Keith defined the aim of teaching history to "understand the development of shared values which are a distinctive feature of British society and culture and which continue to shape private attitudes and public policy." He recognised "that values are shared only in a broad sense : we disagree among ourselves about much, and that is as it should be in an open society". Sir Keith emphasized the idea that the purpose of teaching history was to understand the shared values rather than accept them.

Other educational, religious, and industrial organizations began to take an increasing interest in political education. During the great Debate in March 1977 several organizations commented on the provision of political education.[1] For example, the National Association of

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1). Crick and Porter, pp.7-8.

Teachers in Further and Higher Education said "If we are to develop greater participation in political, social and industrial life,... it is necessary for the schools to equip young people to play their part. This involves a curriculum wide enough to give young people the basis for such participation". The Council of Local Education Authorities defined the aim of a core curriculum to develop "...an understanding of simple scientific facts...a knowledge of social, historical,geographical and political bases of the world in which (pupils) live." The T.U.C. stated "If there is a core curriculum which all young people should share equally...all young people must be helped to become politically and economically literate." Moreover, the Church of England Board of Education posed the question "How far is the educational system, not only 'fitting' children for life in our society, but enabling them constructively to criticise and reshape it?" Commonly, these organisations expressed the need for political education to develop pupils' understanding of the political and social values of society and to participate effectively in a democratic society.

It seems clear that since the beginning of the 1970s there has been a growing interest in political education in England. Whilst earlier official attitudes were cautious and, to some extent, tended to support the concepts of political socialization, recent developments have emphasized the need for more open political education in a democratic society through the developing of an understanding of the political system and society values and an ability to criticize and participate effectively in

the political life. However, the possibilities for supporting the system of existing values and creating national consciousness and coherence within the society continue to be found in some official reports.

Generally, in the past official attitudes towards political education in Egypt were shaped by its political ideology in order to support the new system. Central control of education meant that political education tended to take an authoritarian form of political socialization. To a large extent such an approach still remains characteristic of the Soviet Union although changes are being made in Egypt.

However, since the adoption of the multi-party system at the beginning of the 1980s official statements in Egypt have tended to support an approach to political education more appropriate to a democratic system. Recent developments suggest that there are similarities between Egypt and England although official attitudes towards political education in England developed much earlier than in Egypt. Furthermore, the decentralized system of education in England enabled several bodies and organizations to take part in the development of political education.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PROVISION OF POLITICAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM.

As with other school curricula in Egypt, the aims, content and time devoted to the teaching of the subjects related to political education are specified for all schools by the Ministry of Education. Moreover, all stated courses in the different grades are compulsory for all students. This feature of the provision of political education in Egypt reflects two main factors. First, there is a uniformity in the provision of political education in all Egyptian schools. Secondly, in spite of the opportunity for the development of political education, in fact the development derives from the state's desire for schooling to be consistent with the country's ideological developments.

Whilst some of the formal responsibilities of the Ministry of Education have been delegated to local educational directorates, the Ministry still retains control over the most important policy matters such as drawing up the aims and policies of education, the content of school curricula, and the methods of teaching. In such matters local educational directorates are required to implement the Ministry's decisions and policies. In respect of political education, the significance of this system lies in the assumption that the policies of

the Ministry of Education should be relevant to state policies and national objectives. Moreover, the Ministry of Education is responsible for securing and evaluating the implementation of education policies at the national level.(1)

The centralised system of education in Egypt is based on the belief that the provision of education for all citizens is a state responsibility. This is similar to the experience of many other new countries which resort to central control over education as an important means of creating solidarity and national community spirit in line with state policies and goals. Consequently, the aims and content of school curricula will be mainly shaped by the prevailing political attitudes and values system.

Although the central system of education in Egypt has its justifications, the system hinders developments in political education, since it discourages the development of an individual personality and prevents other groups from participating in educational policy-making. However, it could be argued that in non-democratic countries highly centralised systems of control have an even greater adverse effect in preventing the development of political education than in democratic countries. In Egypt education policies and school curricula have been mainly introduced to support the system and gain the acceptance of its

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1). M.M. Moursy, Administration of Public Education,p.24,87.

political leaders. Aboud argues:

> ... because the school curriculum was relevant to politics the preceding generation was unable to criticize political posts. Parasites wielded authority and its most important posts and they mainly gave priority to their own interests at the expense of the country's interests. History courses became an introduction to support the ruler ... Loyalty to country was understood as hallowing the governor ... Civic courses were merely slogans aimed at exalting authority.(1)

It is expected, however, that the adoption of the policy of a multi-party system will influence the development of political education in Egypt. This expectation assumes that a more democratic atmosphere will be positively felt in the formulation and the realizing of policies and goals of education in accordance with the principles of democracy.

Since the beginning of the Revolution (1952) social studies and civic education have been the main channels for teaching political education. While in the third and fourth grades of primary education social studies have been taught as an integrated subject, in the fifth and sixth grades history, geography and civic education have been taught as separate subjects. Whilst this situation still, to some extent obtains, some changes have been introduced in the time allocated to the teaching of these subjects and in grade 6 history and civic education are taught as an integrated subject.

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1). Abd El-Khany Aboud et al., Philosophy of Primary Education, First Edition, Dar El-Fekr El-Araby, Cairo, 1982, p.293. (In Arabic).

TABLE 5

Changes in the Periods[1] Allocated to the Teaching of Social Studies and Civics in Primary Education Between 1963 and 1970. (per week).

Years	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6
1963	-	-	1	2	5	5
1970	-	-	1	2	4	4

Source: Ministry of Education, Unified Curriculum for the Primary Stage, Dar El-Kawomia Le-El-Tebaha, Cairo, 1963, p.5. (in Arabic); R. Mankarious, School Administration, Vol.3, El-Anglo , Cairo, 1970, p.17. (in Arabic)

Table (5) shows that more time was allocated to the teaching of social studies and civic education in grades 5 and 6 during the 1960s. Although the allocated time does not give an indication of the content and approaches to political education, it does seem to indicate that the 1960s witnessed considerable concern in implanting the values of the new system, loyalty to the country, and concepts of Arab nationalism.

TABLE 6

Periods Devoted to Teaching Social Studies and Civic Education in Primary Education 1984. (per week).

Subjects	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6
History	-	-	3	3	1	1
Geography	-	-			1	1
Civic Educ.	-	-			1	1

Source: Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of Education, Basic Education Guide, p.12.

1). Usually the period consists of 45 minutes.

In comparison with the previous table, table (6) reveals a significant increase in the time allocated to teaching social studies in grades 3 and 4. Perhaps this increase reflects the significance given to early ages in the acquisition of loyalty feelings towards the country and system.

Similarly, social studies and civic education are the main subjects in which political education are taught in preparatory schools (grades 7 to 9). Table (7) shows during the 1960s the total time allocated to teaching these subjects decreased from four to three periods by on average a period to each subject.

TABLE 7

The Development of Allocated Periods[1] to Teaching Social Studies and Civic Education in Preparatory Schools (per week).

Subjects	1958			1970-1984		
	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9
History	4	4	4	1	1	1
Geography				1	1	1
Civic Educ.				1	1	1

Source: Ministry of Education, The 845 Ministerial Decree on a Curriculum Plan for Preparatory Schools, [The Ministry], Cairo, 1958. (in Arabic); Ministry of Education, Modified Curriculum for the Preparatory Stage, Government Press, Cairo, 1970. (in Arabic); Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of Education, Basic Education Guide, p.13.

1). Usually the period consists of 50 minutes.

Perhaps, it could be argued that the extra time devoted to the teaching of these subjects during the 1960s resulted from the introduction of new supplementary sections to history and civic courses. The main aim of these supplementary sections was to reinforce loyalty to Arab nationalism, pride towards the then established unity between Egypt and Syria, and the movements of liberation in Arab countries. Since 1970, most of these sections have been abolished due to the failure to achieve the Unity between Egypt and Syria. Moreover, Egypt became less committed to supporting other Arab countries and had more concern with improving internal conditions. Thus, the content of political education was modified to match internal ideological developments.

For example, when unity with Syria was obtained, in grade 7 there were equal sections included in the history course on the civilization of the Nile Valley and Ancient Syria. In grade 9 the modern history course included equal sections on the revolutions in Arab countries and Egypt, together with an emphasis on the development of the United Arab Republic (Egypt and Syria), and the struggle of the Arab countries to realize their independence. In 1970, however, the section on Ancient Syria was abolished from Grade 7 and in grade 9 the history of the Arab world was replaced by the history of the United Arab Republic[1].

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1). In spite of the breakdown in unity between Egypt and Syria in 1961 the official name of Egypt remained the United Arab Republic. Now the official name of Egypt is The Arab Republic of Egypt. The change occurred in 1971.

Since 1970 more than two-thirds of the history course has focused on the history of modern Egypt with special emphasis being given to the Revolution and the movement of patriotic awareness before the revolution. Furthermore, in the civic education in grade 8 the section which included the duties of citizens towards Arab nationalism was replaced by a study of the rights and duties of citizens towards the Egyptian society. No significant change took place in the geography courses since these were less relevant to the teaching of political education.(1)

In secondary school (grades 10 to 12), there has been a considerable decrease in the time devoted to the teaching of civic education. Furthermore, the majority of pupils take the science option and only take courses in history and geography in grade 10. Before 1975 the subject "Arab Society" was taught in all grades for one period a week, but since 1975 Arab Society was replaced by civic education and only taught for one period per week in grade 11(2). Table (8) illustrates the time allotted to the teaching of history, geography and civic education. It should be mentioned that, in comparison with the total number of secondary school pupils, pupils in art departments represent only a small number. Moreover, history and geography in art departments are taught as

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1). Ministry of Education, Unified Curriculum for the General Preparatory Stage(1963-64), Ministry Press, Cairo, 1963. (in Arabic); Ministry of Education, Modified Curriculum for the Preparatory Stage.

2). Ministry of Education, Unified Curriculum for the Secondary Stage (1961-62), Ministry Press, Cairo, 1961, p.99 (in Arabic); Ministry of Education, Modified Curriculum for the General Secondary Stage, Government Press, Cairo, 1970. (in Arabic); Y. El-Safty, Assessment and Examinations, National Centre of Educational Research, Cairo, 1980, p.121. (in Arabic).

specialised subjects rather than as a medium for teaching political education..

TABLE 8

Periods[1] Allocated to Teaching Social Studies and Civic Education in Secondary Schools (per week).

Subjects	Grade 10	Grade 11		Grade 12	
		Sci.Dept.	Art Dept.	Sci.Dept.	Art Dept.
History	2	-	3	-	3
Geography	2	-	3	-	3
Civic Educ.	-	1	1	-	-

Source: Official Textbooks.

Whilst civic education and social studies are the main sources of formal political education in schools, in general, civic education can be regarded as the most important means for the introduction of political education. Comparatively civic education for grade 5 is more relevant to teaching political education than history and geography. In this grade civic education aims at "enlightening the pupils of the political, economic and social conditions of their society".[2] In comparison the history course centres on the Islamic History of Egypt. Similarly, less than a fifth of the geography course is devoted to teaching pupils some information about the local community[3]. Perhaps history and civic education[4] have an equal significance in the teaching of political education in grade 6 since they

1). Usually the period consists of 50 minutes.

2). Ministry of Education, Civic Education for the Fifth Grade of Primary Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1983, p.4. (in Arabic).

3). Ministry of Education, Geography of Egypt for the Fifth Grade of Primary Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1982. (in Arabic).

4). Ministry of Education, Modern History of Egypt for the Sixth Grade of Primary Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo,1981. (in Arabic).

form an integrated subject dealing with the modern and contemporary history of Egypt.

Perhaps preparatory stage (grades 7-8) provides the most important stage in the provision of political education. Within civic education pupils are taught political and social concepts such as : Arab nationalism, aggression, capitalism, constitution, democracy, democratic socialism, dictatorship, executive authority, government, imperialism, legislative authority, Marxism-socialism, national planning, nationalism, nationalization, non-alignment, political party, positive neutrality, private sector, public sector, republican system, revolution, social justice, socialism and sovereignty. Furthermore, the history course includes such political concepts as : agreement, convention, democracy, government, imperialism, integration, law, monopoly, nationalization, occupation, revolution, solidarity, treaty and war.(1)

The examination of the main topics of civic courses for preparatory education shows that they are more relevant to political education than the history courses. For example, the history course in grade 9 concentrates on the modern and contemporary history of Egypt from the Ottoman occupation until the Revolution of 1952, whilst the civic course in grade 8 deals with the current political

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1). Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social Studies for the First Grade of Preparatory School, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1983, pp.44-50, 96-100. (in Arabic); Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social Studies for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1981. (in Arabic).

system and values. This civic course is entitled "The System of Government in the Arab Republic of Egypt", and focuses mainly on the Revolution of 1952, the Corrective Revolution of 1971, features of democratic socialism, aspects of democratic and socialist application, State constitution and law, and political institutions at the national level(1). Nevertheless, it is clear that the history courses do make a complementary contribution to the civic courses in political education.

The civic course in grade 7 provides pupils with information about social and political institutions and problems at local level. While the course in grade 8 concentrates on political institutions at the national level, in grade 9 the course focuses on the study of some political institutions and attitudes particularly at the Arab world level and more generally at the international level(2). The history courses provide basic backgrounds in the creation of loyalty to the country. For example, whilst the history course in grade 7 provides pupils with a knowledge of ancient Egyptian Civilisation, in grade 8 Islamic history and aspects of Arab civilization

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1). Ministry of Education, Modern and Contemporary History of Egypt for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1984, (in Arabic); Ministry of Education, The System of Government in the Arab Republic of Egypt for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1982.

2). Ministry of Education, The Pupil in his local Environment for the First Grade of Preparatory Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo,1983, (in Arabic); Ministry of Education, Arab Republic of Egypt and the Contemporary World for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1982, (in Arabic).

are taught[1].

In comparison with civic education and history syllabuses, the geography syllabuses contain less reference to political education. Perhaps the most relevant course is in grade 9 where pupils learn the geography of Egypt and the Arab world. In spite of the relevance of some geography courses in formulating pupils' political attitudes, this study will concentrate on civic education and history courses in order to explore the different approaches to political education in Egyptian schools.

With respect to secondary education, the examination of the main topics of the two textbooks that are used for history and civic courses in secondary schools reveals that the civic course in grade 11 provides pupils with further details about political, social and economic values of society. These values are illustrated through a study of the characteristics of contemporary society and the attempts of the state to achieve them. The main topics in the course are as follows:

1 - Scientific and technological development as a main source in the realization of the social and economic development of the contemporary state.

2 - The investment of society's resources in accordance

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1). Ministry of Education, Ancient Egyptian Civilization and Arab World Civilization for the First Grade of Preparatory Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1982. (in Arabic); Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social Studies for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1982. (in Arabic).

with scientific progress in order to realize the development and increase the national income.

3 - Welfare and social justice.

4 - Democracy and the sovereignty of law.

5 - The belief in moral and social values such as religious values, freedom, justice, equality and peace.

6 - Peace and international co-operation.[1].

In grade 10, the history course, "The Foundation of the Modern World", includes the European renaissance, the development of national movements in Europe, European imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the movement of African and Asian nations for freedom and independence in the twentieth century.[2] Although the course does not focus on teaching the contemporary history of Egypt, certain political attitudes in the historical context of other countries are taught. From the course it is expected that pupils will develop an ability to understand the international political attitudes and problems. Moreover, the course also gives pupils a further perspective in understanding their own country's political and social values by a comparison with political and social values of other world countries. It seems, therefore, both civic education and history courses in secondary schools have a significant role in the

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1). Ministry of Education, Civic Education : Contemporary State for the Second Grade of Secondary Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1985, (in Arabic.)

2). Ministry of Education, The Foundations of Modern World for the First Grade of Secondary Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1984, (in Arabic).

provision of political education.

Given the central system of education in Egypt, the Ministry of Education has specifically determined the educational policy and the content of the school curriculum in accordance with the state's ideology and national interests. This resulted in a compulsory and uniform provision of political education for all pupils throughout the country. The adverse effect of central system has been in inhibiting the free development of political education. It is expected, however, that with the development of a more democratic system of government, educators and administrators can share in the development of political education and try to apply the democratic principles in the school curriculum. During the first years of the Revolution, it is clear that the shift in the time devoted to teaching political education was not only related to the content and aim of political education but also to ideological developments in the system.

Of all the stages of education, preparatory stage (grade 7 to 9) is regarded as the most important stage at which school children should receive a considerable amount of political education. Civic education and history are the most important means of teaching political education, although civic education occupies the most prominent role in formulating political attitudes and in informing pupils of the political concepts and values of the country. The role of history in most cases is complementary to the teaching of civic education. In comparison with civic education and history, geography courses have been

less relevant to the development of political education.

Political education in the Soviet Union mainly reflects state ideology and the policies of the Communist Party. Although the administration of the educational system and the implementation of plans are in the hands of an all-Union Ministry and Republican Ministers of Education, "the real control, from the high-level formulation of basic policy down to the individual schools, is in the hands of the Communist Party"(1) Educational policies, the planning of schools, the determination of curriculum content, and teaching methods do not come from administrators but from special committees of the Party. W. Shimoniak argues that :

> The party's recommendations have a decisive significance on the structure of educational apparatus and educational decisions. The primary unit of school administration is a branch of the Communist Party which exists in all schools... From the beginning, the party thought its duty was to interfere in educational matters by "suggesting" or directly issuing decrees and laws binding on all schools of the Soviet Union. They also stated that only the Communist Party has the right and the responsibility for educating a new generation indoctrinated in the spirit of communist ideas and the communist morality.(2)

These features of Soviet philosophy of administration reflect the belief that only the Communist Party is able to administrate and define the policies and content of the school curriculum. This belief is based on the assumption that the school curriculum is the most important instrument

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1). N. Grant, Society, Schools and Process in Eastern Europe, p.65; N. Grant, Soviet Education, p.33.

2). W. Shimoniak, Communist Educator, p.120.

to realize the Communist ideology, and to rear the new generations in the spirit of Communism. Certainly the Communist Party seeks to include the Soviet political principles and ideologies in most aspects of the school curriculum.

In 1958, for example, the Central Committee of the Communist Party supplemented the Soviet secondary school course on the USSR constitution with information on civics, labour, the collective form, the family and criminal law. The aim of these modifications was to develop the ability of students for an "active participation in the social and political life of the country".(1) Similarly, in 1960 an overt ideological course was introduced to provide students with an overview of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and to explore the "increasing significance of the activity of the party in building of communism."(2) Furthermore, one of the most obvious consequences of this system of administration is not only uniformity in the provision of political education over all Soviet schools but also uniformity in teaching methods. There are central guidelines for teaching methods and the work of teachers are carefully inspected by school directors and Ministry officials.(3)

In comparison with Egypt, it seems that there are

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1). Voprosy ideologicheskoi reboty (Problems of Ideological Work), Moscow, 1961, pp.198-199, Quoted by F.C.Barghoon, Politics in the USSR, p.103.

2). Ibid., P.103.

3). B. Williamson, Education, Social Structure and Development, p.106.

similarities in respect of determination and uniformity in the provision of school curricula. In both the Soviet Union and Egypt the Ministry of Education is responsible for drawing up educational policies and designing the content of the school curriculum and its political content in accordance with state needs and policies. Whilst in both countries the party in power controls educational policies, in the Soviet Union this, in effect, means that control over educational matters including political education is vested solely in the Communist Party. In contrast, in Egypt educational administrators exercise an influence on educational matters and content of political education and this influence has increased with the development of democratic parties.

In the Soviet Union, school curriculum represents one of the most important agencies of political socialization. The basic task of school is "to inculcate in the young generation a Marxist-Leninist world view"(1). In fact, the Marxist-Leninist view and communist outlook penetrate all school subjects. In the view of Soviet educators all school disciplines should contribute to moral education and political indoctrination. History and social studies play the most prominent role in bringing up young people in the spirit of Communist ideology.

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1). Quoted by C.D. Cary, 'Patterns of Emphasis Upon Marxist-Leninist Ideology', Comparative Education Review, Vol.20, No.1, February, 1976, p.12.

Furthermore, other subjects such as literature, the sciences, fine arts and even physical education also play a significant role in the teaching of communist belief system.(1)

It has always been recognised that history is the most significant instrument for the indoctrination of young people in the Soviet Union. History is studied as a separate subject from grade 4 to the final year of secondary schools. (2)

TABLE 9

Periods Per Week Devoted to the Subjects Most Responsible for Teaching Political Education.

Subjects	Grades										Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	
Soviet State & Law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Social Studies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Geography	-	-	-	-	2	3	2	2	2	-	11
History	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	3	4	3	18

Source: Byulleten' normativnykh aktov Ministerstva prosveshcheniya SSSR, 1980, No.12, pp.27-30 Quoted by J. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR', p.172.

Table (9) shows that comparison with other subjects associated with political learning, the periods devoted to history exceed other subjects. History courses include Russian and Soviet history, and world history with a focus on political and economic events from the perspective

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1). J. Zajda, Education in the USSR, p.131; N.Grant, Soviet Education, pp.27-28.

2). M. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR', p.158.

of Marxist-Leninist ideology and historical materialism.[1] Moreover, history courses aim to provide young people with an exposition of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, basic documents of the Communist Party and Soviet State, and latterly of Brezhnev.[2] History is considered important because :

> The formation of an idea about the historical process, that is, about the natural movement of a society toward the highest-economic structure, and the development of a deep conviction in the victory of communism in the entire world can be accomplished by means of the study not of individual historical periods but of the whole course of history from ancient times to the present. The content of history education in the school is arranged accordingly. (3)

It is believed that history instruction, in accordance with historical materialism, convinces schoolchildren that their society will be transformed from a socialist society into a communist one. Cary argues that this transformation "is possible but not automatic according to Marxism-Leninism".[4] School educators, therefore, "link the realization of a communist society in the Soviet Union to the labours of future full-fledged citizens...Instruction in history attempts to show schoolchildren that communism, even though possible according to Marxism-Leninism, must still be built, and it attempts to imbue them with a ... dedication to the task of the building of communism".[5] Clearly, Marxist-Leninist ideology

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1). Cary, 'Patterns of Emphasis', p.12.

2). J. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR', p.158.

3). E.I.Monoszon, ed., Formirovanie mirovozzreiia vos' miletnei shkoly v protsesse obucheniia i truda, (Moscow : Izdatel' stvo 'Prosveshchenie' , 1966), pp.187-188, Quoted by Cary, 'Patterns of Emphasis', pp.12-13.

4). Cary, 'Patterns of Emphasis', p.27.

5). Ibid., p.13.

and the movement towards a Communist society are the main motives behind the significance of teaching history. The possibility of the realization of a communist society according to communist ideology and historical materialism can not be accomplished automatically but by creating the devotion to Marxist-Leninist belief system. This can be mainly achieved through teaching history. Consequently, history is seen as the most important subject in the school curriculum in the realization of the communist society.

Evidence from political leaders, the Communist Party, and the Soviet educators indicate that the history curriculum has been extensively used to indoctrinate young people in the spirit of Communism and to prepare them to participate in and defend the Communist society. For example, the Party considers itself the guarantor of the correct interpretation of history. "It is for this reason that no one may teach history in the Soviet Union unless he is an accredited member of the Communist Party".(1) According to Marx"the distinguishing element in the education of the human being is the socio-productive activity of mankind, which alters the environment. The process proceeds historically...".(2) Marxist criteria of good education must essentially lead to revolutionary activity and conscious participation in the historical process. Further

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1). Edmund J. King, Communist Education, Methuen & Co.Ltd., London, 1963, pp.13-14.

2). Quoted Ibid., p.12.

emphasis has been paid by N. Khrushchev who observed that "Historians are dangerous people. They are capable of upsetting everything. They must be directed."(1)

The twenty fifth Congress of theCommunist Party emphasized that the main role of the Soviet school is to develop in school children the Marxist-Leninist world view and to imbue them with the devotion to ideas of Communism and love for active labour and society. "The documents of the twenty-fifth Congress of the CPSU are of inestimable value in raising the level of all education upbringing work in the school and in increasing the effectiveness of history teaching."(2) Moreover, A.Epishev, a leader in the Soviet Army and Navy, asserts that "history is a greater teacher, and it teaches many things. Its experience has convincingly shown that there is no force in the world that can destroy socialism or halt the development of socialist society."(3)

Furthermore, Soviet educators also stress the significance of history in the all school curriculum. The authors of new history textbooks, which were introduced at the end of the 1970s, state that :

> More than any other subject, history reveals concretely the most important principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the people as the creator of history and illuminates the role of the people in the development of production, the class struggle and the revolutionary movement,...History teaches

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1). Quoted by John Cannon, Teaching History at University, The Historical Association, London 1984, p.6.

2). A. Koloskov and P. Leibengrub, 'Increase the Effectiveness of History Teaching', Soviet Education, Vol.XIX, No.7, May,1977, p.71.

3). A.A. Epishev, 'Bringing up Patriots who are Committed to the Defence of the Fatherland', Soviet Education, Vol.XVIII, No.3. Jan.1976, p.25.

> the sharpness of class analysis of social processes; history helps to develop scientific ways for understanding the world.(1).

Other subjects are also significant in the provision of political education. The course entitled "The Fundamental Principles of the Soviet State and Law" is studied in grade 8 for one period per week. The purpose of this course is to emphasize the significant difference between the law and constitution of the Soviet Union and those of bourgeois systems. Pupils learn that whilst the purpose of law in bourgeois societies is to protect the property and the interest of the ruling classes, the purpose of Soviet law is to protect the common good and guarantee basic human rights. Furthermore, this course aims to create law-abiding habits among Soviet youth.(2)

The social studies course, which was introduced into the school curriculum in 1962, is taught only in the final year of secondary school (grade 10). Two periods per week are devoted to this course. The course emphasizes and expands the various aspects of political concepts gained from the history course. It also gives deeper understanding to the work of the Communist Party.(3) In contrast to the history, geography and literature courses, social studies explicitly examines philosophical and theoretical questions of the communist ideology. The main aims of the course are to "...arm students with the

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1). M. Kashin, 'Concerning the result of the Soviet school's adoption of the new curriculum', p.39.

2). J. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR', p.161.

3). Ibid., p.162.

knowledge of the basic laws of the development of nature and society, to teach them to link theory with practice of communist construction, and instill the fundamentals of dialectical thinking, and to inculcate firm convictions, will, and other qualities".(1) It seems that in the final years of the secondary school, the social study course attempts to promote and intensify the understanding and the conviction of communist ideological beliefs.

Geography courses are studied as a separate discipline from a child's fifth year at school, right through to his ninth year. The aim of the geography course is "to convince schoolchildren that the building of communism is both desirable and possible and that they should commit themselves to the effort"(2) In spite of the fact that history, geography and social studies all attempt to inculcate the Marxist-Leninist belief system in young people, an emphasis upon Marxist-Leninist ideology is more prominent in history than in geography text-books. In comparison with geography, history has at its core a central tenet of Marxist-Leninist ideology and historical materialism. Although there is an emphasis upon Marxist-Leninist ideology in both history and social studies, the latter appears to be a more overtly indoctrinating subject since it is based on a philosophical and theoretical treatment of the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

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1). Obshchestvovedeni : Posobie dlia uchitelei (Social Science : Guide for teacher) (Moscow ; Izdatel' stvo 'Prosveshchenie' , 1971), p.5. Quoted by Cary, 'Patterns of Emphasis', pp.13-14.

2). Cary, 'Patterns of Emphasis', p.13.

Nevertheless, history plays the key role in the process of indoctrination during the years of primary and secondary schooling. In comparison with history, the geography courses do not include clear ideological principles.

Although history, geography, social studies and the course on Soviet State and Law are the main means for introducing communist ideology into the school curriculum, other aspects of the school curriculum also contain a considerable amount of political indoctrination. "In an obvious way (for example) this is reflected in the heavy emphasis which Soviet schools place on science and technology with particular pride of place given to the study of mathematics"(2). For instance biology and natural science are exploited to destroy in the mind religious beliefs and to convince schoolchildren that man can dominate nature and his environment in terms of materialism.(3) According to the Communist view, these courses are essential in the realization of a communist outlook. Williamson argues that "science education is, like so much else in the Soviet Union, consistent with their view of what it is to construct socialism. But the same penetration is equally evident in the study of literature."(4)

A considerable amount of time is given to a study of

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1). Ibid., p.15, 23.

2). B. Williamson, Education, Social Structure and Development, p.105.

3). J. Morison,'The Political Content of Education in the USSR,' p.157.

4). B. Williamson, Education, Social Structure and Development, p.105.

Communist ideology in the literature courses in secondary school. For example, 30 per cent of the literature lessons in grade 4 are devoted to the Civil War, the Great Patriotic War, the October Revolution, and Lenin.(1) The aim of literature in secondary schools is to develop pupil's awareness of the Motherland and Communist Party. In grades 8 to 10 the main approach to literature is through communist ideals.(2) Similarly, the teaching of reading in primary schools "contributes to the ideological and political, the moral and aesthetic education of children. Reading articles and stories about the Motherland, about nature and people helps educate pupils in the spirit of collectivism, of love of their Mother-country and of friendship between the workers of all lands".(3) Furthermore, foreign language courses are also used to convince pupils of the sovereignty of the socialist system over the capitalist system.

There are some similarities between Egypt and the Soviet Union in the provision of political education. In both countries humanities are extensively used to initiate children in political ideology and the values system of their country. Although there are important variations in the contribution made by each subject, all these subjects play an integrated role in the imparting of political

1). Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No.3, 1976, pp.26-27, Quoted by J. Zajda, Education in the USSR, p.139.

2). Kurdiumova, T., 'Zadachi prepodavaniya literatury', Narodnoe Obrazovanie, No.9, 1973, p.50, Quoted by J. Zajda, Education in the USSR, p.140.

3). Programma vos' miletney shkoly, nachal' nye klassy, 1971, p.5, Quoted by F.A. O'Dell, Socialization through children's Literature, The Soviet Example, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1978, p.76.

ideology and the values system. For example, while in Egypt history courses in many cases are used to facilitate an understanding of which are taught in civic courses, social study courses in the Soviet Union emphasize and elucidate the ideological concepts derived from the teaching of history courses. Among other courses, however, civic education in Egypt and history in the Soviet Union are the most prominent subjects in teaching political education. It seems clear that courses such as "Soviet State and Law" for grade 8 of Soviet schools and the civic course entitled "The System of Government in the Arab Republic of Egypt" for grade 8 of Egyptian schools have similar purposes. Both courses attempt to create respect and obedience for the laws and constitution of the respective countries. In both countries the content of geography courses has less significance for political education.

In contrast to Egypt, the teaching of history in the Soviet Union is underpinned by essential ideological principles since it is based on the Marxist-Leninist view of historical materialism and the realization of a communist world. While Soviet schools use all other aspects of the school curriculum to explore and inculcate the communist ideology in schoolchildren, there is little evidence to suggest that few subjects such as literature are utilized as a means for political learning in Egyptian schools. In neither Egypt nor the Soviet Union is there a subject specifically designed for teaching political education as there is in England.

With respect to curricular policies in England,

although it "is desirable that objectives for subjects should be nationally agreed, it is also desirable to leave schools freedom to vary the stage at which pupils are introduced to or offered particular subjects... Schools' policies are affected by the wishes of pupils and their parents...What school can offer, will depend partly on LEA's curricular policy".(1) In contrast to Egypt and the Soviet Union, the more decentralized system of education in England provides opportunities not only to various bodies but also to pupils and parents to share the responsibility in formulating educational aims and curricular policies. Consequently, there are greater opportunities for the development of political education in English than in Egyptian and Soviet Union schools. To a large extent the decentralization of the educational system, especially in more democratic countries, minimizes and resists any governmental attempts or pressures to seek to propagate and support specific policies and attitudes.

By the late 1960s it seems that little overt political content had been introduced into the school curriculum in England. In the sixties a survey was undertaken by the National Committee for England and Wales to specify the extent of political instruction related to civic education in the school curriculum. The findings revealed that history and economic history syllabuses made the dominant

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1). Department of Education and Science, The Organisation and Content the 5-16 Curriculum : A Note by the Department of Education and Science and Welsh Office, September, 1984, pp.3-4.

contribution to civic education for fourteen-year-olds to eighteen-year-old pupils. However, the Committee concluded that "civic education is a 'by-product' of formal education rather than a major component".(1) These findings are confirmed by other research. For example, Tapper argues that direct political education in British schools is limited; however, various subjects have a strong political indication(2). Moreover, Heater found while British constitution and civics were common subjects in the CSE and GCE, history is used for the teaching of political education.(3)

On the basis of these findings it could be argued that political education in England was limited in provision and taught through traditional subjects such as history and social studies. Nevertheless, perhaps its impact on shaping the political orientation of future citizens should not be underestimated. For example, Gardner states "the view that British schools are not at all directly concerned with political education seems superficial; conscious programmes for the development of citizens are not present, of course, but considerable knowledge about politics is dispensed".(4) In response to recent developments, from the middle of the 1970s, some English schools have taken an active and conscious

1). Goldsmith College Curriculum Laboratory, 'Report of the National Committee for England and Wales', Mimeographed, March 1967, Quoted by W. Gardner, 'Political Socialization', p.41.

2). E.R.Tapper, Political Education and Stability, p.49.

3). D. Heater, 'Political Studies in the School : Some Problems', in B.Crick and D.Heater, Essays on Political Education, p.21.

4). W. Gardner, 'Political Socialization', p.41.

interest in providing their pupils with some sort of political education either directly through specifically designed courses or indirectly through the traditional subjects.

In 1977, the Department of Education and Science issued a Circular[1] to LEA's to collect information about "their policies and practices in curricular matters". The DES asked "What steps have the authority taken to help schools promote the development in their pupils of a basic understanding of contemporary economic, social and political life?". The summary of responses revealed that many LEA's had taken an active interest in the field of political education. Three-fifths of the LEA's said that the issues underlying the question "could largely be incorporated into more or less traditional subjects (such as history, geography and social studies) of the secondary curriculum". A quarter of the LEA's were encouraging the introduction of political education through specially designed courses to cover most aspects of the question. However, several authorities "made particular mention of political education, usually expressing an awareness of the need for caution in introducing this as a separate subject". Less than one-tenth of the LEA's revealed that they had appointed an advisor with specific responsibility for all or part of the area included in the question. Over a quarter of the LEA's had prepared discussion papers

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1). Department of Education and Science, Local Authority Arrangements for the School Curriculum : Report on the Circular 41/77 Review, HMSO, London, 1979, pp.160-162.

on contemporary issues in politics and economics. Furthermore, a quarter of the authorities encouraged schools to invite people from industry and the unions to talk with pupils about contemporary issues.

It is quite clear that this survey suggests that there is a variety of the provision of political education in the school curriculum. Whilst in some instances political education is introduced directly through specific courses, it would seem that the traditional subjects still play a significant part in teaching political education. Parallel findings were made by the Curriculum Review Unit in a survey conducted in 1981. The survey was based on information collected from a random sample 10 per cent of all maintained secondary school in each LEA in England and Wales.

The survey's findings, indicate that English schools are generally introducing political education within the formal curriculum in three distinct ways : (1)
First, 22 per cent of the schools provided courses exclusively concerned with the aims of political education (Exclusive Provision). Some exclusive courses for sixth forms focused on current affairs, while the provision for fourth and fifth years of secondary school mainly dealt with "civics". Some of the courses were entitled 'political education', and 'community politics'. The survey analysed three non-examined exclusive courses and found that they were mainly concerned with the transmission of political

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1). R. Stradling and M. Noctor, 'The Provision of Political Education in Schools : A National Survey', Curriculum Review Unit, 1981, TS.

knowledge. However, one of the three courses which was offered for fourth and fifth year pupils was mainly based on the working paper of the Hansard Society's programme for political education. The aim of this course was "the development of the pupils' political literacy". Although there was little evidence that the course attempted to develop skills in political participation, the course was concerned with the development of the pupils' awareness of political issues and an understanding of politics. In general, however, the survey seems to indicate that the exclusive courses are attempting to make use of the new approaches to political education. Secondly, 30 per cent of the schools provided self-contained units or modules solely concerned with political education within a programme which had a broader educational aim and content (Modular Provision). In general, the main aim of the modular courses was to provide an introduction to the study of national institution. Courses for fourth and fifth year pupils concentrated on party politics, current political issues, and the work of pressure groups. In both exclusive and modular courses, there was little evidence that such topics as civic rights and obligations were covered. Thirdly, 71 per cent of the schools made 'Indirect Provision' with political education integrated with the existing aims and content of other subjects. (1)

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1). It should be noted that the total of schools exceed 100 per cent because some schools offered more than one type of provision.

However, the findings indicated that 21 per cent of the schools made no provision for political education. A number of head teachers said that the lack of provision was temporary and that they would introduce political education within the curriculum in the near future. Nevertheless, a significant indication of the survey is that since 1977 the number of schools offering exclusively political courses have doubled. (1) According to these findings the most common provision for political education is through the existing subjects of history and social studies (71 per cent), while more than half of the schools now provide political education directly either through exclusive courses (22 per cent) or modules (30 per cent).

The survey reveals that Historians and History Departments are the most prominent in teaching and providing schools with political education. In relation to exclusive courses History Departments introduce 40 per cent of the courses, with only 13 per cent and 20 per cent being introduced by Departments of Humanities, and Economics and Politics respectively. Where an indirect provision obtains several subjects such as history, social studies, geography, humanities, English and personal and social development are usually involved. Nevertheless, once again history is the most frequent subject used in the indirect provision of political education. It is only in modular courses that the

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1). R. Stradling and M. Noctor, 'The Provision of Political Education in Schools', p.6,10.

provision made by social studies (20 per cent) and humanities (19 per cent) exceeds the provision made by history. Even so, History Departments still provided 15 per cent of modular courses with Economics and Politics Departments providing 13 per cent. (1)

These findings indicate that political education could be provided through a variety of related subjects. Despite the belief that political education should be developed through exclusive specific courses, history and other subjects still play a significant part in providing political education. It could be argued, therefore, that the direct teaching of political education either through exclusive or module courses is not the only way to successfully promote the teaching of political education.

It would seem that there is some evidence to support this contention. The national survey in England indicated that all approaches to teaching political education have their advantages and disadvantages. In respect of the exclusive provision the survey revealed that although there was an increasing trend towards compulsory courses, most of the courses tended to be optional because of the over-crowded school timetables (2). The ILEA said "Political education does not imply that a new subject area has to be introduced into an already crowded secondary school curriculum". (3) Moreover, exclusive

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1). Ibid., pp.9-18.

2). Ibid., p.13.

3). ILEA, History and Social Sciences at Secondary Level : History,p.68.

courses seem to be boring and unreal, "without the historical context it can be seen as an analytical subject divorced from reality of time and place".[1] However, exclusive courses do provide more opportunities to deal with basic concepts and ideas, realities of modern politics, and political affairs.

Most of the problems facing the exclusive provision are not to be found in an indirect provision of political education. Over three-fifths of teachers' responses recorded their preference for the indirect provision in educational terms and 38 per cent preferred this approach because it placed politics into a socio-historical context.[2] However, the indirect approach is often inadequate to develop the new approaches to political education.

It seems clear that all the above approaches to teaching political education have their advantages and defects. As it has already been noted, the Hansard Society and Politics Association (1978) pay considerable attention to the approaches of political literacy in the school curriculum either through direct (exclusive) courses or other subjects, although they believe that exclusive courses are more effective. However, the national survey suggests that considerable defects have resulted from teaching exclusive courses and the survey reveals some of the advantages in teaching political education in a socio-historical context.

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1). Stradling and Noctor, P.12-13.

2). Ibid., P.21.

It is not surprising, therefore, in a subsequent statement on the best place for political education in the school curriculum, the Politics Association states:

> A substantial body of opinion both within and outside the Politics Association takes the view that, on balance, political education should form part of a broader approach to the study of man in society and is best located within the traditions and framework of the humanities and Social Sciences. It recognises that social, economic and political concepts are inter-related and that there are considerable advantages in the development of teaching strategies which will enable each of these fields of study to inform and enliven the other. It is equally important, however, that political education is not merged into a wider programme of inter-disciplinary or integrated' study to the extent that it loses its identity. (1)

This approach of teaching political education within the framework of social sciences has been supported by Harber and Brennan[2]. Whilst opposed to the introduction of political education as a separate subject, the ILEA argues that the existing courses on history and social sciences neglect the discussion of issues which are significant to pupils. Therefore, ILEA advocates that substantial foundations for political education should be provided in teaching history and social sciences through secondary schools' pupils. This would include developing an understanding of real issues, a knowledge of the actions of groups involved in political decision-making, and an understanding of the role and influence of local and central government within society.[3]

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1). T. Brennan, 'Political Education and 'A Framework for the School Curriculum' ', Documents of the Political Education Research Unit, Department of Education, University of York, 1980, T S., p.5.

2). Clive Harber, 'Political Education and Social Studies in the 14-16 Core Curriculum', Teaching Politics, Vol.10, No.2, 1981, pp.123 - 129; T. Brennan, 'Politics in Schools : From Socialization to Education', in Barry Dufour (ed.), New Movements in the Social Sciences and Humanities, Maurice Temple Smith, London, 1982, p.142.

3). ILEA, History and Social Sciences, p.68.

Essentially, these foundations would develop the ability of pupils to take an active part in and influence political life.

There are significant variations in the time devoted to political education in schools in England. The national survey, for example, revealed a substantial variation in the hours per week devoted to political education. Some of non-examined exclusive courses last for less than one year and others are taught over two years. 29 per cent of non-examined exclusive courses are timetabled for less than two hours per week and 22 per cent of courses for "A" level are timetabled for five or more hours. In general, the average time spent per week on exclusive courses is 2.86 hours[1]. Similarly, in modular courses there is also a variation in time allocated to the teaching of political education. Whilst the average length of these courses is 12 weeks, in some schools they last no more than 3 to 4 weeks. Furthermore, only 36 per cent of the schools devote more than two hours per week to such courses and the average of hours is 1.93 per week.[2]. In respect of indirect provision there is also a large variation in the time allocated to teaching of the humanities such as history, geography and other courses.[3]

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1). Stradling and Noctor, p.11.

2). Ibid., p.13.

3). Department of Education and Science, Curriculum 11-16 : A Review of Progress, HMSO, London, 1981, p.44.

The national survey also revealed that two-thirds of exclusive courses could be taken either as optional or examined courses. However, since 1977 there has been a gradual increase in the provision of compulsory courses. Moreover, teachers of non-examined compulsory courses said if these courses were examined "students are motivated to learn about politics"(1) Over three-quarters of modular courses are non-examined and 43 per cent are compulsory. Between 1977 and 1980 there has been an increase in the number of schools providing non-examined modular courses on a compulsory basis. (2) Most of the indirect courses are examined (3) and there was a considerable interest that they should be made compulsory. Recently the Department of Education and Science has shown a great interest in the teaching of humanities which makes indirect provision for an integrated approach to political education. In 1984 the DES recommended :

> It is government policy that the 11-16 curriculum for all pupils...should contain...a worthwhile offering of humanities...Some pupils are bound to devote less time to the humanities (giving that term a broad meaning) than others. During the five secondary years, every pupil should study, on a worthwhile scale, history, geography and, under whatever guise (which may in some cases be history or geography) the principles underlying a free society and some basic economic awareness. (4)

It seems, then, that there is a tendency for modular courses to be non-examinable, whilst exclusive and

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1). Stradling and Noctor, pp.8-13.

2). Ibid., p.14.

3). Ibid., p.20.

4). Department of Education and Science, The Organisation and Content of the 5-16 Curriculum, p. 6,9.

indirect courses are usually examined. However, there is a significant trend toward making all types of course compulsory.

All three countries are aware of the importance of political education and its relationships to political values held by their societies. There are, however, differences in time allocated to teaching political education between the countries. The available information suggests that while there are variations in the time devoted to the teaching of political education in English schools, there is a great uniformity in the time devoted to teaching the subjects related to political education for all pupils in Egypt and the Soviet Union. The uniformity in compulsory subjects and the time devoted to them in Egypt and the Soviet Union reflect the deliberate attempts to ensure all pupils receive the same programme of political education.

In England there has been a remarkable increase in time allocated to the teaching of political education mainly through direct provision. There would also seem to be a growing interest in making political education a part of compulsory provision of education whether through direct or indirect provision. Consequently, it would seem that in England a similar significance is being given to political education as has been the case in Egypt and the Soviet Union. However, the approach to teaching political education in England has been tentative and influenced by recent thinking of political and the democratic values held in the country.

In Egypt, civic education and social studies are used

as the main approach for the introduction of political education in the school curriculum. In comparison to history and geography, civic education occupies a prominent role in teaching pupils political knowledge and the relevant political and social attitudes. Apart from the established approaches to political learning which support the relevant attitudes of the system, there is some evidence to suggest that civic education has become more consistent with the approaches of political education. In other words civic education is becoming more concerned with the development of schoolchildren's ability to handle social and political issues and to participate in political life. Whilst geography courses have lesser importance in the teaching of political education, history courses make a significant contribution to the acquisition of political knowledge and attitudes in historical context. Thus they have complemented civic courses in in providing justifications for adopted political attitudes and have facilitated an understanding of the present conditions.

It could be argued that the teaching of political education in Egyptian schools through history and civic is consistent with recently advocated views on the best approach to the teaching of political education. It would seem that, from recent experience from England, that political education should not be isolated from the broad meaning of social studies. However, political education should include the development of children's understanding of political knowledge and institutions, their political attitudes, their skills in political

participation, and their ability to handle political issues which arise from every day life.

In all three countries the traditional school subjects play an important role in teaching about politics and civics. However, there are significant differences in purposes and the political and educational connotations given to subjects between the Soviet Union on the one hand and Egypt and England on the other. In the Soviet Union, history is seen in ideological terms and the significance of history in inculcating political concepts has been reinforced by the belief that historical materialism is the main factor behind the transformation to a communist society. Consequently, history represents the most important subject in the teaching of political education and the realization of Communist ideology. In England and Egypt, however, the use of teaching history and other social studies as means of teaching political education is based on education criteria.

CHAPTER EIGHT

APPROACHES TO POLITICAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

Political Socialization.

From the beginning of the 1952 Revolution until the adoption of the multi-party system, the approaches to political education in Egypt have been governed by the state policy. These approaches have mainly focused on supporting the new political regime and loyalty to the country and its leaders. In other words, political education has tended to be consistent with the concepts of political socialization. With recent developments in democracy and the adoption of the multi-party system, there is evidence to suggest that political education is becoming distinct from the concept of political socialization. Nevertheless, loyalty to the country and support for the ideology of the system remain prominent features of political education at the present.

During the first years of the Revolution, syllabuses of all educational stages focused on inculcating feelings of loyalty to the country and to the policy of the new system. An analysis of the aims of courses in social

studies and civics [1] indicates that political indoctrination was a prime objective of these courses. These courses attempted to inculcate in pupils three aspects of loyalty:-

First : loyalty to the country and the ideology of the new political system based on socialist principles, concepts of social justice, and equality of opportunities. Furthermore, loyalty entailed an acceptance that the policies of the state and its political structure were just and right.

Secondly: loyalty to the Arab nationalism and the assertion that it was necessary to secure Arab unity.

Thirdly: hostility towards imperialism, capitalism, Zionism and all kinds of exploitation.

As regards the first aspect, the aims of social studies in primary education were to develop the spirit of dignity and loyalty to the country. On the issue of the National Charter in 1962, which mainly emphasized the socialist attitudes of the State, the syllabuses were modified in line with the principles of the National Charter. Schools concentrated on developing a feeling of loyalty, since young children readily acquire feelings of loyalty towards their leaders. As has been observed children were receiving a certain amount of political indoctrination.

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1). For Example, Ministry of Education, Unified Curriculum for the Primary Stage; Ministry of Education, Aims of Preparatory Education; Ministry of Education, Modified Curriculum for the Preparatory Stage; Ministry of Education,Unified Curriculum for the Secondary Stage (1961-62); Ministry of Education, Modified Curriculum for the General Secondary Stage.

> Usually when entering the classroom, the teacher asked the students to stand. Rising to their feet they would shout "Nasser" or "freedom" or perhaps "independence", and when asked to sit down they again would shout , usually a word symbolizing some aspect of the regime's ideology....
> The children would repeat rhythmically at morning assembly,Nasser, Nasser, or shout out G-A-M-A-L Gamal!A song popular among elementary students was "Nasser,all of us love you, we will remain by your side, Nasser, leader of all, oh Nasser".(1)

In preparatory and secondary education, social studies and civic education concentrated on the development of the national spirit through bringing out the economic and social achievements of the Revolution. As in primary education, social studies and civics in preparatory and secondary education tried to develop the beliefs of young people in the concept of social justice and the principles on which the co-operative socialist society was based. Moreover, these subjects were concerned with teaching the concepts of the ASU; its organization and role in the process of constructing a democratic socialist society. Furthermore, they were concerned with imparting the principles of the National Charter in respect of the adopted socialist attitude.

It could be argued that loyalty to the country was mainly intended to support the political ideology of the new system and loyalty to its leaders. The school curriculum attempted to instruct pupils in the main principles of socialism and social justice, and convince

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1). D. Hopwood, Egypt:Politics and Society 1945-1981, p.137.

them of the correctness of the socialist application and the policy of the government and to glorify the one party system. Although it seems that some attention was devoted to the development of democratic attitudes, nevertheless the belief in the one party system, the acceptance of the government policies, and the concentration on the socialist attitudes resulted in a failure of syllabuses to develop the pupils' ability to discuss and practise democracy.

For example, the 'Arab Society"[1] course, which was introduced into secondary schools, concentrated on the inculcation of socialist principles in the students to convince them of the necessity of the socialist solution. The course focused on teaching the values of the one party system, glorifying the state policy, and emphasizing its achievements. The course, however, included very little discussion of social and political problems. Whilst the present curriculum still places an emphasis on loyalty to the country, there are some differences in approaches due to development in democratic practices and the adoption of the multi-party system.

The term loyalty was not confined merely to Egypt and its political system, but extended to cover loyalty to the whole Arab community. The aim was to support the idea of Arab nationalism and to achieve Arab unity as well as to support the movement for liberation in Arab countries.

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1). Ministry of Education, Modified Curriculum for the General Secondary Stage.

This was due to the fact that Egypt was enthusiastic to sustain Arab countries and the idea of the Arab unity particularly after establishing unity with Syria. For instance, syllabuses in the preparatory stage aimed to enlighten the pupils with the ingredients of Arab nationalism and the role of President Nasser in propagating this concept in the Arab world.(1) Similarly social studies at the secondary stage attempted to inculcate in pupils commitment to unity between Egypt and Syria and to develop the students' pride in their Arab nationalism and the past glories of the Arab world.(2)

Moreover, the school curriculum sought to concentrate only on the successful aspects of Arab history and, therefore, it was historical propaganda. For example, in regard to the course entitled Arab Society "when asked why the historical chapters entirely ignored four centuries of Ottoman rule in the Arab East, the co-author of one of the texts disarmingly explained that the Ottoman Age was a dark period in Arab history and that he and his colleagues decided to treat only the brighter periods"(3).

The third aspect of loyalty is associated with the two previous concepts. When the Revolution broke out it aimed to abolish capitalism, achieve independence, and resist imperialism. Furthermore, in 1948 the first of a

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1). Ministry of Education, Aims of Preparatory Education, pp.16-17.

2). Ministry of Education, Unified Curriculum for the Secondary Stage (1961-62), p.97.

3). M. Kerr, 'Egypt', in J.S. Coleman (ed.), Education and Political Development, p.182.

series of wars with Israel had begun. Therefore, courses in social studies and civics at all stages of education tended to instil students with hostility towards feudalism, capitalism, imperialism, and Zionism.

An examination of the contents of the present textbooks used in civic and social studies courses seems to indicate that there is a considerable emphasis given to loyalty to country, its political system, and the loyalty to Arab nationalism.

In the third grade of primary schools, a child acquires certain political attitudes and loyalty to the country and its political system in an indirect way. Moreover, the inculcation of feelings of loyalty start in most cases with non-political experiences which have laten political consequences. In social studies a child acquires feelings of loyalty towards his family and school by learning simple phrases indicating that the family and school exist to serve him and therefore he must like them and co-operate with them. Love and obedience to the family and school are based on social and ethical justifications. For example, the child loves his parents since they are looking after him and trying to secure his happiness. The child learns "I love and respect my mother because she loves me and co-operates with my father in making me happy". Similarly, as a justification for obedience and respect for the teacher a child learns "I respect and obey my teacher because he teaches me and goes with us on trips and visits with us to the fields, farms and factories"[1]. A child acquires a spirit of

1). Ministry of Education, Social Studies for the Third Grade of Primary Education, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1982, (in Arabic.)

co-operation through being encouraged to take part in decorating the classroom, keeping the school tidy, and participating in school activities.

Social studies in grade three are not merely confined to the development of the loyalty to the family and school. Many phrases are also learnt by the child in order to develop his loyalty to the government. The government is represented as a major institution which provides services for the child's family and school. Furthermore, a child also acquires positive attitudes towards the Revolution and its achievements. For example, a child learns that the government of the revolution encouraged citizens to build healthy houses by giving them money. Children also learn to obey the orders of policemen and the instructions of traffic lights. Thus,the social studies course in the third grade focuses on imparting a general predisposition towards the concept of loyalty and acquaints children with the duties of obedience and co-operation towards their immediate environment.

In the fourth grade attitudes towards loyalty and duty to local government are acquired.(1) In this grade the children learn about the social and political institutions of local government and their role in society.

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1). Ministry of Education, Social Studies for the Fourth Grade of Primary Education, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1982, (in Arabic).

It seems, therefore, that political learning is more direct than in the previous grade. In the fifth grade the civics course attempts to acquaint children with some of the social and political values of their society.(1) The main aim of this course is to create solidarity and loyalty to the country and its values as set out in state documents. For example, a child learns that "national unity" means that both Moslems and Christians took part in the revolution of 1919 and that they both supported claims for Egyptian independence. Both also participated in the October War in 1973. Furthermore, children learn that "social peace" means that the family and individuals live in peace, the father will not be dismissed from his work without reason, and every individual has the right to express freely his views. The civic course also emphasizes that the economic policy of the state is based on counterbalancing both the private and public sectors, and encouraging an open economic policy. It seems clear that the intentions of this course are to inculcate children with many of the social and political values of the system, to create solidarity within society, and to foster loyalty to the country and its political regime.

History and civic education in the sixth grade(2),

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1). Ministry of Education, Civic Education for the Fifth Grade of Primary Schools

2). Ministry of Education, Modern History of Egypt for the Sixth Grade of Primary Schools.

consolidate and re-emphasize the concept of loyalty to the country and its political system. In this grade children study the modern history of Egypt from the Ottoman invasion until the present time with a focus on government's achievements in overcoming social and economic problems. Moreover, the efforts of the corrective Revolution in 1971, the victories of the October War in 1973, and the state's efforts to achieve peace are emphasized. Although children discuss some of society's failures, this is used as a mean to develop loyalty to the existing regime and to present its achievements. For example, children learn that the reason for the failure of the Orabi revolution in 1882 was the system of dictatorship which ruled Egypt before the Revolution of 1952.

At the end of each chapter of the textbook there is a summary of the most important points under the heading of "remember". The aim of the summaries is to impress on children the historical patriotism of the Egyptian people, government's achievements, and the social and political values of the system. For example, the summaries include such phrases as "remember that your grandfather revolted against the oppression of the Ottomans amd Mamelukes.... remember my son that your Egyptian grandfathers had revolted against the French occupation and they killed many of the French....remember that your grandfathers were able to stop the British invasion from Alexandria, hence, Britain tried to invade Egypt from the area of the Suez canal". Similarly, in regard to the existing political system the summaries include "remember my son that the government

of revolution managed to make political organization based on the alliance of the working forces of the people. It has recently allowed political parties to begin their work and to gather the people in order to represent them politically under the principles of social peace and national unity, and democratic socialism".(1)

Thus, it would seem that in effect much of the political education in primary schools is political socialization. The courses in social studies and civics attempt to indoctrinate children in feelings of loyalty towards the country and its political regime. It is also clear that these courses attempt to shape children's attitudes in relation to the accepted duties of respect, and obedience to authority and social values in society.

The aim of inculcating loyalty to the country is not only restricted to social studies but it is also present in the teaching of some other subjects. For example, children learn many poems and stories of patriotism in the October War in the Arabic and reading textbooks. In the fourth grade children learn "Egypt is my country...I live in it, I love it and I like to live in a happy country...the Arab world is big and its land is my land...My Arab grandfathers were courageous, they had a great history and glorious past known to all the world".(2)

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1). Ibid.

2). Ministry of Education, Reading and Songs for the Fourth Grade of Primary Education, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1983, p.36, 162, (in Arabic).

In children's textbooks many of the political figures are symbolized to develop patriotic feelings towards the country by showing children, for example, pictures of the October War and the battlefield, the Egyptian flag, and of the Egyptian and Arab leaders.

The process of political socialization continues in the preparatory school where the courses include in depth knowledge about the political institutions on both the nationl and the international level. Despite the fact that pupils are provided with some opportunities to practise the democratic life and to become acquainted with some of society's problems, the focus of the school curriculum continues to emphasize loyalty to the country and the policies and achievements of the political regime.

In the first year of the preparatory school (grade 7) the civics course[1] includes some problems of society such as, population control, the high cost of housing, consumption, cleaning, traffic congestion in the means of transportations, and illiteracy. However, the course focuses on the duties of individuals and the efforts of the government in resolving these problems, and especially on the relationship between rights and duties. In presenting the theoretical side of a problem, students are required to learn some of the texts of the constitution so as to acquire a knowledge of the political and economic

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1). Ministry of Education, The Pupil in his Local Environment.

concepts of the state and a predisposition to obey its regulations. For example, when pupils examine the factors that have led to improvements in society they are also required to learn the section of the constitution which states that : "Payment of taxes and public imposts is a duty, in accordance with the law...Public ownership shall have its sanctity, and its protection and consolidation is the duty of every citizen in accordance with the law, as it is considered the mainstay of the strength of the homeland, a basis for the socialist system and a source of prosperity of the people".(1)

Moreover, pupils learn that it is essential that they should fulfil their duties in order to secure and maintain the democratic socialist ideology, "citizens in the Arab Republic of Egypt must realize that the democratic socialist society will not be able to revive and continue unless each individual in it performs his duty".(2) Pupils also learn that the moral values of the family, i.e. love, loyalty, pride in affiliation and sacrifice should be applied to their relationship with the state.

Political education in preparatory schools covers a study of local, national and international political institutions. In the seventh grade, pupils learn about some of the political institutions which exist in the local environment

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1). Ibid., pp.53-54

2). Ibid., p.47.

and in the civics course in the following year they learn about the system of national government[1]. The civics course in the eighth grade deals with the revolutions of 1952 and 1971, the democratic socialist attitude, the state constitution, the political institutions, and the various authorities of the state. By examining the content of this course which focuses on justifications that led to the adoption of democratic socialism, it is clear that the main aim is to develop in pupils loyalty to the country and a favourable political attitude towards democratic socialism. Moreover, the course presents the knowledge about the constitution and political institutions and how they work in a descriptive rather than an analytical way. The course also concentrates on the achievements of the government and emphasizes the duties and rights of individuals. However, democratic practices, sovereignty of law, the freedoms of individuals, and the establishment of political parties are also emphasized. The textbook also includes quotations from the constitution which emphasize these principles.

The civics course for the ninth grade[2] concentrates on the study of some political institutions both in the Arab World (for example the Arab League) and at the world level (for example the United Nations). The main

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1). Ministry of Education, The System of Government in the Arab Republic of Egypt.

2). Ministry of Education, Arab Republic of Egypt and the Contemporary World.

purpose of the course is to develop loyalty to Egypt and to the Arab world. For instance pupils learn the concept of Arab nationalism and its ingredients, aspects of Arab unity, the Arab League and its role in strengthening the ties between the Arab people and supporting the movements of liberation in the Arab countries, and the efforts of Egypt in supporting peace. However, there is little discussion of the problems which have been encountered in trying to secure Arab unity, for example objections to peace treaty which was signed by Egypt and Israel and the transference of the Arab League from Cairo to Tunisia (March,1979).

Similarly, the history course in preparatory education also reinforces loyalty towards the country and its political regime. This is seen through the various courses which cover a continuum of Egyptian history starting with the ancient history of Egypt and ending with the modern period. These courses concentrate on the cultural, political and social aspects of the Egyptian society. In grade nine the history course[1] attempts to promote loyalty to the country through pride in the leaders of the national movement in Egypt and an appreciation of their efforts in trying to improve the social and political life of the country. The course also engenders negative attitudes towards imperialism.

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1). Ministry of Education, Modern and Contemporary History of Egypt.

Moreover, the course focuses on the successful achievements of the Revolution of 1952 in order to constitute a hostile attitude towards dictatorship and a positive attitude towards the Revolution and democracy.

The main approach to political education in the preparatory stage (grades 7-9) is to promote loyalty to the country and the prevalent political attitudes. Nevertheless, to some extent, opportunites are provided for the development of the democratic attitudes and the ability of pupils to participate in social and political life. In the secondary school perhaps the history course for the first year (grade 10) is the main course in which loyalty to the country predominates. However, the course is not merely confined to supporting loyalty to the system and Arab nationalism or providing pupils with political knowledge and attitudes towards the system. The course also includes the development of political and social attitudes in other countries of the world. This policy is consistent with the idea that loyalty to a country and system are established during the early years of schooling while the secondary school pupils need to develop their understanding and knowledge of other countries of the world.

Approximately 50 per cent of the content of the grade 10 history course deals with the national revolutions to secure liberation and independence from dictatorships, for example, the English Revolution in 1688, the French Revolution in 1789, and the development of the nationalist movement in Europe and some other countries. Only 8 per cent of the total content of the

course is devoted to the revolutions in Arab countries and Egypt.(1) Moreover, this part of the course represents the only political content in grade 10 since no course in civics is provided.

Furthermore, the course tends to approach the concept of loyalty to the country in a more objective way. Pupils are still expected to develop a spirit of pride in the Arab culture and hostility towards imperialism. Nevertheless, they also learn that the Arab world entered the modern ages in a state of stagnation and underdevelopment because of the political disagreements among its rulers and the effects of the Ottoman occupation which attempted to isolate the Arab countries. Moreover, pupils learn about the factors which have led to the development of modern societies in both the East and West.(2)

One of the purposes of the strong emphasis on inculcating feelings of patriotism is to develop in children a predisposition to defend their motherland and to accept national service in the army. This is due to the historical experiences of Egypt against foreign occupation and the former wars between Egypt and Israel rather than support for the system and political ideologies. In other words schools attempt to

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1). Ministry of Education, The Foundations of the Modern World.

2). Ibid., p.13, 19.

promote students' attitudes and prepare them for their national duty in the army to defend the motherland from enemy attacks.

In October 1956 a combined French, Israeli and British force attacked Egypt. Immediately a Military Education course was introduced which occupied two periods a week in all grades of secondary schools.(1) The main aim of the course was to provide pupils with a considerable amount of military training to enable them to defend their country and to participate in the battle alongside the army if required. Perhaps, as a result of an increase in the power of the Egyptian army and the recent agreed peace treaty between Egypt and Israel the need for military training for young people has decreased. Since 1970 the military training element has decreased(2) and students are now receiving some knowledge of military tactics and fighting skills. Moreover, a specific course entitled "Bright Aspects from the Military and Patriotic History of Egypt"(3) is taught to promote pride in its heroes and clarify the necessity of the army to defend the country and keep the peace. For example, students learn that the October victory in 1973 war led to the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.

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1). Ministry of Education, The 211 Education Act in 1953 and Supplementary Laws, Dar El-Tebaha, Cairo, n.d. p.67. (in Arabic).

2). Ministry of Education, Modified Curriculum for the General Secondary Stage, p.293.

3). Ministry of Education, Bright Aspects from the Military and Patriotic History of Egypt for the Secondary Education, Central Agency for University and Schools Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1984, (in Arabic).

Primary school children acquire strong feelings towards the protection of their country. For example, by the age of 11 the civics course provides children with information about the armed forces and their structure with an emphasis on the defensive role of the army. Moreover, the course attempts to develop in children a spirit of nationalism and a desire to defend the motherland. For instance, children learn "All of us love our country, protect and defend it against our enemy. Defending the country is a duty of all Egyptians. Armed forces are always on alert at the time of peace to protect our land and our country. At the time of war armed forces stand up in the battlefield to defend our land, our freedom, our independence and our dignity." The textbook stimulates children and encourages them to join the army when they become adults. "By the efforts you spend in study and by your success you will be able to join the Naval College in order to become an officer in the Navy Forces".(1) Similar encouragements are repeated in respect of other military colleges. Children also acquire responsible attitudes towards keeping military secrets.

Thus the school curriculum emphasizes the duty of young people to defend their motherland in times of war. However, the school curriculum at all stages also emphasizes the necessity of living in peace at both

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1). Ministry of Education, Civic Education for the Fifth Grade of Primary Schools, p.17.30.

national and international levels. It also attempts to promote in students the love of peace and to convince them of the importance of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. For example, the aim of social studies in preparatory education is "to develop the love of justice, the desire of peace, and the right of all nations in freedom, independence and progress".(1) Many lessons of history and civics(2) explain in some detail the efforts exerted to achieve peace and cover the October War (1973), the peace initiatives (1977), the Camp David agreement (1978), and the peace treaty (1979). Moreover, the school curriculum informs pupils that the previous wars between Egypt and Israel had resulted in the loss of many men and women and hindered the development of society. Furthermore, the United Nations efforts to keep world peace, to secure disarmament, and to promote human rights are emphasized.

Since the beginning of the 1952 Revolution in Egypt loyalty to the country, acceptance of the new political regime and support for its leaders have been emphasized in the school curriculum. Moreover, to a large extent, the school curriculum attempted to inculcate in school children positive feelings towards Arab countries

1). Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social Studies for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools, p.15.

2). Ministry of Education, Modern History of Egypt for the Sixth Grade of Primary Schools, pp.161-166; Ministry of Education, The System of Government in the Arab Republic of Egypt for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools, pp.29-30; Ministry of Education, Civic Education:Contemporary State for the Second Grade of Secondary Schools, pp.127-144.

and the concepts of unity and Arab nationalism. Recent developments in the political ideology which have attempted to develop democracy further through the establishment of political parties has positively affected the nature of political education in the school curriculum. However, the school curriculum still emphasizes the concept of political socialization in order to support loyalty to the country and its political system.

The primary stage provides children with a considerable amount of political socialization directly and indirectly. Children not only acquire positive feelings towards the country and its political system but they also learn to obey the orders of authorities and the norms of society. There is clear evidence to suggest that children are expected to acquire some of society's values such as national unity and social peace with the aim of creating solidarity within society. Furthermore, children are provided with political knowledge about local government.

In the preparatory stage although there are some indications that pupils discuss some of society's problems, the school curriculum continues to indoctrinate pupils in the political values of the system and its achievements, focusing on the acquisition of political knowledge about the constitution and political institutions at national level. In comparison with other stages, it seems that the most common approach to political education in preparatory schools is the concentration on political knowledge. In spite of the significance of this approach

to develop the ability of political participation, by focusing on this approach it can lead merely to loyalty to the system. As in primary schools the concept of nationalism and loyalty to the country is expanded to include the loyalty to the Arab world and Arab nationalism. As pupils progress from middle grades to higher grades the emphasis on loyalty to the country and the political ideology of the system obviously decreases. It would seem, however, that the secondary schools curriculum only includes a minimum amount of political socialization.

In comparison with the Soviet Union, it would seem that there are certain similarities between Egypt and the Soviet Union. The similarities are more marked during the period preceeding the adoption of political parties. However, recent developments in democracy in Egypt suggest that while the school curriculum in Egypt could move from a rigid concept of political socialization to the more open approach of political education, the school curriculum in the Soviet Union continues to support an extreme concept of political socialization.

In the Soviet Union political socialization takes place at all stages including the kindergarten. In kindergartens there is no specific political learning but the essential basis of the state political ideology is symbolized in concrete figures. Pictures of Lenin are displayed in every classroom, the children are told stories about "Our Lenin" or "Uncle Lenin" and they learn to live as Lenin lived. The children are also introduced to the lives of military and historical heroes.(1)

1). R.W.Clawson, 'Political Socialization of Children in the U.S.S.R.' Political Science Quarterly, Vol.88, No.4, December 1973, p.705.

In primary schools explicit political learning is introduced through more abstract concepts such as the party and communism. Children learn that the Communist Party was established by Lenin who led the Soviet people to a happy life. They read:

> The communist Party is called the Leninist party because it was organized by Lenin. Vladamir Il'ich devoted all his strength to a struggle for the happiness of the people. The Communist Party is continuing the work of the great Lenin. It is leading out people to a bright happy life, to communism. (1).

In primary schools an intensive effort is made to establish in children's minds a full belief in the love of the country and the acceptance of the political regime and its leaders. Children are taught the concepts of patriotism and loyalty which include a love of the motherland and a belief in communist ideology. On the assumption that it is easy to establish a positive attitude in the early years towards the country and its political figures, from an early time, Soviet educators emphasize that "children progress most easily to the feeling of love for their motherland...and their state through a feeling of love for the leaders of the Soviet people - Lenin and Stalin",...and that "they quickly began to perceive that under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin we both build and defend our Soviet State, our fatherland"(2)

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1). M.S.Vasil'eva, 'O kommunisticheskoi partii na wrokakh chteniya', Nachal' naya shkola,1981, no.4, pp.23-24, Quoted by J.Marison, 'The Political Content of Education in the U.S.S.R.', p.155.

2). G.S.Counts, I want to be like Stalin (New York, J.Day, 1947), p.54, Quoted by J.R.Azrael, 'Soviet Union', in J.S.Coleman (ed.), Education and Political Development, p.239.

Collectivism and love of work are essential elements in Soviet moral education. Thus, these elements are emphasized in children's textbooks in such a way as to create love for the motherland. Through stories and school activities children learn that the purpose of the collective is to help in achieving the general good. Devotion to the collective and love of work have their significance in developing love of the motherland, since children develop the limited concepts of collectivism and a love of work in their school area which is then related to the bigger collective of the state or motherland. It is argued that "patriotism in the Soviet moral theory is treated as the ultimate form of collectivism rather than a simple love for one's native heath".(1) In their textbooks children learn "...be brave and skilful and above all else on earth, love your Soviet Motherland."(2) The textbooks also emphasize to children that collectivism and love of work is to the great glory of the motherland:

> Live, study and be proud, my son,
> That you are a Soviet citizen,
> And having chosen your path in life,
> Everywhere: in battle and labour,
> Always : in happiness and sorrow,
> Be true to your Fatherland. (3)

The Soviet view of loyalty is not restricted to the love of the motherland but also includes the important

1). F.A. O'Dell, Socialization through Children's Literature, p.36.

2). Flagzhok,(Little Flage), Moscow, 1971, p.24, Quoted by O'Dell,p.79.

3). Nasha rodina (Our Motherland), Moscow, 1971, p.120, Quoted by O'Dell, p.79.

dimension of belief in communist ideology and "stresses the legitimacy of the Communist Party's role as the only possible guiding force capable of leading society to the attainment of its goals".(1) Children are taught information about the party and political system in such a way as to develop their love of the motherland. Children learn that the motherland is a big family of co-operative peoples seeking to build a bright new life. In this the people are led by the Party, "the leading attachment of the working class". In one poem, Octobrists are asked "What is the PARTY?", "It is a hero, a good friend, a scout, and itself a family headed by dear Lenin."(2) Moreover, primary school teachers are trained to undertake their responsibilities in political indoctrination since no less than ten per cent of their preparatory course is devoted to a study of political ideology; history of the Communist Party, Marxism-Leninism, Political Economy, and Scientific Communism.(3)

Thus, the Soviet morality of collectivism and love of work are directed to developing children's loyalty towards their motherland. Moreover children are expected to link their love of the motherland with loyalty to the system and an extreme love and acceptance of the leaders of the Communist Party.

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1). O'Dell, p.37.

2). Nasha rodina (Our Motherland), Moscow, 1971, p.4, pp.14-17, Quoted by O'Dell, pp.80-81.

3). T.Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, p.5.

The same approach to political socialization used in primary schools pervade the secondary school curriculum. However, as children progress from lower to upper grades there is an increasing emphasis upon Marxist-Leninist ideology. In his research Cary notes that the higher the grade, the more emphasis there is upon Marxism-Leninism. In history and geography, the emphasis upon ideology is greater in senior grades (8-10) than middle ones (4-7). Between the middle and senior grades there is an increasing emphasis within the school curriculum to inculcate a Marxist-Leninist belief system. Senior grade students are expected to acquire a more sophisticated knowledge of the philosophical basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology in order to become builders of Communism.(1) In general Cary concludes that:

> As Soviet children progress through school, they are expected to develop an increasingly sophisticated Marxist-Leninist belief system. In comparison with schoolchildren in the fourth or fifth through seventh grades who are only expected to become acquainted with rudimentary tenets and logic of the ideology, those in the eighth grade and above are expected to acquire convictions and durable political orientations and predispositions towards political behaviour. (2)

The introduction of the political ideologies of the Soviet system during the upper grades of the secondary school is consistent with the ability of students of this

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1). C.Cary, 'Patterns of Emphasis', p.16,29.

2). Ibid., p.28.

age to acquire abstract concepts. Whilst students of this age also develop the ability to think in a critical way, Soviet political education is more concerned with the inculcation of the particular ideology. Consequently, it is expected that the process of political socialization in creating a conviction to Marxist-Leninist ideology will be incomplete since opportunities are not provided to examine, criticize and compare Marxism-Leninism with other ideologies.

As has already been seen, in effect most political education in Soviet schools takes the form of political socialization which permeates the whole school curriculum. Recent developments in the school curriculum indicate that there is an increasing emphasis on political socialization. Ivanov, an official in the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Education, asserted in 1980 that the school curriculum should be more closely linked with the tasks of constructing communism and formulating political orientation.(1) Moreover, a great emphasis is also placed on the need for politically competent teachers to develop the ideological convictions of the pupils and to evaluate social and political life from a party position. In response to this requirement many pedagogical institutions have introduced special courses such as "The Formation of the Communist World View in School Pupils", "Inculcating in Pupils an Activist Stance in Life", and "The Education of School Youth on the Basis

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1). Quoted by J.Marison, 'Political Content of Education in the U S S R ', p.153.

of the Life and Activity of V.I.Lenin".[1]

Political indoctrination not only includes the inculcation of a love for the motherland based on the communist ideology but also attempts to promote an acceptance of the socio-political system and defend its ideology. For example, the secondary school curriculum sets out to convince students of the superiority of the social-economic political order of the Soviet system in accomplishing present undertakings and the future plans of communist transformation. For instance, young people in the seventh and eighth grades are expected to have an understanding of "Communism as the highest form for the organization of social life".[2] Moreover, the ideological and political opponents of the Soviet Union are emphasized since in the view of communist ideology the opposing bourgeois forces threaten the communist transformation and the Soviet motherland. Thus students in grades seven and eight are expected to "display intolerance toward bourgeois views".[3] These features of political indoctrination are also the basis for the provision of military training for young people.

A further aim of the school curriculum is to promote

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1). Ibid., pp.153-154.

2). Akademiia pedagogicheskikh nauk SSSR, Nauchno-issledovatel'skii institut obshchikh problem vospitaniia, Primernoe soderzhanie vospitaniia shkol' nikov (Moscow, Pedagogika, 1971), Quoted by C.D.Cary, 'The Goals of Citizenship Training in American and Soviet Schools', Studies in Comparative Communism, Vol.10, No.3, Autumn 1977, p.293.

3). C. Cary, 'The Goals of Citizenship Training in American and Soviet Schools', p.293.

international understanding. However, the concept of international understanding is mainly based on the communist world outlook. Soviet schools attempt to promote the concept of proletarian internationalism by supporting the struggle of the proletariat in all parts of the world in order to achieve the ultimate victory of socialism and communism. A Soviet report states that the school teaches students about "the inevitability of the end of capitalism and victory of socialism and communism...History and society study are important means of bringing the pupils up in a spirit of selfless love for, and devotion to, their socialist motherland, in a spirit of peace and friendship among the nations, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism".(1)

International understanding of the world is considered as an extension of Soviet loyalty to the motherland and includes instilling positive feelings and friendship towards other socialist systems in the world. Soviet training in internationalism prepares young people : first, to work unceasingly on strengthening economic, political and military might, and the friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the Soviet nation; secondly, to strengthen the world socialist system by friendly collaboration and brotherly aid;

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1). International Conference on Public Education, Session 27, General 1964, Public Education in the Soviet Union, Moscow, 1964, p.54, Quoted by D.Lane, Politics and Society in the USSR, p.499.

thirdly, to strengthen the bonds of brotherly ties with the working class of capitalist nations and to support their fight against imperialist oppression; fourthly, to fight for the implementation of the world communist and the workers' movement(1). Thus, students are required to interpret their understanding of the world and political events in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Essentially, international understanding means support for the builders of communism in other countries of the world.

Military training is another of the important aspects of the Soviet school curriculum. The Soviet military leader A.Epishev defines the main task of military education as to prepare young people to be able to defend the communist ideology and fatherland. This task is mainly realized by schools. He states:

> Today's schoolchildren and students are tomorrow's builders and defenders of communism. It is specifically in school that the citizen, patriot, and serviceman begins to develop...It is the lofty duty and mission of Soviet teachers to rear our youth in a spirit of civic duty and personal responsibility for the fate of the fatherland, a spirit of socialist collectivism and comradeship; to rear a generation of patriots and internationalists who are committed to the defence of their fatherland and who are ready to perform military and labour feats.(2)

The school curriculum issued in 1976 asserted similar aims for military education and emphasized the

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1). V.P. Moshniaga, Moldse pokolenie internationistor (Moscow,1972) pp.7-8, Quoted by C.Cary, 'Education for International Understanding in Soviet Schools', Slavic and European Education Review, Vol.2, 1979,p.12.

2). A. Epishev, 'Bringing up Patriots who are Committed to the Defence of the Fatherland', p.39.

friendship between schools and armed forces.[1]

Military education is included in the school curriculum at all stages of education. In primary school (grades 1-3) literature lessons children learn stores about the motherland, the Soviet army, war heroes, the Civil War, the Great Patriotic War, and the heroic deeds of children. The slogan "I love you Russia, my Soviet land!"[2] reflects the main reason behind the introduction of military education. Soviet education attempts to convince schoolchildren that the Soviet people is a peace-loving nation. For example in their textbook "Little Star" children learn anti-war songs such as "We are the children of a free and peaceful country. Our great people does not want war".[3] Moreover, theylearn to write by copying down that peace is necessary and war is hated:

> Distinct in the morning light,
> Each letter is clear.
> Soviet children are writing.
> "Peace to all people on earth.
> We need no War!"...(4)

However, many sections such as the Soviet Army Protect the Motherland, The Motherland must be Protected, and in the Defence of the Motherland are included in the childrens textbooks. The main aim of these sections is to emphasize the defensive role of the army inprotecting the Motherland.[5] Children, therefore, must be convinced

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1). Vospitani Sckolnikov, No.6, 1975, pp.57-60,Quoted by J.Zajda, Education in the USSR, p.209.
2). J.Zajda, Education in the USSR, p.210.
3). Flazhok (Little Star), Moscow,1971, p.176, Quoted by O'Dell,p.82.
4). Nasha rodine (our Motherland.), Moscow,1971,p.360,Quoted by O'Dell, p.84.
5). O'Dell, p.82.

that the existence of the army is necessary to protect the Soviet borders against attackers. Soviet soldiers and war are described in such a way as to create pride in the Soviet army and readiness to fight in time of war.

Military training is introduced in the secondary schools. The aim of secondary schools is "to instill in students a lofty sense of Soviet patriotism - a love for the Motherland, their own people, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and readiness for the defence of the socialist Fatherland.(1) The defensive role of military training is clearly associated with the social-economic-political system of communist ideology. The new secondary school curriculum issued in December 1977 emphasized Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, civic and military duties.(2)

The importance of military training is increasingly stressed as pupils progress through the secondary school. Whilst in the first grades (4-8) young people are expected to understand the necessity for the defence of the motherland and to develop a desire to be prepared to defend the motherland, in the ninth and tenth grades, however, they are actually expected to be ready to join the Soviet army's ranks and activities in the name of the motherland.(3)

1). Quoted by C.D.Cary, 'Martial-Patriotic Themes in Soviet School Textbooks', Soviet Union/Union Sovietique, Vol.6, Part 1,1979,p.82.
2). Uchitelskaya gazeta, 29.Dec.1966,p.1, Quoted by J.Zajda, Education in the USSR, p.206.
3). C.Cary, 'Martial-Patriotic Themes in Soviet School Textbooks', p.85.

Thus, the two perspectives of peace and war are represented in the school curriculum. Military education reveals to primary schoolchildren that peace is a pre-requisite to build the society and secure its life. However, war is necessary also to defend the motherland and communist ideology from enemies. Peace is recognized "but not to the extent of tolerating hostile action by any country potentially antagonistic to the Soviet Union."(1) The responsibility of secondary school extends not only to creating a strong desire to defend the motherland and the communist ideology but also to preparing attitudes for an actual role in military service. The purpose of military education, then, is to realize the communist ideology through the creation of active fighters and defenders of communism.

In comparison, military education in Egypt arises from the historical experiences of the country, whilst the emphasis on military training in the Soviet Union is mainly related to the ideological beliefs of communism. However, in both countries the school curriculum emphasizes the two aspects of peace and war. The two-sided issues of peace are recognised in the debate about peace education in England. However, as will be seen, it has been argued that the introduction of peace education must be consistent with the approaches of

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1). O'Dell, p.88.

political education.

Obviously, the approach to political learning which creates loyalty to a country and its value system with the idea of creating coherence, community, and national consensus is an essential requirement for most societies even the more democratic one. From this perspective there is a similarity between the Soviet Union, Egypt and England. However, there are great differences in approach to political learning in the three countries mainly due to the political ideology. Political ideology and a society's need for stability basically determines the extent to which the school curriculum includes political learning which supports loyalty to the country and the system. In the Soviet Union political learning in the school curriculum is completely based on the approach of political socialization so as to create a solid community, coherence, and compliance to the political system and ideology. The existence of these aims are more apparent in the Egyptian school curriculum than in English schools. Comparatively, political education in England provides pupils with a great opportunity than in Egypt for participation and questioning the values of society and the system. However, in both England and Egypt there is a similar desire to create a national community and consensus.

It has been recognized that the school curriculum in England should take into consideration national needs and provide similar experiences for all pupils to secure a national community and consensus. In accordance with their responsibilities to promote the education of the

people of England and Wales, the Secretaries of State must involve themselves in "an overall view of the content and quality of education seen from the standpoint of national policies and needs....The Secretaries of State consider that the diversity of practice that has emerged in recent years..., makes it timely to prepare guidance on the place which certain key elements of the curriculum should have in the experience of every pupil during the compulsory period of education".(1) The need to provide common experiences for all pupils has been recognized by the Politics Association which argues that political and social awareness are essential elements of this common experience.(2)

The belief that creating coherence within society is a substantial responsibility of the school curriculum, was also emphasized by the Schools Council in 1981:

> In whatever part of the country they live, and whether they are girls or boys, children have the same rights, and should enjoy the same opportunities for education. If children share similar experiences and knowledge, we believe there will be greater cohesion between different social groups and between generations. (3)

The Department of Education and Science (1983) maintains that the secondary school curriculum should not only enhance the understanding of British society and creating coherence and national community but should

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1). D.E.S., A Framework for the School Curriculum, p.1,5.

2). T. Brennan, 'Political Education and 'A Framework of the School Curriculum' ', p.2.

3). Schools Council, The Practical Curriculum, p.31.

also promote international understanding:

> (Pupils) face the common experience of living in a world which is increasingly international, multi-ethnic and interdependent both economically and politically; their curricula should be based on a framework which provides coherence, and, while taking account of individual needs and abilities, still ensures the provision of a broadly based common experience. (1)

The previous approach to developing national loyalty and world understanding was confirmed through the means of teaching history. Slater argues:

> We shall say that we would be very unhappy if young people left school at the age of 16 not having done any British history or any local history and that we should also feel unhappy if the content of their syllabus had not reminded them that there is a world elsewhere, outside these islands of Europe. (2)

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Department of Education and Science recommends all schools to establish a common or core curriculum for all pupils in the compulsory years of secondary education(3). The main goal of a common curriculum is to provide pupils with similar experiences based on national needs and creating coherence and national consensus. The suggested core curriculum should include eight areas of experience which are defined as "the aesthetic and creative, the ethical, the linguistic, the mathematical, the physical, the scientific, the social and political and the spiritual"(4). Moreover, a subsequent document of the

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1). D.E.S., Curriculum 11-16:Towards a Statement of Entitlement,p.25.

2). J.Slater, 'The Case for History in School', p.14.

3). D.E.S., Curriculum 11-16: Working Paper by H.M.Inspectorate,p.6.

4). Ibid., p.6.

D.E.S. stated that "it was proposed that the curriculum should offer properly thought out and progressive experience in eight areas to which equal importance was attached."(1) It could be argued that social and political aspects are an essential part of a common curriculum to achieve a national community and coherence within the British society.

Similarly, the Department of Education and Science stresses that the primary school curriculum should provide children with an understanding of not only the British culture but also international understanding. The D.E.S. argues that:

> Children should be encouraged, in the context of the multi-cultural aspects of Britain today and of our membership of the European Communities, to develop an understanding of the world, of their own place in it and of how people live and work. (2)

Similarly, in Better Schools, it is argued that:

> There is wide agreement that the content of the primary curriculum should, in substance, make it possible for the primary phase to lay the foundation of understanding in religious education, history, geography and the nature of British society. (3)

As has already been seen the school curriculum in the Soviet Union has been exploited to develop the concept of nationalism based on the link between the love of the motherland and communist values. Moreover, the perspective of internationalism has been based on the

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1). D.E.S. Curriculum 11-16: A Review of Progress, p.3.

2). Department of Education and Science, The School Curriculum, H.M.S.O., London, March 1981, p.10.

3). Department of Education and Science, Better Schools, H.M.S.O. London, March 1985, p.20.

concept of supporting proletarian or socialist internationalism in order to realize the communist world. Internationalism, therefore, is seen as an integrated part of nationalism based on the specific ideology of communism. In Egypt evidence clearly suggests that the school curriculum is used to create not only a spirit of nationalism towards the country and acceptance of the values of the system but also to create positive feelings towards Arab nationalism. In contrast to the Soviet Union, however, due to recent democratic developments in Egypt opportunities are provided for the development of international understanding. In England, it would seem that moves are being made towards promoting national loyalty and consensus through the school curriculum. However, international understanding of other world aspects are also emphasized.

The realization of national loyalty and the creating of community within society is objected to as bias and political socialization. Although England has enjoyed a more stable system, during the period preceding the recent development of political education nevertheless there is evidence to suggest that English schools have inevitably been involved in political socialization. Gardner argues that "English schools are important factors in political socialization".(1) Ian Lister

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1). W. Gardner, 'Political Socialization',p.45.

found a significant bias towards British values. He observed from different research that:

> Students are most ignorant about political-economic concepts, and about countries other then their own. Indeed other countries and social systems are usually cited to say how much worse they are than Britain-Russia has no freedom; Germany is authoritarian, the United States has violence; and third world countries have mass poverty and starvation.... (1)

Moreover, in spite of an increasing concern for the teaching of history to include a wider outlook and international aspect, Tapper has noted that :

> Many schools continue to teach an elitist interpretation of history; it is the story of kings and queens, dukes, earls and barons, and more recently prime ministers and their immediate entourage. It is still common practice for teachers to subdivide history into distinct periods with the boundaries defined by the births and deaths of monarchs. (2).

Furthermore, it has been noted that hidden values within the school curriculum tend to promote an acceptance of the political status-quo:

> the 'hidden' curriculum has played a perhaps even more important part through the unspoken transmission of norms and values which encouraged minimal expectations of political participation and assumed essentially conformist political roles for the mass of the citizenry. (3)

Nevertheless, the evidence would seem to suggest less political socialization takes place in schools in England than in schools in Egypt and the Soviet Union. Moreover, Coleman observes in comparison with American schools little of political socialization has been

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1). Ian Lister, Aims and Methods of Political Education in Schools, A Report Presented to A Conference on the Development of Democratic Institutions in Europe, Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly, Strasbourg, 21-23 April,1976, p.9.

2). E.R.Tapper, Political Education and Stability, p.50.

3). T. Brennan, 'Politics in Schools:From Socialization to Education', p.135.

introduced into English schools.[1] The civics courses in secondary schools in the United States have strongly been orientated towards preserving the status-quo[2]. Similarly, Harber argues that political indoctrination is very rare in Britain.[3] Although there are preferences and predispositions towards certain political values and attitudes, alternative viewpoints are also available.

Furthermore, the recent national survey on the provision of political education in English schools indicates that the political education movement in England departs from the concept of political socialization.[4] The survey reveals that there are no significant differences between the schools which have a very high proportion of immigrant pupils and the schools which have a sizeable minority of immigrant children. However, the more enthusiastic advocates of political education still believe that "schools should move from their current role in partisan political socialization to a more open form of political education."[5]

It seems clear that the period from the first years of the 1952 Revolution until the emergence of political parties the school curriculum in Egypt attempted to indoctrinate in pupils loyalty to the country and support

1). J.S.Coleman, 'Introduction:Education and Political Development', in J.S. Coleman (ed.), Education and Political Development, p.23.
2). D. Armstrong, Social Studies in Secondary Education, p.376.
3). C.Harber, 'Politics and Political Education in 1984' p.117.
4). Stradling and Noctor, p.25.
5). C.Harber, 'Politics and Political Education in 1984', p.113.

for the new system and its political leader. The purpose of promoting feelings of loyalty towards the country was considered necessary in shaping attitudes towards the adopted socialist principles and the political leaders. Moreover, the school curriculum also linked loyalty to the country with the idea of supporting Arab nationalism.

It is expected that recent developments in democratic practices in Egypt should promote a movement from the concept of political socialization towards the approach of political education. At present the curriculum is characterized by two features. First, in the primary stage there is a great emphasis on developing loyalty to the country and informing children about the social and political attitudes of the system. Gradually with the transference of children to the preparatory stage (grades 7-9) and then to the secondary stage (grades 10-12) the emphasis on loyalty to the country and its system is diminished. The preparatory stage covers in depth the predominant political values and concepts and provides students with a considerable amount of knowledge about national institutions and the state constitution. Secondly, it seems that the departure from the concept of political socialization aims to develop the ability of students to take part in political and social life by giving them the opportunity to understand and discuss some of the social and political problems of their society.

The emphasis within political education, however, is still placed on the inculcation of the political

ideology of the system and an acceptance of successful achievements and policies of the state. The main aim of political socialization is to support the system and create solidarity and the spirit of nationalism towards the country and its defence. The concept of nationalism is not restricted to love of the country but also includes loyalty to the Arab countries and the concept of Arab nationalism. In general, it is obvious that one of the main features of political education is to emphasize the concept of political socialization.

There is a similarity between Egypt and the Soviet Union in respect of the emphasis on the concept of political socialization. The similarity was closer during the first years of the 1952 Revolution. At that time it was believed that the new system in Egypt needed stability and support through the means of political socialization. Whilst the school curriculum in Egypt is being affected by the recent movement towards democracy, in the Soviet Union political socialization and compliance to communist ideology has always existed and continues to be the predominant motive of political learning. In the Soviet Union from the early years of kindergarten until the final year of secondary school, young people are provided with a considerable amount of political socialization.

In kindergarten in the Soviet Union plitical concepts are symbolized in concrete figures in order to create love for the political leaders and the Communist Party and its role in leading the Soviet people. As pupils

grow up they receive explicit political indoctrination in communist ideology and political concepts in a more abstract manner. In the senior grades of secondary schools there is an increasing emphasis upon the theories of Marxist-Leninist ideology. In general, the school curriculum is seen as an important means for creating loyalty to the Soviet motherland with the associated objectives of obedience and allegiance to the communist ideology. The concept of loyalty is not only based on the acquisition of predispositions towards the superiority of the Soviet over the bourgeois system but also on the preparation of young people to defend their ideology against the bourgeois system and to support proletarian internationalism.

In England there is evidence to suggest that political socialization has been present in the school curriculum. However, the political socialization in England was much less than in Egypt and the Soviet Union. With recent developments in political education it could be argued that there is a movement within the school curriculum towards the approaches of political education. However, in all three countries national loyalty and the creation of coherence within the society are considered desirable objectives to be included in the school curriculum. Nevertheless, the concept of nationalism is basically dependent on the ideology of the country and the extent to which the country practises democracy. Whilst in England the school curriculum gives a greater opportunity than in Egypt for pupils to develop international understanding, Soviet schools interpret

international understanding in terms of communist ideology with its support for proletarian internationalism and the socialist countries.

Political Education

In spite of the fact that instruction in political education in Egypt attempts to inculcate in school-children loyalty to the country and its political ideologies, there is some evidence to indicate that the school curriculum, particularly in the senior grades, has also included approaches which could develop the ability of young people to practise democracy and participate in social and political life. Thus, the approach to political learning does not only emphasize the concept of political socialization but also moved toward the approach of political education. The interest in developing political education is largely due to the recent democratic developments in state ideology which provided a great opportunity to practise democracy.

In the civic education course for the second year of the secondary school (grade 11) students are expected to discuss with their teachers the stated democratic principles of the constitution. For example, under the title "Egypt: the state of law and democracy" pupils discuss the statement that "All citizens are equal before the law. They have equal public rights and duties without discrimination between them due to rare, ethnic origin, language, religion or creed... Freedom of opinion is guaranteed. Every individual has the right to express his opinion and to publicise it

verbally or in writing or by photography or by other means...self-criticism and constructive criticism is the guarantee for the safety of the national structure".[1] Moreover, young people are required to write a comparative essay on the systems of democracy and dictatorship. The teacher is not only advised to give his pupils the opportunity to express their own viewpoints in classroom discussion but is also required to avoid imposing his particular views on students. Consequently, it is expected that the ability of students to discuss and handle issues will be developed and that they will acquire predispositions towards political participation.

In a similar way, the methods of teaching the civics course for grade 9[2] involve a teacher discussing with his pupils the current affairs relevant to the content of the course such as Arab League and the United Nations. A teacher is also required to encourage his pupils to express their viewpoints freely in handling relevant issues to the course. Although political instruction in the course entitled "The System of Government in The Arab Republic of Egypt" for grade 8[3] is mainly introduced in a descriptive rather than in an analytical way, teachers are recommended to teach their pupils electoral behaviour and democratic practices

1). Ministry of Education, Civic Education:Contemporary State for the Second Grade of Secondary Schools.

2). Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social Studies for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools, pp.111-113

3). Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social Studies for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools, pp.119-123.

through establishing classroom councils and school activity groups.

In contrast to the emphasis upon the achievements of government, a study of the failures of a society and its political and social problems can have a great impact on the development of pupils' ability to think critically and to take an active part in political life. The civics course for grade 11[1] emphasizes that not all of the values of society are appropriate and practicable since some of them need to be changed. Moreover, pupils are informed that the Revolution of 1952 failed to introduce democratic life. However, the course does not develop the ability of pupils to analyse and criticise current political and social problems. For example, the section on "the state of development and progress" informs pupils of aspects of underdevelopment such as the low level of national income, high increase in population, unemployment, state inability to realize political and social improvement. However, the section concentrates on state efforts to achieve economic and social development rather than dealing with state failures and social and political problems.

The aim of the civic course in grade 8 is to improve the pupils' understanding not only of the problems which their society has faced but also recent problems.[2] An

1). Ministry of Education, Civic Education:Contemporary State.

2). Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social Studies for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools,p.118

examination of the contents of the textbook that is used for this course[1], however, reveals that there is little discussion of the social and political problems which have taken place since the 1952 Revolution such as the failure of the one party system (ASU) in achieving democratic life and improving society. The textbook concentrates on the political and social problems of society during the period preceding the Revolution such as the dictatorship and the deterioration of political and social life. Moreover, whilst the course focuses on the achievements of the 1952 and 1971 revolutions, the problem of implementing democratic socialist attitudes, for example difficulties in the socialist transformation and the negative aspects of the open economic policy are neglected.

In the sixth grade of primary education the history course[2] instructs children that the reasons for the defeat in the 1967 war were the control by "the centres of power" over the government, the absence of democratic practices, and the failure of the military leadership in adopting recent developments in warfare. Moreover, the civic course for grade 5 provides children with the opportunity to discuss some of society's problems such as population growth and illiteracy[3]. Nevertheless,

1). Ministry of Education, The System of Government in the Arab Republic of Egypt for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools.

2). Ministry of Education, Modern History of Egypt for the Sixth Grade of Primary Schools, p.231.

3). Ministery of Education, Civic Education for the Fifth Grade of Primary Schools.

these courses emphasize the efforts of the government in facing such problems.

It could be argued that some attempts are being made to develop pupil's understanding of the political and social problems of society and society's failure. However, most of the explanations given to the pupils deal with the failures of society and the social and political problems of the past and there is a lack of an analytical approach to present problems and issues. Consequently, whilst the ability of young people to understand and criticise political and social affairs is developed, however their ability to criticise the specific current affairs is neglected.

The development of political education is not restricted to promoting pupils' understanding of the ideology of their country. Understanding of other countries in the world also helps pupils to understand their own country and its place among other nations. There is some evidence to indicate that the school curriculum tries to provide pupils with an understanding of political values and attitudes in other countries and to develop their awareness of some of the broader world problems. For example, the history course for grade 10 promotes the pupils awareness of the development of political ideologies and concepts in some other world countries such as the development and struggle for democracy, the socialist concepts and Marxist ideas, the policy of non-alignment, and positive neutrality.[1]

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1). Ministry of Education, The Foundations of Modern World for the First Grade of Secondary Schools.

Moreover, the course provides young people with an introduction to the leaders of democratic thought such as John-Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire and their beliefs in democracy and freedom.

Furthermore, the civic course in grade 9 aims to develop the pupils' awareness of world problems such as food production, pollution, ethnic discrimination, and unemployment.[1] These problems are approached through the work of the United Nations and its specialized organizations such as the Food and Agricultural Organization, the International Labour Organization, the World Health Organization, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. These courses provide pupils with further insights into their own society's ideology and problems through a comparison with other countries and by encouraging them to discuss world affairs.

An understanding of political parties and their ideologies helps to develop pupils' political awareness and participation skills. There is evidence to suggest that pupils are acquiring some knowledge of the recent established political parties which coincide to some extent with the developmental stage of the children. An examination of the contents of the textbooks that

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1). Ministry of Education, Arab Republic of Egypt and the Contemporary World for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools.

are used for political education in primary education show that in grade 6 pupils start to learn simple ideas about the development of political parties. The section "Achievements of the Revolution in Realizing Democracy" gives some indications that the ASU was based on the alliance of the working forces of the people and then the Revolution established political parties under the principles of social peace, national unity and democratic socialism. However, the aims, programmes and even names of political parties are not taught to children at this age. (1)

Similar information about political parties is included in the civics education course for grade 8. (2) Names of political parties and their ideologies are still not yet covered in this course. However, on the assumption that pupils at this age are able to understand the ideologies of political parties, pupils are required, with their teacher, to visit the local offices of the political parties in order to discuss their programmes and ideologies. Although such visits help pupils to distinguish between the different ideologies of the political parties and discuss their views on specific issues, some political parties do not have local branches in many of the preparatory school areas. Furthermore,

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1). Ministry of Education, Modern History of Egypt for the Sixth Grade of Primary Schools.

2). Ministry of Education, The System of Government in the Arab Republic of Egypt for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools, p.27, 36, 52.

the range of party visited is often determined by the teacher interest and attachment to political parties. Only in grade 9 are the names of the political parties introduced and brief ideas about their programmes included in the history course.(1)

In comparison with other stages, in the secondary stage a considerable emphasis is placed on matters relating to political parties. In grade 11 pupils discuss the fact that democratic systems permit the establishment of political parties with the aim of expressing different viewpoints and ideologies towards political and social issues. Pupils also learn that the political parties share responsibilities in political life and in wielding authority. Differences in political parties in democratic and in non-democratic systems are analysed and the disadvantages of the one party system in Egypt, for example the hindrance to the development of democracy are considered.(2) The required visits to political parties are more effective in this stage than in the preparatory stage because political parties have branches in most secondary school districts. It seems that the teaching of political party matters in this grade is likely to be more effective in developing the political awareness of

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1). Ministry of Education, Modern and Contemporary History of Egypt for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools, p.112.

2). Ministry of Education, Civic Education:Contemporary State for the Second Grade of Secondary Schools, p.97.

pupils and giving them an ability to discuss current political affairs and issues. However, there are some shortcomings in the course which might counteract this development. For example, most of the stated information about political parties is theoretical and there is little analysis of the ideological differences between the established political parties and their views towards current problems and issues in the society. Moreover, the teacher's choice of visits to political parties might restrict the knowledge and discussion of pupils to one or more selected political parties.

As has been noted civic education courses, usually, have little impact on the development of the ability of students to participate in political life. This is due to the fact that the civic education courses provide pupils mainly with theoretical rather than practical experiences. In response to this defect most of the civic courses in Egyptian schools attempt to combine both theoretical and practical components. For example, the philosophy of the civic course in grade 7 is based on the idea that the practical study and the interest of pupils is the best approach to clarifying the theoretical study.(1) During this course pupils are required to visit some of the local institutions to study the way in which they work, the problems facing local society, and to discuss alternative solutions. There is no

1). Ministry of Education, The Pupil in his Local Environment for the First Grade of Preparatory Schools.

doubt that through this form of participation pupils are encouraged to think critically, to form concrete concepts, and to formulate attitudes towards social and political institutuions. It also develops an awareness in pupils of their responsibilities towards the problems of the environment in which they live.

The grade 8 civic education course includes many practical exercises aimed at linking the theoretical material to real experiences in the local environment. For instance, pupils and their teachers visit political, social and economic institutions related to the course and discuss with responsible people in these institutions the electoral system and the membership, organization, duties, and problems of the institution.(1) Similarly, pupils in grade 9 are required to visit some of the national divisions of the international institutions in Cairo. Moreover, opportunities are provided for pupils to discuss societal problems through classroom discussion, and school activities.(2)

It could be argued that such practical elements effectively contribute to the development of the political and social awareness of pupils of current affairs and problems and encourage pupils to express their own viewpoints. However, the lack of qualified

1). Ministry of Education, The System of Government in the Arab Republic of Egypt for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools, p.20, 60.

2). Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social Studies for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools, pp.111-117.

teachers capable of linking theory and practice , and the shortcomings of school facilities are detrimental to the effectiveness of this approach to teaching political education. For example, in a study of the political awareness of student teachers undertaken in 1978 it was found that they were not able to define the concepts of the political ideologies of their country and they had little information about political parties. Moreover, the study indicated that the student teachers had few ideas about how they might organize the activities of pupils in relation to political education.(1)

A significant difference between the Soviet Union on the one hand and England and Egypt on the other is to be found in the development of approaches to political education. It could be argued that whilst the approach of political education is basically open and related to democratic systems, the Soviet Union approach is clearly closed and politically dictatorial. As previously noted Soviet schools attempt to inculcate in young people certain prescribed ways of thinking and acting. Consequently, it is expected that intellectual participation skills and critical thinking are not developed in Soviet young people. This does not mean, however, that the process of political socialization and indoctrination in the Soviet Union guarantees the successful achievement of compelling all young people to accept Soviet political policies or securing their commitment to the Marxist-

1). E.F.Hana, Political Education and Politial Awareness of Students in Faculties of Education, EL-Anglo, Cairo, 1978, p.74.(in Arabic)

Leninist system.

In 1974 a Soviet survey was undertaken to find out the effectiveness of political socialization in the upper grades of the secondary schools.(1) The finding indicated that more than two-thirds of the sample reported that they were not given the opportunity to discuss and analyse political current affairs. Similarly, Mouly notes that there is a lack of interest in politics and ideology among the present generation.(2) Other findings indicate that, except for a very small number, Soviet students dare not criticize or dissent from the Soviet system. The findings also reveal that only 5 per cent of students belong to the 'Democratic Movement" which consists of a group of Soviet citizens who are critical of various aspects of the system.(3) One of the reasons for the reluctance of students to criticize the system is the severe punishment given to students who violate the rules and values of the system. Soviet students realize that any attempt to express a viewpoint against the system and its authority could result in "expulsion and that this would endanger their whole future careers".(4)

Despite the fact that any organized political

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1). Vospitanie Shklnikov, No.2, 1974, pp.34-36, Quoted by J.Zajda, Education in the USSR, pp.121-122.

2). R. Mouly, 'Values and Aspirations of Soviet Youth', in P.Cocks et al. (eds.), The Dynamics of Soviet Politics, Harvard University Press, 1976, p.233.

3). P. Reddaway,Uncensored Russia, (New York:American Heritage, 1972), p.32, Quoted by R.Mouly, 'Values and Aspirations of Soviet Youth, p.234.

4). Ibid., p.234.

opposition is absolutely taboo, nevertheless discussion, questioning of the Party officials, some freedom of inquiry, and even of verbal dissent can be observed in Soviet education. Furthermore, "there are still many aspects of the system that are deeply resented. Students want to be left alone in their personal lives...Many youth do not feel that the Party gives them the truth, and believe it often keeps important information from them altogether."(1) It could be argued on the basis of these feelings that political socialization in the Soviet Union to a large extent hinders the development of participation skills of pupils in criticizing and influencing the values of the system. However, the political socialization process in the Soviet schools does not guarantee that all young people are indoctrinated to the values of the system and the authorities.

Moreover, some studies not only reveal little influence by the school curriculum in developing a Marxist-Leninist belief system but also suggest that Soviet schoolchildren have a lower level of intellectual thinking. Cary concludes that whilst instruction in history, geography and social studies develop pupil's understanding of Marxism-Leninism ideology, evidently it is not effective in helping them to develop a personal belief in the system.(2) Similarly, Grant

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1). Ibid., p.235.

2). Cary, 'Patterns of Emphasis', p.28.

argues that a high level of commitment among Soviet young people is due more to patriotic pride rather than the to doctrinal conviction.(1) Moreover, Bronfenbrenner concludes whilst Soviet children appear to be much better than children in the West in respect to propriety such as being clean and orderly, they "gave less weight than the subjects from the other countries (England, Switzerland and the United States) to telling the truth and seeking intellectual understanding".(2) Williamson argues that such findings indicate that "ideological claims of the state are not yet fully rooted in the beliefs and sentiments of its citizens".(3)

It seems that the main factor behind the relative ineffectiveness of ideological training in Soviet schools is the nature of the political socialization process. Since political indoctrination is confined to the predetermined political ideology of Marxism-Leninism, it is not easy for the secondary school student to accept a prescribed ideology since the student has developed an ability to think critically and has a desire to find out about the world and other ideologies. Mouly found that most Soviet students have a keen desire to read about Western societies. Soviet students "greatly envy Western students who can read whatever they wish. Russian

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1). N. Grant, Soviet Education, p.32.

2). U. Bronfenbrenner, Two Worlds of Childhood. U.S. and U.S.S.R., Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1970, p.81.

3). B. Williamson, Education, Social Structure and Development, p.107.

students listen frequently and with much interest to Western radio broadcasts...They consider these broadcasts valuable resources of information either omitted or distorted in the Soviet Media."[1] Moreover, perhaps the Marxist-Leninist ideology is too abstract and that prevents students in the first years of the secondary schools understanding the concepts of communist ideology.

Furthermore, participation in social and political life is confined within the concepts of communist ideology and based on the desired policies of the Communist Party and Soviet government. While in democratic countries young people are expected to develop an open-mindedness and an ability to serve both their personal and society interests, in the Soviet Union considerable attention is paid to preparing students for"useful labour" to serve the group as a whole and less attention is given to individual development. Although young people are expected to be aware of the political affairs of their country and other countries, this is seen "with respect to the political issues and problems that bear on the building of communism". Young people "are expected to become aware of the problems that are subject to resolution through the political process".[2]

It seems clear that the development of participation

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1).R. Mouly, 'Values and Aspirations of Soviet Youth', p.236.

2).C. Cary, 'The Goals of Citizenship Training in American and Soviet Schools' p.295.

skills is seen only as a means to build the communist ideology and permitted discussion has to be consistent with the policies of the Communist Party and political system. In contrast to the Soviet Union, opportunity is given to Egyptian young people to criticize and participate in political life and to express alternative viewpoints. In England political education in schools provides greater opportunities for the development of the intellectual and critical thinking of pupils to enable them to participate in political life and criticize governmental policies than is the practice in Egypt.

Preceding recent developments the approach to political education in England was traditional and concentrated on descriptive political knowledge rather than critical analysis of real issues in political life. For example, the approach to teaching civics and the British Constitution was descriptive and avoided discussion of controversial issues. Ian Lister has argued that political education in schools was "passionless, quietist-political issues were seen as nuisances which interfered with the smooth working of government - and put people off participation".(1) Mercer attributed the low level of participation by British young people to the concentration of political knowledge in political education courses. The emphasis in political education was on "the recall of political information rather

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1). I. Lister, Aims and Methods of Political Education in Schools, p.8.

than elaboration directly of political values (and which) will inhibit teachers from devoting valuable time to.... the discussion of political norms and values".(1)

Stradling observed that the traditional civic courses in political education for GCE 'O' Level mainly focused on the acquisition of political knowledge about the institutions and political machinery of central and local government.(2) Moreover, Harber argued that the traditional approach of teaching British Constitution and civics was conservative, focused on the formal institutions of central government and emphasized consensus rather than the examination of conflict and real issues in political life. He argues that the idea of focusing on the political system and its real behaviour, actual conflict in politics, the discussion of political matters, and stimulating a more active form of participation are necessary developments in the teaching of political education. (3)

In a survey of GCE Syllabuses during 1971-72, Brennan found that all the syllabuses at 'O' Level and more than half at 'A' Level followed the traditional constitutional approach. Five of the eight boards offered 'O' Level papers under the title of British Constitution, two offered Economics and Public Affairs, and one offered Economics and Public Affairs with an alternative paper on

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1). G.Mercer, 'Political Education and Socialization to Democratic Norms' Survey Research Centre, University of Strathclyde, Occasional Paper No.11, 1973, pp.29-30, Quoted by C.Hakim, 'Political Socialization in Venezuelan Secondary Schools', Essex, 1974, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, p.159.

2). R. Stradling, 'Political Education in the 11 to 16 Curriculum', Cambridge Journal of Education, Vol.8., Nos.2 & 3, 1978, p.102.

3). C.Harber, Politics and Political Education in 1984', p.116.

the Structure and Working of the British Government.(1) Brennan also found that the teaching of the British Constitution was descriptive rather than analytical. Whilst the emphasis was on the acquisition of political knowledge of institutions and procedures, little concern was given to developing political awareness of the realities of the political system, controversial issues, and political parties matters. He concluded that :

> The general criticism of the existing papers at 'O' Level is that they are much too formal and encourage an approach which, because of the detailed knowledge demanded, either inhibits or prevents a study of political life which could be made challenging, realistic and revealing. Above all, they fail in the essential educational purpose of developing a fuller understanding of basic concepts as the key to increasing intellectual awareness. (2)

The teaching of British Constitution to young people in both GCE 'O' and 'A' levels has also been criticized by Crick on the grounds that the constitutional approach to teaching political education is not relevant to the real life of political affairs. Crick advocated the idea of introducing Current Affairs instead of descriptive knowledge about the Constitution and political institutions.(3)

Perhaps the above-mentioned argument confirms the idea that political education in England has not been able to avoid the concept of political socialization. It seems that the approach to political education before recent

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1). J. Brennan, Political Studies : A Handbook for Teachers, Longman, London, 1974, pp.14-15.

2). Ibid., p.19.

3). B. Crick, 'The Introducing of Politics', in D.Heater (ed.), The Teaching of Politics, p.3.

developments was to concentrate on the acquisition of political knowledge about the constitution and local and central government. Courses in political education discouraged the discussion of real issues and problems related to political current affairs. Consequently, instruction in political education was descriptive and conservative and in accordance with the prevailing political norms of society.

In spite of the fact that political knowledge has importance in promoting the ability of a student to participate in political life, the development of participation skills and critical thinking are also important in the process of political participation. The recent developments in political education in England since the mid 1970's have obviously influenced moves in political education to promote the ability of pupils to understand issues, criticize political matters, and to participate effectively in political life.

In recent years there have been improvements in the content of political education in schools, especially in the GCE syllabuses. Although improvements in general are slow, GCE subjects reveal a continuing "move away from the traditional British Constitution syllabuses towards courses of study which encourage a much greater degree of political awareness and political realism".(1) Moreover, developments

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1). T. Brennan, 'Politics in Schools:From Socialization to Education', p.142.

in political education in line with the approaches of political literacy are more apparent at the GCE 'A' Level than at the GCE 'O' Level and CSE levels. In general, however, there is a marked development "in the direction of a more conceptual treatment which encourage a realistic appraisal of current issues and problems, a realisation of the complexities and limitations of government".(1)

For example, in 1974 the Northern Universities Joint Matriculation Board introduced a new 'A' Level course in British Government and Politics. The main approach of this course is to concentrate on voting behaviour, the nature of party conflict, and matters of current controversy. Similarly, The Associated Examining Board 'A' Level syllabus in Government and Politics which replaced the British Constitution course in 1974 provided students with a compulsory paper under the title of Political Behaviour - Britain. This paper included knowledge about the concept of political culture and its applications; a study of voting behaviour, pressure groups, political power, and the nature of political and social change.(2) Furthermore, the London 'A' Level GCE examination, which was introduced from 1978, placed a considerable emphasis on political values and decision-making.(3)

Political education courses for 'A' Level are not

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1). Ibid., p.143.

2). T.Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, p.65.

3). L. Cohen, 'Political Literacy and the Primary School : A Dutch Experiment', Teaching Politics, Vol.10, No.3, 1981, p.259.

restricted to a particular political system but also include other political systems. For example, Paper Three in the Associated Examining Board 'A' Level course has three options, the study of political institutions in Britain, the USA, and the USSR.(1) The course under the title of The Impact of Marxist Ideas on the World, which is designed by Holland Park School (London) for sixth form students includes basic Marxist ideas, industrial and economic features, the effect and spread of Marxism in other countries, and finally Marxism in England.(2)

The national survey (1981) generally reveals that courses in political education, which are commonly introduced to senior grades in secondary schools, focus on the development of political literacy through current political issues and affairs, party politics, and the work of pressure groups. Moreover, some of these courses develop participation skills by encouraging pupils to take part in discussion and debate, and being able to empathise with another persons' point of view.(3) The survey's findings also indicate that the introduction of political education into senior grades especially 'A' Level is consistent with the assumption that at the later ages in secondary school students are more able to understand and handle political matters and issues. (Table 10) shows that

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1). T.Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, pp.65-66.

2).R. Pask, The Impact of Marxist Ideas on the World', Documents of the Political Education Research Unit, Department of Education, University of York, Spring 1982, TS.

3). Stradling and Noctor, p.12.

exclusive and modular provisions are more popular in senior grades and 'A' Level than in the first years of secondary school.

TABLE 10

TARGET GROUPS FOR EXCLUSIVE AND MODULAR PROVISIONS IN ENGLISH SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Students' Age Range	Exclusive Provision%	Modular Provision %
1st-3rd year	2	7
4th-5th year	28	66
6th form	70	25

Source: Stradling and Noctor, p.8, 14.

In general, there has been less progress in introducing and improving GCE 'O' Level syllabuses. Since 1974, however, some courses on Government, Politics and Economics have been introduced for 'O' Level students.(1) Some of these courses are designed to encourage a study of both the institutions and processes of the modern political system, government action in economic and social affairs, and the behaviour of individuals in the context of society and its political system.(2) Much less improvement has been introduced to first years of the secondary schools. Some syllabuses, however, concentrate

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1). T.Brennan, 'Politics in Schools : From Socialization to Education', p.143.

2). T.Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, p.64.

on central and local government and there is a lack of material which develops the conceptual approach or which deals with current issues. "The sad truth is that there is a desperate need to develop teaching materials of all kinds which will support the teacher in his task of stimulating interest in the everyday world of politics.[1]

A recent document issued in 1983 by the Department of Education and Science indicates that teachers are becoming more concerned with the development of their pupils' participation skills. The document states that "Active participation of pupils in carrying out enquiries, in collecting and interpreting information and in exchanging ideas with each other in class and group discussions became a more obvious part of lessons than previously".[2] More recently in February 1986 the Secretary of State for Education and Science, Sir Keith Joseph, has taken an interest in the teaching of politically controversial issues in schools. Joseph advocates the necessity of discussing controversial issues on the grounds that they could arise spontaneously in many aspects of the school curriculum. An understanding of these issues necessitates the development of students' participation skills and critical thinking appropriate to a free and open society. Teachers, therefore, should "encourage

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1). T. Brennan, 'Politics in Schools: From Socialization to Education', pp.143-144.

2). DES., Curriculum 11-16:Towards a Statement of Entitlement, p.17.

pupils and students to form their own conclusions on the basis of evidence and reflection and of discussion with others".(1)

The introduction of a course in the elements of economics into the school curriculum is a possible approach to helping students understand the affairs and problems of their society. An understanding of basic economic concepts and knowledge about the national economy could positively affect their ability not only to participate in economic and political affairs, but also to develop their understanding of the relations between economics and politics. The Department of Education and Science asserts that in democracy all citizens should be aware of the main economic and political issues. The DES., therefore, emphasizes the introduction of economics into the secondary school curriculum and asserts that "If it is a purpose of the curriculum to add to young people's social and political competence, then economic knowledge is a necessary condition of educational value".(2) Schools should introduce pupils to the main issues of economics which affect their life.

Moreover, the Economics Association in its report (1977)(3) stresses that the secondary school curriculum

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1). Department of Education and Science, How to Approach Politically Controversial Issues when Teaching, a press release, 4 February,1986.

2). DES, Curriculum 11-16: Working Paper by H.M.Inspectorate, p.54.

3). Economics Association (1977), The Contribution of Economics to General Education:Report by an Ad Hoc Committee, p.4,6, Quoted by T.Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, p.78.

should provide pupils with some economic facts of life and it suggests three essential objectives in teaching economics. First, to provide pupils with economic knowledge, skills and concepts necessary for understanding the world in which they live. Secondly, to develop an understanding of the more important economic institutions. Thirdly to develop the ability of pupils to participate in the decision-making process of modern industrial democracy. Furthermore, in 1984 the DES underlined the necessity of providing secondary school pupils with knowledge about national economics and some basic economic awareness.(1)

A feature of the recent movement in political education in England has been the introduction of elements of political education in primary schools. Although the tradition in most primary schools is to avoid the introduction of overt political education into the school curriculum, attempts have been made to modify this tradition.(2) For example, the Schools Council in their document "Social Studies 8-13" recommended that "social studies is not only concerned with knowledge but also with attitudes and values...and there is a need for schools to play some part as early as possible in encouraging children's awareness of the existence of evidence, as well as encouraging such attitudes as respect

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1). DES, The Organization and Content the 5-16 Curriculum, pp.8-9.

2). A. Ross, 'Developing Political Concepts and Skills in the Primary School', Educational Review,Vol.36, No.2, 1984, pp.132-133.

for evidence, (and) readiness to revise opinions in the light of evidence".[1]

In 1977 the Schools Council curriculum project produced teachers' books to explain the development of critical thinking skills and to assert the necessity to develop core concepts such as values and beliefs, conflict and consensus, similarity and difference, causes and consequence, and power.[2] More recently the Inner London Education Authority's project for teaching social studies in primary school stresses that social studies in primary schools is concerned to develop children awareness and understanding of their society.[3] The acquisition of knowledge and attitudes about society, and the development of other people's views are the prominent aims of social studies in a primary schools. According to the project's materials, it is expected that children will learn directly some political and social concepts such as power, authority, conflict, interdependence, co-operation, and social change.

A parallel to military education in the Soviet Union and Egypt, is the introduction of peace education in England. Whatever the form of the adopted subject, it seems that in all three countries the main issues behind the teaching of the subject is related to the defence of

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1). Schools Council, Social Studies 8-13: Working Paper No.39, Evans/ Methuen Educational, London, 1971, pp.11-12.

2). W.A.L. Blyth et.al., (1977), History, Geography and Social Sciences 8-13: A Guide to Curriculum Planning, Collins/ESL, London, Quoted by Ross, 'Developing Political Concepts in the Primary School', p.133.

3). ILEA, Social Studies in the Primary School, ILEA, London,1980.

the country. However, the emphasis on preparing Soviet young people to defend their motherland is based on ideological beliefs. The move to introduce peace studies in England, however, is in some respect more consistent with the approach to political education than in Egypt and the Soviet Union.

Perhaps the first organized institution for promoting peace in England came in 1959 with the establishment of the Lancaster Peace Research Centre. Subsequently, in 1973 the School of Peace Studies was established at Bradford University. Many institutions of higher education have now introduced courses in peace studies. Moreover, the subject is not restricted to higher education. Many local education authorities, especially Labour controlled ones, and teachers have introduced peace education to schoolchildren in secondary and primary education.(1) According to a survey undertaken by the University of Lancaster, two out of three local education authorities in England and Wales have peace studies in their schools.(2) Whilst some schools introduce peace education as a separate subject, others introduce it as a part of other aspects of curriculum such as English, Religious Education, and General Studies.(3)

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1). D. Regan, 'The Threat of Peace Studies', Gong, January, 1985.

2). The Sunday Times, 4 March 1984.

3). B. Cox, 'Peace Studies:How they Cheat our Children', Reader's Digest, Vol.126, 1985, p.34.

The international Atlantic College, which prepares students for the International Baccalaureate, has been one of the most enthusiastic proponents of peace studies. The Atlantic College's Peace Studies Project aims to develop a student's ability "to confront and combat violence in all its forms and especially the threat of war...and co-operative skills in the creation of more peaceful relationships".(1) The project concentrates on the concepts of peace and violence, the phenomenon of human aggression, conflicts within society, non-violence in theory and practice, the superpower conflict, and international organizations.(2) Although the course encourages young people to participate in the creation of a more peaceful society, it also gives opportunities to make their own decisions.(3)

Many local education authorities have established guidelines for teachers to promote peace education in their schools. For example, in 1981, the Education Committee of Nottinghamshire County Council produced guidelines on peace education for schools. The main objectives were to ensure that pupils were provided with a balanced view of any issues and that they "should know the facts,hear the arguments from all points of view and ultimately be able to form their own views".(4)

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1). C.Reid and S. Duczek, 'Constructing a Peace Education Programme', Documents of the Political Education Research Unit, Department of Education, University of York, Spring 1982, TS., p.2.

2). The Times, 6 January, 1984; The Times, 20 February 1984.

3). C.Reid and S.Duczek, 'Constructing a Peace Education Programme'. p.2,6.

4). Report to the Education Committee of the Working Party on the Development of a Curriculum for Peace Education, The Central Reprographic Unit, Nottinghamshire County Council, June 1982, pp.3-4.

It seems that the guidelines are consistent with the aim of political education since they attempted to avoid the indoctrination of any specific view towards the issues of peace. However, the guidelines seem to be more concerned to foster peace through non-violent solutions. For example, the aim of peace education was "to understand the meaning and implication of peace and to foster the ability to strive for peace in relationships between individual, groups and nations".(1) This aim could be realized by a study of institutions dedicated to striving for peace and resolving conflict such as the CND European Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, World Dia-armament Campaign, and the World Council of Churches.

In 1981, Newcastle-upon-Tyne Education Committee established a Working Group on the Nuclear Issue to produce a teaching guide for the Newcastle area schools. The guide recognizes that pupils should be aware of aspects of the nuclear issue such as nuclear weapons and the arms race, deterrence and disarmament, the effects of nuclear explosion, and the search for peace.(2) The guide emphasizes the need to develop the ability of pupils to strive for peace and to dislike war. It also attempts to provide pupils with a "scope for the development of intellectual skills".(3) In 1982 the

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1). Ibid., p.5.

2). The Nuclear Issue in Education:A Teaching Guide for Newcastle Schools (Part One), Working Group on the Nuclear Issue, Newcastle-upon-Tyne Education Committee, 1981.

3). Ibid., p.3.

Avon project on peace education for secondary and primary schools was introduced. The project attempted to promote peaceful attitudes and behaviour among school-children and to teach them to reject nuclear weapons and the use of violence in solving conflict. The purpose of the project was to "encourage attitudes that lead to a preference for constructive and non-violent resolution of conflict and to help pupils develop the personal and social skills necessary to live in harmony with others."(1)

It seems that the general approach of these projects is to maintain peace by developing a student's awareness of conflict and violence, their ability to participate in solving conflict peacefully and to strive for peace and non-violent solutions. In this respect peace education is to support the unilateralist view of maintaining peace since it neglects the other aspects of peace which necessitates the existence of force to realize national defence. However, in some cases, for example the Nottinghamshire's guidelines and the Atlantic College's project, there are attempts to provide students with opportunities to formulate their own views and make their own decisions. The movement for teaching peace education in the school curriculum has raised an essential argument in the teaching of the

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1). G.F.Crump, Peace Education : Guidelines for Primary and Secondary Schools, Education Department, Avon County Council 1983, p.1.

subject to schoolchildren. On the one hand some people advocate the idea of peace education so as to resolve conflict among people and nations peacefully. On the other hand, other people advocate the idea that peace education should deal with the concept of peace from a two-sided discussion of disarmament providing students with the opportunity to formulate their particular view towards the issues of peace and war.

At their conference held in 1981, the NUT expressed their support to promote peace education as a means to combat nuclear weapons and conflict among nations. The NUT's document stated that:

> International tensions, the continuing expansion of nuclear and conventional armaments, and the negative response of the developed nations to the needs of the Third World...all demonstrate the relevance and indeed urgent importance of peace education as part of an overall strategy for the elimination of conflict and the reallocation of resources.(1)

The large number of teachers affiliated to the CND draws attention to the role that education can play in working for a peaceful world. At the NUT conference, held in 1982, more than 100,000 teachers voted in favour of affiliation to the CND and considered themselves as the educational wing of the CND. Many teachers now support the CND and indoctrinate children in its unilateralist view. For example at a south London comprehensive school, a talk to pupils on nuclear weapons and the 1945 bombing of Hiroshima was followed by a

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1). NUT/NATFHE, Education for Peace, Quoted by D.Heater, Peace through Education, The Falmer Press, London, 1984, p.29.

teacher's assertion that the CND produces the best means of avoiding nuclear war.(1)

Moreover, Neil Kinnock, the Leader of the Opposition, has advocated the introduction of peace education. He argues that every school should have a teacher responsible for teaching peace education.(2) McCrum, a former Headmaster of Eton who is now Master of Corpus Christi , Cambridge, also argues that peace education contributes in maintaining peace. He says "those who urge that such issues should not be seriously studied in schools do positive harm to the cause of peace. Is it not likely that this cause will be furthered if the young have a clearer and broader understanding of them than they have today?"(3)

On the other hand, the introduction of peace education into the school curriculum has been criticized. It would be argued that peace education should not be restricted to the unilateralist view of peace, since any attempt to introduce the issues of peace should take into account the needs of national defence. Moreover, educational criteria are an essential factor in the teaching of peace education. It is necessary that peace education should avoid any attempts to indoctrinate a specific view towards the issues of peace.

Professor B. Cox, of Manchester, co-editor of the Black Papers on Education, in a study of peace education,

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1). B.Cox, 'Peace Studies', p.34.

2). Quoted by D.Heater, Peace Through Education, p.18.

3). The Times, 6 January, 1984.

argues that there is an overriding bias towards the unilateralist view of nuclear deterrence. Moreover, among 300 documents less than 10 per cent have an impartial view.(1) E.Leigh argues that the domination of the unilateralist view in peace education excludes any realistic study of the nature of the Soviet system. He also asserts that schools should protect their pupils from any attempts of political indoctrination. As in the case of religious education under the 1944 Education Act, parents should have the right to withdraw their children from any course which attempts to indoctrinate children in specific views towards controversial political issues. (2)

Similarly, Cox condemns the attempts of teachers to impart a one-sided view on nuclear weapons and hostility to NATO. Cox argues "By far the most serious aspect of peace studies is the way in which they create at atmosphere of intellectual coercion and intimidation in our schools".(3) She also criticizes peace education on the grounds that the enthusiastic supporters of peace studies see the issue of peace in narrow application. At Atlantic College, for example, there is a conspicuous absence of systematic teaching about the realities of life in the USSR and Eastern Europe.(4) Moreover Dr.Rhodes

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1). B. Cox, 'Peace Studies', p.34.

2). The Times, 20 January 1984

3). B. Cox, 'Peace Studies' p. 37.

4). The Times, 9 January 1984.

Boyson, a former Junior Education Minister, criticized the unilateralist view of peace which denounced nuclear weapons. He argued that peace education should be aware of the repressive Soviet policies towards Afghanistan and against the genuine peace protesters in Moscow. Boyson also condemned teachers who supported peace education and displayed the CND logo. He says:

> "I am appalled to see teachers in schools wearing unilateral disarmament badges. As a parent, I would take up with the Head and governors of the school the wearing by staff of such badges which betray the neutrality of classroom and school. Children go to school to be taught and not politically infiltrated". (1)

Furthermore, at a conference on peace education, organized by the National Council for Women on 3 March 1984, the Education Secretary Sir Keith Joseph accused some of the local education authorities of attempts to indoctrinate pupils through the teaching of peace education. The Minister disagreed with the teaching of peace studies as set out in the guidelines prepared by some of the local authorities. He said:

> "In the course of preparing such guidance, opinions are expressed and propagated by councillors and others do great educational harm. I deplore such attempts to trivialise the substance of the issue of peace and war, to cloud it with inappropriate appeals to emotion, and to present it so one-sidedly that if the teacher actually adopted the guidance he would be guilty of indoctrination". (2)

The Education Secretary re-emphasized the right of parents to complain even to him if they believed that their

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1). The Times Educational Supplement, 24 December 1982.

2). Department of Education and Science, Speech by Education Secretary Sir Keith Joseph to the National Council of Women of Britain, London, 3 March 1984, p.5.

children were being indoctrinated.

It seems clear that one of the main arguments for introducing peace education has been support among teachers for a unilateralist view of nuclear issues and disarmament. Peace education, however, should provide students with the opportunity to understand and assess all the facts behind nuclear weapons and their effect not only in time of war but also as the main factor in keeping peace and the balance between the West and East. In other words pupils should be aware of the two-sided nature of peace and war in a balanced way. For example, disarmament discussion should examine the claim that "there is no way to preserve peace in Europe without matching the armaments and blocking the expansionist policies of the Soviet Union.[1] A parallel discussion is that the Soviet policies should also be examined. Such an approach to peace education would help students to weigh all evidence and eventually enable them to come to a rational judgement.

In spite of the apparent attempts with peace education to indoctrinate children with unilateralist views, there is also concern to avoid indoctrination. Providing students with opportunity to express and formulate their own views is an essential claim in the development

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1). The Times, 11 January 1984.

of peace education. In this respect the introduction of peace education in England is consistent with the approaches of political education. Any attempts to influence the pupil's mind discourage the development of his intellectual and critical thinking towards the issue of peace.

In spite of the fact that schools in the Soviet Union attempt to prepare pupils for peace and war, pupils are discouraged from forming their own views on the issue. In other words pupils are required to follow state policies on peace and war. Whilst in some English schools the concept of peace education does not mean a unilateralist view, Egyptian schools also emphasize a pupil's duty towards peace and defence of the country against attackers. Perhaps, in both England and the Soviet Union the emphasis on a balanced view of peace and national defence is mainly related to political strategies and conflict between the West and East. Military training, however, in the Soviet Union is related to ideological beliefs. In contrast to England and the Soviet Union, in Egypt the role of education in promoting attitudes favourable to defence stems from the country's experience to imperialism and wars between Egypt and Israel.

It is clear that the former approach to political education in the school curriculum in England was concerned with the acquisition of knowledge about political institutions through the teaching of civics and the British Constitution. The conceptual and analytical approaches, which associate understanding and discussion

of real issues derived from current political affairs, were neglected. However, recently there has been a change toward the development of pupil's political awareness and participation skills. Thus, in general, courses in political education are now mainly concerned with stimulating a more active form of political participation.

This change has been more marked in courses for older pupils in secondary schools than at lower ages. Perhaps, this reflects the fact that pupils in the senior grades of secondary schools are more able to think in an abstract and critical manner than younger pupils. As has been seen, however, the ability of children in understanding political matters in abstracts could be also developed in the early days of secondary schools and even, to some extent, in the primary school. There is some evidences to suggest that political education has been introduced to these age groups. In some primary schools social studies are used to introduce children to political knowledge and values of the society and to develop their ability to understand some political concepts. In secondary schools 'O' Level and courses for younger pupils concentrate on the acquisition of political knowledge about institutions. However, there is an interest in developing the pupil's participation skills through the study of economic and social affairs, the interrelation between individuals and the social political system, and by encouraging classroom discussions.

There have been more significant changes in GCE 'A' Level courses in line with current developments than in

GCE 'O' Level courses. The approaches to political education in 'A' Level courses have moved from an emphasis on the traditional approach of teaching British Constitution and the acquisition of knowledge about national and local political institutions to an emphasis on the development of political participation skills and an understanding of political matters. Syllabuses reveal a preference for content which encourages young people to take an active part in political life. The content concentrates on the conceptual treatment of understanding current issues and problems, political party matters and conflict, politics and economics, the relationship between political concepts and the actual behaviour of the political system and institutions, and the study of alternative political systems and values. It seems, therefore, that political education in secondary schools consists of first, institutional political knowledge about the system and secondly, the development of political participation skills and understanding real issues of political life. Whilst the former is more common in 'O' Level courses and the preceding ages, the latter is more prominent in the senior grades of secondary schools.

Although improvements in political education in Egypt have been less than in England, in Egypt as well as in England it is in the senior grades that most changes have taken place. Whilst there is some evidence to suggest that the courses in political education in the primary schools and early years of secondary schools in

England are consistent with the approaches of political education, there has been little progress towards encouraging participation skills and critical thinking in primary and preparatory schools in Egypt. Furthermore, whilst there is an emphasis on the concept of political education in English schools, in the Egyptian schools both political socialization and political education are emphasized in all stages of education. However, there is a great emphasis upon the concept of political socialization at the primary stage. At this stage children acquire the feelings of loyalty towards the country and its political system through knowledge of the prevalent political attitudes and an emphasis on the government's achievements. Moreover, children acquire respect for the authorities and the norms of society. Perhaps, political learning in primary schools is based on the assumption that the early years are the most important in acquiring predispositions towards the country and the system.

Whilst the preparatory stage in Egypt is the most prominent stage in providing pupils with a large amount of political knowledge about the system which leads to loyalty to the system, there is a decreasing emphasis on such matters on secondary schools. In general, the school curriculum attempts to develop the participation skills of pupils and encourage them to take a more active part in the political life of their country. It seems that the approaches adopted in developing political education are : first, giving pupils the opportunity to practise democratic principles and

express their views through discussion of the democratic principles of the constitution; secondly, giving pupils the chance to understand and discuss some of the current social and political problems; thirdly, providing pupils with knowledge of the political system and attitudes in other countries with a focus on the democratic movement; fourthly, in developing pupils' understanding of political party matters and the role of the parties in developing social and political life in the society; fifthly, attempting to combine between the theoretical and practical experiences of pupils.

Although the school curriculum attempts to develop the above features, there are still many shortcomings which can hinder the movement towards the approaches of political education and consequently the ability of pupils to participate and to criticize political matters and issues. These shortcomings are attributable to : first, the school curriculum attempts to concentrate on the acquisition of political knowledge and attitudes about the system with the aim of promoting loyalty to the country and its system; secondly, there is a great emphasis on the successful achievements and policies of the government. The critical element of the courses are directed to past events and there is a failure to develop adequately the ability of pupils to criticize and discuss current political matters and issues. Thirdly, there is a lack of discussion of the realities of party political matters and their ideologies. Fourthly, despite the fact that the school curriculum attempts, through the school's activities, to relate the theoretical and practical

elements, the lack of school facilities and qualified teachers minimise the effectiveness of this approach.

It could be argued, therefore, that the emphasis on political socialization within the school curriculum in Egypt has an adverse effect on the development of political education which mainly aims to promote the ability of pupils to participate effectively in political life. In the Soviet school curriculum the adverse effect of political socialization is even more significant since there are no opportunities provided for the development of the pupils' participation skills or their ability to think critically about political issues. Participation in social and political life is only exercised and permitted in accordance with the perspectives of communist ideology and within the desired policy and resolutions of the Soviet government. Even so the emphasis on the process of political socialization in the Soviet schools does not necessarily guarantee the commitment and conviction to the Soviet ideology in young people.

CHAPTER NINE

THE ARAB SOCIALIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION AND THE RECENT POLITICAL PARTIES.

The Arab Socialist Youth Organization.

During the period in which there was a one party system in Egypt, the Arab Socialist Youth Organization (ASYO.) was established as a deliberate formal means to reinforce the role of the formal educational system in inculcating the political ideology in young people and support for the system. Whilst in the Soviet Union youth organizations are closely linked with all stages of education and perform the same function of political indoctrination, in Egypt the ASYO covered only the senior grades of schooling. Moreover, although the ASYO performed a similar role to political socialization in the school curriculum, it was separated from the educational system. This emphasizes the fact that the Soviet Union is more concerned than Egypt to secure co-operation and integration between the educational system and youth organizations in order to consolidate commitment to the ruling ideology, in this case Soviet communism.

The idea of establishing the ASYO as an independent organization for youth in Egypt emerged during the first years of the ASU (1962) but was not implemented until

July 1966. The organization was co-ordinated by and took directives from the ASU which was the only political party. It seems that there were two main factors behind the need for establishing the ASYO. First, the former political organizations (the Liberation Rally and the National Union) did not possess youth organizations that could arouse enthusiasm among young people and guarantee their support for the new system. Therefore, it was believed that the ASYO was necessary to support the ASU and increasing its membership from young people. The ASYO also aimed to prepared a new generation capable of providing leaderships in the ASU and securing the principles of socialism. In 1962 Nasser declared that the revolutionary work and support for socialism required leaderships from young people.(1) It his address to the Egyptian youth in 1965 Nasser also said:

> "First,our main work is to set up the Arab Socialist Union. The second operation which worries us, is bringing up the youth - the youth is considered the backbone in the Arab Socialist Union...I believe that we have aware youth, its thinking may not be fully clear but by means of organizing and explaining, we can create a great power that can protect the society and preserve the principles of the Charter." (2)

Secondly, there was a feeling that the radical revolutionary changes needed to be defended by those who believe in them and were capable of guaranteeing their continuity.

From the early sixties until the middle of the seventies(3) the policy of the ASU and state political

1). G.Nasser, Democracy, p.117.

2). Arab Socialist Youth Organization, Abdel-Nasser,p.97.

3). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organisation, Cairo, 21 July 1966, pp.11-14.(in Arabic); Arab Socialist Youth Organization, El-Taleha Newspaper, Cairo, November 1970. (in Arabic) Arab Socialist Union, 'Socialist Youth Organization in Brief' Cairo, n.d. TS. (in Arabic); A.K.Abou El-Magd, 'Youth Organisation in Egypt ', Al-Ahram, Cairo, 18 October 1984; Arab Socialist Union, Central Committee, Youth Secretariat, Documents of the Public Conference on the Declaration of the Youth Organization (24 July 1973), Dar El-Shaab, Cairo, 1973, pp.18-21, (in Arabic).

developments affected the work style and activities of the ASYO. Of all the other age groups of citizens young people were most affected by the 1967 defeat. They lost confidence in many of the country's leaders and they took part in the demonstrations of the students in February and November 1968 against some of the state's actions. The apparatus of security and intelligence became suspicious of young people in general and particularly the ASYO. The reactions of the state authorities had an adverse effect on the development of the ASYO, recruitment decreased and the ASYO confined its activities mainly to training the leaders. Moreover, as a result of the Movement of Correction in May 1971, a crisis in confidence arose between the ASYO and the President of the State who arrested most of the political leaders of the ASYO. In July 1973 a new regulation was issued to give the ASYO, to some extent, its independence from the ASU and to enlarge its membership. This regulation aimed to promote not only political training but also the social and cultural developments of youth and to channel their energies to the liberation of the occupied land of Egypt.

The ASYO continued to be affected by political development in the country which included the movement towards the acceptance of democratic principles. In line with the state's intentions to adopt a multi-party system, in September 1975 a new regulation was issued which introduced the principle of election and voting for all the ASYO officers. Moreover, the new regulation secured the right of the ASYO's members to express their points of view, and to discuss and propose policies at all levels of

of the ASYO (article 9). However, the ASYO still remained attached to the ASU. Article one of the regulation stated that the aim of the ASYO was "to work in accordance with the political plans of the Arab Socialist Union".(1) The termination of the ASU in 1976 inevitably put an end to the ASYO.

The main task of the ASYO had been to support the ideology of the new system and its political party, and to stimulate youth in taking an active part in developing their society. According to its regulations issued in 1966 the aims of the ASYO were:(2)

First, to prepare a new generation of youth which believed in the principles of the Revolution, and was obedient to its leadership and struggle for achieving a socialist society.

Secondly, to protect the Revolution and its achievements and secure its continuity.

Thirdly, to organize the youth efforts to achieve the aims of the development plans and to participate in the process of increasing production.

Fourthly, to provide the Party (ASU) with new members who believed in its ideology and were capable of providing leadership for the progress of society.

These aims remained the main core of all the subsequent

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1). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization, Guide on the Reconstruction of the Youth Organization by Election, Dar El-Shaab, Cairo, December 1975, (in Arabic).

2). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization.

regulations relating to the ASYO. However, the regulations issued in 1975 asserted that the aim of the ASYO was to train young people mainly in socialist behaviour, democracy and freedom, and constructive criticism and holding responsibility.

The ASYO members' duties and rights reveal that the organization sought to secure not only the commitment of the youth to the principles of the Revolution and the policy of the one party system but also to protect the system from the attitudes and values of its opponents. For example, all Egyptian young people between the ages of 15 and 25 years old had the right to be members of the ASYO. However, they were obliged to accept the principles of the Revolution, its leadership and the setting up of a socialist society. Moreover, a member of the ASYO had to be committed to the political line of the ASU and the instructions and decisions of the ASU leadership. It was also stated that any young person who accepted the rules and regulations of the ASYO had the right to be a member of the ASYO.(1)

Although the regulations of the ASYO emphasized that its members had the right to practise many democratic principles such as discussion, freedom of expression and criticism at all levels of the ASYO,

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1). Arab Socialist Youth Organization, Youth Secretariat, Socialist Youth, No.6, First year, Cairo, 1 June 1966, pp.17-18.

their duties prevented them from practising these rights. Moreover, the duties of members required them to ensure that non-members also accepted the ideology of the system. In effect the members were required to be guards of the Revolution and to detect any hostile attitudes towards the system and its leaders and inform authorities about them. A member of the ASYO was also required to discover supporters of the Revolution and stimulate them to join the ASYO. Undoubtedly, these duties made the ASYO like an intelligence apparatus to analyse opinion and detect opposition.

There was a significant change in the regulations issued in July 1973[1]. Whilst the regulations included most of the former duties, members of the ASYO were no longer required to detect opposition to the system. Furthermore, the membership was expanded to include young people between the ages of fourteen and thirty. The subsequent regulations issued in 1975 included[2] a further democratic development with the members of the ASYO were no longer obliged to obey the instructions and decisions of the higher levels within the structure of the ASYO. Moreover, they were given the right to take an active part in formulating and discussing policies and activities of the ASYO. Nevertheless, the members were still committed to the ideology

1). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization, The Fundamental Regulation of the Arab Socialist Youth Organization, El-Akhbar Press, Cairo, July 1973. (in Arabic).

2). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization, 'The Decree 30 in 1975 of the President of the Arab Socialist Union on the Reformation of the Arab Socialist Youth Organization', Cairo, July 1975, TS. (in Arabic).

of the system and the policies of the party.

The organizational structure of the ASYO was similar to and closely linked to the ASU. As in the ASU, the structure of the ASYO resembled a pyramid in which each level was directed and supervised by the one immediately above. The basic units included the members within schools, universities, factories and so on. Above them there were the district and governorate committees which were selected by the Central Committee of the ASYO. The highest level was the General Conference which elected the Central Committee.(1) Although the General Conferance selected the Central Committee of the ASYO, the Committee's membership was subject to the approval of the Higher Executive Committee of the ASU. Furthermore, whilst the Central Committee of the ASYO was responsible for the activities of the organization and the selection of its ranks, all these tasks were mainly under the supervision of the ASU and its policies.

Thus, it seems that : First, the ASU attempted to impose its political ideology on the ASYO since young people were requred to follow the principles and policies of the ASU and to be prepared to take over the responsibility of leading the political work in the ASU. Secondly, the ASU attempted to link the organizational structure of the ASYO and the structure of the ASU in order to facilitate the indoctrination of youth in accordance with the system ideology and the desired policies of its party. The ASU's control prevented the ASYO from meeting the needs of young people and to developing their ability to participate freely in political life.

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1). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization.

Although the regulations issued in 1973 attempted to make the ASYO more independent, the change was only superficial since the ASYO was still committed to the policy of the ASU. Article 4 of the 1973 regulations stated that : "The Arab Socialist Youth Organisation is the wing of the Arab Socialist Union. It has its independent regulations and responsibilities which are, (however), parallel to the regulations of the Arab-Socialist Union and work in complete co-ordination with it."(1) The most significant change was that the formulation of the Central Committee of the ASYO was accomplished without interference from the Higher Executive committee of the ASU.

The ASYO programmes of political education derived mainly from the principles of the revolutions of 1952 and 1971, and the state ideology declared in its documents. The ASYO prepared three programmes.(2) First, a programme for the youth who were non-members which aimed at developing their political awareness by providing them with knowledge about the importance of the ASYO, its aims and regulations. This programme included the principles of the 1952 Revolution, its necessity, and the government's achievements. It seems that the main aim of this programme was to convince the youth to join the ASYO and inculcate in them the ideologies of the new system.

1). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization, The Fundamental Regulation of the Arab Socialist Youth Organization.

2). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization, Official Documents of the General National Conference of Youth (30 March-2 April 1976), pp.64-68; Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organisation, A Report on the Achievements of the Arab Socialist Youth Organization, Cairo, March 1976, pp.17-19. (in Arabic).

Secondly, a programme was offered to the members of the ASYO,which included the modern history of Egypt which focused on the political and social life in Egypt before the Revolution, the struggle of Egypt for independence and progress, the political economy, the factors of underdevelopment, Arab nationalism and Arab unity. It seems that this programme concentrated on ideology of the system and that little attempt was made providing knowledge and an understanding of other world ideologies and issues.

Thirdly, a programme was introduced to leaders who were responsible for members' training and activities. This programme was designed at three levels. The first level was provided for the secretaries of the units and the committees of different levels. The programme included five lectures on the documents of the Revolution, and the methods of work which enabled the leaders to practise their responsibilities. The second level of the programme was designed for preparing and training those who were responsible for different activities. At this level the programme concentrated on the appropriate approaches for implementing activities. At the third level the programme was to qualify political directors who were responsible for training the ASYO's members. Political directors received in depth most of the materials that were taught in the previous levels. Moreover, they were provided with a specific course to enable them to work with youth such as the role of youth organizations, the psychological needs of youth and the methods of work with them.

The ASYO's activities were not restricted to political training and indoctrinating youth in the ideology of the system. The ASYO also attempted to promote and organize the social and economic activities of youth in order to utilize their efforts in developing the country. For example, young people participated in illiteracy campaigns, raising the standard of backward and weak pupils, raising the awareness of the youth in health and culture and taking part in solving their problems. Moreover, the ASYO took an active part in establishing productive projects by making use of the local possibilities, digging canals and fighting the agricultural pests. The ASYO also organized holiday camps, and art and sporting festivals. During the period from 1972 to 1975, the ASYO established 555 classes for the weak pupils, 114 classes for abolishing illiteracy, 81 local work camps which took part in cleaning work and filling up the pools, 19 canal reconstruction camps in the towns, 138 holiday journeys, 97 sporting parties and 44 sporting festivals.(1) Furthermore, the youth of the ASYO could form voluntary detachments to occupy the frontiers of Israel. They formed groups to share in civil defence and blood donations. For example, in 1973, 233,000 youth took

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1) . Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization, A Report on the Achievements of the Arab Socialist Youth Organization, pp.21-25.

part in the battle against Israel and civil defence, 122,000 donated blood, and 19,000 took part in public service activities.(1)

Clearly, the ASYO represented a political organization for the new generation aimed at supporting the Revolution and the ideology of the new system and creating solidarity among young people in achieving the progress of society. In spite of the defects in the activities of the ASYO, Abou El-Magd argued that the ASYO realized among its members a strong feeling of loyalty towards the country and its progress which still exists up to now.(2) This suggests that the ASYO succeeded in strengthening the feelings of loyalty towards the country based on young people's desire to achieve the progress of their society. Moreover, the ASYO effectively contributed towards creating political awareness and developing the ability of youth to criticise political life. Although this awareness could be partly attributed to the social and political programmes of the ASYO, it mainly resulted from the desire of youth to take an active part in the social and political life in accordance with the declared democratic principles of the 1952 Revolution. Furthermore, the negative aspects of the organisational structure of the ASYC and the dominating role of the ASU over it,

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1). G. Hyde, Education in Modern Egypt, p.166.

2). A.K.Abou El-Magd, 'Youth Organization in Egypt', Al-Ahram, Cairo, 14 October, 1984.

unconsciously created political awareness in the youth which took the form of objections to some of the state's policies. Many of the leaders of the current political parties were once members of the ASYO.

There were many negative features of the ASYO which stemmed from its organizational structure and style of work, attempts at political indoctrination, and the shortcoming in training facilities. The structure of the ASYO was characterised by a highly centralized system, with its Central Committee required to carry out the policy and decrees of the Higher Executive Committee of the ASU. This prevented members from participating in planning the activities of the ASYO and expressing their opinions. Moreover, the duty of the lower levels to follow and obey the decisions of higher levels was exploited by some of the ASYO's leaders who tried to impose their own views over the youth. For example, some of the leaders of the ASYO tried to polarize the view of its members in order to create a power to support their own political position.(1)

Because of the domination by the ASU, the ASYO failed to represent the view of the youth and to transmit their claims to the ruling authority. The youth had no means except through demonstrations and objections against authority to express their claims and participate in political life. For example, the Egyptian youth were affected by the defeat of 1967, the inability of the state to guard its land and the absence of democratic practices. Therefore, in February 1968 the youth demonstrated against

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1). Ibid.

authority and the light sentences given to military leaders who were responsible for the defeat of the army. The youth claims were : First, the retrial of the leaders of the army who were responsible for the defeat of 1967. Second, the freedom of the press, the introduction of democratic practices, and elections free from the interference of the ASU. Thirdly, the election of a student union without the interference of the the state and abolishing of detectives in the university[1]. Although the authority put an end to the youth demonstrations by force and violence, the youth demonstrated again in November in the same year. This evidence suggests that the attempts of political indoctrination by ASYO did not guarantee loyalty to the system.

In addition to the failure of the attempts at political indoctrination by the ASYO, it was also unsuccessful in its training programmes. Because of the rapid increase in its membership, the ASYO was not able to provide an adequate number of trained leaders or to provide appropriate political training for its members. The members regardless of their ages and thinking abilities only received ten days training at the socialist institutions. This merely consisted of some lectures concentrated mainly on the principles of the

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1). A.A.Badre El-Deen, 'The Phenomenon of Political Stability in Egypt (1952-1970)', Faculty of Economic and Political Sciences, Cairo University, Cairo, 1981, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis.

Revolution, the democratic socialist attitude, and the concept of Arab nationalist.[1] The attempts at indoctrination, the short period of training, and the age differences in abilities of understanding and thinking among members hindered the development of the ability of the members to participate in political life.

A report issued by the ASYO in 1976[2] noted that a lack of materials and qualified staff for training prevented it from fully implementing its programmes. Due to the small number of socialist institutions, it became necessary for these institutions to concentrate mainly on providing political training for the leaders of the ASYO. Moreover, the report indicates that many members in the basic units did not receive any programme of political training and the responsibility for their training was undertaken by unqualified staff.

Apart from the political ideology, there is great similarity between Egypt and the Soviet Union in respect of the purpose of youth organizations. Both countries established youth organizations to support the existing one party system and the ideology of the country. The process of political socialization in the Soviet Union takes place not only by means of the

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1). Arab Socialist Union, Assiut Governorate, Socialist Institution, 'Cultural and Social Programme (second regiment)', Assiut, n.d., TS. (in Arabic).

2). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization, A Report on the Achievements of the Arab Socialist Youth Organization, p.19.

school curriculum but also through the Soviet youth organizations. These organizations are seen as essential instruments to reinforce the role of the school in the political indoctrination of the Soviet ideology.

Youth organizations in the Soviet Union perform their tasks with young people from early ages of schooling at three levels; the Octobrists for the young child between the ages of seven to nine; the Pioneers for those between ten and fourteen; and the Komsomol (The All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League) for young people from approximately fourteen to the age of twenty-eight.(1) The activities of the Youth Organizations are described as social activities, but in fact are mainly based on the ideological beliefs of communism and devotion to the Communist Party. The main purposes of youth organizations are to rear young people in the spirit of communism, anti-religion and love for labour and the motherland. They also promote respect and obey the orders of the communist authorities and their leaders.(2)

The Octobrist groups are based on five rules which mainly reinforce the role of political and social up-bringing of children and stimulate young children to become members of the Pioneers. These rules include :

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1). F.C.Barghoorn, Politics in the USSR, p.105; N.Grant, Society, Schools and Process in Eastern Europe, p.70; U. Bronfenbrenner, Two Worlds of Childhood in U.S. and U.S.S.R., p.36; I.N.Thut and D.Adams, Educational Pattern in Contemporary Societies, McGraw-Hill, Inc., U.S.A., 1964, p.199.

2). W.Shimoniak, Communist Education, p.443.

First, Octobrists are future Pioneers. Secondly, Octobrists are diligent children, study well, like school, and respect grown-ups. Thirdly, only those who like work are called Octobrists. Fourthly Octobrists are honest and truthful children. Fifthly, Octobrists are good friends and read, draw, and live happily.(1) The Octobrist groups promote in young children feelings of loyalty towards the country and the political figures of the communist ideology. For example, Octobrists sing patriotic songs, learn about the life of Lenin, wear a badge with a little red star and a baby picture of Lenin, organize the flag ceremony and participate in the celebration of national events and holidays. Moreover, young Octobrists acquire some knowledge about local politics and also become acquainted with the norms of life within the collective(2). Thus, the main task of the Octobrist groups is to secure the objectives of the communist ideology in an appropriate and attractive way for the very young child.

In May 1922 a Komsomol conference, held in Moscow, decided to establish the Pioneer organization(3). The purpose of the Pioneer organization is to supply the Komsomol with qualified members from young people and to reinforce the role of the Soviet youth organizations

1). I.A.Kirov (ed.), Pedagogicheskii slovar (Pedagogical Dictionary), 2 vols, Moscow: Izdatelstvo Akademii Pedagogicheskikh Nauk,(1960), 38, Quoted by U. Bronfenbrenner, Two Worlds of Childhood in U.S. and U.S.S.R., p.37.

2). J. Zajda, Education in the U.S.S.R., pp.149-154.

3). K. Weaver, Russian's Future : The Communist Education of Soviet Youth, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1981, pp.32-33.

in political training in the norms of communist ideology. In the Teacher's Gazette in 1927 Krupskaya (Lenin's wife) argued that "the school and the young Pioneer movement pursue one and the same aim : to bring children up as fighters for and builders of a new system. The goal of the young Pioneer movement is to bring up a new youth which will achieve socialist, communist construction".(1) More recently on the 18th May 1976 at the All-Union Congress of the Pioneer leaders Brezhnev expressed the important role of the Pioneers in political and ideological training. He said :

> " Youth in our country is closely related to the Pioneer organization, which carries the name Vladimir Illich Lenin. In the Pioneer detachments and regiments millions of children undergo ideological, political, labour and moral upbringing; they learn to live, work and fight as the great Lenin bequeathed...Working with the Pioneers is a complex affair...requiring a high pedagogical mastery, profound knowledge, and a big soul and heart. Insist on studying Marxist-Leninist theory...Remember : Today they are children but tomorrow they are active builders of communism. (2).

The rules of the Pioneer indicate that the foremost role of the organization is to create in children love for the motherland, devotion to the communist authority, and love of work and the collective. For example, the rules state : First, A Pioneer loves his motherland and the Communist Party. Secondly, A Pioneer prepares himself to enter the Komsomol organization. Thirdly, A Pioneer

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1). Krupskaya, N.K., 'The Young Pioneer Movement as a Pedagogical Problem', in Uchitel' skaya Gazeta, No.15, April 8, 1927, Quoted by J.Bowen, Soviet Education : Anton Makarenko and the Years of Experiment, p.140.

2). Brezhnev, L., Pravda, 18 May 1976, p.1., Quoted by J.Zajda, Education in the U.S.S.R., pp.154-155.

learns well and is polite and well disciplined. Fourthly, A Pioneer loves labour and is careful of public property.[1] Clearly, both Octobrist and Pioneer organizations are established as an important means in fostering the communist ideology. They mainly aim to create a new generation which accepts the communist authority and is capable of building the communist society and promote collectivism and love of work.

Whilst the ASYO in Egypt covered only the secondary school years, the youth organizations in the Soviet Union cover all primary and secondary school years. Moreover, the Soviet youth organizations are closely tied with the work and aims of the educational system. Furthermore, all the Soviet organizations are interwoven and the membership of each one leads to the above organizations. The Komsomol, which represents the final level of youth organizations, is the most relevant to the Communist Party. These features of the youth organizations in the Soviet Union are important since the youth organizations are designed to help and support the role of the educational system in political indoctrination under the control of the Communist Party.

Each classroom in the Soviet Union is a unit of the Octobrist youth organization. At the level of the Pioneer and Komsomol organizations each classroom has one or more links consisting of from five to twelve members according to the level of the organization.

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1). N.Grant, Soviet Education, p.77.

Links are combined to form a detachment that includes all the children in a single school grade and then the several detachments of the school are combined to form the all-school brigade. A brigade selects a council consisting of between three to fifteen members[1]. The Octobrists are supervised and helped by the Pioneers which in turn are organized under the supervision of the Komsomol.[2] Whilst Octobrists prepare children for membership of the Pioneers, members of the Pioneers are prepared to be members in the Komsomol. Moreover, the Soviet youth organizations are seen as an integral part of the educational system and they are used to help in the implementation of school upbringing and activities.[3]

In Egypt the only political youth organization was the ASYO which existed for young people of the same age group as the Komsomol in the Soviet Union. Because the ASYO was established during the period in which Egypt adopted a one party system and it was also more close to the socialist system, it might be expected that there are similarities between the ASYO in Egypt and the Komsomol in the Soviet Union.

The All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League (Komsomol) was established in 1918 on Lenin's initiative to accomplish the task of communist education for the

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1). A Kassof, The Soviet Youth Program, Harvard University Press, 1965, pp.67-69.

2). C.D.Cary, 'Education for International Understanding in Soviet Schools', p.20.

3). B.Williamson, Education, Social Structure and Development, p.105; C.D.Cary, 'Political Socialization of the Soviet Youth and the Building of Communism' in G.K.Bertsch and T.W.Ganschow (eds.), Comparative Communism, Freeman and Company, San Francisco, 1976, p.292.

Soviet Youth. As in Lenin's address before the third Congress of the Komsomol in October 1920, the Komsomol must be organized by Communists to "learn Communism".(1) In July 1923 Lenin's wife (Krupskaya) defined the main aim of the Komsomol to improve in young people "communist consciousness by helping them to realize that they are members of the working class which is fighting for mankind's happiness, members of the huge army of the international proletariat."(2) The basic aim of establishing the Komsomol, to support the communist ideology and its party, has been emphasized by recent Soviet political leaders. For example, Brezhnev in his speech at the Komsomol's Congress in 1974 said:

> "Today the Komsomol numbers 34 million persons (young people) in its ranks. Youth enter the ranks of the Komsomol to express their love of loyalty to the Leninist Communist Party to devote themselves to the service of its ideals and to the building of cummunism. Soviet youth is following the road outlined for them by the great Lenin." (3)

Among the other youth organizations the Komsomol is seen as a most impressive agent for political indoctrination. The Komsomol inculcates in young people the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the heroic traditions of the revolutionary struggle, examples of the selfless labour of workers, and the collective farmers. Moreover, it aims to prepare young people for the defence of their

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1). K. Weaver, Russian's Future, pp.30-31.

2). Krupskaya, N.K., speech entitled 'International Children's Week' reportee in Pravda, July 24-30, Quoted by J.Bowen, Soviet Education : Anton Makarenko and the Years of Experiment, p.140.

3). 'Comrade L.I.Brezhnev's Speech at the Seventeenth Congress of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League on April 23, 1974' Soviet Education, Vol.XVII,No.4., February 1975,p.11.

socialist homeland. The Komsomol's rules are mainly to secure the communist objectives. These rules, for example, require[1] : First, loyalty to the cause of communism and love of the socialist motherland and of socialist countries. Secondly, conscientious labour for the good of society. Thirdly, a high feeling of awareness of social duty and intolerance of violation of society's interests. Fourthly, collectivism and comradely mutual aid : all for one and one for all. Fifthly, friendshop and brotherhood among all peoples of the USSR and intolerance of ethnic and racial hatred.

There is a similarity between the ASYO in Egypt, and the Komsomol of the Soviet Union in respect of their relationship with the political party. The Komsomol in the Soviet Union is officially described as " an autonomous organization of Soviet Youth".[2] The Komsomol, however, derives its support from the authority of the Communist Party in order to counteract and forestall the influence of the youth movements in democratic and burgeois societies. The earlier Komsomol rules which were issued in 1954 emphasized that "the (Komsomol) is joined to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union... The (Komsomol) demands from its members a persistent and ceaseless struggle for the realization of the decisions

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1). 'Rules and Regulations of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, Soviet Education, Vo. XVII, No.4, February,1975, pp.93-94.

2). Kassof, The Soviet Youth Program, p.49.

of the Communist Party and of the Soviet government".(1) Althouth subsequent Komsomol rules issued in 1962 attempted to make the Komsomol more independent from the Communist Party, the change was only superficial since the Komsomol was still subservient to the Communist Party. The preamble to the new Komsomol rules stated :

> "The Komsomol is the active assistant and reserve of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The (Komsomol) helps the Party to bring up youth in the spirit of communism... The strength of the Komsomol lies in the leadership of the CPSU, in ideological conviction, and in loyalty to the Party cause. The Komsomol learns from the Communist Party how to live, work, struggle and win in the Leninist way.(2)

It is clear from the official pronouncements that the Komsomol is the helper of the Communist Party in realizing and supporting the communist ideology. At the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party, Brezhnev re-emphasized that the role of the Komsomol' members is to help the party in carrying on the "cause of their fathers, the cause of the great Lenin". He also asserted that the task of the Komsomol in "bringing up the youth in the spirit of communist commitment".(3) Moreover, at the twenty-fifth Party Congress, Brezhnev considered the Komsomol as the "trusty ally of the Party."(4) The Komsomol, therefore, is the most essential resource in providing the Communist Party with new members. At the Seventeenth Congress of the Komsomol Brezhnev reported

1). Ustav Vsesoiuznogo Leninskogo Kammunisticheshogo Soiuza Molodezhi (Rules of the All-Union Leninist League of Youth, Moscos, 1959), pp.3-5, Quoted by Kassof, The Soviet Youth Program, p.51.

2). Komsomolskaia pravda, 21 April 1962, p.6. Quoted by Kassof, The Soviet Youth Program, p.51; 'Militant Helper and Reserve of the Party', Soviet Education, Vol.XVII, No.4. February 1975, p.29.

3). L.Brezhnev, Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, (Moscow, 1971), pp.93-94, Quoted by Barghoorn, Politics in the U.S.S.R, p.104.

4). L.I.Brezhnev, Leninskim Kursom (Moscow:Izd.Pol.Lit., 1976), Vol.5, 545, Quoted by S.White, 'Political Socialization in the U.S.S.R. : A Study in failure?", Studies in Comparative Communism, Vol.10, No.3., Autumn, 1977, p.332.

that "The living ties between the Party and the Komsomol are also expressed in the fact that tens of thousands of young leaders are elected to the Party's executive bodies : from bureaus and committees of central organizations to the Central Committee of the CPSU."(1)

There is a great similarity between the ASYO in Egypt and the Komsomol in the Soviet Union in respect of duties and rights of membership. The main similarity is that the membership of the youth organizations in the two countries is confined to those who are committed to the ideology of the system and the policies of the Party, and who also accept the rules and regulations of the organization. A member of the Komsomol is required to abide by the rules and regulations of the Komsomol, take an active part in building communism, carry out the decisions of the Komsomol and pay membership duties. A member of the Komsomol also has the obligation to promote his knowledge and understanding of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, to help in the implementation of the Communist Party policies and explain them to others, and to develop criticism and self-criticism.(2) Similar to the ASYO in Egypt, a member has the right to vote and to be elected to Komsomol organs and to discuss and make proposals relating to its activities. However, the

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1). 'Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's Speech at the Seventeenth Congress of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League on April 23, 1974', p.12.

2). 'Rules and Regulations of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League', pp.94-96.

indoctrination attempts of the Komsomol prevent the development of the ability of its members to think critically outside the norms of communism.

The organizational structure of the ASYO in Egypt were also similar to the Komsomol in the Soviet Union. In both countries the similarity is based on the determination of the party to create channels of communication to enable it to impose its policies over the organization and secure that it will implement the party's decisions and programmes of training. The structure of the Komsomol resembles a pyramid in which each higher level of authority is selected by the one immediately beneath. The basic units include the members' place of work, schools, universities, factories, farms and so on. Above them there are the city or district committees elected by the members of the basic units. The highest level is the Congress, which elects the Central Committee.(1) Each level of the Komsomol has an obligation to obey the decisions of the higher level.(2)

The Communist Party is considered the highest authority of the Komsomol since the Komsomol Central Committee is "directly subordinate to the Central Committee of the Communist Party" and the "work of local organizations is directed and controlled by the corresponding

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1). Kassof, The Soviet Youth Program, p.54; N.Grant, Soviet Education p.79.

2). 'Rules and Regulations of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League', p.99.

republican, provincial, city and regional Party organizations".(1) Moreover, the Party effectively saturates the Komsomol with its own members and the post of the first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee is held by a member of the party's Central Committee. This structure means that the Komsomol is in effect a wing of the Party. Although members have the right to criticise and discuss the Komsomol programmes and activities, such criticisms are ineffective due to the domination by the Communist Party and the higher levels over the lower ones. In the Soviet view, "criticism and self-criticism in the Komsomol must be directed towards...the optimal implementation of the decisions of the Party."(2)

In spite of the fact that there is a large number of members in the Soviet youth organisations who participate in their activities, there is a doubt about the effectiveness of the youth organizations in nurturing the desired political upbringing of young people. Whilst the members of the Pioneers are generally satisfied with their activities, members of the Komsomol are less satisfied with the activities of their organization. The findings of Soviet studies on the Pioneers' activities indicate that 75.5 per cent of pupils in the Pioneers age

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1). Quoted by Kassof, The Soviet Youth Program, p.52.

2). 'Rules and Regulations of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League', p.101.

group took part and were satisfied with their social activities. The others did not participate and were dissatisfied with the same activities. In another study related to the members of the Komsomol it was found that whilst 39 per cent reported that they were satisfied with their social activities, 56 per cent expressed dissatisfaction. (1)

Furthermore, the Soviet document "On further improvements in education and upbringing of the secondary school pupils and their participation for labour" issued in December 1977 revealed that the ideological training of Soviet Youth was not always realized. (2) A survey carried out by the Academy of Pedagogical Latvian secondary schools to determine the responses of Komsomol members to their societal tasks revealed that the Komsomol had failed to develop the personal conviction of many of its members to the Marxist-Leninist ideology. (3) Many of the Komsomol members were far from being ideologically convinced individuals and displayed materialistic motives towards life. Moreover, 47 per cent of the sample indicated that their participation in Komsomol activities should be carried out only, when it corresponds t one's personal interest and the majority felt that their participation was boring.

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1). C.D.Cary, 'Political Socialization of Soviet Youth and the Building of Communism', pp.293-294.

2). Uchitelskaya gazeta, 29 December 1977, p.1. Quoted by J.Zajda; Education in the U.S.S.R. p.174.

3). Uchitelskaya gazeta, 3 December 1977, p.3., Quoted by J.Zajda, Education in the U.S.S.R., p.175.

Obviously, the main task of the youth organisations in the Soviet Union is to extend and reinforce the ideological work in the school curriculum and to help the Communist Party in taking over the process of political indoctrination. These organisations are established to inculcate in youth the spirit of communism ideas, revolutionary labour, defenders for communism and love of motherland. Moreover, they aim to create in youth devotion and absolute obedience to the Communist Party and its policies and prepare them to be members in the Party. A considerable emphasis is placed on the role of the Komsomol in accomplishing these objectives and therefore it is closely supervised and controlled by the party.

However, the evidence suggests that there is a considerable dissatisfaction among youth with Komsomol activities. Similar to the reaction of young people towards the school curriculum, the nature of the age group of youth in the Komsomol, the development of their ability in criticial thinking and the authoritarian structure of the Komsomol are the main factors behind the dissatisfaction with the social activities and the incomplete conviction with the Marxist-Leninist ideology. It is obvious that indoctrination attempts are not consistent with the development of the ability of young people to think critically at this age. Moreover, the structure of the Komsomol and the domination of the higher levels and the Communist Party over decisions prevents the young people taking part in the selection and design of the activities.

Similar to the youth organizations in the Soviet Union, the ASYO was also established to reinforce the political indoctrination role of the school curriculum. However, in contrast to the youth organizations in the Soviet Union, the ASYO in Egypt covered only the years of secondary schools and worked separately from the educational system. The main aim of the ASYO was to secure the ideology of the new system and its party by inculcating in youth the belief in the principles of the 1952 Revolution and devotion to the system, obedience to the party and its policies, and feelings of loyalty towards the country and Arab nationalism. Moreover, it aimed to mobilize the efforts of youth to help in realizing the plans for developing the country. The ASYO's programmes of political education, which mainly adopted the concept of political indoctrination, were not parallel to needs of youth and developing their ability to participate freely in political life. The programmes were mainly directed to serve the political line of the ASU and the philosophy of the one party system.

The experiences of the ASYO indicate that the attempts of political indoctrination were not altogether successful in securing support for the political system, and subsequently it was necessary to resort to force and violence. Although the state established the ASYO as a means of gaining the commitment of youth and their support to the state's policies and its leaders, desires of the young people for democracy were stronger than the indoctrination attempts of the ASYO. In spite of the

fact that many of the democratic principles were assured in the documents of the Revolution, democracy was not practised at all levels of the ASYO. Thus, it was clear that there were differences between the democratic principles declared by the Revolution and the real practices within the ASYO. The youth, therefore, stood behind these democratic principles and rejected the attempts of political indoctrination and the domination of the ASU over their organization and the political life. In other words the ASYO practices unconsciously led to the development of political awareness among youth and criticisms of the system and its one party.

The Recent Political Parties

After the termination of the ASYO many of its members participated in political life through the National Democratic Party (NDP). This could be attributed to the effectiveness of the NDP and its ability to wield the authority. Moreover, many of the youth believed that the work with the NDP gave them more opportunities and responsibilities in the government and political life, than any other political parties. Those who still believe in the socialist principles as a main source to improve the society participated in political life through the Collective Progressive Unitary National Party (CPUNP). Other members of the ASYO affiliated to the other parties as they believed in their ideologies. The other groups of youth preferred to stay away from all political parties.

Many of the political parties exercised some sort of political education in order to promote loyalty to the

party and its principles, expanding the membership to youth, and prepared them to take a role within the party. These aims are accomplished through the establishment of a youth wing or a youth organization within the party and related to its structure and regulations. Up until 1984 there were five political parties. This study, however, concentrates on the NDP (the centre) and the CPUNP (the left) who are more interested in political education than the other parties. The available information suggests that the parties such as the Liberal Socialist Party and the Wafd are not yet involved in political education of youth, however, they are influenced by liberal attitudes which objects to, attempts of political indoctrination, and emphasizes the development of the ability of the youth to participate in a democratic society.

For example, the Liberal Socialist Party emphasize the understanding and discussion not only of matters of the party, but also of other parties.(1) Similarly the Wafd party emphasizes the necessity of youth freedom in opinion and early participation in political life.(2)

The other parties emphasize the practicing of democracy, however, they concentrate on discussing the matters of their particular party and discourage the

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1). Liberal Socialist Party, The Party Programme, Cairo, 1984, (in Arabic).

2). The Wafd, Cairo, 12 April 1984. (in Arabic)

understanding of the other parties viewpoints. Moreover, they are more concerned with securing the party and convincing the youth with its ideology.

Among all the other parties, the NDP is the most active party in the political education. The party, however, attempts to support its ideology through encouraging the youth to participate in political life, on the basis of the party ideology, and protect them from the influence of other political attitudes. In 1977 the first leadership conference for the youth of the NDP was held. The conference decided to establish a youth wing within the party to be responsible for organizing youth activities. From the beginning the youth wing declared its commitment to the philosophy of the party and the democratic socialist attitude. The youth wing also declared its belief in religious values, the democratic practice, participation in decision-making, peace efforts and Arab solidarity.(1) It is clear that these declarations are compatible with the ideology of the party which is based on the belief in religuous values, democratic socialism, the reconciliation of socialist practice and economic freedom, and Arab nationalism.(2)

In a similar way, the CPUNP established a youth

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1). National Democratic Party, Youth Wing, Documents of the First Leading Conference of the National Democratic Party's Youth, Cairo, 1979, pp.90-96. (in Arabic).

2). National Democratic Party, 'The Intellectual Framework of the National Democratic Party', Information Publication, No.55, May 1983. (in Arabic).

wing in 1976 to perform its task in accordance with the party ideology. Article 57 of the internal regulation of the party states that "the party should have a youth wing under the name of the progressive youth union in order to take the responsibility of activity in the circles of youth, preparing youth capable of leadership and continuous work within the party. The progressive youth union execute the party tasks and programmes in the field of youth particularly supporting their role in the service of the Egyptian masses and bringing up the youth in the spirit of patriotism and progressiveness".(1)

The organizational structure and style of work of the youth secretariats within the political parties are different from that of the ASYO. Whilst the ASYO was a parallel to the structure of the ASU, the secretariat of youth in the NDP, for example, is not separated from the party and it works as an integral part of the party and under the supervision of its general secretariat. Clearly this structure facilitates the communication between the party and the different levels of its youth secretariats and consequently support the ability of the party in supervising and directing the youth in accordance with the party policies and ideology.

The youth wing in the NDP consists of different levels begins with the local level and ends with the national level.(2) In every city there is a youth

1). Collective Progressive Unitary National Party, The Party Political Programme, Cairo, 1980, p.302. (in Arabic).

2). National Democratic Party, Youth Wing, Documents of the First Leading Conference of the National Democratic Party's Youth, pp.128-132; National Democratic Party, Youth Wing, Features and Commentary on the Plan and Programme of the Youth Party, Cairo n.d., pp.42-43. (in Arabic).

committee, led by a youth secretary whose job is to carry out the youth plan on the city level after being approved by the immediate higher level. This committee formulates the youth committees in basic units and directs their activities. Moreover, it accomplishes any political task derived from the party committee at this level. At the level of governorate there is a youth committee that includes the governorate youth secretary and youth secretaries in governorate's cities. The governorate youth committee is formulated by the governorate party secretariat. It performs similar tasks of city committees, however at the level of the governorate.

At the national level there is the youth secretariat which includes the general secretary of youth, youth secretaries in the governorate, and a number of the youth leaders in the party. According to the party regulations the youth secretariat undertakes the studying of all the draft laws submitted to the people's Assembly as regards to youth in the political and social matters. Moreover, the youth secretariat is responsible for securing and evaluating the implementation of the party policies and plans as regards youth at the national level. At all levels the youth secretaries are members in the opposite levels of the party. The belief in the political line of the party, an ability to defend its ideology, and acceptance of the regulations of the youth wing are prerequisites for the membership of those between the age of 18 and 30.

The main function of the youth wing is to provide the party youth with political education. The prominent

view of political education is to consolidate the political line of the party and its ideology through creating the ideological conviction among the party youth and the acceptance of its programmes. Moreover, it aims to display a predisposition towards the superiority of the party policies in facing the society problems and issues. The party, however, declares the significance of practising of democracy and developing the ability of the youth to participate in democratic and political life. The main source of political education is the principles of the 1952 and 1971 revolutions, democratic socialist, speeches and talks of the party leaders, and the Egyptian heritage. (1) Clearly, political education is mainly seen in terms of political indoctrination to support the party and display its ideology among the youth.

Similar to the NDP youth wing, the progressive youth union exercises its activity as one of the basic components of the CPUNP. There is also a close connection between the different levels of the progressive youth union and its counter levels in the party. This connection is mainly aimed to facilitate the communication between the party and its youth and enabling the party to realize its policies and programmes. At the level of basic units and cities the progressive youth union consists of the youth conference and committee. Above them there is the conference and youth committee at the governorate level. The highest level is the national level which consists of the general conference and the youth central committee. The youth committees at

1). National Democratic Party, Youth Wing, Documents of the First Leading Conference of the National Democratic Party's Youth, pp.143-144.

all levels are responsible for realizing youth activities designed by the higher level in accordance with the party policies and programmes. Moreover, they are involved in displaying the party ideology and increasing its youth membership for those between the age of 18 and 35. To secure the party policies, secretaries of youth committees and their members in all levels of the progressive youth union are represented in the party at countre level. Moreover, all union members are committed to the party ideology and its programme and accept the regulations and rules of the party and the progressive youth union. (1)

According to the political programme of the CPUNP, the progressive youth union aims to indoctrinate youth in the political line of the party.(2) Although the party encouraging youth to practise democracy and participation in political life, the principle of abiding by the ideology of the party and its political programme does not allow them to take an active role in the democratic life. In general the party emphasizes the principles of the 1952 Revolution, the establishing of democratic socialist society, the importance of the public sector, continuing the socialist transformation, and the belief in religious values and Arab unity. Clearly,

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1). Collective Progressive Unitary National Party, Progressive Youth Union, Toward the First General Conference of Progressive Youth Union, Cairo, 1984, pp.29-30. (in Arabic).

2). Collective Progressive Unitary National Party, The Party Political Programme, pp.76-87, 208-210.

both the NDP and CPUNP attempt to attract youth through the establishing of a specific youth organization within the main structure of the party in order to disseminate the ideology of the party among youth.

Although the political parties in Egypt emphasize the significance of democratic practices, parties' attempts to polarize youth and consolidate the party ideology do not provide youth with opportunities to recognize and understand the different ideologies of other parties. Political parties have the right to consolidate their ideologies and policies, however, the development of youth understanding and evaluating matters of all political parties are important aims of political education. That is to say, a real approach to political education could not be realized under the supervision of any political party.

Moreover, it is expected that political parties are not in the same position which enable them to display an equal opportunity of supporting their ideologies among youth. For example, the general secretary of youth in the ruling party takes over the responsibility of the chairman of the Highest Council for Youth and Sports. This organization was established to care for the youth throughout the country regardless of their party attitudes. It is supposed that the Highest Council's chairmanship is taken over by a member who is at least not a youth leader belonging to any party in order to avoid any attempt to impose any party viewpoint over the youth. Moreover, in the last elections in 1984 one of the opposition journals "The Liberals" accused the general

secretary of youth in the NDP of offering cheques, of financing the governorates youth centres to the NDP, candidates to make propaganda and consolidate their position in the elections.(1) In England there is an interest to encourage the British Youth Council and National Association of Youth Clubs to work in the field of political education,(2) however, these youth organizations refuse any external pressure that would impose specific political views over the youth. For example, the National Youth Bureau "insisted that it must been seen to be free from political bias."(3) The significant indication is that youth organizations should be free from the effect of any governmental or party political bias.

Furthermore, the CPUNP declared that since its establishment in October 1976 until 1981 its youth wing, could not practice political and social activities because of the political conflict which had arisen between the party and ruling authority and its opposition to the party ideas.(4) Moreover, the CPUNP expressed the inequality of the potentialities to the NDP and claimed for sharing other parties in joint activities on the grounds of equality in potentialities.(5).

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1). Liberals, Cair, 14 May 1984. (in Arabic).

2). R.Stradling, 'Political Education in the 11 to 16 Curriculum', p.99.

3). The Times Educational Supplement, 9 December 1983.

4). Collective Progressive Unitary National Party, Progressive Youth Union, Toward the First General Conference of Progressive Youth Union, pp.10-14.

5). Collective Progressive Unitary National Party, Progressive Youth Union, New Initiatives of Youth, Cairo, 1984, p.2. (in Arabic).

Whilst the main interest of the Egyptian political parties in political education is directed to provide the youth of the party with predisposition towards the party ideology, the political parties in England are involved in developing political education within the school. In 1973 the Political Sixth Form Conferences were held with representatives from the Conservative, Labour and Liberal parties on the premises of the Hansard Society. The Conference argued that "Civic education, whether in CSE, O or A-level syllabuses..., is both a highly important and a difficult, hence sometimes neglected area. It needs expansion and more thought for its educational values and as a deliberate attempt to make people aware of their responsibilities as citizens, which obviously must include the responsibility of supporting and even joining political parties and pressure groups".(1) Moreover, the two major political parties emphasize their support to the recent approaches to political education in the school curriculum. (2)

On the basis of these claims political parties in England emphasize the significance of the school curriculum, in carrying out the responsibility of political education. This emphasis is due to the fact that the introducing of political education is most significant

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1). D.Heater, 'A Burgeoning of Interest', p.342.

2). G.Whitty, 'Political Education in Schools', Socialism and Education, Vol.5., No.5, 1978, p.5.

during the years preceding the age of voting and joining political parties since young people should promote their abilities to formulate a specific view towards a particular party before they reach the age of voting and affiliating to political parties.

In November 1977, Norman St.John Stevas, the then Conservative Opposition spokesman on Education, reported that the education policy of the Conservative Party will support the introduction of political education into schools. Stevas recognized that "There are fundamental values on which our society is based and on which there is general consensus in the democratic parties." He advocated the need "to build up a consensus among the democratic parties".(1) However, he declared that "There are some values on which neutrality is not enough. We may legitimately expect from those teaching in our schools commitment to the Crown and Constitution. Loyalty to the monarch and our traditions are not optional extras but an intrinsic part of the value system which we may legitimately expect to be transmitted through our maintained schools system."(2)

The same approaches are expressed in the Conservative Party's discussion document issued in June 1978 under the title "A Time for Youth". The document reported that

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1). Norman St.John-Stevas, 'Political Education in Schools', Speech to Birmingham Bow Group, Conservative Central Office, 18 November 1977, p.1.

2). Ibid., p.1.

the youth policy was neglected and "This could produce great dangers for the stability of our system and the survival of our democracy"[1]. Thus, the party encourages the introducing of political education into the school curriculum for all pupils. Political education is seen "to instil in young people a framework of political values...to explain the system by which the nation is governed and how Parliament relates to other institutions, both local and national...(and) to give young people a greater knowledge of political facts..."[2] It seems that the Conservative Party is more enthusiastic in preserving the status-quo of the British system. Through a debate on political education a senior back-bench Conservative MP declared that "It is right that all young people coming up through secondary schools should be made aware of the British Constitution, the British way of life, the form of democracy and our parliamentary system",[3] The party, however, warning from bias and imposing specific viewpoints over pupils and recognize that the need for participation cannot be ignored.

On the other hand, the Labour Party emphasize a more active form of political education in schools. The

1). Conservative Party Study Group on Youth Policy, A Time for Youth:A Discussion Document, Conservative Central Office, June 1978, p.1. ,

2). Ibid.,pp.5-6.

3). R. Evans, 'Teaching about Politics', The Times Educational Supplement, 17 September 1982.

party is more concerned in developing the concept of participation through giving young people a feeling of democratic participation.(1) Neil Kinnock, who is currently the leader of the party,argues that political education is important in informing people about their rights and he sees education for citizenship as the "provision for enlightenment and for change".(2) Similar emphasis declared in the manifesto of the party in 1983. The party stated:

> In a country where people can, with the right understanding, take part in the decisions which effect their lives,...all schools should ensure that pupils gain the political knowledge, competence and confidence required to play a full and informed part in that decision-making. The curriculum should encourage responsible participation through an understanding of the political process. (3)

It seems that the two major political parties have different perspectives towards the concept of political education. On the one hand, although the Conservative Party defends the British democracy and its parliamentary system and recognizes the significance of participation, it mainly sees the role of political education in terms of maintaining the political status-quo. In its view political education is to "presenting the world as it is and explaining the system whereby formal politics administered".(4) On the other hand, the Labour Party sees political education in a more democratic society

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1). Ibid.,

2). G. Whitty, 'Political Education in Schools', p.7.

3). Birmingham Labour Party, Get Brum Back to Work! The Labour Party Manifesto, Birmingham, 1983, pp.14-15.

4). R. Evans, 'Teaching about Politics', The Times Educational Supplement, 17 September 1982.

and it particularly emphasizes the development of a participatory role of political education for political and social changes within British society. Nevertheless, the two perspectives of the two major political parties could not largely affect the objectives of political education in the school curriculum. Since recent developments of political education in England, as it has been seen, emphasize the two perspectives of conservative and progressive or more participatory role for change. Political education within school develop the understanding of pupils to the existing society values of system and at the same time improving their ability of participation of what values need change.

Despite the fact that the two major political parties in England advocate a specific perspective towards political education, there is a significant evidence to suggest that political parties have a desire to promote political education in schools and developing the ability of young people to understand and discuss different views of political parties. Political parties accept that pupils should have real facts about their different ideologies and understand the justification behind their policies. In the Political Sixth-Form Conference held in 1973, the three major political parties accepted the recommendation that there is a responsibility for political parties to talk to pupils through a programme organized by the school.[1] Moreover, Shirley

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1). D. Heater, 'A Burgeoning of Interest', pp.342-343.

Williams suggested that representatives of political parties should be allowed to speak to pupils.(1) Similarly, the Conservative Party reported that "representatives of the political parties should be allowed into schools to declare their political beliefs and their reasons for holding them".(2)

In comparison with England, the political parties in Egypt are more interested in supporting the ideology of the party and its policies. Although there is evidence to develop democracy and give youth the opportunity to discuss and express their viewpoints, the main aim of political education within the political party is to consolidate the party ideology and its political line. The performance of political education is accomplished by a specific youth wing associated completely with the structure of the party in order to realize the objectives of political education in accordance with the party line. Thus, the task of political education becomes political party work divorced from educational criteria.

Attempts of the Egyptian political parties to attract the youth and implant in them the party ideological beliefs may be justified on the ground that the youth party affiliated to the party after they accepted its

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1). The Times Educational Supplement, 21 October 1977.

2). Conservative Party Study Group on Youth Policy, A Time for Youth, p.6.

ideology. These attempts, however, will certainly affect the young youth at the beginning of the age membership and who have no real experiences in political life and who are unable to discriminate between the means of political propaganda and the formulation of a particular viewpoint arising from being convinced with the ideology of the party to which they belong. A further support for this argument is that there is a clear lack in knowledge and understanding of political parties ideologies amongst the Egyptian youth. In 1983, A professor in the Faculty of Economic and Political Sciences complained that many of his students (at the age of 19) were not able even to name the established political parties, their leaders, and their newspapers. Moreover, he expressed that there was a great lack of political interest among his students.(1)

The political parties in England emphasize the importance of the introducing of political education into the school curriculum and express their acceptance to the recent development of political education. However, they advocate a specific concept of political education consistent with the party beliefs. Thus, it could be argued that there is some similarities between political parties in both England and Egypt in respect of the party's attempt to support a specific view. Nevertheless, due to the more democratic practices in

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1). A. Al-Deen Hellal, 'The Future of Parties in Egypt', Ros El-Yousef, p.45.

England political parties' attempts to develop political education are more consistent than in Egypt with the recent development of political education.

Although the Conservative Party is more concerned in maintaining the status-quo, there is an obvious agreement on the importance of participation in political life and to avoid bias and imposing a specific view over young people. Moreover, the recent development of political education in England resolved the differences in the concepts of political education between the two major political parties. Furthermore, the encouragement of political parties to visit schools and talk to pupils helps, to a large extent, to overcome the possibilities of political bias.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION - WITH SOME RECOMMENDATIONS

General

This research is devoted to a study of the teaching of political education and its approaches in Egypt with reference to England and the Soviet Union. The implementation of the research is based on the theoretical framework of political education and the development of political life and ideologies in Egypt. Political socialization and political education are often regarded as coterminous and in most countries both political socialization and education are represented in the school. However, there are differences between countries as to the extent that a country practises the terms of political education or political socialization. Although political education is a part of political socialization, the former has a deeper conceptual approach than the latter since political education focuses on the development of the ability of the individual to understand and critisize the values of the system, to participate in political life, and to influence the system and its values. However, political socialization is seen as the political learning which aims to support the values of the system and its ideologies.

Ideological developments, values and policies of a system, the need of a system for support, and the desire of its leaders are the main factors which affect the concept of political education adopted by a country. Of all the ideologies and forms of governments, the democratic system is perhaps the most favourable for developing the approaches to political education. In democratic societies the need for political education is more necessary than in other ideologies in order to promote the ability of citizens to practise democracy and to participate in social and political life.

Official Attitudes to Political Education

In Egypt the Revolution of 1952 regarded the development of educational provision for all citizens as the main instrument for achieving the desired aims of the Revolution and securing the values of the political system and its leaders. Despite the fact that the Revolution aimed to develop democracy and many of its documents assured the principles of democracy, the failure to introduce democratic practices, the rigid system of socialism, and the belief in the one party system hindered the development of political education. During more than a quarter of a century the state official documents and pronouncements of the leaders continued to emphasize the concept of political socialization to support the Revolution, the values of the political system, and to declare support for the political leaders and their policies. Thus loyalty to the country was seen in terms of supporting the state ideology and commitment to its policies and leaders. During this period the Constitution

of 1971 was issued to bring about further development in democracy and in 1976 the one party system was replaced by political parties. However, official attitudes to political education remained largely unchanged. This was due to the restrictions on freedom given to the newly established political parties. The government continued to emphasize stability and support for its policies and did not feel strong enough to introduce democratic practices which might encourage criticisms of its policies.

The official approaches to political indoctrination in Egypt can be compared with the official statements in the Soviet Union. Clearly, Marxist-Leninist ideology and the objectives of the Communist Party constitute the main basis of Soviet education. Research findings reveal that official attitudes to political education in the Soviet Union reflected the concept of political socialization to secure the communist ideology and to build a communist society. The purpose of political socialization, as determined by the Soviet political leaders and the Communist Party, is to create an individual who must be an integrated part of the communist society, who thinks and acts in accordance with the policies of the Communist Party and its leaders. In the Soviet view, the task of political socialization is to inculcate in children and youth, loyalty to the communist system, ideas of Marxism-Leninism, love of the motherland, collectivism and love of work, the spirit of socialist internationalism, and hostile attitudes towards the capitalist systems.

From the beginning of the 1980's considerable

changes, however, have taken place in the state policies in Egypt including a greater freedom to establish political parties. Consequently, official attitudes to political education now emphasize the necessity of participation and the expression of different viewpoints as the main features in the development of democracy. Loyalty to the country still remains the most important aim of political education. However, it is based on the principles of democracy and the realization of appropriate changes in improving society. Recent development in political education in Egypt indicate that : First, whilst official pronouncements towards political education in the Soviet Union continue to emphasize the concept of political socialization, the approach to political socialization in Egypt could be changed towards political education in a democratic society. Secondly, there is an increasing similarity in approaches to political education between Egypt and England. However, improvements which have taken place in political education in England are more compatible with the characteristics of democracy than in Egypt.

Until the beginning of the 1970's official attitudes in England meant that political education was neglected. The main reasons for this neglect were due to the belief that discussion of political matters and understanding politics were beyond the ability of pupils under 16, the fear of indoctrination, the lack of qualified teachers, and that the representative system of democracy required only limited participation skills on the part of citizens. Nevertheless, these reasons can be contested and have not prevented the introduction of political education. First,

there is evidence to indicate that political education could be introduced to all pupils in secondary schools and even, to some extent, to primary schoolchildren. Secondly, political indoctrination can be largely avoided. Thirdly, the lack of qualified teachers can be overcome by teacher training. Fourthly, it could be argued that political education is vital in a democratic system to develop the ability of all citizens to practise and safeguard democratic life. Earlier official attitudes saw political education in terms of supporting loyalty to the country, the glories of the Empire, promoting political knowledge of the country, and developing the desired and prevalent values in an incidental way through the teaching of traditional subjects.

The most significant developments in promoting changes in political education came from the Politics Association and the Hansard Society which emphasized the importance of political literacy. Political literacy combines and reconciles the three approaches of conservation, participation and change, since not all the values of the system need to change. It also promotes the knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary to inform an individual about politics and develop his ability to participate effectively in political life. The concentration on the study of political life. The concentration on the study of political issues in depth is regarded as important in developing participation skills. The Politics Association argued that the exclusive courses which concentrate on the objectives of political literacy were more successful in developing political education. However, recent research

on the teaching of political education indicates that exclusive courses are not necessarily the most successful form of teaching political education.

The Provision of Political Education in the School Curriculum

In Egypt as well as in the Soviet Union the central control of education resulted in uniformity of the provision of teaching political education for all pupils throughout the country. This system facilitates the state's desire in providing all pupils with the same programme of political education. In both countries the Ministry of Education has foremost responsibility in determining the aim and designing the content of courses of political education. However, in the Soviet Union the Communist Party is seen as the most directly responsible body in all educational matters and in particular with respect to political education. In contrast to the Soviet Union, recent democratic developments in Egypt have provided educational planners with the opportunity to modify the aims and content of political education. The Ministry of Education in Egypt, however, still retains the final responsibility for the important matters of education including the provision of political education. In England there is a more decentralized system of education and several institutions and bodies have taken part in curriculum planning in political education. Consequently, there is considerable variety in the teaching of political education. The decentralized system also tends to act as a constraint on governments and parties attempting to seek to propagate and support specific views and policies in

political education courses.

In Egypt, the time devoted to the teaching of the subjects related to political education and their political content are affected by the ideological development. Social studies and civic education are the main channels for teaching political education and providing pupils with political knowledge and values. Whilst civic education , particularly in preparatory schools, is seen as the most important means for introducing political education, history courses make a complementary contribution to the civic courses. History courses are significant in providing pupils with political knowledge and the values of their country in a historical content. They are also important in giving pupils some justifications for and understanding of the existing system and its values. Geography couses are less important than civic education and history in providing pupils with political education.

Similarly, in the Soviet Union the traditional subjects of humanities are used in teaching political education. In contrast to Egypt, however, the Soviet Union uses more fully all aspects of the curriculum to inculcate in pupils the communist ideology. In both Egypt and the Soviet Union, not all aspects of social studies have an equal importance in the teaching of political education although they contribute to political education. Whilst the civic courses are the most prominent courses in the teaching of political education in Egypt, history in the Soviet Union plays the most significant role in the implanting of the Soviet ideology and the story of the Communist Party. This accrues with

the concept of historical materialism which regards history as the most important means of convincing youth that their society will be transformed automatically into a communist society. However, the realization of communist society also necessitates devotion and commitment to a Marxist-Leninist belief system which is also fostered in history courses. The communist ideological perspective to the teaching of history prevents the application of education criteria to be used in developing political education through the teaching of history.

In England social studies, particularly history, are still the main sources for teaching about political education. However, there is a great interest in developing new patterns of courses to promote the teaching of political education such as exclusive and modular courses. These courses, in general, have been influenced by recent developments in political education and attempts to develop the ability of pupils to take an active part in political life through developing their understanding of political knowledge, values and concepts, and participation skills. However, the tentative experimentation with these courses emphasizes that political education needs to be placed in a socio-historical context to be interesting and understandable to pupils. This stresses the significance of social studies in the introduction of political education. However, it is also important that any courses in political education should include the development of an understanding of knowledge, values and concepts, and participation skills.

Approaches to Political Socialization in the School Curriculum.

In all three countries the aims and political content of the school curriculum are compatible with the respective perspective of the official attitudes to political education. In Egypt there have been two distinct periods which have affected the introduction of political education into the school curriculum. During the period from 1952 until the beginning of the 1980's the political content of the school curriculum mainly emphasized the concept of political socialization to support the new regime and its political values and leaders. Since the beginning of the 1980's, however, there have been serious attempts to extend democratic practices through the establishment of political parties and giving them more freedom to participate in political life. Accordingly, changes are being made to develop political education. However, the political content of the school curriculum still emphasizes many approaches of political socialization in order to promote loyalty to the country and its values system. Thus, at the present time the school curriculum still emphasizes the concept of political socialization but also includes elements of the concept of political education.

There are some similarities between Egypt and the Soviet Union in respect of the emphasis of the school curriculum on the approach of political socialization. The similarities were more significant during the period in which Egypt adopted the one party political system and it was close to the socialist solution. The one party

system and non-democratic system emphasized and adopted the process of political socialization to support their political system and its policies. Nevertheless, whilst recent developments in democracy in Egypt provide an opportunity for the school curriculum to move from a rigid concept of political socialization to the more open approach of political education, the school curriculum in the Soviet Union has remained as an essential means of political indoctrination.

In spite of the fact that all three countries emphasize the concept of promoting loyalty to the country and the values of the system with the idea of creating coherence and national consensus, there are obvious differences between the three countries in respect of the extent to which the school curriculum practices the concept of political socialization. The school curriculum in the Soviet Union attempts to create a closed community based on the communist ideology. A similar aim is to be found in Egyptian schools. However loyalty to the country is less related to a rigid ideology since the opportunity is given to practice democracy and to influence the values of society and system. Creating coherence and national consensus are also desirable aims in the school curriculum in English schools. However, there is a little evidence to suggest that the approaches of political socialization are widely used.

The differences in the extent to which the three countries exercise the approach of political socialization are mainly related to their political ideology. Undoubtedly the nature of the more democratic system in England and

the existence of strong opposition and other viewpoints have affected the development of political education. Moreover, recent developments in political education reject any attempts to support any system or specific views in the school curriculum. Recent developments in democracy in Egypt have resulted in departures from the concept of political socialization to a more open form of political education through developing the ability of pupils to participate in political life. The retention of the concept of political socialization in the school curriculum might be justified on the grounds that the school curriculum needs more time to be developed. However, it seems that there is still a belief that schools should be required to promote solidarity within the society and support the changes and values in the system. In the Soviet Union the concept of political socialization in the school curriculum is based on the belief that the Soviet society must move towards the realization of the communist society. It is commonly acceptable, therefore, that the school curriculum should rear young people in the spirit of communism and prepare them to build and defend communism.

During the period preceding the recent developments in democracy in Egypt the aim of much of the content of the school curriculum in all stages was to inculcate in young people loyalty to the country and support for the new political regime and its leaders. The concept of loyalty to the country was seen in terms of displaying the ideology of the new system and its leaders, promoting the concept of Arab nationalism and securing Arab unity, and

creating a hostile predisposition towards imperialism and all kinds of exploitation. Clearly, most of these aspects could be attributed to the historical experiences of Egyptian society, the need for support of the new revolutionary system, and the necessity for stability in creating solidarity within the society. Whilst the creation of solidarity and stability are acceptable, most of these aims were not compatible with democratic principles which the Revolution aimed to achieve.

At the present time the school curriculum, in general, still emphasizes many approaches of political socialization. The emphasis on the concept of political socialization is more common in primary schools (grades 1-6) than in senior grades. The main aims of political socialization are to inculcate in children the spirit of nationalism towards the country and its defence, the ideology of the system, and support for its policies and government's achievements. Moreover, loyalty to Arab nationalism is also emphasized. Through direct and indirect political learning children acquire loyalty to the country and its political system and they also acquire predispositions towards obedience to the authority and acceptance of the political and social values. The emphasis on loyalty to the country and values of its system is based on the assumption that the primary school years are the most appropriate years in creating positive predisposition towards the country and its system.

Despite the fact that pupils in preparatory schools (grades 7-9) are provided with some opportunities to develop their ability to participate in democratic life

and to become acquainted with some of society's problems, the school curriculum continues to indoctrinate pupils in loyalty to the country and the policies and successful achievements of the political system. The most common feature in the preparatory schools is that courses in political education cover in depth prominent political values and concentrate on political knowledge about the national government and the state constitution. In secondary schools (grades 10-12) less emphasis is placed on political socialization and more concern is given to develop political education.

In Egypt the concepts of loyalty and nationalism are not restricted to love of country and the Arab world but also include international understanding. The school curriculum in England is more concerned than in Egypt in providing pupils with international understanding of other countries, however understanding British society and creating coherence and national consensus are also emphasized. In contrast to Egypt and England, the concept of loyalty to the motherland in the Soviet Union is solely based on the communist ideology since school curriculum links love of the motherland with loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the acceptance of the Communist Party and the policies of its leaders. Furthermore, internationalism and international understanding are also seen in terms of the communist ideology and support of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

In all stages of education in the Soviet Union and even in kindergartens, an intensive effort is made to inculcate in pupils a Marxist-Leninist belief system.

In kindergartens young children are provided with concrete political figures that foster devotion to the motherland and the Communist Party. As children progress they receive direct political indoctrination in the communist ideology and political values in a more abstract manner. On the assumption that the early years are significant in promoting positive attitudes towards the system and its values, primary schools include a considerable amount of political socialization. There is an increasing emphasis upon Marxist-Leninist ideology as pupils progress from middle to senior grades in secondary school. Pupils in senior grades are expected to develop more sophisticated knowledge of the theories of Marxism-Leninism. The concentration on Marxist-Leninist ideology in senior grades is consistent with the ability of students at this age in understanding political ideologies. Students, however, at this age also develop their ability to think critically. Thus, the indoctrination attempts at the prescribed ideology of communism are not guaranteed to create a conviction to Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Approaches to Political Education in the School Curriculum

At the present time the school curriculum in Egypt is becoming increasingly concerned with the development of political education through promoting the ability of pupils to participate in social and political life and to practise democracy. This development is more marked in courses offered to older pupils in secondary schools that at lower ages. In spite of the fact that the

development in political education in England is greater than in Egypt, in both countries the most significant developments have taken place in the senior grades. This is perhaps consistent with the fact that pupils within the senior grades are more able to think in a critical and abstract way. Whilst there is some evidence to suggest that courses in political education for primary schools and the early years of secondary school in England are consistent with the approaches of political education, there has been little progress in preparatory schools and much less progress in primary schools in Egypt towards developing the critical thinking and participation skills of pupils.

Formerly political education in the school curriculum in England was concerned with a descriptive approach to knowledge about political institutions and the British constitution. However, a considerable change has taken place towards developing more active forms of political participation. The recent changes emphasize more development of pupils political awareness and participation skills through understanding and discussing political matters and issues. In the first years of secondary schools and in 'O' level courses, the main focus is on providing pupils with knowledge about local and central government. However, there is an increasing emphasis particularly in 'O' level, on developing participation skills. Political education courses at 'A' level are more concerned with developing political awareness and participation skills through the introduction of current political issues and affairs, matters of

political parties, pressure groups, alternative political systems and values, economic concepts and its relation to politics and life, political concepts and realities of the political system, and encouraging pupils to express their own views and to take an active part in discussion and decision-making.

The main features in the recent developments in political education in the school curriculum in Egypt are :

First, schools are expected to promote the understanding of democratic concepts and the necessity of democracy to the development of the society. Children are provided with opportunities to discuss the declared principles of the constitution and to express their own views through classroom discussions. Secondly, pupils are provided with opportunities to discuss some of the failures of society and its political and social problems. However, courses in political education concentrate on the successful policies and achievements of government and most of the criticisms are directed towards the failures of the past society. Moreover, insufficient time is devoted to an analytical approach and discussion of current issues and problems which are important in developing participation akills of pupils.

Thirdly, political education courses in the school curriculum provide pupils not only with political knowledge and values about local and central government, but they also attempt to develop political knowledge of the values of other countries. It is expected that pupils will become acquainted with political knowledge about

international institutions and alternative political systems and values with special emphasis given to the democratic countries. However, there is a lack in developing the ability of pupils to criticize the values of the system. Moreover, there is a concentration on providing pupils with descriptive political knowledge rather than encouraging an analytical approach to the system and this inhibits the development of critical thinking of pupils and their ability to relate the function of political institutions to the realities of the political system.

Fourthly, attempts are being made to develop pupils' understanding of political party matters. In political education courses pupils acquire some knowledge about the recently established political parties and they compare the disadvantages of the one party system with the significance of political parties in developing democracies and participating in the improvement of the social and political affairs of the society. Pupils are required under the supervision of their teachers to visit and discuss with the political parties, their ideologies and programmes. In spite of the significance of this approach in promoting the political awareness of pupils and their understanding and participation skills in political life, an inadequate political knowledge and understanding of political parties and their ideologies towards society problems are provided. Moreover, visits to political parties in most cases are ineffective due to the lack of local offices of the political parties in many of the school areas and due to the bias of some

teachers toward a specific political party.

Fifthly, there is a great interest in linking the theoretical aspects in civic courses with practical elements and the interest of pupils and their school activities. However, as in other shortcomings in introducing political education, the lack of qualified teachers capable of understanding the aims of political education and linking between theoretical and practical elements hinders the development of political education.

The Role of Political Parties.

The Arab Socialist Youth Organization (ASYO) was established in Egypt to reinforce the role of schools in political indoctrination. Apparently the ASYO was created to provide social and political activities for the youth. However, the aims of the ASYO, its relation to the ASU, its structure and style of work, and the duties of members indicate that the ASYO was mainly a political organization for young people who were committed to the values and policies of the political system. The youth organizations in the Soviet Union have similar characteristics to the ASYO in Egypt. The youth organizations in the Soviet Union were established to reinforce the role of formal education in the process of political indoctrination and to inculcate in young people the morality of the communist ideology and devotion to the Communist Party.

Among the Soviet youth organizations, the ASYO in Egypt was similar to the Komsomol in the Soviet Union. The similarity is based on the fact that the two

organizations were established to secure the policy of the one party system. To a large extent, the purposes, membership, structure, relation to the party and the style of work were similar in the two organizations. However, the termination of the ASYO in Egypt reflects a significant difference between Egypt and the Soviet Union. Whilst the Komsomol continues to support the Communist Party and the state ideology, the ASYO in Egypt provoked criticisms of the policies of the system and the absence of democratic practices.

The Octobrists and Pioneers organisations in the Soviet Union play an important role in implanting in young people the spirit of communism, love of the motherland, and devotion to the Communist Party. The Komsomol however, is seen as the most important servant of the Communist Party in the implementation of political indoctrination of youth and in providing the party with new members. Thus, all of the Komsomol activities are under the supervision and control of the Communist Party. As in the case of the school curriculum, the indoctrination attempts of the Komsomol are not guaranteed to create, in the Soviet youth, a full conviction to the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The aims of the ASYO in Egypt were to secure the principles of the Revolution and loyalty to the country, and to guarantee the support of the youth to the system and its party. The organisational structure of the ASYO was designed to be consistent with the structure of the ASU in order to facilitate control over the ASYO and to realize the political indoctrination of the youth. These features

and the absence of democratic practices were the main factors in hindering the development of political education and restricting the ability of the young people in expressing their own views. The ASYO, however, was inadvertently instrumental in developing the wider political awareness of the youth which took the form of angry demonstrations against some of the state's policies. This was mainly due to the desire of the youth to participate in social and political life and to realize the progress of their country based on the declared democratic principles of the Revolution in 1952. Thus, it could be argued that the attempts of political indoctrination of the ASYO to a large extent failed.

Although the political parties in Egypt emphasize the significance of practising democracy, they tend to support an approach to political socialization which reflects support for the ideology of their own party and the means for securing their policies. The two most active parties (the NDP and CPUND) provide political learning through specific youth wings that are linked completely to the structure of the parties. They see political education mainly in the form of political indoctrination to consolidate the ideology of their parties, convert youth to their political plan and programmes, and to persuade youth to join their parties. Thus, the youth wings tend to inhibit the development of young people to understand and formulate their own views towards political parties and issues.

The aim of political education in the view of political parties are similar to the aims adopted by the former ASYO.

It would be argued that the ASYO was substituted by several youth organizations belonging to the political parties with each organization is adhering to the ideology of its party. Although there is a great similarity between the political parties and the ASYO in respect of their attempts at political indoctrination, the extent of political indoctrination by the political parties is less than it was in the ASYO. This is mainly due to the existing movement towards democratic practices and the introduction of newspapers by parties which encourage political awareness among young people. Moreover, whilst the membership of the ASYO was for the youth between the ages of 14 and 30, the membership of the youth wings of the political parties are for the youth between the ages of 18 and 30 or 35. Consequently, there were great dangers of political indoctrination attempts for those at the age of 14 in the ASYO than for those at the age of 18 in the youth wings of the political parties. Presumably at the age of 18 young people join a political party from a self-chosen conviction of its ideology. However, since young people in Egypt at the age of 18 tend to be politically immature and a lack of experiences in their new democratic practices, the indoctrination attempts of political parties might have a harmful affect on the development of political awareness among young people.

Political parties in England emphasize the significance of the school in political education as a means of providing pupils with the opportunity to understand and discuss different views of political parties. However, the two

major political parties differ in their view on specific tasks of political education which are based on their ideologies. In this respect there is a similarity between Egypt and England but the political parties in Egypt are more concerned in inculcating in the youth the specific view and ideology of their own party. In England the Conservative Party is broadly concerned with maintaining the parliamentary system of the British democracy, and preserving the status-quo of the British traditions and the monarch. The Labour Party encourages a more open form of participation in political and social life to introduce changes within the British society. Both parties, however, recognize the dangers of political indoctrination and imposing specific views on the young people. It could be argued that whilst political parties in England emphasize the significance of schools in developing political education, in Egypt the political indoctrination task of political parties gives an indication that schools are the most important means of political education.

Some Recommendations.

At a time when the Egyptian society is hoping to become a more democratic society, political education becomes a prerequisite in developing democracy. Therefore, above all this research recommends that improvements in political education necessitate the relinquishment of the political socialization approach. There is considerable evidence to suggest that the political socialization approach neither develops democracy nor

propagates successful support or stability for the system and its policies. Since 1952 democracy in Egypt has developed very slowly and at times somewhat haltingly. Political socialization in the schools has been one of the most significant factors in hindering the development of political awareness in youth and their ability to practice and develop democracy. At the present time there is evidence of a movement towards developing political education in schools. However, if the already existing approach of political socialization continues, democracy in Egypt will develop more slowly than expected. Although there is no empirical evidence to show the ability of pupils to practise democracy and participate in political life, other evidence indicates that young people lack political awareness and an ability to participate in political life.

In the Soviet Union there is evidence to suggest that the predominant approach of political socialization and political indoctrination does not guarantee success in bringing up all young people to accept Soviet policies or with a personal belief and conviction in the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Whilst political socialization in the Soviet Union could be justified on the basis of the nature of the Soviet ideology, in Egypt political socialization is no longer appropriate for developing the desired aim of extending democratic practices.

The fact that young people in Egypt have demonstrated against certain policies of the state, suggests that political socialization does not necessarily guarantee support for the system. Moreover, the outcome of political socialization is only one factor among others which can affect loyalty to the system and its stability. Stability

is mainly related to the political behaviour of the system and its ability to adapt successfully in response to changes demanded by the majority. Loyalty to Egypt, therefore, is not necessarily synonymous with support for the policies of the system. It is mainly concerned with improving social and political conditions of the society even if this contradicts the policies and values of the system and requires changing some of them.

In spite of the fact that education alone cannot change the values of the system and its policies, it can influence the system through developing democratic practices. Loyalty to the country, therefore, should be seen in terms of supporting the principles of democracy. Young people should learn to accept only what they believe, with conviction, to be the appropriate values and policies for society after open consideration and discussion. Thus, it is necessary to develop their ability to criticize and influence the system and to change inappropriate values and policies.

The findings of the research indicate that the recent developments in political education emphasize the necessity of political knowledge, attitudes and participation skills as essential elements in developing political awareness in young people and their ability to participate effectively in political life. Political participation in a democratic society is inevitably a prerequisite to develop democracy and to increase political activity in the largest number of citizens. In Egypt it is hoped that democracy will become a reality. However, it is noted that courses in political education concentrate on a descriptive approach to political knowledge and there

is a lack in promoting adequately an approach to participation skills. Moreover, most of the values represented in the school curriculum tend to emphasize support for the system and a critical approach towards the values of the system is neglected.

Therefore, it is recommended that courses in political education should include the three elements of political knowledge, attitudes and participation skills. Developing participation skills is more appropriate in secondary schools than in primary schools due to the development of critical thinking in pupils. Thus, more attention should be given to developing participation skills in secondary schools (including preparatory schools).

Political knowledge should give pupils an understanding of basic political concepts, the local and central government of the country and how they work and make decisions, alternative forms of government with their strengths and weaknesses, actual facts about basic problems and issues, and what sources of information are available when pupils need them. Courses in political education should not advocate any specific values but they should develop the ability of pupils to examine and evaluate the values of the system. This would develop a conceptual understanding and critical attitude towards the values of the system and therefore pupils could develop their ability to make their own judgements on the values of the system.

It has been noted that there is a shortage of materials for developing participation skills. It is recommended, therefore, that courses in political education

should provide pupils with more opportunities to discuss current and controversial issues. What is needed here is to identify issues that arise from every day political life. Issues could be selected from the media, political party matters and conflict, elections and electoral behaviours, and the economic matters. It is also important that selected issues should be close to the experiences of pupils and arise from their own interests. A vital pre-condition is that discussion should be opened and not seek to impose on pupils specific views. Pupils should have the opportunity to examine and evaluate knowledge and evidence related to the issue, and to formulate their own views and discover alternative solutions towards the issue.

The research findings reveal that there is lack in providing pupils with adequate political knowledge and ideologies of political parties. An understanding of party political matters is significant in developing the ability of pupils to participate in political life and preparing them to take some responsibility in the political parties. This is particularly vital as the political parties in Egypt are newly established and many young people have no clear idea about them. Thus, it is recommended that political education courses should give more attention to providing pupils with detailed knowledge about the political parties, their ideologies and policies towards political and social issues. Moreover, it would be more useful to invite representatives from the political parties to visit schools instead of the visits of pupils to the local offices of political

parties. Each representative from the political parties should have an equal opportunity in talking to pupils about their party's ideologies and programmes. This would avoid, to a large extent, the possible bias and indoctrination attempts of teachers towards a specific political party. Furthermore, these visits would help pupils to formulate their own views towards political parties.

As well as in secondary schools, most of the above mentioned recommendations should also be given more attention in the preparatory schools (ages 13-15). This is important since many pupils leave schools at the age of 15 and also there is evidence to suggest that the political education courses at this stage give insufficient attention to the development of critical attitudes and participation skills. It is also recommended that primary school children should receive some sort of political education since they are capable of understanding some of the social and political concepts.

It has been noted that one of the main factors which has prevented the development of political education is the central control over the educational system. At the present time official attitudes and the state pronouncements have already recognized the significance of political education. However, the approaches to political education in the school curriculum are developing slowly. This can be accounted for by the fact that the responsibility for developing the school curriculum, including political education, is restricted to the planners and designers within the Ministry of Education. Evidence suggests

that a more decentralized system of education and providing opportunities for several bodies to contribute to the development of political education, prevents attempts at political indoctrination. Thus, it is recommended that more opportunities should be given to several bodies including the local educational directorates, inspectors, teachers, pupils, parents, and universities staff to share the responsibility for developing political education and to participate in designing courses.

In the light of evidence from the experiences of the ASYO and from the recent political parties, in order to avoid any attempts of political indoctrination it is suggested that the responsibility of political education should not rest with the political parties. For the same reason any youth organization should be free from the influence of the government and the authorities of the political parties. The experience of the ASYO indicated that the Egyptian youth needed an organization through which they could promote their ability to participate in social and political life on the basis of democratic principles. Thus, the establishment of National Youth Organizations for all Egyptian youth, regardless of their 'immatured' political beliefs is recommended. This organization should be free from government authority and any political party and should be mainly directed by the members themselves. The suggested organization would be supervised and financed by the existing Highest Council for Youth and Sports which in turn must be independent of the government and political parties.

The suggested organization should be for young people

between the age of 15 and 21. The aims of the organization would be to allow young people to pursue their own chosen activities and to promote their political awareness and an ability of participation in political democracy. More opportunities should be provided for the study of the political parties matters and their ideologies, elections and electoral behaviour of citizens. It is essential that this organization should give young people opportunities to express freely and formulate their own views, in particular towards political parties. A gap of three years between the school leaving age (15) and the age of voting (18) emphasizes the significance of this organization in preparing those who leave schools at the age of 15 to carry out their responsibilities in political life.

Further research is recommended to improve the political education in Egypt. First, much of what has been recommended is dependent on trained teachers who are capable of teaching political education. However, it has been noted that there is a shortage of qualified teachers with suitable training to enable them to make an effective contribution to political education. More research is needed to develop courses and training programmes for student teachers and in-service training. Such research should concentrate mainly on the most appropriate ways in developing teacher's awareness and understanding of the nature of political education and political socialization, the democratic form of government and the need for political education in Egypt, an analytic perspective to the existing political content

in the school curriculum, and teaching skills for political education.

Secondly, developing an ability to participate in political matters is not restricted to the formal means of the school curriculum. Extra-curriculum activities are also effective in developing this ability. Therefore, further research is needed to define and assess the contributions of these activities to developing the participation and decision-making skills of young people. Thirdly, it has been observed that there is a lack of empirical research into the attitudes of pupils towards the political system and its values, their political knowledge and abilities of participation in political life, and the influence of the school curriculum in developing these aspects. Therefore, more research is recommended into these areas based on appropriately designed tests, questionnaires ,interviews and classroom observations.

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