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EDUCATIONAL AIMS AND POLICIES OF THREE ARAB COUNTRIES WITH
SOCIALIST POLITICAL OPTIONS: A PROBLEM SOLVING APPROACH.

Ph.D. Thesis By Youcef Kadri.

ABSTRACT

The Topic of this research is an enquiry into the field of values and the policies related to them, in the context of Arab education. The objective is to contribute to ALESCO's research in the field of philosophy of Arab education and the practical problems related to it. The approach is the Holmesian "problem solving". The study focusses on some "Socialist" Arab countries. Structurally, the study is comprised of seven chapters. The first five chapters deal with the "problem" as an object of analysis in its multidimensionality. The first chapter is an identification of a "confusion" within the context of Arab education. The second chapter is an attempt to define, "technically", the problem. The third chapter consists of the historical background; a further clarification of the problem. The fourth chapter is a "rational construct", a sociological tool intended to approach the "national character" of the three countries selected for study. The fifth chapter is a focussing of the scope of the research, for practical and methodological reasons, on the "Socialist Arab States". The sixth chapter consists of an analysis, in the light of a Socialist theory of social change, of the present educational policies in Algeria, Libya and Syria. As hypotheses these policies are exposed to refutation in the light of a specific national and international context. Predictions are made and an alternative "Islamic" theory of social change is suggested. The seventh chapter is a set of alternative policy proposals. The conclusion is a summing up of the findings of the different chapters.

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM, ENGLAND

EDUCATIONAL AIMS AND POLICIES OF THREE ARAB COUNTRIES WITH
SOCIALIST POLITICAL OPTIONS

A PROBLEM SOLVING APPROACH

BY: YUCEF KADRI (B.A., M.A.)

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JANUARY 1986

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM, ENGLAND.

THESIS IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY (PH.D.) IN EDUCATION.



-8. OCT. 1986

Thesis
1986/KAD

DEDICATION

this work is dedicated to
the memory of my late, beloved mother.

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Youcef Kadri

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INTRODUCTION

There is a thesis in the thesis.

One of the themes discussed during the fourth International Conference of Arab Ministers of Education(1) was, in the context of Arab Unity, about the quality of Education. Recommendations were made that a philosophy of Arab Education should be defined. However, considering the different regimes and political ideologies in the region, one wonders how a synthetic definition of an Arab philosophy of education can be reached. Notwithstanding these difficulties all Arab states support, in principle, the idea of a united Arab world. This is made even more necessary by certain economic and political events in the region and in the international context. The present study is a contribution towards realising this aim. The approach is known, in the context of comparative education, as the Holmesian problem solving approach.

1- Abu-Dhabi 1977, The last Conference was held in Rabat -May 1985-



An enquiry into the philosophy of education is basically an enquiry into the aims of education. Educational policies are brought into the analysis because they illustrate the stated aims. Thus, the subject matter of the present study is extensive. Nevertheless, one must not forget that macrocosmic studies are as valuable as the microcosmic ones are.

The interest in the problem of educational aims in the Arab region does not arise only from the regional interest of the Arab League Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (ALESCO), nor from a universal one, nor from a purely philosophical or academic concern. It is all these at the same time. The regional interest is due to the fact that the researcher belongs to this area; known as the Arab world.

The universal interests are that today, in any given society or culture, rapid change occurs constantly. 'Change is', as Dynes(2) remarks, 'not just a temporary crisis followed by quiet reconstruction, but now one change leads to another and then to others in the form of a chain reaction. Too, the consequences of such change are not localised but permeate entire nations, regions and virtually the whole world.' He continues, 'Today, no feature of human life is exempt from change, even those areas of

2- Dynes, R.R., "Some observations on change" Sir el-Layyan (Egypt), Arab States Training Centre for Education for Community Development, 1966, p.1

life which have been assumed to be changeless.'

The advent of the nation-state phenomenon on a world wide scale, has attributed certain very significant characteristics to change. It was not introduced as a consequence of certain historical developments in a mainly receptive fashion, but was a conscious effort to produce or accelerate change. Change became innovation. 'Undesirable features (of society) are singled out as targets. Death rates are too high. Literacy rates are too low. Farm production is too low. Unemployment is too high. Industrial productivity is too low. Nutritional and health standards are too low. Birth rates are too high. The skills necessary for self-government are underdeveloped. These and many other elements have become the targets of change.' (3) Remedying these undesirable features takes the form of innovation and is well reflected in national statements of educational aims.

In education proper, the United Nation Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the International Bureau of Education in Geneva (IBE) set out to examine the process of educational innovation(4) and analyse it. The first studies undertaken made it possible to establish with a great degree of

3- Ibid., pp.1-2

4- The aim of realising an Arab Unity and therefore a harmonization of policies implies introducing a set of innovations to the present educational systems in the region.

certainty that any innovation in education implies an orientation in the field of values, and by virtue of this fact, involves the basic problem of educational goals.(5)

Many philosophers and indeed Comparative Educationists noted that in such undertakings, there always is a latent danger of alienation. In his excellent article 'Some observations on change', Dynes(6) remarks that every culture is a mixture of elements which are shared by many other societies, 'by far most elements of a culture have been borrowed from other societies at some point in time.' He maintains that such borrowing represents the basis of cultural change and since such change has always affected human society, it may be possible, considering the modern means of communication, that a world-wide culture may be emerging because elements now can so easily be shared. Such an assumption may, however, be questioned on the grounds that such elements can be made available by the modern means of communication but cannot be universally shared.

Massialas(7) remarked that 'the dislocations following in the wake of such changes have eroded some cherished values of the

5- International Bureau of Education, "International Yearbook of Education" (Vol.XXXII, 1980 -Prepared by Holmes, B.), Paris, Unesco, 1980, p.5

6- Dynes, R.R., op. cit., p.5

7- Rich, J.M., "education and Human Values" London, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1968, p.VIII

past and brought about conflicts and uncertainties in others.' He continues, 'some have sought a sense of security by immersion in the group in an attempt to regain their identity; others have rushed headlong toward any doctrine or ideology that offered certitude and a panacea for the afflictions besetting the human condition.'

In point of fact, on a pan-Arab level, the issue of cultural identity has been raised since the first international Arab gathering, that in which the Arab Cultural Unity Pact was signed on 25th March 1957. At the time of writing this thesis, the issue has not ceased to occupy a dominant place on the agendas of Arab educationists. As such, the issue becomes, if not, the interest of everyone dealing with Arab education, the researcher's personal one.

It is enough to legitimize the topic of the present research on the grounds that the contemporary changes affecting education in the Arab region have generated a state of confusion due to the diversity of values underlying the different educational reforms. For example, the introduction of "Basic and Polytechnical Education" in Algeria has drawn attention to the extent to which Socialism, which is the element of change in certain Arab countries, justifies educational policies in these countries, and raises the question whether such ideology can be harmoniously incorporated into the more traditional values of the region.

Knowing the origins of Socialism and those of the Arab-Islamic ideology, one cannot help but feel that the project of reconciling these two ideologies within a single educational system is one of great difficulty. This is in fact the problem in focus to be analysed in the present study.

While all Arab countries are confronted with the universal problem of harmonizing the old and the new, tradition and modernity, they diverged in their strategies and their overall political ideologies. Certain among these countries show similar patterns in their dealing with this duality. These are the socialist countries. Since they show an apparent similar orientation, they are more prone than any of the rest of the Arab countries to realise an effective unity. A logical assumption is that their educational policies would be similar. The comparative problem solving approach allows one to analyse present policies in the "socialist" countries, determine whether those policies resolve this dichotomy between tradition and modernity, and to study each policy solution in its specific context. One aspect of this specific context is the Arab world as whole and undivided reality. Put thus, the "problem" appears as a confusion more than anything else.

Nevertheless, the intellectual frame within which the work proceeds is the Holmesian problem-solving approach. The stage of confusion is a legitimate and explicit part of the problem

approach, borrowed and extended from John Dewey's view of the processes of reflective thinking. For the individual, an experience occurs which produces doubt, uncertainty, and confusion. Once a problem has been identified, it leads to appropriate solutions. Accepting such assumptions here, an attempt is made to state a Holmesian problem; to describe (or suggest) the initial solution (present educational policies); to clarify the problem; and to give some further analysis of the contexts in which the problem occurs. The aim is to attempt to refute present solutions(8) and suggest a better alternative -if the present policies are refuted. Consequently, it is not wrong to assert that, basically, the present study is an exercise in reflective thinking. It is an enquiry framed by a particular methodology in comparative education (Cf. Annex1)

There is a consistent emphasis, in this work, on the intellectual operations suggested by the Holmesian methodology. An effort is made to see a problem clearly. This meant giving considerable attention to the 'stage of confusion'. Then the attention is shifted to clarify and to locate in context an example of asynchronous change in education, and to clarify this problem through cross-national analysis.

8- Within the Holmesian paradigm, these national policies should be considered as mere hypotheses. The scientist should aim, not at confirming their validity according to some given "laws" but try to, systematically, refute them. If they are refuted, then another hypothesis (policy solution) should be suggested and again systematically exposed to refutation.

The problem is already , embryonically, present in the literature, especially through the publications of the Arab League Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. This is especially apparent when one considers the fact that in spite of the comparatively homogenous cultural traits of the Arab states as well as the desire of these states to align their educational policies on common values, no Arab philosophy of education has been sketched. Obviously, there is a puzzle to be solved.

A Holmesian problem is only incidentally a puzzle, there may be a psychological feeling of unease on the part of the investigator, that may lead to a clearly stated problem. The statement of a Holmesian problem is a point of clarity. Phenomena have to be understood sufficiently clearly to be identified in a technical statement: 'x' has changed faster than 'y'; and both 'x' and 'y' can be located taxonomically (as norms, institutions, environmental circumstances and mental states of people exposed to change). Thus a Holmesian problem stated is already a puzzle partially resolved.(9)

The Holmesian problem solving approach provides the main conceptual and methodological framework to the present study, but it is in no way a reference point, according to which one may

9- Cowen, R., "Ph.D. Thesis" London Institute of Education, 1981, p.13

evaluate the degree of rigour attained. One must be prepared to accept the idea, as Holmes himself once advised his research students, that what is expected from any one using his method is not to follow it dogmatically but to innovate it as it is not perfect as yet. The important point is the use made of it.

The innovation made in this study to his method is that while his taxonomy was meant for locating educational problems within the borders of a specific country, it has been used here to locate the problem, with the use of a Qur'anic theory of social change, in an international context. A change has been introduced in the institutional pattern of the human society and the non-change is the Divine Law, which says that whenever man transgresses this law, (no usury) a problem arises. And there is no change in the Sunna (the habit) of Allah.

Nevertheless, from an educational perspective, the object of the present study is not to question the educational aims(10) of Algeria, Libya and Syria, but rather to consider their present educational policies, in the light of the stated aims, as no more than hypotheses that may be refuted. Thus, if the aims are not questioned, the institutions of the wider society can be exposed to critical analysis because the school proper cannot be divorced

10- The intentions of man are normally good. What may be wrong, however, are his actions. This is what Myrdal (1944) terms as an opposition between man's higher valuations and his lower valuations.

from the wider society within which it is located.

As a forward looking approach, the analysis of this study ends with some predictions in connection with present educational policies and the suggestion of alternative policies. From the perspective of the researcher as education worker, any restricted or global plan suggested cannot result in a strategy in the technical sense, familiar to planning experts. What should emerge is a vision of the future expressed in terms of long range policies based on principles and orientations which try to balance what is possible with what is desirable. The approach is, therefore, essentially voluntarist. It involves choices and calls upon the imagination in ways that some will feel are utopian. But in an age characterised by change, the seeds of tomorrow's reality are often surprising when first encountered. The general vision of this new reality is based on the assumption that the idea of direct democracy rendered possible by the developments in modern communication technology, and the values of the individual personality should be paramount.

I- PROBLEMS IN THE CONTEXT OF ARAB EDUCATION

The soldier praying:

"Praise be to Allah, the Lord..."

The young man interrupts:

"Haven't you heard Marx saying..."

The voice of the soldier (now rising):

"Thee we worship, Thee we ask for help..."

The young man again: "But Engels said..."

The soldier still reciting:

"Say I seek refuge in the Lord of mankind..."

The young man: "Forget about such things:

religion is the opiate of the people..."

The soldier, continuing his prayer:

"from the evils of the sneaking whisperer..."

The young man: "Counter revolution is the one..."

-Fouad Ajami.

Assuming that 'education is the method by which societies try to transmit knowledge to new generations, preserve values, and introduce change'(1) then educational institutions tend to control the flow, the nature and the

1- M. Rabie, The future of education in the Arab World. In M.C. Hudson (ed) 'The Arab Future: Critical issues' centre for contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, 1979, p.19

quality of knowledge people should acquire.(2) Consequently, and in view of the spirit of the age, i.e. the universal drive towards development, Education would thus, help develop the national human resources and improve people's capabilities to utilize effectively the natural and financial resources at their disposal. In order to achieve such a condition, a coherent strategy with clearly defined and harmoniously formulated goals, aims and objectives is needed.

It is significant, in this connection, that the Arab World is seeking to realise such objectives on a pan-Arab scale. In 1964, when the council of the League of Arab States(3) approved a cultural unity agreement, (ALESCO), the Arab League Economic Scientific and Cultural Organization was created to deal with educational matters. It gave an account of its activities after the first general Conference held on the 25th July 1970. The department of education (Cf. page

2- Definitions of education abound and each discipline views it from its own premises. By and large, in theory, education to be viable should take into account, both, society's interests and the individual's interests.

- Cf. Shamut, A. & al-Khatib, B.A., "Muhawalat Tauhid Wa Tatwir al-Manahidj ad-Dirasiya fil Bilad al-Arabiya" (Attempts to Unify and Develop Educational programmes in the Arab States: A Field Study), Tunis, Alesco, 1981, p.7) In practice, in the Arab World, the drive towards development has, in spite of the rhetoric, determined a tendency to view education according to social criteria.

3- In 1943, seven Arab states that were either independent or nearly so, formed the League of Arab states (Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen). The same countries participated in the founding of the United Nations.

29) is expected to put into effect the Charter of Cultural Unity in the educational field by

1. Unifying the educational systems of the Arab countries and defining them,
2. raising the standard of education and diversifying it in the context of an Arab plan, with a view to developing the Arab World culturally, economically and scientifically,
3. Organising seminars and conferences, implementing selected educational projects, carrying out studies on the economics of educational research and disseminating the findings for the benefit of all Arab countries,
4. consulting with Arab countries in the field of teacher training and coordinating the exchange of teachers and scholarships, and
5. cooperating with other agencies in the Arab countries as well as with international organisations concerned with education.

The organization in collaboration with UNESCO stated in its latest Conference held in Abu-Dhabi in 1977 the following: 'The Arab states have for some time been following the path of educational renewal in order to achieve the democratization of education, the strengthening of cultural identity and development of the sciences and technology necessary for progress.'(4) This statement summarises the educational aspirations of the twenty two Arab states into three general aims, namely democratization, Arabization and Scientific progress. It does not, however, allude to the underlying problems facing such aspirations. The main one is how to find consensus on what is the Arab philosophy of education upon which all policies depend.(5) It is a major problem and it is not easy to, technically, define it at the moment as the Arab World is not as homogenous as it may at first appear. This is to be progressively clarified in the following pages, but first it appears necessary to put such a problem within its present educational context before

4- Unesco, "Final Report of the 1977 Abu-Dhabi Conference of Ministers of Education and Those Responsible for Economic Planning in the Arab States" Paris, Unesco, 1978, p.25

5- There are recent genuine attempts to define the Arab philosophy of education, such as that presented by Alesco in 1982 in which it delineates a strategy to unify the educational systems in the Arab World. Unfortunately, these attempts remain voluntarist and are not based on consensus. Cf. Alesco, "Khutta Litawhid Usus al-Manahidj wal-Khutta ad-Dirasiya Fil-Watan al-Arabi" (A Plan to Unify the Principles of Curricula and the Educational Strategy in the Arab World) Tunis, Alesco (Directorate of Education), 1982, pp.8-14

clarifying it through an historical account.(6) What is the state of education, in general terms, in the region?

Those who are familiar not only with the devastating poverty but also with the illiteracy of the Arab masses on the eve of independence, will appreciate the immense progress made in education over the last decades in all Arab countries, in terms of institutional development and numbers of children and young people being schooled and trained.(7) Considering, as Waardenburgh note from a Eurocentric perspective,(8) the necessary further development of the Arab world in terms, not only of economic but also of cultural growth in the broader sense of the word, the process of education is of great importance.(9)

6- Contrary to E. J. King's conception of comparative education analysis, any historical reference in the Holmesian approach is only intended to clarify the problem and not the context as King maintains

7- Waardenburg, J., "L'Enseignement dans le Monde Arab"
Louvain-La-Neuve, Universite Catholique de Louvain (C.E.R.M.A.C., Cahier 22), 1983, p.2

8- Ibid., p.2

9- The importance of education has since the beginning of Islam been stressed as the following chapter shows. At the present time, and within the Western academic ethos; it has been stressed by a number of Arab intellectuals among whom the names of Matta Akrawi, Mohammed Fadhil Jamali, Fahim Qubain, A. L. Tibawi, A. B. Zahlan and Constantine K. Zurayk, for instance, are also well-known in the West. Of these, Abdul-Latif Tibawi has worked the longest time in the West, i.e. from 1948 onwards in England. Among his publications on education in the Arab world may be mentioned "Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine: A study of the State Educational System" (London, Luzac, 1956), "Islamic Education: Its Traditions and Modernization into the Arab

) It is not only a programme of conveying types of knowledge and developing the rational traditions of thought, but it also contributes in a crucial way to the development of the Arab Nation in a scientific and technological age, to unite the different entities of the region by stressing their common cultural identity, in spite of the present ideological division in the region.(10)

EDUCATION IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES; SOME BASIC DATA.

'It is not wrong to assert that there are more uniformities

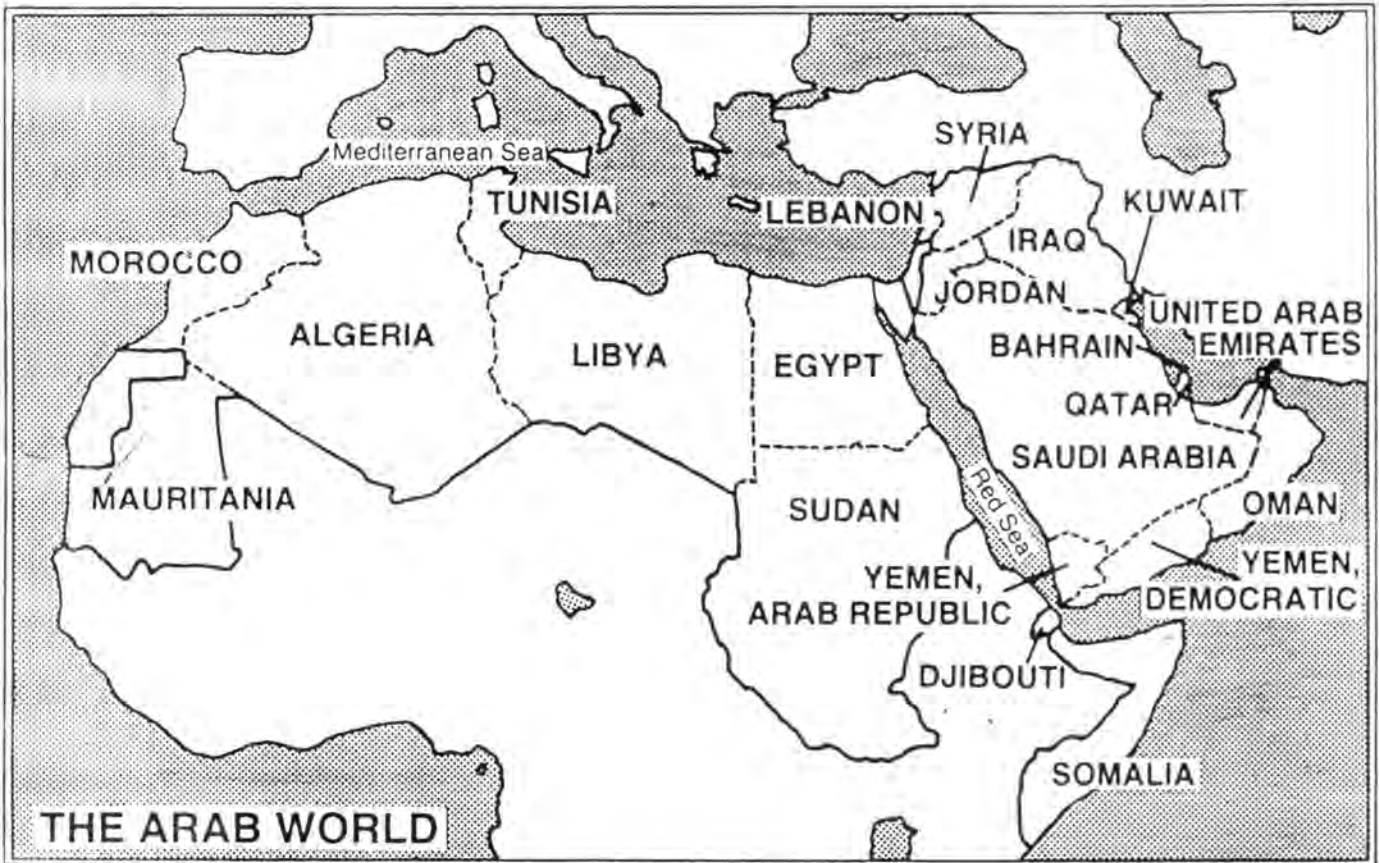
9(cont'd)National Systems" (London, Luzac, 1972, reprinted 1979), and "Arabic and Islamic Themes: Historical, Educational and Literary Studies" (London, Luzac, 1976). Tibawi: "Arabic and Islamic Garland: Historical, Educational and Literary Papers" (London, The Islamic Cultural Centre, 1397/1977). In 1977 the first World Conference on Muslim Education was held in Mecca with its focus in Islamic principles of education. One of its results has been the publication of the 'Islamic Education Series' of which "Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education" (ed. by S. N. al-Attas) is the first volume. The series is published jointly by Hodder and Stoughton in London and King Abdul Aziz University in Djeddah. Finally, the work of UNESCO IBE and ALESCO are of great importance. Unfortunately, data published from these organisations is not always available in English. Throughout the present study, translations from Arabic and French were made where necessary from a wide range of miscellaneous but equally important documents (Cf. Bibliography).

10- Tazi, A., "Education in the Arab States in the Light of the Abu-Dhabi Conference, 1977" Paris, Unesco (Educational Studies and Documents No.36), 1980, pp.11, 34-36, 39-40. Cf. also Shamut, A., & al-Khatib, A., op. cit., pp.54-59

than differences among the 22 (or 23) Arab states(11) as far as the administration and control of their schools is concerned. A centralized system of administration and control prevails in all of the countries under study with the exception of Lebanon.'(12) Under the Minister and Deputy Minister of Education there are a number of departments with a director at the head of each : for elementary education, secondary general education, secondary vocational education, teacher training, inspection, examinations, books and curricula, private schools, personnel, construction and equipment, student missions, statistics, international educational relations, and so on. A growing number of ministries now also have departments of planning and

11- These are Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Western Sahara, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, North Yemen and South Yemen. The status of Palestine and the Western Sahara is still problematic. The Western Sahara is at present under the control of Morocco and not a member of the Arab League. There is nevertheless a 'liberation movement' fighting the Moroccan presence in the area. Palestine is a member of the Arab League but does not enjoy the sovereignty rights of other Arab States. In 1948, the Jewish population of Palestine proclaimed part of Palestine to be the state of Israel, which sparked off the first Arab-Israeli war when Arab Nations came to the assistance of the Palestinian Arabs but the war was lost and with it the West bank and Ghaza. Many Palestinian Arabs now live in exile. From 1963 the Arab Nations have recognised the Palestinian Liberation Organization as 'the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people'. The Arab League considers Palestine to be an independent state and hence, a full member of the League, where it is represented by the PLO.

12- Cf. Shamut, A. & al-Khatib, A. op. cit., pp.54-55.
- Cf. also Massialas, B.G. et al. "Education in the Arab World" New York, Praeger, 1983, p.31



MAP OF THE ARAB WORLD

research. Under the ministry, a country is usually divided into a number of educational districts. Each district has a director with a directorate of education which in its organisation is a small copy of the central ministry.(13)

'With democratization of education and the concerted effort of all Arab states to rid themselves of foreign educational prescriptions, a modern structure of education

13- Massialas, B.G, et al., Ibid., p.32

has emerged. The structure is basically a 6-3-3 pattern of school organization and its beginning dates back to 1957-58 and the cultural agreements adopted by Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Jordan. With one or two exceptions this pattern has been adopted by all Arab states.(14) With some exceptions,(Cf. table below.) the system consists of a single three-stage ladder : a six year elementary school, a three year preparatory cycle and a three year secondary stage or secondary education proper. Preparatory plus secondary stage together usually being called 'secondary education'. The elementary cycle in the different kinds of schools (government, private, foreign) has been standardised in each country. Diversification occurs first after the elementary or primary cycle, into preparatory and afterwards general secondary education on the one hand and into different types of vocational training, on the other industrial, agricultural, commercial, domestic, artistic. A choice between general secondary education and different types of technical and vocational training can again be made after the preparatory cycle. Secondary education can be followed by third cycle education at universities and higher institutes of a professional orientation, commonly called higher education.(15)

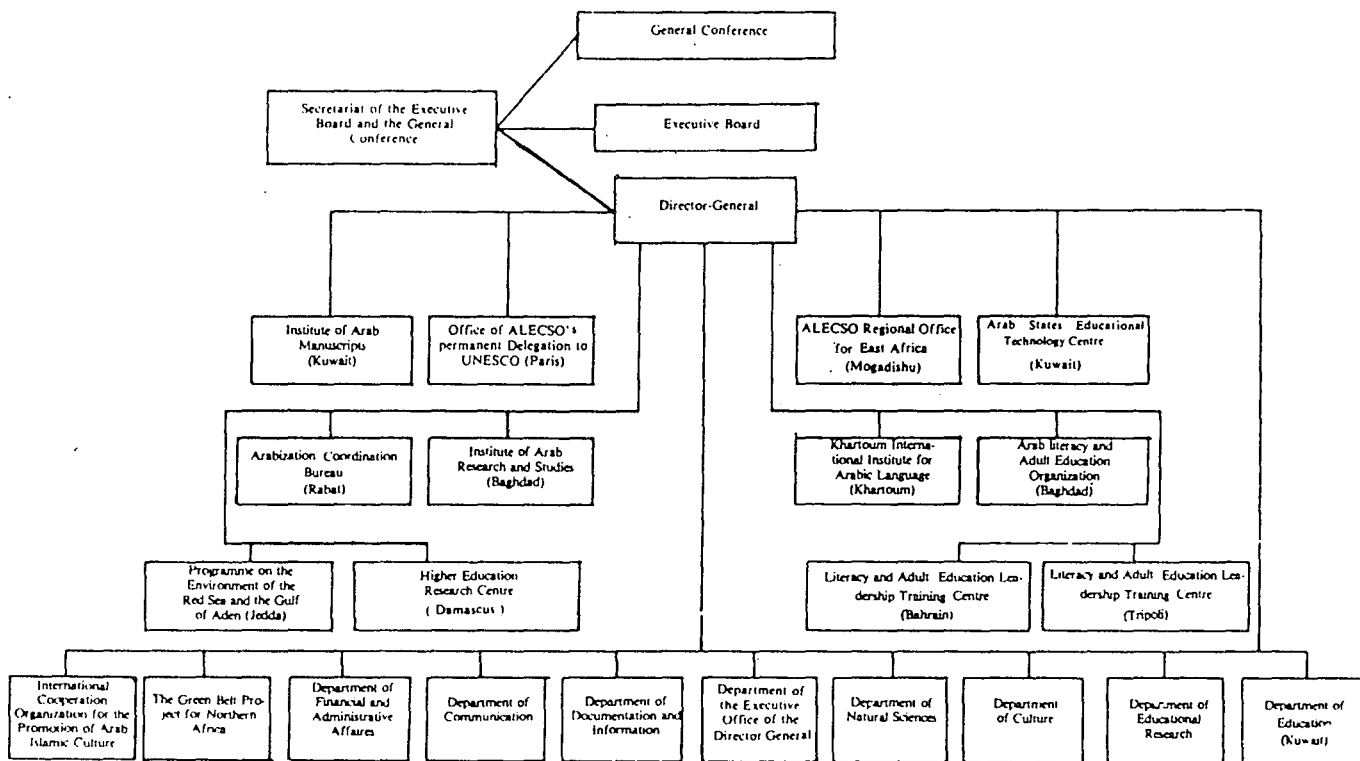
14- Cf. Shamut, A. & al-Khatib, A., op. cit., pp.13-15

15- Alesco, "Nashrat al-Ihsa'at at-tarbawiya fil-Watan al-Arabi: 1980/81" (Arab States Educational Statistics: 1980/81) Tunis, Alesco (Information & Documentation Directorate), 1983, pp.36-50

The language of teaching is now Arabic in all Arab countries, except at foreign schools and for language classes at the secondary level and certain advanced courses at the universities, in particular in the sciences, engineering and medicine. Although at foreign schools teaching may take place in English and French, attention is given here to some knowledge of standard modern Arabic. This is the result of efforts over the last three decades to arrive at a complete arabization, envisaged not only for educational but also for social and political reasons so that the coming generations can develop their own cultural identity and strengthen their links through common linguistic patterns throughout the Arab world.(16)

In terms of regional and international cooperation there are from time to time regional meetings of education leaders to discuss progress and common problems. Such meetings can be organised by the Arab Union of Teachers' Syndicates, the Cultural Department of ALESCO, (cf. diagram) or by other organisations, such as UNESCO. The results of two of such conferences will be discussed at the end of this chapter. Once every two years the Arab countries, together with other countries, attend a conference held under the auspices of the International Bureau of Education in Geneva, to report on

16- Shamut, A. & al-Khatib, A., op. cit., pp.13-27 & 32



Source: Arab League Educational, Cultural, and Scientific Organization (Tunis, 1982), p. 12.

(Fig. 1.3) THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF ALESCO.

progress made in the field of education at all levels.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

Over the last hundred years a great variety of elementary schools has existed side by side; not only of a modern type, of either a private or governmental nature, but also of a

traditional type and belonging to the older religious system with its kuttab or Qur'anic schools. After independence, it was a concerted policy to aim at one kind of elementary school for all children. However, in later years, the region witnessed a growing deschooling trend, which has not reached the stage of implementation yet, (17) but head of states such as Qadhafi for instance show signs of interest in this new rhetoric. In point of fact, when examining the problem of the universalization and democratization of primary education, the senior education officials in the Arab States, meeting in Cairo in October 1976 at Unesco's invitation, made the following proposals: (18)

- to attach the same importance to out-of-school education as a formal education and to see that they are satisfactorily co-ordinated and integrated;
- to consider equal opportunities of access to education as equality in the acquisition of knowledge and not merely as equality of access to the various stages of education;
- to attach particular importance to the categories that are the least privileged socially and economically (those living in rural zones, the desert and the poorer districts of towns, etc.), giving them new educational opportunities, for example

17- Cf. Tazi, A., op. cit., pp.24-28

18- Unesco, "New prospects in education for development in the Arab countries" Paris, Unesco (Ed-77/Minedarab/3), 29 August 1977, p.5

by providing certain essential services;

-to consider new forms of education, particularly in the initial stages, which will subsequently make lifelong, recurrent education available to each individual, in keeping with his needs and circumstances;

-to use modern technologies in order to expand education, improve its quality, reduce its cost and ensure that the people at large take part in its administration and management;

-to recognize the importance of the economic factor, as well as of the human factor, in the democratization of education, which implies strengthening the mutual links between education and development;

-to consolidate and develop co-operation between the Arab countries, particularly as regards the material aspect, in order to achieve the democratization of education and enable every Arab to enjoy its benefits. (Cairo 1976)

Nevertheless, in reality, the post independence trend still prevails. Primary education is free since it is recognised as a right. It is, however, compulsory in 13 countries only.(19) The modern elementary school is almost

19- Cf. Unesco, "La croissance des Effectifs Scolaires dans les Etats Arabs: Tendances et Projections jusqu'en 2000" Paris, Unesco: Division of Educational Policy & Planning, 1982, p.22.
- Cf. also: International Bureau of Education, "International Yearbook of Education (Vol. XXXII, Prepared by Holmes, B.)" Paris, Unesco, 1980

always co-educational and it is both an aim and an instrument of social and political reform.(20) In the state budgets the expenditure on primary education shows a steady increase, even when compared to the annual total expenditure on education.(21) The curriculum for elementary schools shows that teaching of the Arabic language is in most countries given great emphasis. Islamic studies, on the other hand, vary widely between 66 weekly hours in Saudi Arabia to 4 in South Yemen (Cf. Annex 2).

Given the demographic distribution of the population, it is clear how difficult the introduction of primary education is in the rural areas where about 50% of the population at present actually live,(22) whether in scattered villages or settled only for a part of the year. The schooling of nomad children presents, of course, quite particular problems.

PREPARATORY AND GENERAL SECONDARY EDUCATION

20- Waardenburg, J., op. cit., p.9

21- Unesco, "La Croissance des effectifs Scolaires dans les Etats Arabes, tendances et projections jusqu'en 2000", Division of Education Policy and Planning, Paris 1982. p.87

22- Ibid., p.6

The first three or four years of what is commonly called secondary education is called al marhala al i'dadiya (preparatory stage) in Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, Libya, Syria, Oman and Qatar. It is called al marhala al mutawassita (intermediate or middle stage) in Algeria(23), Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Iraq and Kuwait. In Tunisia this cycle is called al judh' al mushtarak (the common stream to secondary education). In Morocco it is called as-silk al awal (first cycle to secondary education), and in Djibouti it is known as takmiliya (complementary education).(24) Its function is to teach certain fundamental skills which allow the pupil to discover his or her own abilities and to choose the most appropriate form of further education. Secondary education in general, aims at providing the country with citizens who are positive, productive and responsive to their own countries, to the sister countries in the region, and to humanity at large. Secondary education is also charged with preparing pupils for more responsibility in the economic, social and political development of the country(25)

23- Starting from 1985, it is called the third cycle of Basic and Politechnical Education.

24al-Qadhafi, R. M. et al, "At-Taalim althanawi fil-Bilad al-Arabiya" (Secondary Education in the Arab World), Tunis, Alesco (Department of Educational Research), 1982, p.11

25- Ibid., pp.12-14

The last years of secondary education, or secondary education proper, are divided into 'general', teacher training and 'technical' branches, the general being subdivided into scientific and literary, and the technical, generally, into industrial, commercial, agricultural and home economics sections.(26) The medium of instruction is Arabic, except at foreign schools where Arabic is a language that must be learnt. Every pupil must study the history of his or her own country within the context of the common Arab history, and with a general idea of world history. In some countries particular subjects like oil, cotton, religion have a special place in the curriculum. Instruction in foreign language differs from country to country as far as choice and also quality are concerned. (cf the history of Arab efforts to unify their curricula)(27) The process of arabization implies that the knowledge of other languages on the whole has deteriorated considerably as compared with the situation thirty-five years ago when Arabic was neglected.

26For a country by country description cf. Bachour, M., "Ittijahat at-Tarbiya fil-Bilad al-Arabiya ala Dhau Istratijiya Tatwir at-Tarbiya" (Educational Trends in Arab Countries in the Light of the Arab Educational Strategy) Tunis, Alesco (Department of Educational Research), 1982, pp.124-139

27- Shamut, A. & al-Khatib, A., "Muhawalat tauhid wa-tatwir al-manahij ad-dirasiya fi-bilad al-Arabiya" (Attempts to unify and develop educational programmes in Arab states. A field Study), Alesco, Tunis 1981, pp.13-28

Subjects which can be found in most secondary curricula in Arab countries and less so in other parts of the world are: Religion, Arabic language and literature, Arab society, Social studies (History, Geography, Civics), and the triad of Philosophy, Sociology and Economics(28) In the last years some Arab countries have seen the establishment of some kind of pre-military training for boys.

The methods of instruction are mainly class-room lectures and book-keeping often by rote, which comes down to memorizing facts, formulas or whole passages. Traditional methods of instruction are largely responsible for the fact that pupils are less able to think for themselves about the subjects taught or to make creative use of the subject matter.(29) Although the majority of subjects taught now are nearer to the pupil's own society, culture and environment than some thirty years ago, the connection with their own immediate observation and experience is not always stressed and often remains somewhat vague. There is little opportunity for outside reading, and the laboratory equipment is often insufficient for scientific experiments to be

28- Cf. Olivier Carre. "Enseignement islamique et ideal socialiste" Beyrouth, Dar El-Machreq, 1974, pp.330. Compare also the second author's "Une tentative d'analyse de contenu de textes scolaires religieux" (in Revue francaise de Sociologie 12), 1971, pp.93-107.

29- Waardenburgh, J., op. cit., p.10

carried out by the students themselves.(30)

Certain countries still have a lack of qualified secondary teachers. They used to rely on other countries, particularly Egypt, so that Egyptian teachers could be found not only in countries such as Algeria, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other Gulf states for teaching in Arabic, but also in Africa and elsewhere in order to give instruction in Islam.

In all Arab countries there is continuous pressure to expand secondary education as a passport to better jobs, and this pressure has further increased when elementary education became more widely available.(31) The increase, however, of secondary school graduates especially in the non-scientific and non-technical branches has contributed to the problem of serious unemployment especially in 'white collar' jobs.(32) This is more acutely felt in Egypt than in, say, Saudi Arabia. The same problem presents itself for a number of university graduates who cannot find jobs. It is important to note in this connection that the best secondary school students tend to choose science courses and are allowed to

30- Ibid., p.10

31- According to Bachour, M., op. cit., p.125, the percentage of increase in attendance in secondary education is double that in primary education.

32- Ibid., p.125. In 1960, 80% of students in general education increased to 89% in 1977

proceed in disciplines such as science, medicine or engineering. This trend toward science is encouraged by government policies since such 'scientific' secondary school graduates are of major importance for the technological and economic development of their countries.(33)

VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

For a long time prejudice has existed throughout the Middle East against manual work and this has been a strong factor inhibiting the development of vocational education in the Arab countries. It was only with the rise of industry and with economic development generally, that vocational and especially technical education took off. Consequently, from the later fifties onwards most Arab governments made an effort to develop this kind of schooling and training, since the lack of technical and skilled manpower has been and still is one of the major obstacles in the development of these countries. Besides, public (state) schools of this kind, private vocational schools were established.(34)

In most Arab countries the vocational and technical cycle starts at the secondary level. In most cases these schools

33- Unesco, "New Prospects in Education for Development in the Arab Countries" op. cit., pp.6-7

34- Bachour, M., op. cit., pp.111-124

are the end of the educational cycle since the facilities for higher technical education are limited.(35) Parallel with the formal vocational and technical school system special training programmes exist to enable people with jobs to acquire or improve particular technical skills.(36) The main types of vocational schools are technical, agricultural and commercial; there are also schools of home economics, in particular for girls.(37) In a number of cases the public vocational schools are boarding institutions. On the whole theoretical courses prevail and there is less workshop practice in these schools than is desirable. There also is a serious shortage of qualified teachers in these schools; only in the sixties were vocational teacher training institutions established, in particular in Egypt.(38) Commercial schools had been established already at an earlier stage, mostly as a result of private initiative. Although at present there is an increase in vocational secondary schools, a shortage still exists, in particular of agricultural secondary education.(39)

35e.g. Syria, cf. chapter five of the present thesis, section about Syria.

36- Tazi, A., op. cit., p.16

37Bachour, M. op. cit., pp.168-169

38- Waardenburg, J., op. cit., p.12

39- Ibid., p.12

TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION IN HIGHER INSTITUTIONS AND
UNIVERSITIES

At the beginning of the 1950's the number of universities in the Arab World did not exceed ten. At the beginning of the 1980's, the number exceeded fifty, in addition to the many technical and technological higher institutions, which are in constant increase.(40) The Number of higher education students rose during the period from 1970-1971 to 1975-1976 at an annual growth rate of 13.8% compared with 8.4% between 1965 and 1970.(41)

What can be revealed through the literature is that there has been a significant institutional expansion of higher education in the whole Middle East, as becomes evident when comparing the first edition of Francis Boardman,(42) with the second edition of 1977 (58 pp). A major study on scientific education, in particular at universities and higher

40- Zein, I., "al-Djamiat fil-Watan al-Arabi wa Hijrat al-Admigha" (The Universities in the Arab World and the brain Drain), Beirut, Qadhaya Arabiya (Journal No.5) May 1980, p.221

41- Unesco, "New prospects in education for development in the Arab Countries", Op. cit., p.6

42Boardman, F., "Institutions of Higher Learning in the Middle East" Washington, D. C.:Middle East Institute, 1961

institutes, is Fahim Qubain.(43) One may say that, on the whole, the expansion of higher education had a negative influence on the quality but this is of course a matter of discussion and assertions of this kind should never be taken for granted.(44) Zein Ilyas(45) remarked that the universities in the Arab countries are still transmitters rather than producers of knowledge.(46) The rate of return from the investment in this kind of education is very low in the sense that graduates contribution to the development of their respective countries is very limited. This is especially true in agriculture and industry.

43- Qubain, F., "Education and Science in the Arab World" Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1966. Cf. also Sami A. Hanna, "Issues in University Education: Commentaries by Arab University Educators" Washington D.C., (Committee on International Exchange of Persons, Conference Board of Associated Research Councils), 1966

44- A heated discussion on precisely the same point took place at the University of Durham by the end of 1985, between the author of the present thesis and Professor Szyliowicz (cf. Bibliography) revealed that things are not as simple as people would like them to be. One cannot measure the quality of education by the level of development of the society concerned. "Development" and terms such as "good" or "bad" quality are value judgements that are intimately linked to one's scale of values. When conducting cross cultural studies, one must be very careful when using these terms. They are not only methodologically questionable but harmful as well in that they play the role of propaganda and divert people from observing the reality of a phenomenon.

45- Zein, I., op. cit., p.223

46- The trend in the Arab World tends to be "doing by knowing" and not yet "knowing by doing", which, one may argue is an infantile attitude and the outcome of cultural and economic imperialism (cf. chapters five and seven for a support of this argument).

Of course knowledge imposed from without when the conditions within are not right will be a waste of time and money. Development depends less on education -which has come to mean schooling- than on the topography of the land, the climate, the monetarist practices of a country, the institutional facilities, the mental states of a people and so on. "Development" is intimately linked to a culture and cannot be "imported". This does not mean that selective cultural borrowing will have negative effects on a people. To the contrary, the analytical process of one's looking at other cultures is an act of self realisation and therefore, is an opportunity to be creative and to contribute to the "development" of one's country.

With the development of oil resources, planned industrialization, and the application of new technology in agriculture, medicine and elsewhere, a new scientific tradition is developing now in several Arab countries even if there are still some shortages of "qualified"(47) specialists in the various fields of science. With the oil boom of the 1970's, many Arab countries invested in the education of their people by sending students to Western universities to acquire the required know-how in science and technology. But

47- Everyone is potentially a qualified specialist if the diploma disease is overcome. Schooling does not and should not mean education.

here again a word of caution should be given. Development is less a matter of importing new technologies than a matter of letting the individual have enough initiative to exercise his or her creativity. It is more democracy and less paternalism, less bureaucracy that is needed.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROBLEMS: OVERALL STATISTICS.

Whereas in 1960 the total enrolment of pupils and students in the Arab countries at all levels was 8.6 million, in 1970, the number reached 16.6 million and 30.6 million in 1980,(48) which represents an increase of 22 million in 20 years (a percentage increase of 6.5% each year). However, this increase has varied with time and from one level of education to another. In the elementary level, for instance, pupils enrolment passed from 7.2 million in 1960 to 20.5 million in 1980 (which means an annual percentage increase of 5.4%). At the secondary level, however, an increase of 8.7% was registered between 1975 and 1980, and 9.9% between 1970 and 1975. The number of students in these schools was 1.3

48- Unesco, "La Croissance des Effectifs Scolaires dans les Etats Arabes" op. cit., p.24

million in 1960 and reached 8.7 million in 1980.(49) Higher education, on the other hand, witnessed an even greater expansion as an annual percentage increase of student enrolment of 11.2% was registered between 1960 and 1980. The number of students was in 1960 0.16 million and reached 1.38 million in 1980.(50)

It was estimated that in 1960 \$701.8 million had been spent on education in the Arab countries (both capital and current expenses). In 1970, \$1,822 million were spent and in 1975 this amount was multiplied by 4.6 to reach \$8,508 million. In 1978 public educational spending reached \$12,789 million; a percentage annual increase of 14.5% as compared to 36.1% between 1970 and 1975.(51) This indicates that a considerable financial effort was made by the Arab countries, and that education was given priority over many other services and sectors. The rate of increase varied widely among the countries and even within each country at different dates. Also, it is noteworthy that there has been no automatic correlation between the annual rates of increase in educational allocations and the average annual rates of

49- Ibid., p.25

50- Ibid., p.25

51- Ibid., p.82

growth in the GDP and GNP in the Arab countries.(52) It is safe to say that educational expansion in the region has been achieved at considerable financial costs since a number of countries devote more than 20% of their national budget and often 6% to around 10% of their GNP as the table below shows.(53) This growth was apparent in all stages of education. In many cases, the duration of primary education has been extended. Many literacy campaigns have been conducted in rural and urban areas, and post literacy activities have been launched. Notwithstanding these efforts and achievements, there are some problems.

PROBLEMS.

The achievements just mentioned should not, as Waardenburg remarks(54) detract one's attention from some serious problems.

1. The proportion of non-schoolgoing children of primary school age (between 6 and 11 years) was in 1967 still

52- Ibid., p.82 for a country by country comparison

53- Ibid., p.13

54Waardenburg, j., op. cit., p.14

Countries	1970		1975	
	% of GNP	Budget %	% of GNP	Budget %
Algeria	7.4	31.6	7.4	23.0
S. Arabia	4.4	9.8	9.9	11.7
Bahrein	5.8	20.0	3.5	8.8
Egypt	4.8	15.8	4.9	///
Iraq	5.4	19.8	3.3	10.5
Jordan	3.9	9.3	4.9	7.7
Kuwait	3.9	11.2	3.2	10.0
Libya	4.6	17.4	6.7	14.5
Morocco	3.7	16.8	4.8	14.3
Mauritani	4.0	21.9	4.5	14.3
Oman	1.3	2.8	1.6	1.9
Qatar	4.6	8.9	2.1	3.3
Sudan	2.9	12.6	5.5	14.8
Syria	4.0	9.4	4.1	7.8
Tunisia	6.9	23.2	5.1	16.4

(Fig. I.4) EDUCATIONAL SPENDING IN RELATION TO NATIONAL BUDGETS AND GNP.

very high, with the highest proportions in both Yemens, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Morocco. According to 1966 estimates, more than 50% of the total number of children between the ages of 5 and 11 (i.e. 13 million) did not attend school; in 1975-76 this was 42% (i.e. 10

million).(55) Another disturbing fact is that the 'first-time first-grade' enrolment ratio in primary education showed less than 1% annual improvement. This means that the quantitative expansion of the primary level of education in the 1960's often was not due to an increase in the number of children attending school, but in fact, to the result of successive repetitions by a number of children in this grade. In all Arab countries even at the primary level girls have less access to education than boys, and children from rural areas have less access to education than those from urban areas. The worst situation, consequently, is that of girls from rural areas.(56)

At the second level, the percentage of 82 of young people of secondary school age who did not attend school in 1967, fell to 79 in 1970-71 and 72 in 1975-76. The best situation prevailed in Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait and Lebanon where, according to 1967/68 estimates, more than two-thirds of all children of primary and secondary school age were at school. In Tunisia, Libya, Syria and Egypt, the total enrolment in primary and secondary education varied from 52 to 63%; in Iraq 49% of all

55- Ibid., p.14

56- Ibid., p.15

- children in this age group were receiving education.(57)
2. A serious problem in most Arab countries, especially at the secondary level, is the continued persistence of old patterns of attendance and objectives of instruction. Most of the second level education, and also most of its expansion is concentrated in the general secondary school, with its literary and scientific branches. The proportion of vocational education at the second level in the sixties was negligible. One reason for this imbalance between the academic secondary school and the vocational secondary school in the Arab world is the costs connected with the latter.(58) One may, however, argue that the main reason for this is more a matter of overall institutional and infrastructural patterns of the economy than that of the persistence of traditions of looking down upon 'work without the pen'. These cliches which may have exist in reality can become myths used to legitimize authoritarianism and paternalism.

 3. Higher education has been expanding at a high rate in the Arab countries, but unfortunately plans for the expansion of higher education have rarely contributed to economic

57- Ibid., p.15

58- Ibid., p.15

development or at least adjusted to the future needs for highly skilled manpower.(59) The economic benefits of this expansion, then, have not been commensurate with the high expenditure allocated to the third level of education.

4. A special problem is that of the education of girls. Although considerable progress has been achieved, the access of women to education in the Arab countries, as shown below, is far from equalling that of men.(60)

5. Teacher preparation and in-service teacher training still present many problems. There is a dual system of teacher preparation for public (state) schools, at teacher training colleges for secondary school graduates. However, sufficient thought has still not been given to the training of secondary school teachers. There is a general shortage of qualified teachers; thus, according to 1967 estimates, 20% of the staff then teaching at the primary level in Arab countries were unqualified. There is also a disproportion between the number of teachers

59- It is not the quality of instruction offered in these institutions that is the culprit. It is argued in the present study that overall economic planning is a mistaken path based on mistaken assumptions on the nature of man, society and knowledge.

60- Source: Unesco, "La Croissance des Effectifs Scolaires dans les Etats Arabes" op. cit., p.32

Levels	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
Level I	33.8	35.4	36.4	37.9	40.9
Level II	25.8	26.8	30.0	33.8	37.2
Level III	17.5	19.8	23.7	27.8	29.8
TOTAL %	32.3	33.5	34.7	36.5	39.4

(Fig. I.5) PERCENTAGE OF GIRLS IN THE DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL LEVELS.

working at the first level and at the second level, and between the number of teachers in the general secondary schools and those in the vocational schools. In these circumstances, there is an urgent need for in-service teacher training, which requires considerable expenditure.(61)

6. Rational planning of education has been perceived as a necessity for the last twenty years in the Arab countries, but this requires, as Waardenburg remarks,(62) further research into education as well as coordination with general development planning and of estimates of future manpower needs. In the early sixties, with the help of UNESCO, an Arab States Centre for Educational Planning and Administration (ASCATEP) was established in Beirut to carry out such studies and research and conduct

61- Waardenburg, J., op. cit., p.17

62- Ibid., p.17

training for educational planning in the Arab states of the Middle East. In 1973 this centre became part of UNESCO's Regional Education Office in Beirut. In Baghdad a Psychological and Educational Research centre was established. In Egypt a regional centre for Literacy and Adult Education (ASFEC) in Sir al-Layyan, started by UNESCO, has carried out research related to literary campaigns and community development. There are several countries where educational research is undertaken by bodies attached to the Ministry of Education, or in particular institutes.

7. The usual practice of educational administration in Arab countries has been to centralize educational activities in the Ministry of Education, with local administrative units implementing the decisions taken at the top level. The responsibility of these units, then, is to implement the plans made at the ministry itself. This system, however, curbs local and regional initiatives and entails a heavy bureaucratic apparatus. This raises the problem of how more responsibility can be given to the local units with their directors, so that the central ministry can concentrate its efforts on questions of general policy, planning, research, budgeting and so on. Such a decentralization would encourage local initiatives and lessen the cost of the educational apparatus. Closely

connected with the problem of the organisation of the education administration is that of the recruitment and training of administrative personnel in the educational sector. Such officials are still, often, appointed without due preparation. 'Outworn theories and traditional techniques therefore tend to dominate the administrative process at all levels. In the administration of educational finance, or what might be called business administration, rigid regulations and sterile procedures account for substantial wastage(63)

8. A practical problem in almost all Arab countries is the serious shortage of adequate school buildings, which has led to the adoption of a double shift system in many places, to the overcrowding of classes, and to a general lack of school facilities. This has had its inevitable effect upon educational output. Lack of capital is also responsible for the generally poor condition of school materials and equipment.(64)

9. Given the high rate of illiteracy in Arab countries, sustained literacy campaigns are needed even though they raise considerable problems. Illiteracy in the region

63- el-Ghannam, M. A. "An Overview of the Administrative Situation in Education in the Arab Countries" Paris, Unesco, 1977

64- Waardenburg, J., op. cit., p.17

varies from 85% to 15% and is higher among women than among men. For instance, in Jordan the incidence of illiteracy was 67.6% in 1961, in Egypt it was 70.02% in 1960. In the Arab world as a whole, out of a total of about 68.6 million people above the age of fifteen in 1970, nearly 50 millions were estimated to be illiterate. In order to eradicate adult illiteracy, so-called 'functional literacy' campaigns have been designed on the basis of experiments carried out by the ASFEC regional centre for Literacy and Adult Education in Sir al-Layyan in Egypt. But at the present time still only a fraction of the illiterate Arab population has been reached in this way.(65)

10. The last problem to be mentioned here is that of the quality of education. The expansion of education in the Arab countries over the last decades has not been accompanied by a corresponding improvement in quality, when such term is measured against such criteria as teacher-student ratio, teacher qualifications, class size, cost per pupil, school buildings equipment, textbook standards, examination results, etc..(66)

65- Ibid., p.18

66- Ibid., p.18

TWO MAJOR EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCES.

Meetings and discussions among the different Arab states were formalized and organized with the help of the League of Arab states and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco) and later by Alesco. Consequently, the first regional conference of Ministers of education and Ministers responsible for economic planning in the Arab states was held in Beirut in 1960 and 'marked the beginning of a special effort in the sphere of educational planning. One of the concrete results of that Conference was the decision to establish an Arab States Centre for Educational Planning and Administration'.(67)

The second meeting was held in Tripoli in 1966. 'It laid emphasis on quantitative expansion as a necessary condition for the democratization of education. One of the main concerns of the Conference was reflected in the fact that it urged the Arab States to continue to work towards the expansion of education so that by 1980 primary education would be compulsory for all children between the ages of six

67- Tazi, A., "Education in the Arab States in the light of the Abu Dhabi Conference 1977" Unesco, paris 1980. p.7

And twelve.'(68)

The third was held in Marrakesh in 1970; and concentrated on the qualitative improvement of education without, however, neglecting its quantitative expansion. The resolutions and recommendations of this Conference are remarkably sensitive and precise. It is from this conference that the problem of the present research has been identified. The fourth conference did not make the problem disappear for, as will be clarified, it is still a puzzle in Arab education.(69)

The fourth Conference was held in Abu-Dhabi in 1977. Its purpose was as follows:

1. To review the educational achievements, trends and problems in the Arab region since the Conference of Ministers of Education and those Responsible for Economic Planning held in Marrakesh in 1970.
2. To examine possible strategies for the development of education in the new context of recent socio-economic

68- Ibid., p.7

69- At the time of writing the manuscript of the present study, a fifth Conference is taking place in Rabat -May 1985-. The information already received shows that an emphasis is made on the Islamic Educational Principles and the need to coordinate Alesco's efforts with those of Pan-Islamic Organisations to seek consensus on what the Arab and Islamic fundamental values are.

trends in the region.

3. To devise a framework and establish guidelines for the member States of the Arab region, and for the appropriate regional and international co-operation. 'The outstanding feature of the fourth Regional Conference consists in the fact that it called upon the Arab countries to renovate their education systems.' (70)

These conferences were top-level meetings prepared by experts and attended by the decision makers of the educational systems of the Arab states. They focused on the regional problems and issues and dealt with Arab educational systems within the context of planning for social and economic developments of the region as a whole. But such interests drew attention to the basis upon which such developments was to rest. This is the sphere of values, the philosophy of Arab education as will be clarified in the following pages.

The cooperation attempts and efforts that have been taking place among the Arab states have borne fruit at different levels and in different areas. In view of their importance and relative historical relevance, only the two last conferences will be dealt with in the present work. They are

70- Tazi, A., op. cit., p.8

the Marrakesh and the Abu-Dhabi ones.(71)

RESOLUTIONS OF THE MARRAKESH CONFERENCE FOR THE SEVENTIES.

For the development of education in the Arab countries, a number of decisions were taken at the conference in 1970 and have as such an official character. The most important of them can be summarized as follows:(72)

1. Ten cardinal principles were adopted: the right of every Arab citizen to education, the concept of life-long integrated formal as well as informal, inside school as well as outside school education, the need to adapt the Arab educational systems in accordance with developments, to achieve a balance between quantitative improvement, to promote the development of science and technology, to pay attention to humanistic factors in education, to stimulate the cultural integration of the Arab countries

71- The latest one -Rabat 1985- is unfortunately left out for being too recent to allow one to gather any data about it at all.

72- Cf Tazi, A., op. cit., also Unesco, "Final Report of the Abu-Dhabi Conference..." op. cit., Or Unesco, "Education in the Arab States in the Light of the Abu-Dhabi Conference (1977)" Paris, Unesco, 1980. Or Unesco, "Activities to Promote Education in the Arab States since the Third Regional Conference of Ministers held in Marrakesh in 1970" Paris, Unesco. 1977

(Charter of Arab Cultural Unity, Constitutions of the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization ALESCO), to achieve overall planning, and to reach an enlightened awareness of the outside world in an attitude of give-and-take.

2. Certain trends and efforts are welcomed such as the provision made for greater equality of educational opportunities and the attention paid to scientific and technological studies, to combining academic and practical (technical) education, to administrative reforms and the reorganization of education along democratic and modern lines, and to educational research, experimentation with new methods, and planning for education within a comprehensive development plan.
3. Certain facts were regretted and their urgent correction was called for, for example the drop in the growth-rate of primary education, the relatively inferior educational opportunities offered to girls and children in rural areas, the high wastage rate in education, the prevalence of academic and theoretical studies at schools and the persistence of an outmoded view of technical and vocational education as inferior. Regrets were also expressed about the partial neglect of the quality of education in the search for quantitative expansion, the

adherence to out-of-date methods and techniques in teaching and administration, the subordinate role given in educational policies to adult education and the continued existence of illiteracy.

4. Further expansion of education was called for and in particular a goal was fixed for the implementation of compulsory primary education by 1980. In order that this expansion should not be accompanied by a maladjustment between society and education, the need to render education more popular and relevant in its aims and content was expressed. Prerequisites would include adequate funds, perhaps on a regional basis, a regular flow of pupils through the primary school and the overcoming of certain negative social and economic factors operating outside the school - especially among the parents - which run counter to educational expansion.
5. A strategy for improving the quality of education was sought. It was recognised that such a strategy could not wait to be developed until the aim of compulsory education for all Arab children had been reached. Definitions of quality of education were given. A good education, for instance, adapts itself to valid internal and external changes, and is the expression of a complex of measurable internal and external conditions,

qualifications and characteristics. It helps to bring about desirable changes in society; it eliminates or at least reduces to a minimum the wastage represented by failure, repetition, or drop-outs. Finally, a good education is one which is based on the results of scholarly research and does not involve arbitrary decisions or blind adherence to traditions.

6. A firm commitment was made to the improvement of technical and vocational education. Thus, it was regretted that the proportion of enrolments in technical and vocational education as compared with the total enrolment in secondary education had dropped in the later sixties. It was noted that, notwithstanding its importance, technical and vocational education was the victims of prejudices, that outworn concepts prevailed in its operation, that school programmes had scarcely been altered and were lagging far behind the demands of the age, and that teaching methods and techniques in it were hampered by the traditionalism of teachers and educationalists. The conference recorded the critical shortage of teachers for technical and vocational education as well as the fact that there were too few graduates of the secondary technical level in relation to those of the higher technical level. Moreover, this kind of education in a number of Arab states still suffers

from a lack of definite policy. It was established that the divorce between education and production can no longer be accepted in the modern world, and that through regional cooperation among Arab countries their technical and vocational education should be improved.

7. The conference made particular appeals to member states to promote the access of girls to secondary technical and vocational education and to combat female illiteracy as a major handicap to economic and social development in the region. According to estimates, between 46% and 85% of the adult male population and between 85% and 98% of the adult female population, depending on the country, were illiterate in the 1960s. The eradication of adult illiteracy in the Arab countries should be given priority in educational policies and should constitute an integral part of educational and development plans.
8. A call was also made for more adequate educational planning, with cooperation and coordination between the institutions concerned. Stress was laid on the need for educational research if education was to be a powerful instrument for modernization, social reconstruction and economic development in the region.
9. Among the more wide-ranging resolutions of the Marrakesh

Conference was its insistence on increasing educational assistance and services to the children of the people of Palestine, who have a right to education. In Resolution 5 it was said that UNESCO should continue its efforts to induce the Israeli occupying authorities not to interfere in the education of Palestinian students and of Arab students in the occupied zones nor to deprive them of their right to be taught according to the prescribed Arab curricula and textbooks. Furthermore, it was recommended that education in less developed areas of the region be promoted, and the 'brain-drain' of skilled Arabs and the consequent shortage of qualified experts within the Arab world was declared to be a serious problem requiring further study.

10. An appeal was made to UNESCO to continue its assistance to promote education in the Arab countries in cooperation with the League of Arab States and with other international bodies as well as individual Arab countries.

THE ABU-DHABI CONFERENCE OF 1977.

Seven years after the Marrakesh Conference the fourth regional conference of this kind was organised again by UNESCO in collaboration with ALESCO, the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organisation, founded in 1970 after the Marrakesh Conference. This conference in Abu Dhabi had been prepared at a meeting of experts in Cairo in October 1976, and it was preceded by a meeting of High Level educational administrators and specialists of Arab states in Alexandria in October 1977, which resulted in the Alexandria Declaration stressing the connection between development policy and educational policy. The explicit purpose of the Abu Dhabi conference which took place from 7 to 14 November 1977, was first to study the achievements, trends and problems of education in the Arab world since 1970, second, to study new strategies of educational development in the context of new socio-economic trends in the Arab world, and third, to elaborate a framework and to make recommendations to member states and others for the development and renewal of education both on the national level and in regional and international cooperation. The major decision taken was that quantitative expansion of education should go together with both democratization and renewal of educational practice. A serious attempt was made to formulate consistent development policies for education in close connection with the overall economic, social and cultural development of the Arab world. In what follows the main results of the Abu Dhabi conference

will be discussed.

REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1970.

It is estimated that in 1975-76 on the level of primary education in the Arab region as a whole still 42%, or more than 10 million children, of the age group from 6 to 11 years were not at school. If the expansion, already considerable, of primary education continues in the same way in the years to come, the projection is that even in 1985 30% of the age group from 6 - 11 years will not be at school. Of special concern are girls and children living in rural areas. Obviously, education of nomadic people, which is the basic characteristic of the Arabs, is difficult to solve.

The aim formulated by the Marrakesh Conference of 1970, to envisage primary education for all children of this age group in 1980, consequently, has turned out to be unattainable. Another problem at the primary level is that still a great number of pupils starting elementary schools at the age of 6 in fact do not finish school. According to a UNESCO study of this problem carried out in 13 Arab countries, only 728 of

every 1000 pupils admitted finished the elementary school at all, and only less than half of these 728 (that is to say 355) finish school without repeating classes(73). So there is a disquieting drop-out rate at the primary level.

At the level of preparatory and secondary education there has been a slight increase in the percentage of girls. A majority of pupils in secondary education of the general type is now oriented toward the scientific rather than the literary sections at school, which means a reversal of the situation of the early sixties. But although there has been an important increase in the absolute number of pupils in technical and vocational education at the secondary level, their proportion to the total number of this level has diminished, so that one can speak of too little progress made in the technological and scientific fields at the secondary level. As far as the organisation of secondary education is concerned, in several Arab countries there is a tendency to make the preparatory cycle of three years obligatory. Other countries tend to create one basic educational level of 8 - 9 years duration instead of the two levels of primary plus preparatory education; this basic education is diversified and also contains technical branches. On the whole, secondary education in the Arab countries at present is less

73- Tazi, A., op. cit., p.15

determined by the necessity to respond to the needs of society and to prepare the pupils for active preparation in the development of their country than by what may be called the 'social demand' for secondary education in order to pursue higher studies afterwards and to secure better jobs.(74)

At the level of higher education, together with a greater increase in the number of students, a considerable increase of institutions, both universities and higher institutes, is to be noted, with a better geographical distribution. There has been an increase in the number of girl students, and also an increase in the number of students enrolled in the main 'scientific' and technological faculties (42% of the total number of students enrolled in 1974/75), which means a happy readjustment of the situation of the early sixties when a great majority of students was enrolled in the 'arts' faculties. There exists, however, great disparities in higher education between the different Arab states. For a number of university degree holders, moreover the market is in fact saturated so that certain categories will suffer increasing unemployment in the years to come. In most Arab countries the level of instruction in institutions of higher education is not satisfactory. As far as the organisation of

74- Ibid., p.16

higher education is concerned, there seems to be a certain lack of coordination between universities and higher institutes. Planning in the expansion of higher education takes too little account of the real needs in Arab society for highly qualified personnel especially in the scientific and technological fields. As in secondary education, the social demand plays a more determining role than the necessary response to the needs of society and its development. This leads, not only to a growing unemployment of persons who have had a costly education, but it is also indicative of the connection between society and higher education to meet the demands of active life.

ERADICATION OF ADULT ILLITERACY.

It is estimated that the total number of illiterate people over the age of fifteen in the Arab world in 1970 was some 21 million men and some 29 million women. This amounts to 50 million illiterates out of a total number of about 68 million people above the age of fifteen. In the seventies, a number of literacy campaigns have been launched, and as a result between 1970 and 1975 some three million men and women in eleven Arab states have benefitted from the programmes to eradicate illiteracy. It is distressing to have to admit

that in this same period some 10 million young people reached adulthood while being illiterate. These data as well as experience acquired at the regional Arab centre of functional Alphabetization and Education (ARLO) and the centre of Functional Alphabetization and Education (the former ASFEC) in sir al-Layyan (Egypt) make clear that illiteracy has to do with wider social and economic structures and cannot be eradicated in isolation from them.

FINANCING OF EDUCATION.

The budgets of education in all Arab states increased considerably in the seventies, although the rate of growth varied, that of the oil producing states being, of course, by far the highest. A number of states spent more than 20% of their budget on education, and often 6% or even more of their GNP. It should be noted, however, that the average cost of education per pupil and student increased very much over the same period. The quite limited financial possibilities of the great majority of the Arab states largely account for the fact that they cannot expand education as much as they would like, even if the problem is a financial one. The Marrakesh Conference of 1970 as well as the Abu Dhabi Conference of 1977 asked for the creation of an Arab Education Development

Fund. This has not been achieved as yet.

QUALITATIVE ASPECTS OF EDUCATION.

ALESCO's conference before last, held in Marrakesh in 1970 attached particular importance to the quality of education and, in its first general resolution, invited the Arab countries to adopt and adhere to a strategy of qualitative improvement, particularly with respect to the philosophy of Arab education. 'Attempts have since then been made in several Arab countries to define a philosophy of education that will be the expression of Arab society and its values.' (75)

In effect, Arab scholars have concerned themselves with the issue, not always in the proper manner, but at least this encourages dialogues and may inspire a genuine solution to the real problem. Thus, for instance, in an ALESCO publication the problem has been tackled, but unfortunately, often, in a light manner. An Arab educational writer, for example wrote that this unilateralism in the practice of education in the different Arab countries, still reveals the

75- A. Tazi, op. cit., p.16.

Arab Philosophy of education in spite of the non-existence of a written form of it.(76) He argues that although Arab countries differ in details due to local conditions, they unite around three main principles, and these are Arabism, Islam and Humanism, not realizing that this way of reasoning is tautological and somewhat escapist. The interpretation each regime gives to Arabism, Islam and Humanism does not in any way achieve agreement with the other regimes. It is perhaps wiser to acknowledge that for the time being, no philosophy of Arab education has yet been sketched, and let those concerned with the issue think seriously about this normative puzzle. One cannot deny, however, that there are serious studies, although remaining voluntarist, are nonetheless seminal.(77)

 76 Du'ma, M.I. & Mursi. M.M., "Al-kitab al-madrassi wa mada mulaamatuhu li amaliyat al-taallum wal talim." (The School Textbook and its Relevance to learning and teaching) Tunis, Alesco, 1982, pp.20-21.

77- Cf. for instance, Alesco, "Khutta Litawhid Usus al-Manahidj wal Khutat ad-Dirasiya fil-Watan al-Arabi" (Plan to Unify the Principles of Curricula and Educational Plans in the Arab Nation), Tunis, Alesco (Department of Education), 1982, pp.7-14, 15-36.

Cf. also Unesco, "Project for a Regional Network of Educational Innovations for Development in the Arab States" Paris, Unesco (Minedarab), Sept.1977.

Or Tazi, A., op. cit., pp.19-29.

By and large, these studies promote the ideas of an open and non-formal education system. They also give much importance to the communication media with their potential and possibility of realising the concepts of globality, flexibility and participation. No mentions was however made to the new communication technology, i.e. the computer.

In general terms, the problem appears to be a cultural one. There is a cultural crisis in the region. It is this prolonged disharmony between states that has brought the participants of the last conference of Arab Ministers of education (1977) to voice their opinion that; 'the question of the improvement and renewal of education should be brought up again as a matter of urgency, particularly in view of the fact that the aim pursued, that of democratization was closely linked with the ability of education to develop and rethink its philosophy, objectives, structural contents... having regard to the socio-economic context in which it was placed.'(78)

This idea of linking the concept of democratization of education to that of the philosophy and content of education is very interesting indeed. The notion of 'school for all' implies as well as a sufficient infrastructure provision, a qualitatively favourable superstructure. That is, the culture of the school must reflect the needs of all citizens if they are successfully to assimilate the knowledge provided and hence be productive members of the community in which they live. It is not idealistic to agree with J. Roven(79)

'that the most important problem in education is to come to

78- A. Tazi, op. cit., p.17

79- Roven, J., "Oxford Review of education" vol.no3, Oxford 1981, pp.253-272

terms with values.'

Unfortunately, in view of the polarization of the Arab states into Radicals/Socialists, Moderates/progressives or conservatives, coming to terms with values in unison is not an easy task. This is even more so in view of the fact that school curricula are state controlled and legitimized at the central authorities' level. There is no doubt that, overall, there is a cultural homogeneity in the region, but this is at an unofficial level, among the common people; it is the pervasiveness of Islam and the Arabic language. The division occurs at the official levels among political ideologues.

Notwithstanding the diversity of regimes, it is interesting to note, at this stage, that whatever the colour of the regimes of these countries, there is a convergent desire, first to strengthen the cultural identity which implies a definition of the latter, and secondly, to ensure the full contribution of education to development. Recommendation no.3 of the fourth conference held in Abu Dhabi in 1977, reads:(80) 'Believing that the Arab has to shoulder the responsibility of his present and future destiny, considering that the time has come for him to

80- UNESCO, "Final Report of the Conference of Ministers of Education and those Responsible for Economic Planning in the Arab States" op. cit., p.29

innovate and create, rather than to import and consume foreign technologies and ideas, wishing to give the concepts of authenticity and modernity a well-defined and clear-cut significance in the formation of the Arab of the future, the conference recommends that research centres and units in the Arab States:

1. Explore in depth the foundations of Arab Islamic authenticity, in order to safeguard it against the ideological influences contaminating it from so many sources;
2. Demonstrate the advantages of keeping pace with the age and of openness to modern science and technology to be gained through the functional acquisition of at least one foreign language.
3. Evaluate experiments in linking education to development, particularly those which link education with productive skills and which introduce training in manual work into primary, intermediate and secondary education, so that manual work may enjoy the same esteem as abstract knowledge.

To explore in depth the foundations of Arab-Islamic authenticity, by encouraging research in the field, is a good sign indeed. It is both, very stimulating and legitimate. This will undoubtedly contribute to the region's political stability.

A genuine definition of these norms as well as an effective implementation of democracy, not only in the school, but also in the wider context of society as a whole would no doubt secure a lasting political stability in the region, and moreover a unity, because this is what is ultimately sought. What is the use of exploring in depth the foundation of Arab-Islamic authenticity if the findings of such research are deemed 'counter revolutionary' by the people in power and therefore repressed. The people in power must realise that they are not omniscient -whatever their feeling of potency- and trust the opinion of the majority. The concept of 'Vanguard party' i.e. the policy of an elite can lead astray. To make the right choice, the people do not need to be 100% literate. Education as conceived now can be but a misconcieved indoctrination. The right choice does not depend on knowing 'facts', (81) it rather depends on wisdom,

81- Facts are such, only for the individual observer. People differ in their perception of things. Even in 'scientific' subjects such as that of the real concreat world of physics, the observation of the sub-atomic particles, it is accepted, depends on the perspective of the observer.

and wisdom is not acquired in books and newspapers.

So what is the use of perpetrating the rule of the few until the people are educated? If being authentic to the Arab/Islamic culture is what is sought, then one cannot ignore the Qur'anic verse that says: 'The hand of God is with the community (majority)'. In other words, policy making when it is democratic cannot go wrong. The rulers of the Arab world must believe in this -and there are many such affirmations- and, consequently, trust the good sense of the majority. Or they do not believe in the Islamic principles of consultation and consensus and therefore become tyrannical.

An interesting episode appeared on the English television at the beginning of 1985 when Terry Waite, the special envoy of the Archbishop of Canterbury negotiated the release of four men detained in Libya on spying charges. What appeared is that these negotiations turned out to be, not with the political leaders of that country but with the common people. Whether this was genuine or an act, the principle is there. It is such democracy that the Arab World needs.

It is the belief of the investigator that an enquiry into the problem of values is the most important priority facing Arab education in the contemporary era. The present study does not need further legitimation. How did this confusion

in the values arise between the different countries of the region? Why the political ideology and by way of consequence, the philosophy of education in Libya differs from that of Saudi Arabia and vice versa throughout the Arab world? What is the historical explanation of such confusion? The following chapter is an attempt to answer these questions. Within the Holmesian problem solving approach, the intention is to give an additional precision to the problem. The aim is to reach a 'technical definition' of it. The ultimate aim is to suggest a suitable educational theory or policy which may solve the many problems reviewed in the present chapter.

II- TOWARDS AN IDENTIFICATION OF THE PROBLEM

Within a comparative education perspective, it appeared that the interest of ALESCO in the Arab world resembled that of the OECD in Europe, namely, to harmonize policies in their respective communities. Basically this is the case of the cultural borrowing tradition, which stretches in history back to the time of M. A. Julien de Paris at the beginning of the nineteenth-century(1). His task was to collect and classify educational facts and observations so that some general principles and rules on which to base policy could be deduced. It is now the task of UNESCO, the IBE, the OECD and indeed ALESCO. But cultural borrowing is not the monopoly of international organizations for a vast number of studies undertaken by private scholars can be classified under this category. Nevertheless, as the literature on the subject shows, especially since Sadler, there are serious dangers underlying such a perspective, and these differ according to the investigators belief as to what the purpose of comparative education is(2)

1- Cf. his book "Esquisse d'un ouvrage sur l'education comparee", Paris, 1817

2- There is no firm, clear, and unequivocal definition of what comparative education actually is. There is the 'package tour' view. This approach consists of describing foreign educational structure, school and administration structure, school and administrative control, and tabulating 'significant' statistical facts. Although it is an accepted fact that what goes on out of the school is more important in explaining educational phenomena, this approach most infrequently steps outside the school. The

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By the turn of the 19th century, Michael Sadler (1861-1943) added new dimensions to the study. Against the cultural borrowers, he asserted that bits and pieces of an educational system could not be transplanted successfully from one country to another. Each country had its own "living spirit".(3) or cultural specific-values and every system of education its ethos. The concept 'living spirit' has been approached differently by different people. Thus, for instance, Mallinson referred to it as the 'national character',(4) a kind of fixed mental constitution that guarantees a common purpose and a common effort from the whole nation. He lists four principal determinants: heredity, national environment, social heritage, and education, which is not very different from Hans' natural, religious and secular factors. Again, and in the same

2(cont'd)'academic' approach espoused by people like Bereday stresses the methodological aspect of the discipline and takes it that the most important justification for comparative education is intellectual. Finally, there is the view of comparative education as a useful study. Here the purpose would be to assist the policy makers in making the right decisions concerning education. These studies, prepared from widely different theoretical perspectives have added to the growing literature in this discipline.

3- Cf. Higginson, J.H., "Selection From Michael Sadler: Studies in World Citizenship" Liverpool, Dejjal & Meyore, 1979

4- Cf. Mallinson, V., "An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Education" London, Heinemann Educational, 1980 (4th ed.)

tradition, Lauwerys a contemporary of Hans and Mallinson, acknowledged the importance of the 'national character' concept in the field of comparative education but, for the sake of rigour, expressed some dissatisfaction with the vastness of its scope, has explored the possibility of defining a number of national traditions stemming from each nation's philosophical orientation. He suggests that a more desirable and manageable element might be the philosophy of a nation since most comparative education writers have in fact implicitly applied some kind of philosophical approach.(5) Holmes also adheres to this view.

Although some comparativists view selective cultural borrowing as feasible, it is widely accepted that transplanting a whole system, and this implies a philosophy of education would be a misconceived policy. For this purpose, as Jones(6) contends, 'the acceptance of a particular educational policy is never to be undertaken lightly, for the future of many millions of potential citizens is dependent upon making a good decision'. Needless to say, making the right decision requires a degree of

5- Lauwerys, J.A., "The philosophical Approach to Comparative Education" International Review of Education, 1959, pp.281-98

6- Jones, P.E., "Comparative Education; purpose and method", St. Lucia, Queensland, University of Queensland Press, 1973, p.25

'analysis'(7) of foreign educational experience instead of relying on mere description.

Now, assuming that the Arab nation-states and the Arab nation as a whole are two mutually exclusive entities in that the concept of national sovereignty contradicts that of Arab unity, then of course, it is not possible to define a common philosophy of education for all Arab states. Each state is sovereign, and each state has its own educational philosophy. But before proceeding with the argument, it is important to define the concept of Philosophy of education as compared to two other relevant terms. These are educational theory and educational policy and determine where they fit in the present comparative education argument.

The term 'educational philosophy' carries, according to Lauwerys and Cowen(8), two major meanings. 'One referent is to philosophers such as Confucius, Plato, Locke or Dewey who reflected on the goals and aims of education. All of them also gave examples of objectives in education, i.e. description of the ends envisaged and patterns of preferred

7- In such analysis The notion of living spirit, national character, or philosophical tradition is paramount, depending on the methodology adhered to.

8- Lauwerys, J.A. & Cowen, R., "theoretical aspects of the problem" (in Unesco's "Educational Goals" Paris, Unesco (IBE), 1980.), p.22

teaching-learning situations. The second referent is the current professional activity of educational philosophy.' This translates itself as the professional role of reflecting, through teaching and writing, on the goals, aims and objectives of education and on particular educational practices. The two authors remarked that 'although current professional philosophizing in education may assist in the renegotiation and reinterpretation of educational goals, aims and objectives, the activity is severely constrained by what has already been socially created in the schooling systems of the world and by the philosophic ideas which already inform and are embodied in those schooling systems.'(9) It may be said, in passing, that this restraint is slightly less important in the Arab world than it is in Europe or America. This is due to the fact that, for historical reasons and more specifically because of the colonial rule and influence in the region, the present schooling systems are often questioned.

The term 'educational theory' is also given two meanings by the two above cited authors,(10) a strong and a weak. 'In the strong meaning, an educational theory has some similarities to a classical statement by a philosopher of

9- Ibid, p.22

10- Ibid, p.22

education. That is, a major educational theory would contain, in synthesis, an epistemological theory, a psychological theory and a sociological theory. The epistemological theory directs attention to the forms of valued knowledge; the psychological theory indicates how this knowledge might be learned; and the sociological theory suggests both the individual role of the good pupil and the social life of the education system. These elements will be more or less coherently organised within a broader framework outlining the end values of education. In this sense, the major philosophers of education provided theories of education. It should however be noted that the collected works of a particular classical philosopher of education are not the only source of educational theories, they may be constructed by several persons over time. Thus, taken together, the writings of Marx, Lenin and Kroupskaya offer an educational theory. In this sense also it is possible to speak of a Catholic theory of education.

In the weak sense, the term educational theory means an explanatory hypothesis, under test or awaiting testing, which suggests likely relationship between parts of an education system, or between the education system and other social structures. For example: (a) the view that teaching the 'new mathematics' will produce more competence among ordinary pupils than the old methods; (b) the theory that research on

'heuristic' methods of teaching science will arouse more interest among pupils than didactic methods; (c) the theory that non-selective (or comprehensive) secondary schools diminish, while selective secondary schools maintain, class stratification. It is a point of view about a specific aspect of educational concern which might be confirmed or refuted.

Educational theories in the weak sense are best suited to enlighten educational objectives in that they test relationships within a normative framework provided by goals and aims. In view of the nature of the problem selected for this study, this weak meaning is not implied in the present work.

The last important term is 'Educational policies'. These are recommendations or statements of intention, normally backed by philosophical, historical and sociological arguments which legitimize them. Lauwerys and Cowen(11) remarked that 'the policy is often a distillate of many views, some apparently in conflict, and it may attempt to reconcile diverging interests. So the documents compress into general statements social aspirations expressed by a range of groups; they embody some educational traditions and

11- Ibid., p.23

formulate or reject others. They are thus the link between an educational history and a preferred educational future.'(12) It is important to mention, at this stage, that according to the Holmesian 'problem solving' approach, educational policies represent alternative hypotheses. Their meaning is, therefore, similar to educational theories.

A concluding remark about these theoretical notions would be to say that within the framework of Dewey's reflective thinking, on which Holmes bases his methodology, which is the main conceptual framework of the present study, this conceptualisation of the issues in comparative education literature is valuable and assists intellectual choice.

A TAXONOMY OF THE PROBLEM.

In order to identify technically the problem, the Holmesian framework for analysis appeared comprehensive enough to justify the investigator's adherence to it, and consequently the jargon as well as the structure of the following section. This framework incorporates a theory of social change and therefore provides an explanation to the inability of ALESCO

12- Ibid, p.23

to define the philosophy of Arab education.

It does not need many supporting arguments to convince that 'education depends more on external factors than on endogenous elements in education systems.' (13) Aware of this, Holmes developed a general and comprehensive classification scheme based upon the distinction K.R. Popper draws between normative statements and laws (What ought to be the case) and sociological laws which are statements about institutional relationships in society. (Cf. Annex 1) two more categories of data include information about the natural environment and the mental states, or psychological attitudes of the people. (Cf. figure II.1 in the next page).

The main assumption behind the taxonomy is that asynchronous change in society gives rise to identifiable educational 'problems'. (14) The selection of a problem begins in selection of confusions or puzzles and continues through the gradual ordering of those confusions. Ordinarily, some issues of educational policy will be the point of departure for a technically defined 'problem'. In the case of the present study, it is rather puzzling that in spite of their

13- cf. Unesco, "Some comments on the socio-economic context of development and its influence on the evolution of content of education during the next decades." Paris, Unesco, 7-11 July 1980, p.7

14- Cf introduction and Annex 1 of the present thesis.

Another characteristic of the Holmesian problem analysis is that it is based on the assumption that persisting sentiments, rather than high ideals or aspirations, motivate action. In other words, religious sentiments would be more determining of actual behaviour of people than political affiliations. This may explain, according to the religious characteristics of each country, why some countries are more traditional than others and why they could not agree on their educational priorities, for indeed in policy formulation there always is the factor of popular support to be taken into account. The following account traces where the asynchronous change occurred in the Arab world and at what level.

THE NORMATIVE PATTERN.

Two major components of the normative aspects of education are the national statement of educational aims and the content of the curriculum. The IBE taxonomy(15) reveals that there is, generally speaking a unanimity in national statements of educational aims. However, as other aspects of

15- International Bureau of Education, "International Yearbook of Education" (Vol. XXXII, Prepared by Holmes, B.), Paris, Unesco, 1980

the normative pattern reveal, -as follows below- this is only a cosmetic shell covering deep normative divisions between the 22 Arab countries. There are of course certain normative aspects that are similar in all these countries such as the organisational policy adhered to. 'Education in the Arab World is centralised, most, if not all curriculum decisions are made in the respective Ministries of education. What is to be taught, how, for how long, and by whom are decisions that are made by national authorities. Supervisory personnel in the districts see to it that these types of decisions are executed.(16)

However, the content of the school message as well as the stress placed on certain subjects may differ, widely, from one country to the other. Annex2 presents a panoramic view of curriculum offerings by level of education in nine Arab states. What is significant is that Islamic studies and Arabic, taken together, consume the largest portion of the school curriculum in most of the states for which data are available. (cf. Annex 2.) Saudi Arabia has the highest requirements in Islamic studies and Arabic with a total of 108 and 113 periods per week, respectively, for the three levels of education, primary, intermediate, and secondary.

16- Cf. Shamut, A. & al-Khatib, B.A., "Muhawalat Tawhid wa Tatwir al-Manahidj ad-Dirassiya fil-Bilad al-Arabiya" (Attempts to Unify and Develop Educational Programmes in the Arab States: a Field Study.) Tunis, Alesco, 1981, p.31

In other words, 108 instructional periods per week are devoted to islamic studies in grades 1 through 12.(17) Paradoxically, and to the contrary to what one first thinks, Libya has the lowest requirement, with a total of 23 and 25 periods per week, for each subject respectively. There is considerable attention given to maths in all Arab countries, with the exception of Bahrain. Kuwait has the highest requirement in this subject area, a total of 81 periods per week, followed by Iraq with 69. In Libya and Tunisia, science instruction is minimal. Foreign language, however, commands a significant portion of the curriculum in all the countries. It is hardly surprising, considering the political regime of Libya, that military training is part of the formal curriculum.

It may be argued that any dominant philosophy in a society, and the philosophy of education from which educational aims, which in turn determine the curriculum offerings, are a reflection of the local conditions and aspirations. It is therefore important to make such conditions in the arab world explicit. M. Bachour,(18)

17- If these figures are accurate, as presented to us by Shamut, A., & al-Khatib A., op. cit., the number of periods taught in these subjects seems relatively high. This may explain the crucial importance of these subjects in certain countries.

18- Bachour, M., "el ahdaaf at-tarbawiya fi al-buldan al-arabiya" (Educational aims in the Arab countries, vol. 2), Beirut, The American University, 1980, p.3.

contends that 'such description must start from a reality with two facets: The first is that the Arab countries are part of the third world and share with it the problems, the challenges and aspiration characteristics of the developing world. The second facet is that the Arab world differs from the rest of the third world for it has its own historical and social traits specific to that region.'

Obviously, poverty, illiteracy and illness is a common feature in the Arab world and in the third world in general. It may be argued that these features can be attributed to the colonization of these countries by Europe, for the prime interest of the colonizing powers was more economic than humanitarian. The newly acquired independence of these countries (with what this implies of organizational problems, the demographic explosion, the weakness in the communication infrastructure, immigration, low productivity in agriculture and industry, emotionalism and so on), has led to a similar pattern in government legislation and policy implementations throughout the third world. These trends can be summarised in the following: the claim to liberation and development which implies justice, equality, democracy, Socialism, industrialization, and political and economic independence.

Such aspirations were reflected in these countries' statements of educational aims as equality of educational

opportunity, curricula innovation and their adaptation to the countries' needs, the improvement of administration, finance, teacher training and teaching methods.

The specific characteristics to the Arab countries are as was mentioned earlier socio-historical. They are to be determined throughout this study. However, one may assert with M. Bachour(19) that according to political memoranda as well as to the publications by the Arab intelligentsia, what determines the contemporary Arab philosophy are:

1. The Islamic religion,
2. The western culture, philosophy and science,
3. the nationalist and ethnic feeling.

This specificity of the region had a wide range of consequences from which one may cite: the proliferation of divergent political ideologies, of government political options and legislations. These ideologies are often adopted unilaterally by those in power, ranging from the unabashedly Marxist orientation of South Yemen to the mixtures of fundamentalism and populism of Libya, to the minimally

19- Ibid., p.5

restrained free-market capitalism of the monarchies and Egypt. There is, however, a significant factor to be mentioned here. It is the widespread Islamic influence on purely secular matters. Islam is a political religion. It is supposed to respond to all aspects of man's life. The question which is constantly posed by those who believe in the reality of their religion is, which 'modern' economic and political ideology best accords with Islamic values.

Indeed, it is a universal phenomenon that modernity is bound to disrupt old values, but it is not a universal phenomenon that old values are so politicised. This specific aspect of the Arab world has greatly contributed to the creation of an embittered generation of Arab intellectuals, each of whom through his own past education either in western Universities or in traditional institutions, tries to find a solution to the Arab predicament. Thus for instance, in the fourth Annual Convention of Association of Arab-American University Graduates held in Boston in October 1971,(20) many distinguished speakers gathered in order to identify the problems facing the Arab world today.

What resulted from that meeting was a collection of points of view in the form of essays that reflect so much the

20- Said, E., & Suleiman, F., "The Arabs Today, Alternatives for Tomorrow" (Columbo, Ohio, USA), Forum Associates, 1973

division of the Arab world in matters of policies or ideologies. One essay particularly pessimistic reads : 'From the struggle to achieve independence and unity, only fragmentation and disunity have been achieved... The hope that has animated the past generation's struggle has, after the disasters of June 1967, September 1970 and July 1971, turned into cynicism and despair... The concept of Pan-Arabism is in its essential aspect nothing more than the concept of Pan-Islamism in secular nationalist terms... Political rule in the Arab world is characterised by varying degrees of absolutism. As the local flag and national anthem have come to strengthen the sense of local identity, the Friday prayer and the religious ceremony have come to express anew the sense of Islamic belonging. The false consciousness thus produced lulls the masses into inaction and keeps them safely out of the sphere of political struggle.' (21)

This pan Arab nationalist frame of mind is mirrored by the more traditionally educated intellectuals such as Hassan el-Benna when they advocate a Pan Islamic Community of believers. They advocate not the promotion of an ideal Arab state but an Islamic multi-racial community united by the

21- Ibid, pp.137-138

strong bond of Islam and not by a mere language.(22)

The author of the above quote further reveals the complicated picture he holds concerning the region when he says : 'Arab society, far from being simple or primitive, is highly sophisticated and the forces active within it are often unpredictable and can never be readily grasped... But let there be no mistake about this future, in the Arab world, we are entering upon a dark and difficult period with for the short term, no light in sight.'(23)

Such opinion is indeed supported and confirmed by the world's mass media coverage of the Arabs and of Islamic militancy in particular, in recent years. 'This extraordinary change can be attributed to three factors : the discovery of vast oil reserves under the barren desert sands, the establishment of the Jewish State in Palestine, a move that Arabs took as a deep insult to their pride and dignity, and the development of a new, vital political ideology among the Arabs, the ideology that has come to be known as Arab Socialism.'(24)

22- Anouar, Abdel-Malek (ed), "La Pensee Politique Arabe Contemporaine" Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1970, pp.63-80.

23- Said, E., & Suleiman, F., op. cit., p.142

24- Goode, S., "The Prophet and the Revolutionary Arab Socialism in the Modern Middle East" New York, Franklin Watts inc., 1975, p.1

Indeed, the discovery of oil has had a major effect upon Arab politics. In the 1980's geologists estimate that the oil proven reserves under Arab soil were over half the world total, ensuring that the Arab countries will continue to play a pivotal role in the world energy equation until well into the next century.(25) Such strategic and vital raw material cannot leave those who hold it unexposed to all sorts of internal and external attacks. The second fact that has brought the Arab world to the centre of world affairs is the continuing conflict with Israel. Thus in 1973 after the fourth Arab-Israeli War, the oil producing countries in the Arab World declared an oil boycott of Europe and the USA for helping Israel in its policies. This has shown that the Arabs now possess their own bomb. The third factor is the emergence of a radical political philosophy that has caught the allegiance of many Arabs. Before Nasser, no Arab leader had won the imagination and respect of large numbers of Arabs or had gained the notice of people throughout the world. He and his followers overthrew the corrupt Egyptian monarchy of King Farouk and established a new government that evolved into the first Arab Socialist state. In Egypt, he began the disruption of the old system that had favoured the rich and powerful; land was seized and turned over to peasants who had

25- Dempsey, M., " The Daily Telegraph Atlas of the Arab World: A Concise Introduction to the Economic, Social, Political and Military Status of the Arab World, Including Comprehensive Gazetteer" London, Nomad Publishers Ltd., 1983, map No.19

formerly owned nothing. Other social and economic measures were undertaken to improve the condition of the masses...Abroad, Nasser announced that Egypt would follow the orders of no one.'(26)

Goode remarks that young idealists in Arab lands and elsewhere saw themselves as new Nassers and studied the work of the Egyptian leader and his followers, hoping to imitate his rise to power and his reforms in Egypt. This is especially true in the case of the present president of Libya, Colonel Qadhafi, but this cannot be generalised. It is very easy when writing about the Arabs from the West to make a common methodological mistake, that of putting a complicated social reality into a single category. This is symptomatic of an illusion of homogeneity, which is not very helpful in understanding the Arab World. There is little resemblance between Nasser's socialistic aspirations and those of Assad of Syria or Boumediene of Algeria.

Compared with many minor political ideologies in the region, Socialism has been, by far, the most articulate. Its popularity has arisen because it offered, or seemed to offer, radical solutions outside the context of a secular anti-nationalist Marxism. Many Marxists would not agree with

26- Goode, S., op. cit., p.5

such assumption and contend that communism, the final stage of a Marxist conception of a classless society can be attained through a transition stage called 'Socialism'. At any rate, what appears to be the case in the Arab World is that Socialism gives the impression of being reconcilable to Islam.(27)

How do the "Socialist" states translate their ideals into educational aims and policies? For the time being it appears relevant to mention that, in spite of its military origins and its concern for the peasants, Arab Socialism is characterised by its desire to improve the condition of the underdog and to limit the power and influence of the wealthy and privileged as well as the desire to follow a course of government planning to achieve economic improvement and social justice.

Certain states, however, look in the name of Islam with suspicion at Arab Socialism. The outcome of such a state of affairs is that 'Politically, the Arab world today is a landscape of division - of opposing groups and interests. We observe the manifest inability of the Arab states to adopt

27- This specific point will be analysed in depth in later chapters for it is revealed to be of major importance to the nature of the problem dealt with and the stress made on the 'Socialistic educational aspirations of certain Arab countries, in the present study.

common or effective policies on the core of Arab issues, like Palestine, and the habit of various regimes, each to follow its narrowly defined state interest.'(28)

'Independent statehood is the sine qua non of twentieth century history and the Arab 'nation-states are not as old as their independence from colonial rule. Independence is the turning point of the asynchronous change, creator of the embryonically defined problem of the present study. Independence or pre-independence has led to an explosion of aspirations, mainly geared towards the idea of 'development'. These aspirations were shaped in the framework of what is now known as the 'nation-state'. it is this that had led most Palestinians to accept the existence of Israel in return for the creation of a Palestinian mini-state on the West Bank, beside Israel. If nothing else, this would gain them a passport and legal identity like their neighbours.'(29)

The fact that the Palestinians have not been able to gain their statehood and hence have the right like all their brothers around them to determine whatever future they wish to offer to their children has triggered another militancy in the Arab world, hardly supportive of Arab nationalism; It is

28- Musallam, B., "The Arabs: A Living History" London, Collin & Harvill, 1983, p.135

29- Ibid., p.197

Islamic fundamentalism.

Indeed, one may argue with the contenders of pan-Islamic ideas that nationalism does not find any significant support within the corpus of Islamic fundamental beliefs. It rather finds its legacy in the urgency to improve the standard of living of 'Arab' citizens. 'The stress was on the scientific approach, philosophical rationalism and political liberalism. The aim was to create a modern society, similar to those of Europe and North America, resolutely forward looking and open to progress, yet preserving those aspects of past traditions and customs which would not hamper the envisaged advance.' (30)

At the aftermath of 1967 Arab defeat in the face of Israeli superiority some Arab intellectuals started to question the legacy of Arab nationalism. The argument goes thus : Nationalism as a phenomenon incorporating the ideas of 'promised land' (developed country) and 'chosen people' (a generation of elites) is more of a Jewish ideology than an Arab one. The Jews defeated the Arabs because the Arabs did not follow the tenets of their religion whereas the Jews did. To avoid losing more of their lands in the region, the Arabs must unite around their Islamic beliefs and promote the

30- Anouar, A., "Contemporary Arab Political Thought" London, Zed Books, 1983, p.5

universalist idea of Islamic Community rather than the more limited and racialist idea of Arab nationalism.

Under the above perspective, the situation in the Middle East seems to be a mirror reflection of a generally religious political climate. While the Arabs were lost in the Islamic Community under the umbrella of the Ottoman Caliphate, the Jews were lost within mankind, and thus far from realizing their religious ideal to return to their promised land. When the Arabs started to covet the idea of nationalism as portrayed to them by the European nations, they confronted the reality of division and political incompetence in the face of Zionism, which indeed threatens the root of their existence.

In real politics, compared with the nationalist movement, the recent Islamic fundamentalism is still in its embryonic stage and this is due to many reasons. The most apparent one seems to be the capacity of modern ideologies to capture the reality of twentieth century political and economic thought within a corpus of "relevant" concepts. The struggle against European imperialism hardened the respective national movements, and the independent national states which eventually emerged were strongly oriented towards political radicalism, which in the present historical phase means

Socialism.' (31)

THE INSTITUTIONAL PATTERN.

Knowledge of a nation's pattern of educational, economic and welfare organisational policies adds another dimension to the information we need about the context in which school systems function.' (32) At this stage of problem identification, a description of such pattern permits a precise location of the elements of Arab society that play in determining the puzzle surrounding the difficulty to define a single Arab educational philosophy.

After independence, all Arab governments embarked upon a modern trend of political, religious, economic, health and educational institutions in order to rationalize their development plans. In fact the kind of change that is witnessed at the present time had occurred during the colonisation era. That is from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. As such, the present 'explosion of aspirations' was, directly or indirectly, determined by a

31- Ibid., p.10

32- Holmes, B., "Comparative Education: Some Considerations of Method" London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1981, p.83

change in the institutional pattern of these societies, prior to independence.(33)

In education proper, 'when the so-called 'modern education' was established in the Arab countries at various dates in the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries, 'new' educational administrative patterns emerged. These patterns, generally speaking, took the form of a central machinery -namely the Ministry or Office of education- that was considered the 'master mind' of the state in directing its schools, while the administration of the individual schools, at the operational level, acted as the 'executing hands' .(34)

With later developments in Arab education (see first chapter), the gap between educational requirements for expansion and efficiency and educational administration has started to widen when the latter appeared lagging behind. After acknowledging the influence of educational policy changes on educational administration in Arab countries as a whole, al-Ghannam(35) maintains that many administrations

33- The next chapter casts some light on this aspect.

34- M. al-Ghannam, "An overview of the administrative situation in education in the Arab countries" Paris, (Division of educational policy and Planning) Unesco, 1977, p.6

35- Ibid, p.7



have remained in essence as they originally were, whether from the point of view of their philosophy, concepts and functions, or from the point of view of their structure, relations, centres of interest and points of emphasis, or from the point of view of methods of action, means and tools, or from the point of view of human efficiency and norms of behaviour.' This is hardly surprising if such pyramidal structure is foreign to the 'national character' of the countries concerned, and this reenforces the position of the Islamic fundamentalists.

He continues, 'with regards to its philosophy, concepts and functions, educational administration is still viewed generally speaking as an activity above teachers and people and separate from technical work and as a matter of holding the reins of power and dictating orders. Administrators still concentrate on the mechanics and clerical aspects of the task rather than its 'humanist', on minor details rather than on statesmanship, and on control, enforcement and implementation rather than on initiation, improvement or innovation. Even admitting everything that has been said and done in the name of 'democratic administration', 'participation', 'group or collective leadership', 'freedom' and 'individual initiative', the slogans remain vague in many cases, and the way is still long if real achievement is to be

made.(36)

As regards structure, relations, foci of interest and points of emphasis, it appears that the original foundations of administration are still intact in most cases despite the attempts made for its reorganization and reform. This is shown in the fact that real authority still resides in the central administrative superstructure which is empowered to hire and fire, and to draw up edicts, regulations, directives and measures on its own. The schools and local communities, where administrative decisions are put into practice, are there mainly to implement and have little or no freedom of choice and their scope for initiative is in fact limited. The traditional distinction between, on the one hand, administrative matters in the literal sense (financial affairs, appointments, promotions, transfers, the holding of examinations etc.) and, on the other, professional or technical matters (such as the definition of objectives, the design of new educational structures, curriculum development, the professional growth of teachers) still prevails; and yet the relationship between the two is not precisely defined and they have not been integrated nor has any balance between their respective powers been established.(37)

36- Ibid., p.7

37- Ibid., p.8

With regard to human efficiency --which is the most important and valuable factor in both administration and education- it is obvious that the expansion of education in the Arab countries as a whole has been beset in many cases by three shortcomings which have prevented it from having an effective and positive impact on administrative efficiency and consequently on educational efficiency. The three short-comings are:

1. The tendency of the increase to be quantitative thereby causing overstaffing in the administration and upsetting the balance of the educational structure, thus unjustifiably increasing administrative costs within educational budgets;
2. the transfer of far from negligible numbers of unqualified or unsuccessful teachers to administrative posts in the mistaken belief that anyone who does not make a good teacher will make a good educational administrator;
3. the failure to regard administration as a profession in which no one ought to be employed without relevant

preparation and adequate training.'(38)

This negative account of Arab administrative organisations is not totally undermined by a rather pessimistic state of mind of the author. There are some indicators that support such an account.(39) But according to the Holmesian theory such problems are created by an asynchronous change, and the non-change element can be identified in the 'mental states' of the people operating such structures. This is substantiated in the subsection following the one below.

THE PHYSICAL PATTERN.

On the question why do people today, from Morocco to Iraq call themselves Arabs, Basim Musallam makes some very useful remarks. He writes: 'The Arabs do not all share the Muslim faith, and the majority of the Muslims in the world are not Arabs. They are not a distinct race; culturally and geographically they adjoin peoples (Turks and Iranians for example) who have shared much of their history. Thus it is not because Arabs have no alternative, often powerful,

38- Ibid., p.9

39- Massialas, B.G., et al., "Education in the Arab World" New York, Praeger, 1983, pp.31-58

definitions of identity current among them that they call themselves Arabs. There are black Arabs and white Arabs, Muslims, Christians, Africans, Asians, Sunnis, Shi'ites, overall a rich variety of geographical, religious, racial, social, political differences.'(40)

In the light of these remarks, one is tempted to assume, as many Arab ideologues do(41) that the basis of Arab identity is the Arabic language, that every one whose mother tongue is Arabic is an Arab. This definition is nevertheless less comprehensive than one might like it to be, for within the Arab lands, one finds a diversity of linguistic groupings such as the Berbers of North Africa or the Kurds of Iraq. If the colonial partition has divided the Arab world into 22 nation-states, linguistic differences threaten the 'national unity' of a number of these nation-states such as the Kurdish rebellion in Iraq and the Kabyle social upheavals in Algeria have shown.(42) The arbitrary partition of these regions has led people to question the concept of 'nation-state', and they did it from different perspectives, either religiously, ethnically or linguistically.

40- Musallam, B., op. cit., p.VII

41- Anouar, A. (ed.), "La Pensee Politique Arabe Contemporaine" (1970) op. cit., pp.131-164.

42- Cf. Hudson, M.C., op. cit., pp.69-74.

Hence, the proposals of other criteria for defining the concept of Arabness. The Algerian Minister of foreign Affairs, Ahmed Taleb-Ibrahimi, formerly Minister of culture said in his address during the conference of Trade Union Officials held in Algiers(1972): 'It is historically false to assume that the Algerian population is made up of Arabs and Berbers. The first Arabs who settled in Algeria in the 8th century took autochthonous wives. The religion and the language they and their descendants introduced were to become a binding force... Ethnically speaking, Algeria is thus not a juxtaposition of Arabs and Berbers (as is often said) but an Arab-Berber mixture of peoples who have embraced the same faith, the same system of values... Similarly, when we speak of Arabism, the concept has an essentially cultural content... By giving Arabism a cultural content, we eliminate the seeds of disunity and provide the Arab World with an indestructible foundation.'(43)

The emphasis on a common culture, and this implies Islamic values, is again to be met with some resistance especially from the Christian Arabs in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, where, not surprisingly, the governments emphasise the language as the essential binding factor, rather than the cultural values.

43- Anouar, A., (1983, English edition), cf. article of A. Taleb-Ibrahimi, "Renaissance and cultural Revolution".

In the light of the social characteristics of the Arab world, the political factor, as portrayed by the above contradictions seems to be a direct consequence of the development of 'Arab nationalism'. The economic factor has also a direct bearing on both the social and the political aspects of Arab societies. So an important date, which is also a turning point was the date of independence, which is similar to that noted in the normative pattern.

At the present time, the Arabs number over a hundred and fifty millions, that is, 3,7% of the world population. 'With a rate of 3% increase each year, the United Nation statistical experts estimate that by the year 2000, the population of the region will have doubled. This would make it 4,5% of World population.' (44) The age pyramid today is extremely broad at the base, which makes it difficult to reduce the population growth rate, and gives rise to great problems such as the increasingly important capital expenditure required for housing, health, education, employment...

Fortunately, the large income made possible by the important mineral resources can turn the above mentioned predicament into an invaluable asset by making it possible,

44- Unesco, "la croissance des effectifs scolaires dans les Etats Arabes" Paris, Unesco (Reports Studies, C.100), 1982, p.2

for at least certain countries, to emancipate their populations in a proper manner. Of course, formal education, it is commonly said, can play a crucial function in bringing about this emancipation. The relation of formal education to the larger culture may be, as Rich(45) remarks, any relation prescribed by those who hold the reins of power. The relation is not fixed and universal but depends on the nuances of social change.

In societies where the trend is towards "development", the school can be considered as the only institutions specialized in providing the skilled manpower in order to meet the existing demands and exigencies in society.(46) This meant social planning and the all pervasiveness of the state's power. The wealthier the country, the stronger is the power of the state.(47) The matter is further complicated by changes in the international context.

45- Rich, J.M., "Education and Human Values" Reading & London, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1968, p.6

46- This view has lately, lost some of its popularity in that people started to talk about opening the school to society and even deschooling society. These ideas are in fact a questioning of the extent to which the state can determine the individual's choice of what should be his life. But in addition to individual dissatisfactions, the rapidity of change in the latter half the twentieth century has increased to overwhelming proportions the pressures on the schools to meet unforeseen demands.

47- Countries like Saudi Arabia hire soldiers from the Indian sub-continent and other poor Arab states to enforce the power of the state.

Considering that the oil findings in Arab lands are the largest reserve in the world, even if, roughly 2% of the known reserves is being used each year, this natural resource is indeed invaluable in terms of helping these countries break the circle of poverty. There is no doubt, in economic terms, the predominant factor in Arab lands is, at the present time, oil. 'While the oil exporters have established an ability to serve the national economic and political interests by deciding on petroleum prices together, they have provided themselves with the means to exercise far greater independence of action by accumulating new wealth. However, they have not reduced their dependence on the West... The West needs secure supplies of oil and cooperation from the (Arab) States with large petrodollar surpluses in managing the international monetary system. The newly oil-rich states seek industrial and military technology from, and investment opportunities in the industrially more advanced West.'(48)

It may be argued that this situation has been in a large extent determined by the 1967 Arab defeat against Israel and to a lesser extent by the 1973 war. To win a war, it is not possible any more to rely on sheer numbers of combatants but on scientific and technological progress. In an address to

48- Waterbury, J., "The Middle East in the Coming Decade; From Well-head to Well-being?" USA, McGraw-Hill Book Company (!980's Project/Council on Foreign Relations.), 1978, p.5

the 4th National Congress of the Arab Socialist Union, in Cairo 1970, President Gamel Abd-Nasser of Egypt made these remarks : 'A new kind of warfare is being waged for the first time in history; electronic warfare ... Up until 1967, Israel had obtained from the United States all the electronic warfare equipment needed to paralyse and locate our radar installations and rocket bases, to jam our telecommunications, etc ... we too need the kind of advanced electronic warfare materials that Israel receives, yet we cannot manufacture it ourselves. It was because of such electronic equipment, delivered secretly to Israel by the United States, that our enemy was able to achieve a rapid victory during the six day war.'(49)

The vital necessity felt by the Arab world to catch up with contemporary civilization made them aware of their strategic assets, the 1973 Arab Israeli war led the Arabs to use for the first time an oil embargo on the West. Not because the West is their direct enemy but because the west was their enemy's friend. But also because the West and more precisely England was mainly responsible for what is now known as the Zionist state. The year 1973 witnessed a high increase in OPEC oil prices. But despite the substantial wealth gathered on the morrow of such price increases the

49- Anouar, Abdel-Malek (Ed.), op. cit., p.234

Arab world was still among the poor regions of the world, as wealth is, unfortunately, not equivalent to cash availability. 'There is no doubt that money and finance are powerful instruments for affecting real resources, which alone are the ultimate wealth. More than two hundred years ago, Adam Smith warned against the fallacy of identifying money and wealth. This was his battle with the Mercantilists. The example of Spain and England is very instructive in this regard. In the sixteenth century, Spain found new riches with the influx of gold and silver from her colonies in the new world. England, with no colonies at that time, had to labour to restructure her real economy. two different approaches are contrasted: the financial versus the real. Needless to say, it was England and not Spain that became the first world economic and sea power.' (50)

It is, or at least, it seems to be with the acceptance of such assumptions that the Arab States' petrodollar holders embarked on an extensive programme directed towards the consolidation of their newly acquired wealth. They 'launched ambitious socio-economic development plans. Their aim has been:

1- to complete the building of basic infrastructures (roads,

50- Ibrahim, Saad Eddin, "The new Arab Social Order: A Study of the Social Impact of Oil Wealth" Boulder, Colorado, London, Westview Press, 1982, pp.216-217.

airports, water desalination plants, power stations, etc)

2- to expand and consolidate social service institutions (schools, hospitals, housing, community centres, and the appropriate bureaucracies for their maintenance and operation);

3- to diversify their respective economic bases in anticipation of the post-oil era; and

4- to step up and modernize their defence capabilities.'

(51)

In economic terms, the region exhibits great variety, from the oil-rich states of the Gulf where per capita incomes are as high as the richest countries in the world, to countries like North Yemen which are among the world's poorest. The Arab world has increased its national production very rapidly, even in the recent years of world recession. Investment, which is considered to be the principal factor in the region's growth, has been very substantial but concentrated in certain sectors and geographical areas, and the capital/output ratio has been particularly high. However, the rapid growth of urban centres poses serious problems of infrastructure which in turn requires heavy investment.

51- Ibid, p.21

Finally, the geographical concentration of development and income, mainly from oil, regularly results in an overdeveloped services sector. The general feature of such economic situation has been summarised in a Unesco working document in the following: - Increasing dualism in socio-economic structures.

- Inadequate internal flow of trade.
- Increase in migration movements, even from areas not lacking in potential
- Shortage of skilled labour in these areas
- Inadequately planned urbanization
- Growth of a poverty fringe around urban centres and the spawning of numerous activities that are not really productive.
- Insufficient demand for industrial products whose development would lead to the establishment of a diversified economy.
- A type of development that provides no solution for the problem of unemployment similar to the type currently prevailing in the industrialized countries may appear, as a natural extention of the present unemployment in the Arab world. '(52)

52- Unesco, "Recherche et Pratique en Education: Comment Renforcer les Liens entre la Recherche et la Pratique en Vue de l'Enseignement General" Paris; Unesco (International Colloque held in Bucarest, Romania. Report drafted by Unesco's Division of Structures Contents, Methods & Educational Techniques), 1981, p.12

In spite of all these difficulties, it appears through the work of the Arab League that the Arab states are working towards overcoming these difficult economic problems. The target sought is to develop an economy based on the principles of interdependence and mutual assistance, which implies among other things the adoption of an integrated policy enabling them to remove some of the obstacles to merchandise, services, capital, labour, technology, knowledge or cultural exchanges. 'The prevailing stress on industrialization in all developing countries, including the Middle East, is more often than not expressed in terms of capital-intensive, large-scale (leading to economies of scale) industrial development. This trend certainly requires a large market, in the case of the Middle East a regionally intergrated market, which will make industrial growth economically viable.'(53)

Not only in industry is such a policy viable but also in agriculture and expertise exchanges. This is especially apparent in the case of Egypt and Saudi-Arabia, on the one hand, and on the other, Sudan in relation to the rest of the Arab world. By supplying Saudi-Arabia with some of its excess man-power, Egypt would be able to have an important source of hard currency supply from the remittances of its

53- Hershlag Z.Y., "The Economic Structure of the Middle East" Leiden (Netherland), E.J. Brill, 1975, p.190

immigrant community in Saudi-Arabia. As for the latter country with its scarce population, and importance of its development plan, the Egyptian workers can solve their problems of much needed manpower requirements.

The importance of Sudan to the rest of the Arab world and vice versa is due to two very significant facts:

1- Agricultural poverty of the majority of Arab countries due to geographic and climatic reasons in spite of their financial wealth.

2- Poverty of Sudan in terms of capital but its much better disposition in agriculture as compared to the rest of the Arab countries. Such agricultural potential is not exploited. (54) Sudanese land and water could cover as many as 100 million acres of reclaimed farmland, and as such is considered to be the grainstore of the Arab world.

The idea of Arab economic co-operation was incorporated in the Joint Defence and Economic Co-operation Treaty of the Arab League in 1950, which set up an Arab Economic Council.

It was not until 1957 that, partly as a counter-measure to

54- Until very recently, it was once a fashionable idea that Sudan could become the "breadbasket of the Arab World". With the internal problems of this country, perhaps fuelled by external conspiracy plus the worst drought of the century, bureaucracy, price policies discriminating against the farmer, and other predicaments, this now rings very hollow.

Cf. The Middle East (magazine), July, 1985, p.14 for an interesting article on the agricultural situation in the Arab region.

the Rome Treaty of the EEC, which was allegedly endangering Arab economic interests, the council of the Arab League decided to set up an Arab Common Market, following a series of multilateral inter-Arab trade and payment conventions in 1953 and the signing of a (convention of Economic Union) between the states of the Arab League on June 6th, 1955. In January 1958, the Economic council gave approval in principle for the Council of Economic Union to be in charge of the market.'(55) Not until 1960 was the agreement ratified and for political dissension and strivings for individual National self-sufficiency such efforts are still impeding efforts towards unity or even close co-operation. For instance, while Egypt or lately Libya pressed for an economic union, other countries preferred looser forms of co-operation.

Such forms of co-operation are more and more apparent, especially after the oil boom of the 1970s. The best example is the massive labour migrations from countries such as Egypt, Yemen, Jordan/Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Tunisia to the oil rich Arab countries. as well as a higher degree of economic interdependence.

55- Hershlag, Z.Y., op. cit., p.192

RESISTANCE TO CHANGE, OR THE MENTAL STATES PATTERN.

The 1977 Abu-Dhabi conference of Arab Ministers of Education, placed more emphasis than the previous ones on the development of the Arab countries. It pointed to the need to examine present and future trends in education, in the light of developments which had taken place over the past decades and were expected to take place in the coming decades.(56) This educational concern is not specific to the region but is a universal phenomenon. Change has always been a vital part of man's existence, yet, only in the recent past has the process been transformed into a world-wide revolution towards modernization, both in the already industrialized countries and in the third world. The similarity of goals, on a universal scale, -usually in terms of economic growth- has its origin, in western Europe, in the Industrial Revolution. But as Europe expanded outward, the process of change in the less developed world was profoundly influenced by the trends in the European metropolises.(57)

56- Tazi, A., "Education in the Arab States in the Light of the Abu-Dhabi Conference of 1977" Paris, Unesco, 1980, p.9

57- Cf. Altabach, P.G. & Kelly, G.P., "Education and Colonialism" London, Longman, 1978

Until quite recently, education was considered to be, not only one of the major factors contributing to the changes that have taken place in the more developed countries, but was widely regarded, and still is in the Arab World, as a powerful tool to promote social as well as personal goals. Some twenty years ago, Pedro Rossello recording educational trends from the International Bureau of Education in Geneva, drew attention to the novelty of the fact that all over the world governments agreed on the strategic importance of education: 'On every continent, governments had begun to set as their targets schooling for all, undertaking to give absolute priority to educational spending; the development banks undertook to finance the expansion of schooling; economic research showed that post-war growth was chiefly attributed to technological progress; which itself flowed from progress in education.'(58)

Unfortunately, things are not as perfect as they first appear to be. There are cases when the level of education of a country is not proportional with its technological progress, such as Egypt where graduates are unemployed and the country still under developed. In contrast, the economy of countries such as Saudi Arabia or Kuwait is making giant strides towards development and moreover the income per

58- Debeauvais, D., "Education and national development" Oxford, Oxford Review of Education, Vol.7 No1, Oxford 1981, pp.67-71

capita in these countries is one of the highest in the World, yet, the majority of people, there, are illiterate. Such refuting instances have contributed in the formation of a new attitude among some social scientists. These have recently pointed to the negative impact of education upon economic and social development, M. Debeauvais(59) remarks, rightly, that the rate of educational expansion and economic growth rates reveal no significant correlation.

This problem has been tackled by UNESCO. In a paper which served as the main working document for the fourth Regional conference held in Abu-Dhabi in 1977, the UNESCO secreteriat(60) wrote that 'development implies the increasing participation of the whole population in a number of activities -social economic, political and cultural- in such a way that each individual may satisfy his material and social needs and fulfil his potential, both, as a producer, and as a consumer, as a participant in the action of political institution and a person under their administration, as an actor and as a spectator.'

59- Ibid, pp.67-71

60- Unesco, "New prospect in education for development in the Arab Countries" Paris, Unesco (Ed-77/Minedarab/3), 29 August, 1977, p.12

This definition is wide enough to permit endless room for manoeuvre, and a diversity of implementations. But the main point in it is that it alludes to democracy in a most remarkable way. It is remarkable because it calls for a universalization of education without specifying whether it is to be achieved within formal education or in society as a whole. It does not suggest a pyramidal organization of education and a centralization of a legitimizing body for the educational message.

No doubt this definition is wide enough to satisfy the radicals as well as the conservatives, the deschoolers or their Muslim counterparts, the fundamentalists. The logic of this definition does not imply that schooling is necessarily the legitimate defining word of the concept of education. The non-formal education is therefore, as important in awakening the individuals to their social reality as is the formal.

One may then argue that the concept of development does not necessarily imply following in the footsteps of Western culture, and the philosophical foundations upon which it is based. Indeed, according to a paper prepared by Unesco for the second session of the preparatory committee for the new International Development Strategy, (Medium-Term plan, 1977-1982), 'development is presented as a global notion,

considered in a multidimensional context and is defined as a process which necessarily involves a diversity of paths and goals adjusted to the different sets of values peculiar to each society.'(61)

This perception of development, in many ways refutes the assumption that western standards and concepts are universally valid. The Unesco position appears to be symptomatic of the independence movement of the third world countries to break the poverty chasm without falling prey to economic or cultural imperialism. Whatever the reason given by the United states to withdraw from Unesco, such a move, especially when followed by England, reveals a polarization of interests in the world. If such international organisations as Unesco was unable to play its role of platform for dialogue between rich and poor, then the hope that nations can rally around some universal values, such as the mutual acceptance and respect of other people's values and conceptions of their destiny, is once again shattered.

Such polarization of interests, one may even say egoistic attitudes, can also be detected in the writings of individual social scientists. Consider for instance Szyliowicz (1973)

61- Unesco, "Project for a Regional Network of Educational Innovation for Development in the Arab States" Paris, Unesco (Conference of Ministers of Educational Innovations for Economic Planning in the Arab States), Sept. 1977, p.2

when he writes: 'There is a general agreement that modernization involves such interrelated processes as industrialization, political development and social and physical mobility.' The author pointed out that implicit in this view is the distinction between two ideal types; traditional and modern societies, modern societies being 'characterised by egalitarianism and high degrees of social mobility. Their institutions are highly differentiated, specialized and rational. Their economic, political and social orders are continually processing change, and achievement criteria determined status. Perhaps the ultimate differentiation between the two types is the dynamic nature of modern societies as contrasted to the relatively static character of the feudal society.'(62) He further stipulates that the meaning of modernization would be conceptually more precise if understood as politico-economic development. Up till now his argument is, in spite of some value loaded words such as egalitarianism, rational..., highly acceptable. However, the following remark is too paternalistic for many a taste. He says that 'people's politico-economic development, together with its rate and direction, depends largely upon what is in the minds of its elites... Accordingly, transformation of an underdeveloped society into a developed

62- Szyliowicz, J. S., "Education and Modernization in the Middle East" Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1973, pp.4-5.

one entails transformation of the contents of the minds of elites'(63) And the transformation of the contents of mind of its elite is of course be according to the writer's conception of 'rational' 'direction' of development and of course many implicit models of man society and knowledge, without regard to the 'living spirit' of the people concerned. In fact he describes the ideal modern man as the contemporary Western man.

This way of looking at third world countries' development seems too manipulative. Indeed, by relying heavily on scores of US advisors, the Shah of Iran planted the seed of the revolution in his country. In order to change the minds of people, it may be felt necessary to divorce them from their social reality, to brain-wash them and to deny the basic and legitimate right of peoples to chose their own future according to their cultural ethos. It would imply colonizing them and then to destroy the root of their existence. Indeed, this is an imperialist unscholarly position to hold.

The feeling of cultural imperialism is experienced with pain and forcefully expressed by some contemporary thinkers who identify themselves within the Islamic cultural ethos.

63- Ibid, p.9

Al-Attas(64) wrote in this connection that "many challenges have arisen in the midst of man's confusion throughout the ages, but none perhaps more serious and destructive to man than today's challenge posed by Western civilization; knowledge whose nature has become problematic because it has lost its true purpose due to being unjustly conceived and has thus brought chaos in man's life...It seems to me important to emphasize that knowledge is not neutral, and can indeed be infused with a nature and content which masquerades as knowledge yet, it is in fact, taken as a whole, not true knowledge, but its interpretation through the prism, as it were, the world-view, the intellectual vision of the civilization that now plays the key role in its formulation and dissemination... so subtly fused together with the real, so that others take it unaware, in toto, to be the real knowledge per se.'

In many ways, the world in which we live is a system of interrelated sub-systems, not only in the obvious sphere of economic interdependence but also politically and in general terms, culturally. Today, the "explosion of knowledge" especially the one known as scientific knowledge, is spreading far and wide. But this knowledge scientific or otherwise cannot be value free. It translates a frame of

64- al-Attas, S.M.N., "Western Concept of Knowledge: Need for Reassessment" London, The Times, 4 april, 1977, p.vi

mind, a belief, a vision of the world. The 'Western' vision happens to dominate all other visions of the world, but this fact does in no way make other beliefs obsolete. Too many people are dissatisfied with the spirit of the age. Another one, A. As-Sufi (65) describes Western society and its scientific nexus as being basically identical to the magical pharaonic society when he writes: 'Statist, or we may say Pharaonic control over people is dependent on an invented, one might even say improvised, system of signs, hermeneutically coded (scientific jargon) so that they cannot be apprehended without initiation. This secret coding of meanings implies that the codifiers dominate and manipulate existence. The social goals of such a society..must be tyrannical, for although they offer man control over nature, the price in the end must be the surrender of man's nature to that very control.' Such statements, radical as they may be, are challenging enough to encourage an enquiry into the nature of man and whether present social development is antithetical to man's nature. These important topics are discussed in chapter four of this study. But apart from these highly philosophical issues, concrete problems linked to this academic concern are identified everywhere in the so called "third-world" countries.

65- As-Sufi, A., "Indications from signs" Atlanta, Iqra, 1979.
pp.16-17

Reality shows that the developing countries, -by the mere fact of them moving towards 'development' incorporate in their societies elements from the developed world- witness most social discontent. The Iranian revolution is a fresh example of resistance of traditional societies to the forces of modernity. Indeed, it is the infiltration of foreign values into the Arab world, more than for purely economic or organisational reasons, as suggested earlier, that has divided it. For the time being it is not possible to talk about an Arab philosophy of education, nor is it possible because of nationalism to talk about an Arab culture.

In this new reality that is the Arab world with its 22 nation-states, structurally identical to those of Europe, the people in power were torn between an international pressure, such as the International Monetary system pressure to conform to certain regulations in order to transact with the outside world, to introduce a banking system, which has no Islamic legacy, to the contrary... and the internal pressure of a deeply religious people with all what this entails of taboos. The most important of them is the idea of interest on which the whole Banking system rests and which is explicitly forbidden in the Qur'an. Such an issue is at the heart of the conflict of North/South relations with the poor South militating for a new economic order. However such militancy has never envisaged a challenge to the concept of paper

money. The challenge comes from some Islamic fundamentalist groupings but not from governments; it is an internal pressure. Indeed, the task faced by those who hold power in the Islamic world in general is not easy. Confronted by many plagues: poverty, ignorance, disease, bureaucratic inefficiency and so on; they had no choice but to borrow western means to remedy the situation in their respective countries. Factories were imported, specialised personnel recruited from abroad, while nationals were sent to the west to learn the know-how. International financial aid and advice were sought to embark upon a 'realistic' path of development etc. Consequently, this situation of dependency has become chronic, not only economically, but also culturally in the broader sense of the word.(66)

To every innovation there must be resistance. It is a well known psychological fact that when change affects people's livelihood and way of life, it is likely to be resisted. This reaction is not against change itself, instead, it reflects uncertainty, fear and insecurity on the part of the affected people. It is probably due to this fact that political leaders in the third world tended to be autocratic in implementing any new policy. The layman has more often than not no say in choosing options. This is

66- Altabach & Kelly, op. cit., cf. section about neocolonialism

justified on the ground that the layman does not know enough to be able to have a say hence the necessity to educate him and this implies the possibility that he might be indoctrinated to foreign values. The content of such education might be counter to his basic needs. There is a major predicament of Arab society at the present time. Only when illiteracy is eradicated would genuine democracy, and therefore a higher degree of justice, be possible. But would it?

The Arab political leaders realise very well that the real challenge that they face today is to find a way to adjust to the forces of 'modernity'. How to move from a traditional society to a modern one, while exercising such control over ideological dichotomies as well as infrastructural inefficiencies. But these dichotomies and inefficiencies are due to man's resistance, to his mental attitudes more than to material capabilities. The indicators that show this are, besides the ideological turmoil as portrayed by the writings of some intellectuals and the administrative weakness described earlier, some very significant facts. These are in the school proper, the attendance ratio of girls as compared to boys (cf. page 49) But this does not mean that girls, in Islam are not entitled to any education, on the contrary, it rather means that the organisation of an islamic society or the family is such that the man is the provider and the wife

complements him with the rest.

At any rate, the resistance seems to be directed, not against "female education" but against the institutionalization and content of such education. The female is the future mother, the future educator and the preserver of the 'true' values of society. How can Islam forbid an education to the female when the Prophet said 'seeking knowledge is an obligation on every Muslim, male and female'? Knowledge also has a specific meaning which will be defined in chapter four and is, again, directly linked to the individuals (male or female) needs and function in society. It is utterly wrong to say that girls are discriminated against in Muslim society. At any rate, 'justice is to put things in their right place in a system.' One must be careful not to judge other cultures according to one's own system of values, or if one does, at least one must be prepared to accept that other people may hold different views and these views may, in a specific context, be right. Can one condemn the Japanese woman's courtesy to her male companion as servitude? A final thought on the issue is a saying of Jesus: 'Do not judge others or thou shalt be judged.'

Again, some significant happenings in the Islamic world are relevant indicators of the mental states of the people.

In the wider society, recent years have witnessed an upsurge of Islamic militancy and a commensurate repression by governments, for instance, in Syria, in Algeria, in Sudan, in Iraq, in Libya or other countries.

THE PROBLEM.

An attempt was made, in the above pages, to define, technically, (67) the problem of defining the philosophy of Arab education. The analysis started from the premise that education, and the philosophy on which it rests depend more on external factors than on endogenous elements in educational systems.

In the normative pattern of society, three elements proved crucial. These are the "Islamic religion", "the Western influence" and the "nationalist and ethnic feeling", which resulted in the adoption of many conflicting political ideologies by the different nation-states in the region. "Socialism", it appears, has been the most articulate, but Islam also, as a political religion, is witnessing an

67- The technical definition is made through the Holmesian taxonomy, which represents a framework for analysis and incorporates a theory of social change.

apparent resurgence everywhere in the region.

In the institutional pattern of society, many changes were introduced during the colonial era. Thus new administrative patterns emerged in the form of central machineries such as ministries and educational offices. Unfortunately, these proved to be rigid and inefficient.

In the physical pattern of society, the most important aspects are the division of the "Arab World" into a number of mutually exclusive "nation-states". Another important aspect is the oil findings, which resulted in the launching of ambitious socio-economic development plans in certain countries and the occurrence of a large scale migration phenomenon throughout the region. The idea of economic interdependence, as a prelude to unity, became fashionable. This, of course, meant among other things unification of all educational systems in order to facilitate population movements and produce other beneficial effects.

There are, nevertheless certain difficulties facing such undertaking and the most important ones reside in the "mental states pattern" of society. Not everyone agrees with the new political ideologies. This resulted in a tendency, from the part of governments in the region, to be authoritarian and less democratic than what they claim to be. The whole

equation is further complicated by the influence of world cultural imperialism, which resulted in an upheaval in the scale of values in the region.

Technically, the problem appears to be an asynchronous change between the four patterns of society. After independence, in the 1950's and 1960's, a faster change in the normative, institutional and physical patterns of society than that in the mental states pattern occurred. It generated an upheaval in the scale of values. This explains the inability of ALESCO to define a philosophy of education for the region. The following chapter is an attempt to further clarify the problem from an historical perspective. This will allow one to have a firmer grasp on the nature of people's mental states.

III- THE OLD AND THE NEW IN THE ARAB WORLD

Everything is perishing
and the face of your Lord of Majesty and Bounty will remain.
-Qur'an.

Approaching the tradition of a country or a region, its national character is never an easy matter because these traditions are wide in that every aspect of man's social organization is a functional part of the whole system. It cannot be understood separately. However, as was mentioned earlier, Lauwerys and after him Holmes' were contented with studying the philosophical tradition of the country or the region concerned to understand the national character. The choice of the philosopher must of course be justified. Considering the specificity of the Arab World, Islam is undoubtedly the dominant philosophy. In view of the all pervasiveness of Islam, the word 'philosophy' is more appropriate than the word 'religion' because Islam deals with all aspects of man's life. It is wider in scope than the Marxist-Leninist philosophy for it deals with life after death as well.

In Islam, the secular is religious and the religious is secular. This is not a tautology. It is a tautology only within the frame of Aristotelian categories. The concepts of

secular and religious are valid only from the point of view of an individual for whom they describe, not only a present situation, but also carry an historical legacy. Another individual belonging to a different social reality -provided he is not acculturated to foreign values would say: 'these concepts are alien to me, they do not describe anything I know in my social set up.' From his point of view, the concepts of religious and secular are invalid as to their ability to describe the object of his observation. 'Because of the all-embracing nature of Islam, there is no separation between religious and political affairs, between Church and State so to speak. The law governing both is the divine law, one and indivisible. It details the rules of statecraft in peace and war, and regulates the political, social and economic life, as well as the 'religious'. It defines the rights and duties of the individual in this world, and provides guidance for earning eternal bliss in the next.'(1)

The problem of values is a difficult problem. It is not easy to describe a foreign culture with concepts alien to it, and the difficulty is 'the problem of prejudice, because it is acquired almost unnoticed and can become virtually unconscious.'(2) To be totally objective it is necessary to

1- Tibawi, A.L., "Islamic Education" London, Luzac, 1972, p.20

2- Goodings, R.F. & Lauwerys, J.A., "Education and International Life" (in Lauwerys, J.A., -ed: 'Essays In Comparative Education, Ideas and Ideologies', Evans & Brothers, London 1968, p.88

point to the differences between the two cultures; the Western and the Arab-Islamic. This attitude reveals a basic assumption in the mind of the investigator; namely that the world has not become one yet, that there is not one dominant culture in the world but different cultures, and more restrictively, different national characters. The world is a mosaic of values, of social organizations, of philosophies underlining such organizations. These philosophies are not always apparent, but the daily life of people reveals them. In the Arab World, Islam is undeniably playing a determining role. If there is any doubt as to the reality of such an assertion, the plight of Lebanon reminds one that religious allegiance has become, if not more important, at least as important as the 'secular' allegiance. Lebanon, as is apparent now, is the mirror of the Arab world. The Arab World as a whole has been living, and still is, with the same dissensions as Lebanon but on a wider scale. Lebanon faces all the predicaments of the Arab world. The problem of Israel, the probable collapse of the economy, the continuing feuds between Muslims and Christians with the domination of the latter and the poverty of the former, the resurgence of Islamic militancy, away from the rhetoric of the national project. Indeed, if the warring factions are fighting each other, it means that they don't accept whatever legacy each faction holds. The end of the civil war is not in sight yet. On an international plane, it seems that legitimate mass

movements such as that which has overthrown the Shah of Iran are not welcome in the West for they destabilize a certain world order. The international monetary situation is on the brink of collapse with mounting debts for the poorer countries... As a political religion, Islam is an active agent in all these changes, even on the world economy for in an economy where interest on loans or deposits is not allowed, a banking system as known today has little use. Although such ideas have not hit the news head lines yet, they are potentially present in the Islamic ideology. Some Islamic thinkers push their argument to the point of questioning the validity of paper money as a means of exchange, (3) which would very much suite the indebted South. Considering the present chaotic International Monetary system, the idea of returning to gold and silver as money would change the map of the world, but is nevertheless more equitable than the present floating rates of exchange,(4) with the dollar performing the function of an international currency, the problem in the present situation is that with the rise in oil prices, the USA has broken the old pattern of

3- as-Sufi, A., Qul tapes, "The relevance of Islam to our immediate situation", Norwich, 1982.

4- Cf. Day, T.T., "The International Monetary Chaos & the Advancing Necessary Revolution in the World Financial Order" Albuquerque, The Institute for Economic & Financial Research, 1980's. This book outlines the present and future world monetary order and demonstrates how the probable monetization of gold would place the world finance under the control of Soviet Russia, especially if a communist revolution takes place in South Africa.

* Cf. also annex 6 of the present thesis.

linking its currency to the gold standard and can now print as many notes as it needs oil or any other such transaction. Consequently, the world was flooded with petro-dollars, which precipitated inflation on a world wide scale. The problem is of a philosophical nature. One may say that there is in economics an ecological position that considers it more 'natural' that the wealth of a country should be equal to the amount of gold, silver, oil, potatoes and so on, not on a manipulated currency. If Islam raises these questions, then it is an active agent in the contemporary world to be reckoned with, for such ideas are revolutionary. Such ideas join the Marxist ideal of liberating the exploited and the poor from all exploiters. What is Islam?

For the Muslims, 'Allah(5) through Gabriel spoke to His Prophet and the messages were transcribed. The Qur'an for the true Muslim is the word of Allah, and every letter of it is sacred and divinely inspired.'(6) This belief had many very important consequences on every aspect of Muslim life; in education, politics etc.. Thus, for instance, in the Islamic world it became a tradition that reading and writing starts with the Qur'an. Grammar and syntax were developed

5- God, The name Allah is used here to emphasise the Islamic meaning which is, of course, devoid of any Trinitarian conception. Cf. chapter four.

6- Moehlman, A.H., "Comparative Education", New York, The Oryden Press, 1952, p. 453

from the Qur'an. Culturally, it has bound all Muslim peoples in a common psychological mould for all of them learn it and recite it in its original language. Politically, it tends to galvanize any 'radical' political ideology for it is believed to be a divine message, to be valid in all times and places. Another consequence is that 'it is thought to be the most widely read book in the world.(7) Obviously it has an educational dimension.

It is significant that for fourteen hundred years, the text has remained the same original Arabic text. Ignoring the characteristic of the Arabic language, one may think that by now, the Qur'an must have become unintelligible due to the evolution of the language idioms. This is not so. Arabic, like all other semitic languages is mainly based on verbal roots. This means that almost every word is understood by an action to which it refers. The word 'book' for instance, in Arabic kitab is taken from the verb kataba which means 'has written'. As such, words can serve to describe things for centuries without any shift in the meaning.

'The dynamic of Arabic is still active. The same original roots are being used to serve the needs of modern science and technology. And while colloquial speech diverges, the

7- Ibid., p.455

classical Arabic -simplified but in essence the language of the Qur'an- is heard and understood all over the Arab world. It is the vehicle of radio, television and cinema, and is read in newspapers that may be bought on the streets of any world capital. (8) From a philosophical point of view, and in the light of what has been said about the Qur'an, i.e. an all encompassing divine revelation, the concepts used are, for a Muslim, the only valid ones that may explain existence. Indeed, as A. as-Sufi argues: 'The Qur'an as the ultimate decoding grid of existence is bound by this inner coherence to embody the creational principles even in the manner and materials of its coming into existence. The author of the quote advances these arguments according, here again, to a specifically Islamic conception of man (cf next Chapter, pp.216-226.).(9) His thesis is nearer to the Socratic position than to the Aristotelian one, but this would be the object of a separate study. Central to his conception of man is his conception of God as portrayed in the Qur'an. Many verses in the Qur'an allude to the fact that in reality there is no space between man and God, between the observer and the observed although, in the world of contingencies duality is an overwhelming reality. This is a paradox, but paradoxes express the highest truths as was experienced by the

8- Waddy, C., "The Muslim Mind", London, Longman, 1976, p.13.

9- as-Sufi, A., "Indications from Signs", Iqra, Atlanta, 1979, p.14.

physicists of the post relativity era.

Man's knowledge as portrayed in the Qur'an is a paradox. This knowledge can be apprehended either with the intellect or with the heart -the core of the human being. The one of the intellect is based on duality and the one of the heart is based on unity. One is the source of the other, and one cannot exist without the other. in this light, the Qur'an appears to be, not an informational book but a transformative one. It opens one's eyes to the meaning of unity from which all dualities spring, and the unity is confirmed first and foremost in the person, in the experiencing self. What follows is that 'The sign (concept or the object) is not the thing in itself. the sign is there to be "cognised". Sign is a dynamic mode of apprehending the thing while recognising its thingness. Sign is the mode which recognises thing and meaning, not as two but as one, and at the same time.'(10)

Man the knower becomes man the recogniser. In other words, concepts do not describe reality to man but recall it. Indeed, many verses in the Qur'an support this thesis. The phrase 'Don't you remember?' is a recurrent one throughout the Qur'anic text. It suggests that man's knowledge is innate and not acquired through whatever form of

10- Ibid., p.14

socialization. It is recalled instead. This implies that any recognition of the reality outside man is by the same token a recognition of man's inward reality, or vice versa. Indeed, now Quantum mechanics allude to the fact that basically any 'observation' of a 'fact' or a process depends on the observer's psychological state. The consequence of this on education is that the teacher should not 'instruct' the pupil but guide him to what he already knows. The primal role of a teacher should be to teach unity, to awaken the child to the fact that he is totally responsible in determining his condition. Socrates did not miss the mark when he said: 'Know thyself'. Unity does not negate the experiencing self but starts from it. Again, the Prophet said: 'He who knows himself, truly he knows his Lord'. These notions are developed in the next chapter.

From a social point of view, the Qur'an is a binding force within the Islamic community. It has set up a code of conduct for men to follow, a web of social parameters for an ideal community. As such, it challenges any new social models that go counter to the Islamic principles. This may explain the many frustrations and ideological clashes in the Arab world : The modernists argue that for the sake of development, the structures and mores of society must resemble those of Europe, i.e. any development plan implies a degree of central control and bureaucratization, a banking

system and so on. The traditionalists would retort that Muslim countries are different from Non-Muslim countries. If in the west, social and political matters are part of a social theory, in a Muslim land, they are part of a cosmology.(11)

One of the most articulate traditionalists -articulate because he is English and speaks about the Western culture with a legitimate claim for although a Muslim by choice, he belongs to the West- voiced what he saw, as a Muslim, to be the Islamic ideal model of the concept of society. He asserts that: 'Imperial bureaucracy is not ordained in the Qur'anic model - the goal is a fluid governance without tyranny and with the mutual moral co-operation of the members towards the fulfilment of social obligations.'(12) Basically, his thesis is that compared to the now dominant structural organization of society, an Islamic social structure does not have a pyramidal shape, no professional standing army or police, no bank. Of course his view is not the a priory orthodox Islamic view, but this is a matter of discussion. Orthodoxy in Islam is what the people consider right. If one is speaking about Islam in general, without specifying which particular Islam; the Algerian version, the Iranian or the

11- as-Sufi, A., "Jihad: a groundplan", Norwich, Diwan Press, 1978, p.12.

12- Ibid., p.19

Saudian and so on, then there is no legitimizing body of what is orthodox. In Islam there is no 'Church', no Vatican. The church is the community of believers. It is not possible to know the opinion of people when they are scattered in so many mutually exclusive 'nation-states'. One may argue that the Islamic council or the Islamic foundation or any other such international organization provides a ground to legitimize what is orthodox and what is not orthodox. Indeed, this argument carries weight, but one must not forget that lacking any political power and they will remain so as long as there is such a thing as 'sovereignty rights', these organizations are antithetical to Islam. Islam, according to A. as-Sufi(13) is being Christianised.

The Islamic model of social organization is such that, for instance, the saints in Islam have never been consecrated by the 'Church', by an organization of priests for there is, ideally, no priesthood. The saints in Islam are 'consecrated' by the common people, those who listen to them and recognise their wisdom. No organization has the right to do that for such a right is left to the individuals who are interested to know. Islam is not a 'religion', it has become a religion.

13- Ibid., p.31.

It is useful to have a look at the Arab-Islamic civilization in an historical perspective for although society has evolved, the ideal model remains the original one; the community of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina. Here again, an evolutionist would be baffled, but one may argue that the theory of social change in Islam is cyclical and not evolutionist. Science and technology as an evolution of man's knowledge are not considered, according to an Islamic conception, as evolution but mere change within a circle. The Qur'an says 'We belong to God and to Him we are returning'. So, the ultimate point of man's knowledge is when the circle completes a whole revolution for man to know God. The outward organization of a Society should not hinder such project. The ideal social organization in Islam was the one exemplified in Medina during the life time of the Prophet. Hence, science and technology are not contradictory to a traditional model of Islamic organisation. On the contrary, they may actualize it. The discoveries in telecommunication technology have strategically vital importance for they would restore a fundamental tenet in Islamic governance, which is the Shura, consultancy and the Ijmaa, consensus elements. If, at present, real democracy is replaced by representative democracy on the grounds that it is just impossible to consult every individual, communication technology can remedy this. Indeed, it can destroy the pyramidal organisation of society. (cf. last chapter.)

When speaking about the Arab-Islamic civilization, the word civilization must be used with caution for it refers to the climax of a stage of 'development' of a certain society. It is therefore an evaluation, a value judgement. As-Sufi warns his fellow Muslim intellectuals against the unsuspected cultural alienation facing those who study their own culture from outside the confines of Islamic categories: 'we should look at our umma's (community's) history not through the eyes of the kafir (Rejector) evaluation with Istanbul, Mughal Court and Andalusia, as the great 'periods', but rather see the great periods as those times and places where the whole community lived in harmony according to a balanced legal pattern, and experienced deep inward knowledge in their ordinary and outwardly unspectacular lives.'(14)

The difficulty about understanding Islam and the Muslims in the West is that this process has been rendered almost impossible by the many living stereotypes and ethnocentric descriptions portrayed everywhere. It is an historical fact that Muhammed was believed to be the anti-Christ, then the enemy of truth.(15) As such, every statement that describes him and 'his' religion as falsehood was considered to be the truth. In other words, approaching Islam was biased from the

14- Ibid., p.11

15- Cf. Daniel, N., "Islam and the West", Edinburgh University Press, 1966, pp.229-250

beginning. At present, in many instances, these attitudes still persist but in a more subtle manner and not always consciously. At any rate, it has been recognised that history as a record and as a concept, is ideology such as the Russian version of modern history, for instance, is.

It is commonly assumed in the West that Islam is the enemy of Christianity. But if one looks at the other side, the story takes a different connotation. The Qur'an states : 'And do not dispute with the followers of the Book (Christians and Jews) except by what is best, but not the aggressors. And say: we believe in that which has been revealed to us and that which has been revealed to you. Our God is one. To Him do we submit.' (16) This means that Islam does not dispute the legacy of either Christianity or Judaism; or for that matter any 'monotheistic' doctrine. On the contrary, it confirms the common principle of the three religions; that of monotheism and accepts the two other faiths as equally valid though different in social practices. There is no requirement in the Qur'an that Islam must be spread at the point of the sword, as was commonly thought in the West. On the contrary, it promotes a definite acceptance of the other as different. It states : 'O mankind! Surely we have created you of a male and female and made you nations

16- Qur'an, Chapter XXIX, Verse 46.

and tribes that you may know each other; surely the most honorable of you in the sight of Allah is he who is the most dependent on Him.'(17)

Again : "if Allah had pleased, He would have made you (all) a single nation, but (His plan is) to test you in what He has given you (knowledge, wealth ...). Therefore compete with one another in doing what is good.'(18)

The concept of Holy War commonly called 'Islamic Crusade' is one of the main notions upon which certain western polemicists built their denigrating 'explanatory' theories of the phenomenon of Islam. Two main approaches can be identified through reading western literature. The first is that which considers Islam as a Religion that seeks to convert people by force and hence intrinsically anti-Christian and one of the forces of darkness. This is a religious theory. The second one is secular and provides a one sided predominantly economic explanation. Weber, for instance, states that the religious war in Islam was 'essentially an enterprise directed towards the acquisition of large holdings of real estate, because it was primarily

17- Qur'an, chapter XLIX, Verse 13.

18- Ibid, Chapter V, Verse 48.

oriented to feudal interest in land.'(19)

Again, it is an historical fact that since the beginning, Islam and Muslims were persecuted. However, they were under divine command never to surrender to the aggressor but to fight back. If an agreement of peace is reached, then they must honor it. Indeed, there is no ambiguity in the following Qur'anic verse: 'And fight in the way of Allah against those who fight against you, and do not begin hostilities. For surely Allah does not love the aggressors.'(20) 'History' can be a very misleading science. 'Terms concepts and categories are inextricably meshed in social contexts and its arrangements. They can be extricated from their social setting only by great ingenuity and stealth.'(21)

It is not surprising that many Muslim thinkers who came into contact with the Western version of history protested against what may be compared to the Freudian concept of 'defence mechanism' of the Christian entity. It is a normal human behaviour but nevertheless very much subjective. Rationalism is the correct attitude one must have whatever

19- Turner, B.S., "Weber and Islam: A Critical Study", London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974, p.34.

20- Qur'an, Chapter II, Verse 190.

21- Turner, B.S., Op. Cit., p.56

the things he fears. The other version -one may argue equally subjective reads : 'what matters to us is that Islamic history cannot be a history of dynasties or more importantly- a cultural history. It is the habit of current social mores to provide a theory or cultural theory to back up the obvious linear and narrative structure of imperial wars. Thus Islam is presented in scenario one as the enemy of Christianity in a power struggle of Europe versus the Muslim hordes. There follows the story of imperial power in Istanbul and eventual decadence spiced with the Arabian nights element and the occasional hero to please the other side, Salahud-din, for example. In scenario two, to allow the possibility of deep research finding out of the meanings that lie beyond these fantasies there has to be a more complex view taken; -this involves cultural history backed up by anthropological analysis being able to situate any emergent metaphysic that might threaten the ruling ideology as (primitive), and anti-scientific. The final weapon of rendering in-operative the Islamic (or any other view) will be provided by the empathy-cover....'(22)

Islamic history, however, is not crucial in this study and there is no need to test the veracity of the contrasting versions. The argument for this is that the Islam of the

22- as-Sufi, A., "Jihad: a groundplan", Op. Cit.. pp.23-24

Qur'an and the Islam of the succeeding communities are two different things. It would be a mistake to define Islam by referring to other than its origins, i.e. that which took place during the life-time of the Prophet. The assumption here, is that the ideal Islamic society has been realised and did not need any further consolidation or development. The Qur'an is categorical when it describes the Islamic society in which the Prophet lived as ideal : 'You were the best community among mankind. You call people to do good and you shun what is not good.' Now, good and bad have a yardstick and it is the Qur'an for the Muslims.

From an Islamic perspective, "modernity" is not necessarily a desirable condition. Especially when any definition of such a term and hence of the 'ideal' social set up is derived from a different cosmology. Equally true, modernity is not necessarily undesirable; as long as it harmonizes with the central principles underlying the concepts of man, society and knowledge in the Qur'an. What is then needed is an enquiry into these concepts, both in Islam and in what now constitutes the dominant culture. This, on the one hand, on the other, a genuine democratic system in Muslim lands through which the people can give their opinion and reach a consensus decision about what ought to be the society in which they live. Is there any hope in the information technology? (cf. last chapter.)

Any dialogue about Arab education and more specifically the values behind it implies a thorough investigation or rediscovery of what was discussed above and an equal investigation of the values underlying modernity and tracing their origins. The assumption of this research rejects the chronological approach to tradition and selects the original model as a reference point. Thus, Islamic or Arab traditional education is that defined in the origins of Islam. All later 'developments' may be considered as 'underdevelopments' if they contradict the original principles. This is not an arbitrary over conservative position. It is a conscious choice. The aim is to trace the foreign influences on the original values underlying traditional education in the Arab World. These values, it is assumed, form the mental residus of a large portion of the Arab masses. The objective is to better comprehend the nature of the problem defined at the end of chapter two.

TRADITIONAL EDUCATION.

The very founding of Islam was an educational endeavour in spite of the fact that its founder, Muhammad, was illiterate. To this affirmation, any self conscious Muslim would retort that Muhammad was not the founder but a mere messenger, a

passive mouth piece: The real founder is the Divinity. This argument is not an irrational statement of 'faith'. It is not paradoxical, from an Islamic point of view, that one acquires knowledge by being passive because of what was mentioned earlier about the specificity of Islamic monotheism. The Qur'an states: We (Allah) have created you, as well as your actions.' If the creator of our actions is other than ourselves than indeed there are few paradoxes to be clarified. The issue touches the problem of free will as opposed to the concept of decree. Man is free to seek knowledge and learn whatever craft he wishes, yet, it is Allah who willed what man willed for it has been decreed. Thus, whatever good reaches man, comes from Allah and whatever bad is also from Allah. Now, one may argue that God is wicked to permit bad. But this assumption is based on one's dualistic state of mind, and by derivation, is based on a false conception of the meaning of Godhood. Islam is categorical about the oneness of Allah and any definition of Him by an in-time/space creature falls short hence the famous injunction Allah Akbar (God is greater).

The duality time/space form the basis of creation in the same way as the existence of man is set up by the duality male/female. Which means that creation as opposed to the creator is based on duality. The day cannot be known if there was no night and vice versa, the descent does not exist

without ascent and so on. The Qur'an confirms : 'We (Allah) have created everything in pairs,' and indicates : 'Say He. Allah. is One. He did not beget and was not begotten and nothing is like Him.' (23) Thus, as a creator of all dualities Allah transcends time/space and by the same way good and bad. All dualities are His will and He does as He wishes. The one who posits himself as a judge of God is positing himself as God facing God, i.e. denying the Existence of one God and affirming the existence of two Gods, which is obviously not the position of Islam. The concept of knowledge is intimately linked to the concept of man. And the concept of man in Islam, is defined by this monotheistic doctrine that is Islam.

According to this doctrine, man is, from a certain point of view, utterly free and can do whatever he wishes. But from another, he is totally determined in every action. This is not difficult to understand; a man can do anything he wants and when he does it, it would be the only thing he could have possibly done. Under this focus, man becomes a divine creature, since he shares in the actualization of the Divine decree. As such, his actions, knowledge and responsibilities are endless. For this reason, man is depicted in the Qur'an as the vice-regent of God on earth.

23- Qur'an, chapter 112, verses 1-5.

But this does not exalt man in any way for man is totally determined and dependent; a slave. For example, as ignorant of the divine decree, he is free to determine the type of education he should give to his children and it would be what is decreed anyway. But that does not mean that the way he chooses is the right way for indeed 'God leads to the right way whoever He wants and He leads astray whoever He wants'. He will not lead astray those who acknowledge his Godhood and follow the guidance provided by his messengers. Acknowledging the Oneness of God as is described in the Qur'an, leads one to acknowledging Him in oneself and therefore taking the responsibility of doing what one considers right to do when the time is right. Man's actions are determined by man's reliance on the will of God. Man's daily life is a witnessing of the will of God. Man's knowledge of God's will is man's knowledge of man's own will. This is the picture that is derived from reading the Qur'an.

The Qur'an is the heart of Islam and, education was explicitly and implicitly linked to it. Literally, the word 'Qur'an' means the reading, the recitation. It is significant that Muhammad's first call to prophethood was the injunction: 'Read!'. To the plea that he cannot read, the message proceeded: 'Read, in the name of your Lord, who created man from a mingled clot. Read, and your Lord is the Most Generous, who taught by the pen. He taught man that

which he knew not.'(24)

Then, over a period of twenty three years, messages were revealed to the Prophet to give him as well as to his community, guidance in all aspects of life. Indeed, many passages of the Qur'an state that this book is a guidance to man, a light, a counsellor, a mercy, a cure for what is in the breasts, a remembrance, the truth. These are some verses : 'O you people! there has come to you indeed an admonition from your Lord and a healing for what is in the breasts and a guidance, and a mercy. In that, they should rejoice; it is better than that which they gather (of money)...'(25)

'(O Muhammed) say : O people! indeed there has come to you the truth from your Lord. Therefore whoever goes aright, it is for the good of his soul, and whoever goes astray, it is to the detriment of it. And I am not a custodian over you.'(26)

'It (the Qur'an) is no new fiction, but a confirmation of previous scriptures, and an explanation of all things, and a

24- Qur'an, chapter 96, Verses 1-5.

25- Ibid., chapter 13, verses 30-31.

26- Ibid., chapter 10, verse 68.

guidance and a mercy to those who accept.'(27)

In the words of Jamali(28) 'the Holy Qur'an contains treasures in terms of literature, wisdom, spiritual secrets, logical argumentations, stories, similes, observations of nature, social and moral counsel which makes it according to my judgement, the richest book in existence. It is truly Allah's book and it is the miracle of the illiterate Prophet : men of literature, rhetoric and wisdom fail to equal it, in part or in full.'(29) He who reads it in Arabic would understand why it is not in vain that a challenge was given in it to the critics for them to produce something comparable : 'If all men and Jinns were to collaborate to produce its like, they would not be able.'(30) A number of English versions of the Qur'an are available, by their titles, the

27- Ibid., chapter 12, verse 3.

28- Mohammad Fadhel Jamali was born in the town of Kadhimain (Iraq) in 1903. After graduating at Beirut and Columbia University, he taught for some time before entering public life. He was a member of both houses of the old Iraqi Parliament; and was six times Foreign Minister and twice Prime Minister. The Revolutionary Military Tribunal of 1958 sentenced him to ten years' imprisonment. He was released in 1961 after serving three years of it. In 1962 he was appointed Professor of the Philosophy of Education at the university of Tunis. He is the author of numerous monographs, articles and books in English and Arabic. When in prison, Dr Jamali wrote a series of letters to his son, setting out the teaching and practice of Islam and its relevance to the problems and experience of the modern world.

29- Jamali, M.F., "Letters on Islam : Written by a Father in Prison to his Son" London, Oxford University Press, 1965, p.38

30- Qur'an, chapter 17, verse 90.

Arberry (The Koran Interpreted), and Pickthall (The Meaning of the Glorious Koran) versions show their implicit acceptance of the Muslim view that it cannot be translated.

This impossibility of translating the Qur'an is not an argument against the idea of the anthropological outlook of the Enlightenment, which considered other people's ideas as rational or foolish in the light of the principles prevailing in the anthropological investigator's own society. It is not an argument against ethnocentricity. The impossibility of fathoming the meaning of the Qur'an is also applied to the natives themselves, especially when it comes to the spiritual or esoteric aspects of their religion. In this respect, the language used is symbolic and appeals to the imaginative and emotional dimension of man rather than to his intellect. The Qur'an states : 'No one knows its interpretation save Allah.'(31) This refutes the claim of anyone who says he fully understands the Qur'an, let alone can translate it into another language.

31- Qur'an, chapter 3, verse 7.

* The whole verse goes thus: "He is the One who sent down on you the book from Him.

Some signs are straight forward- they are the mother of the book. Others are hazy.

As for those with swerving-aside in their hearts, they follow what is hazy in it; desiring conflict, desiring its interpretation.

But no-one knows its interpretation except Allah.

The deeply rooted in knowledge say 'we accept it. It is all from our Lord.'

But no-one remembers except the possessors of innermost core."

Consider for example Jamali's own experience of his reading the Arabic text: 'I am reading the Qur'an for the 35th time since entering the prison and everytime I read it, I discover wisdom and hidden things to which I had not been attentive to in previous readings. The enjoyment of the blessings of the Qur'an requires persistence in reading it, and it also requires a good knowledge of the Arabic language, for the Qur'anic expression possesses beauty and grandeur which has not been approached by the highest of what the Arabs produced in terms of entrancing expression.' (32)

In this light, the Qur'an is seen as a personal book. No teacher or organisation can legitimately make the claim of knowing it and entrusting to himself -or itself- the responsibility of instructing others. Thus any inspired educational endeavour would be an open ended one encouraging dialogue rather than being rigid and autocratic. It is unfortunate to read in the western literature that Islamic education is basically to learn the Qur'an by heart without questioning things. It is a highly rational exercise to read or indeed to learn the Qur'an by heart for it raises fundamental questions.

32- Jamali, M.F., Op. Cit., p.34.

The only one who was nearest to instructing others in it was the Prophet : 'He (Allah) it is who raised among the unlettered, (people) a Messenger from among themselves, who recites to them His Communications and purifies them, and teaches them the Book and the wisdom, although they were before it in clear error.'(33)

Even this ideal teacher did not possess full knowledge and was in no way self sufficient in what he knew but depended for his inspiration on Allah as he is ordered in the Qur'an: 'Say (O Muhammad) O Lord, increase me in knowledge.'(34) One could compare the type of education he provided for his followers with a Socratic one: the wisdom of knowing one's ignorance and therefore leaving the way to knowledge continually open.

The Qur'an cannot be an instructional book only. It is rather a guidance in every aspect of life. Yusuf Ibish(35) comments : 'The Muslim lives by the Qur'an. From the first rituals of birth to the principal events of life and death, marriage, inheritance, business contracts : all are based on

33- Qur'an, chapter LXII verse 2.

34- Ibid, chapt.XXV, verse 113

35- Yusuf, K. Ibish, is a Professor of Islamic political theory and institutions in the American University of Beirut. He comes from Damascus and has a Harvard Ph.D. and is considered to be an authority on Sufism.

the Qur'an. A man lives and dies decently if he seeks inspiration from the Qur'an. Most people from outside look on it as a small book containing limited instructions about conduct and life. This is not so. There are guiding principles, and you can unfold any number of valid interpretations... To grasp its message truly, you have to penetrate from the external appearance to the inner reality, from the exoteric to the esoteric meaning. It is a two-level process, and of course one needs the guidance of those who know.'(36) One is tempted to continue and say that the best of those who know are those who acknowledge their ignorance. As such, the book is open ended.

This argument is shared by A. As-Sufi. Concluding his philosophico-linguistic study of the Qur'an when he says that "You will never know. Your station is ignorance. Your condition is darkness. When death comes, the certain comes. That will be your certainty. Once the experiencing self is dead, the Real -Who was/is always present/absent- that is, the Living (Allah), is recognised, but not by you, for you are pulverized and destroyed as locus and as named...then the Book of the Books appears before you, and the Pen and the Tablet of all forms, and you read from where He (Allah) reads in the non-spatial as you once read from where He read -out

36- Waddy, C., Op. Cit. p.14.

in the spatial- the last great message of Mekkah/Medinah :
'read in the name of your Lord.' and what shall you read -if
it is not your life? And what can you know -if it is not
your Lord?"(37)

Let it be said again, the main message that one may learn
from the Qur'an is that of the Oneness of God. After all, it
came as a challenge to the polytheist doctrines prevailing in
Arabia at that time. And then it offered a spiritual and
mundane alternative to the patterns of social conducts. All
later educational developments were attempts at bringing
these messages to the people. Because many of the new
converts to Islam were non-Arabs, the force of circumstances
has compelled the Arab Muslims to make the Arabic language
accessible to all, in order to read the original text of the
Qur'an. It was only at that time (around 767 AD) (38) that
an Arabic grammar was worked out from the Qur'an as a
standard text. Teachers were encouraged to give such tuition
as an act of piety. But this was not all of what the Islamic
education consisted of. An embryo of higher education
developed when later generations sought to complete their
understanding of the Qur'an by looking at the sayings of the
Prophet. They developed the science of history by engaging

37- as-Sufi, A., "Indications from Signs" Op. Cit., p.57.

38- Dodge, B., "Muslim Education in Medieval Times", Washington
D.C., The Middle East Institute, 1962, pp.34-36.

in an intensive search for traditions, authentically transmitted from companions of the Prophet, in which the eye-witnesses recorded actions done or statements made by Muhammad on legal points not defined in the Qur'an.' (39)

These educational efforts were undoubtedly inspired by the need felt by the common Muslim and motivated by the positive attitude towards knowledge as it was related from the Prophet that: 'The learned teachers are the heirs of the prophets who have transmitted to them knowledge as a legacy. He who has chosen learning has taken a great portion and for him who engages himself in the way of acquiring knowledge God will pave a path to the very gates of paradise.'(40) or again : 'Among those doubly rewarded by God, is the man who, possessing a female slave, raises her and gives her a good education.'(41)

These sayings of the Prophet to his followers were not limited to a specific geographical area such as Mekkah or Medina where the Message was revealed. He did not imply that knowledge was absent elsewhere in the world but made it

39- Gibb, H.A.R., "Islam" (in Zaehner, -ed.- of "The Concise Encyclopedia of Living faiths"), London, Hutchinson, 1971, p.171.

40- Gulick, R.L., "Muhammad the Educator" Lahore, The Institute of Islamic Culture, 1953, p.49.

41- Ibid., p.50.

specific when he said : 'Seek knowledge, even in China for the pursuit of knowledge is obligatory for every Muslim, man or woman.'(42) One may conclude with Massialas that traditional Arab education reveals 'two very essential principles of modern education : The concept of life-long education and that of the democratization of education by making it available to men and women equally.'(43) Nevertheless, one must not suggest that there was any idea of institutionalizing compulsory education. It is democratic only in the sense that it makes no distinction between males and females. It is an obligation on every individual to seek knowledge but it is not imperative for the teacher to provide that education. The teacher should do that on a voluntary basis, one might even add; from love of the truth. Any financial help that may come to him from the government or from the individuals should be voluntary. This is highly possible in a welfare state. Basically, a teacher is a preacher, and therefore his services should be for the sake of God, not for the sake of money. If a Prophet is not expected to make out of his prophethood a profession, and if the teacher is the heir of the Prophets, then obviously, teaching should not be a profession.

42- Massialas, B.G. et al., "Education in the Arab World" New York, Praeger, 1983, p.9.

43- Ibid., p.9.

The great achievements of the Arab-Islamic civilization in the intellectual, cultural, scientific and artistic fields were largely the fruit of the work of individuals at a time when the school was still largely not institutionalized. Those achievements were not promoted by specialised institutions such as schools or universities. It is significant that 'the mosque was, from the earliest day of the era of Islam the earliest school,'(44) The present institutionalisation of education is an innovation, something new. Schooling as an institution was introduced on the eve of the Islamic decadence. It is not, as one might expect, the basis of the Islamic civilization. The following section traces the development of education and its progressive institutionalization.

EDUCATION AND CULTURAL CHANGE.

As the companions of the Prophet spread in distant lands, with the spread of Islam, while publication had not yet developed, men seeking knowledge developed a tradition of travelling in order to know from source the tradition. 'To verify the correct reading of Qur'anic verses, or to

44- Szyliowicz, J., "Education and Modernity in the Middle East" London, Cornell University Press, 1973, p.52.

establish the veracity of a tradition, it became necessary to travel to distant lands in order to question and learn from authority.'(45) Dodge,(46) explains: 'As one generation followed the other, conscientious scholars feared that the sayings of the Prophet might become distorted. The persons quoting them did not always have good memories, sometimes being careless or even deliberately deceitful in repeating words attributed to the Prophet. The scholars therefore, tried to sift out the authentic traditions, so as to codify them in written form. The process of seeking, analyzing, evaluating and recording quotations connected with the Prophet, developed into the science called al-Hadith'. Thus, the first books written in Arabic, after the Qur'an, were books of 'Hadith' (sayings of the Prophet). Subsequently, these were incorporated into the Islamic education for both scholars and less advanced students.

Besides this still informal, though structured education, the embryo of formal education was developing in the palaces of the Caliphs of the time. Dodge(47) remarks that these Caliphs 'were obliged to train their children to manage large

45- Tibawi, A.L., "Islamic Education: Its Tradition and Modernization into the Arab National Systems". London, Luzac & Company Ltd., 1972, p.25.

46- Dodge, B., op. cit., p.52.

47- Ibid., p.3.

estates... accordingly, they engaged private teachers to give lessons to their children. The tutor was expected to offer all of the material used by the Qur'an reader, story teller and anecdotes and traditions, as well as simple arithmetic and the art of polite conversation. His pupils also learned horsemanship, swimming and the use of weapons'. By thus doing, these leaders laid down the foundations of teaching as a profession. Thus, those who could not afford such education for their children, were contented with taking them to the mosque to learn how to pray and recite the Qur'an. Sometimes, preachers were available for anyone present to listen on such subjects as 'the Qur'an, law, tradition, Arabic philosophy, history, and sometimes even medicine.'(48) No condition of age or wealth distinguished such audiences. Sometimes these classes took place in bazars, shops or private homes. It is important to mention at this stage that such informal education reflected the society's political and social organization. Statism i.e the ideology of statecraft, had not developed yet neither was society ossified by what is now known as bureaucracy, this state machinery that, ideally, aims at a more efficient running of the affairs of all, but in practice paralysing the individual's initiative in all matters.

48- Szyliowicz, J., op. cit., p.53.

The above mentioned developments in education cannot be fully appreciated without knowledge of the original Islamic social and political organization. At the death of the Prophet, the elders of the Muslim community met hurriedly to decide to elect a leader (Caliph). The choice fell upon Abu-Bakr: one of the Prophet's oldest converts. It was made clear that the Caliph succeeded only to the temporal role of the Prophet, as governor of the Umma (the community of the faithfuls). Abu-Bakr could claim no powers of revelation, and he himself made it clear that the era of prophecy had ended, saying: 'If there are any among you who worshipped Muhammad, he is dead. But if it is God you worship, He lives forever'.

Three more Caliphs were elected through the same principle of communal consultation and majority consensus until the year 661, when the Caliph Ali, Muhammad's cousin and son in law had been assassinated. The Caliphate then became a dynasty, with Muawiyah. Breaking away from the previous simplicity, he remodelled the Islamic state on Byzantine lines, dissolved the old tribal basis of the army, creating a navy and appointing officials on the basis of their competence rather than piety. He established Damascus as the capital of the empire.

In 750, the fourteenth Umayyad Caliph was ousted. The new dynasty; the Abassids, who were descendents from the Prophet's uncle, al-Abbas, moved their capital from Damascus to Baghdad. Under Harun al-Rachid(786-809), legendary Caliph of the thousand and one nights, Baghdad flourished as an unrivalled centre of commerce and learning. His successor, al-Mamun(813-833) established in the capital a 'house of wisdom', a combination of library, academy, translation bureau and observatory. 'two other institutions performed an educational function: the bookshop and the literary salon.'(49) It was not until 1057 that schooling as such became institutionalized. Meanwhile, the intellectual activity of the Muslims approached its golden age, not because of the school but because education was left to the initiative of individuals such as:

- al-Khawarizmi(d. 850) who made major advances in astronomy, wrote a pioneering treatise on algebra and popularised the use of Arabic numerals.
- In medicine, al-Razi(865-925) was the first to make a clinical distinction between measles and smallpox, while in philosophy,
- al-Ashari(874-935) wrestled with the problem of reconciling predestination with free will.

49- Szyliowicz, J., op. cit., p.61.

By 1057 however, a break had been made in the prevailing non-formal educational system, when Nazam al-Mulk built what came to be a model of school in Muslim lands until the end of the 19th century.(50) The innovation made by this Vazir (Minister) was that 'he provided large enough endowments to assure generous salaries for the teachers as well as board, lodging, clothing, furnishing and heat for the students. The professors, who wore academic robes of black and marine blue, were so highly regarded that they were frequently chosen to perform diplomatic missions. As a rule, each professor had at least one assistant and in addition to the members of the teaching staff there were numerous clerks and servants as well as the librarian, prayer leader and registrar.

The assistant repeated the words of the professor in a loud voice, so that the student could write them down from dictation. He also answered questions, explained the lessons and helped the students to correct their notes. After removing his shoes, a student sat on the ground, often using his knees to serve as a desk. There was no regular schedule, the student being free to continue his studies as long as he himself and his teachers felt it wise for him to do so.'(51)

50- For an exhaustive description of this institution, see Talas Said's entire book, "La Madrassa Nizamiyya et son Histoire", Paris, Gauthier, 1939.

51- Dodge, B., Op. cit., p.20.

'Although the impact of this institution is universally accepted, there is disagreement among scholars as to the specific reason for the founding of this madrassa, as well as the eight others that the Nizam al-Mulk established. Some have argued that the fundamental impetus came from the desire of this able grand vizir to the Turkish Seljuk sultans who made themselves masters of the Middle East to promote Sunni Islam and to influence the public against Shii doctrine; others that they were established to meet the need for qualified personnel to staff a growing and reorganized bureaucracy; still others that the Nizam al-Mulk needed institutional means to harness the potential power of the religious leaders to influence public opinion and feeling.' (52)

Szylowicz(53) suggests that the Vizier felt the need for new institutions to supply the kinds of trained manpower that could enable him to achieve his political goals. But assuming that the 'infrastructure of society explains and justifies the superstructure', and given the political status of this Vizier(54) the reason is that because the bureaucratization and the organization of the wider society was based on the Byzantine model, an organization of the intellectual life in a similar fashion seems a logical

52- Szylowicz, J., op. cit., pp.64-65.

53- Ibid., p.65.

54- His name suggests that his function is to coordinate the organization of the Empire.

outcome. The initial change in society's institutional pattern was legitimized by a rhetoric for defence efficiency, the latter change touching education follows the same logic, but the threat was not from outside as had been the case during the Fatimid dynasty. In the later case, the threat came from inside with the rise of Shii Islam.

'By the fourteenth century A.D. these colleges were numbered by dozens in all great cities, and they monopolized the higher education of the upper classes who manned the bureaucracy, as well as of the members of the religious profession. Their programmes of studies were practically uniform, and confined to the Arabic philosophy, Qur'an, Prophetic tradition, orthodox law and theology, all based upon standard text-books.(55)

According to Szylowicz,(56) each of these schools specialized in teaching one school of law to the neglect of others. 'To attend classes, the student had to be a member of the school whose law was taught in college so that Hanbali students attend a hanbali college..upon completion of the course, the graduates became members of the Ulema, the legal experts of the community, its teachers, judges, and

55- Gibb, A.H.R., op. cit., p.189.

56- Szylowicz, J., op. cit., p.63.

administrators.' This gradual institutionalization of the school and the nature of knowledge provided was not an innovation in its proper right; it reflected the gradual stratification and polarization of Muslim society and politics.

In 1258, the Abassid Dynasty was terminated at the hands of the Mongol hordes, and the glittering imperial capital of Baghdad was virtually wiped off the face of the earth. Nevertheless, these invasions were checked in Palestine as early as 1260, but things were never the same again. Power slipped away from the Arabs to non-Arab Muslims. In the wake of the Mongol storm, the great empires arose; the Ottoman, the Safavid and the Mughal. Of these three empires, the Ottoman was not only the earliest to emerge but also the longest to last. It expanded from an obscure thirteenth century kingdom in north-west Anatolia, to embrace by 1500 the heartland and capital of the former Byzantine empire. The height of its glory was attained under Selim I (1512-1520) and Suleyman II 'the magnificent' (1520-1566) who conquered Egypt, Syria, Iraq, the coastlands of North Africa and the Red Sea, the Island of Rhodes and the Balkans as far as the Hungarian plain. In 1529 he reached as far as Vienna.

Within this empire, the system of Madrassa as first conceived by Nizam al-Mulk 'reached its zenith. Beginning in

1331 the Ottoman sultans began to carry on the tradition of their Seljuk predecessors by endowing new institutions in ever increasing numbers. Each succeeding ruler devoted himself to this task, and soon, numerous madrassas were found in every town of the empire; by the eighteenth Century, there were at least 275 in Istambul alone.'(57) But because education in these colleges was not compulsory, many informal ways of acquiring knowledge persisted and still are to be seen in Arab lands. These are homes of self supporting teachers, Dervish Zawiyas (lit. corner) as well as in bazaars for those interested in craft. While these places were financially autonomous, the curriculum was not predetermined.

In the words of Massialas(58), during the Ottoman period, education developed into a three-tier system. 'The first was the elementary schools, which were composed mainly of the Kuttabs or Qur'anic schools. Many of these Kuttabs were still housed in the mosques and were financed by donations of government grants. Curriculum in the Kuttabs consisted mainly of memorizing and reciting the Qur'an, writing and arithmetic. Arabic literature was introduced in some schools.

57- Ibid., p.67.

58- Massialas. B.G., op. cit., p.16.

The second level of schooling was the Madrassa, the colleges or academies. Here the student had to study ten subjects that constituted a curriculum that was mainly centered on religious themes. In addition to the previously mentioned Islamic humanities subjects, the madrassa taught Arabic literature, grammar, mathematics, astronomy and natural sciences.

As for the third level of education, or higher education, we find that some of the madrassas of the area -especially those in the major cities of Adrianople, Bursa and Istanbul- had the second and third level combined with more emphasis on higher education. The curriculum at this level was also heavily orientated toward religious studies and graduation of Islamic lawyers..other areas of knowledge were taught -medicine, astronomy, natural sciences, and mathematics but were not emphasized.'

From the historical records of the cultural achievements of the Muslims, it appears that during the Ottoman era, which lasted about 600 years, educational thought was stagnant. The enthusiasm and openness in seeking knowledge, where it was found, by the early theologians, scholars, thinkers and philosophers of Islam were gone. It is difficult, however, to establish positively the role played by the institutionalization of education in determining the

intellectual stagnation of the region. Nevertheless, it appears safe to say that prior to the Ottoman empire, the Arabs had achieved the height of their enlightenment. One may argue that the main factors that contributed to the ossification of the dynamism of Arab-Islamic civilization were the devastating Mongol invasions as well as the crusades. But these two factors seem of minor importance in view of the limited areas they touched.

Things remained much the same until the Arab world fell under western influence from the time of Napoleon in Egypt onwards. This new era was marked by the establishment of a more thorough centralised education system characteristic of the modern nation state. It was centralised both, structurally and in its content.

At an initial stage, the western powers, the French especially but also the Dutch, British and Italians, deliberately mounted an onslaught on the minds of the youth of their subject people. Since Arabic and Islamic tendencies were looked upon as dangerous and subversive influences they had to be excluded (from local educational systems). The new system that the colonial authorities introduced was wholly westernized, and used European languages exclusively. Yet the purpose was not to produce thoroughly westernized young Muslims, for that too would have been dangerous. Education

had to serve the strictly limited purpose of the colonial administration by producing clerks and artisans in sufficient numbers to keep the machine going.

The French with their passionate faith in their civilizing mission, were the worst in this regard, but in the end, their system did manage to produce a certain number of brown and black Frenchmen with an excellent knowledge of French. The Dutch and British tended to be more relaxed in their methods and less insistent on linguistic excellence or cultural absorption or assimilation. Parallel to the state system, missionary schools were permitted, and in view of the level of wealth of the sponsoring churches, they flourished in every part of the colonies. In contrast, the traditional schools, because of lack of financial support, began to dwindle.

After independence, the successor states of the various imperial powers, have, like all modern governments, assumed a wide range of responsibilities in respect of education, welfare and economic development. In other words, the phenomenon of cultural borrowing was uniformly applied in the region, either by choice or by force of circumstances. But as many comparative educationists assert, this endeavour is not without danger. Now what seems to have been borrowed by the Arabs is the whole social nexus in which education is but

a small aspect. The most important one is the statist concept of social organization with its strong professional army presence. Tames(59) remarked that 'the army as the most modern and competent arm of the state becomes, in effect, the state itself, and speaks in the name of the nation which is yet to be.' In this paternalistic context, the individual became helpless as to his ability to create.

In the name of development, a basic Islamic principle, that of consultation and consensus that characterised the early community is now lacking. The excuse usually given is that the masses are too immature to decide about such complicated issues as modernity and what ought to be done to attain it. The masses need the guidance of an elite for a transition period.

Thus, the rightists among the Arab states enforce their legacy as representatives of the people and its defenders, by pointing to Russian imperialism, applying to the extreme the theory of conspiracy. For instance, it is not rare on asking a Saudi-Arabian about the Russians to hear him say they are our enemies, they don't believe in God. While a South Yemeni would say that they are our friends fighting side by side

59- Tames, R., "The World of Islam: a teacher's handbook". London, London University School of Oriental and African Studies (External Division), 1977, p.66.

with us against exploitation, colonisation and world imperialism.

Although the principle dimension of Arab nationhood appears to be a collective awareness of a common history, a distinctive language and culture, a degree of similarity in appearance -which is not racial since the Arabs are an amalgam of races- nationalism has divided the Arab world on ideological grounds instead of uniting it. The following section clarifies this point.

NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION.

It was 'The French Revolution which inculcated the doctrine that all citizens owed their first and permanent loyalty to the national state. It moreover elaborated the first general scheme of elementary schooling, which should be maintained and controlled exclusively by the nation, which should be compulsory for all the boys and girls of the nation.' (60) To put the loyalty to the state above all other loyalties meant that the state became an object of worship. As to the

60- Hayes, C.J.H., "Nationalism", (in Seligman, E.R.A. et al -eds- of "Encyclopedia of the social sciences", Vol.11.), New York, The Macmillan Company, 1933, p.242.

element of compulsion in education or rather in conversion to a nationalist ideology, the resemblance with religious dogmas of do's and don'ts is striking.

Nationalism in its wider sense goes back far in history. Tribalism is unmistakably a kind of nationalism. This is manifest in the fact that, 'each tribe has a distinctive speech, a peculiar pattern of social organisation and cultural and religious observances, a special set of oral traditions and a particular manner of initiating its youthful members into the full life and lore of the tribe and inculcation in them of a supreme loyalty to it.' (61) Also, nearer to our cultural era, is 'the chosen people idea and the promised land concept. Both originated with the ancient Hebrews, both provided a divine sanction for nationalist aspirations and political aims.' (62) But nationalism as a dynamic political and secular principle was unknown prior to the French Revolution.

Islam, it is admitted, was also promoting a dynamic kind of 'nationalism' in that it was political and often resorted to the armed struggle to safeguard its principles.

Nevertheless, 'The question of the relationship of

61- Ibid., p.240.

62- Sill, D.L. (in "The International Encyclopedia of social sciences") USA, Macmillan Company & The Free Press, 1968, p.67.

nationalism to a universal Islamic (Ummah) community, has neither been faced, nor answered.'(63) Whatever the truth of the matter, if there is such a thing as Islamic nationalism, then it is distinct from the one now prevailing throughout the world. It is based on a 'religious' ideology and not a 'secular' one. There is no racial element in it and does not promote any kind of pyramidal institutional organisation.(64)

Imbued with the spirit of the eighteenth century enlightenment, 'the French Revolution inspired the establishment of new kinds of newspapers and patriotic societies for the propagation of intense and sometimes quite intolerant nationalism among the masses....It was a peculiar French mission they believed, to spread the new gospel; it was in the highest sense humanitarian to spread this gospel, if necessary, by the sword.'(65) It is interesting to note with N. Hans that 'the first pioneers of nationalism belonged to the international society of freemasons; nationality for them was only a natural and necessary step in the federation of all nations.'(66) Indeed, the late European

63- Fazlur -Rahman, "Revival and reform in Islam", (in "The Cambridge History of Islam", Vol.2.), Cambridge University Press, 1970, p.653.

64- Cf. next chapter, section about society.

65- Hayes, C.J.H., Op. Cit., p.243.

66- Hans, N., "Comparative education", London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949, p.217.

moves towards the constituency of a European Parliament, a unified monetary system and so on is yet another step forward in order to realise this aim. The same movement is going on in the Arab World to the exclusion of the Muslim World at large, which means that such a nationalism is not religious any more. It is on the same model as the one suggested by the French Revolution. In the 1980's, a new trend has appeared, it is the problem of North South cooperation for the benefit of all. Why not unite around a one world secular ideology in which religious matters are relegated to the private life of the individual and where the common interests are decided by a majority ballot? Such is the ultimate aim of the French Revolution.

At its earlier stage, this French humanitarian mission failed since it treated as enemies every people who, refusing liberty and equality, rejected the founding of a 'free and democratic government'. Such an attitude precipitated a series of international wars. This state of affairs led the French themselves to subordinate political democracy and individual liberty to military dictatorship in the person of Napoleon Bonaparte.

The repercussions of the French Revolution went far beyond Europe to embrace by the second half of the twentieth century the whole world. Two huge colonial empires; the French and

the English, played as it were the missionaries of the new faith. The representatives of the civilized world and the new vision.

The partition of the Arab world into separate political entities with different social infrastructures, resulted, after independence, in a deep identity crisis. The Muslim World had changed 'from a divinely prescribed political and social order as defined in the Qur'an and implemented by the first Muslim communities, to a new pattern of social differentiation.(67) In the Algerian case, Jansen(68) notes; 'For the first few years after independence, the Algerians were embarrassed to admit that during the testing years of war, their Islamic faith had not only given them inward moral support, but that prayers and attendance at the mosque had become assertions of the Algerian's identity.' If embarrassed, these leaders must find it difficult, rationally', to reconcile their modern political ideology with the no-less political ideology of Islam. At any rate, basically, this elite represented a profoundly religious community, if not effectively, at least in their basic attitudes. The green-and-white flag of independent Algeria was the flag designed and used by the Emir Abdel-Qader, the

67- Gibb, H.A.R., op. cit., pp.195-199,

68- Jansen, G.H., "Militant Islam", London, Pan World Affairs, 1979, p.99.

first Algerian politico-religious leader who rose against the French forces in Algeria. As a profoundly religious man, and the son of a local Sufi Shaykh, all his political decisions were in the name of religion. In point of fact, he declared his uprising a Jihad (holy war). Not only by adopting this flag, but also by declaring themselves Mujahidines (fighters for the religious ideal), the Algerian revolutionaries of the war of independence, asserted the continuity between their struggle and that of its politico-religious progenitor.

It is significant that only in those countries where a multiplicity of sects prevailed, was nationalism more openly secular. In Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, religion -Islam or any other- had to be kept out of the freedom movement if that movement was to receive support from members of the different religious communities. (69) As a consequence, myriad political ideologies flourished. They were heterogenous, although all opted for the French inspired social central creed of national sovereignty. In each country, the political elite was faced with the need to establish a new cohesive social and political order, capable of reaching the material and intellectual standards of contemporary civilization. While independence in different parts of the Arab world did not occur at the same time, it has not been

69- Ibid., p.104.

possible for the Arabs to unite their efforts in building a common nation-state, in spite of the common bonds that united them.

Initially, while the power of the Ottoman empire was crumbling at the beginning of the twentieth century, many Turks and by the same token some Arabs started to look at the European modern political organisations as a model to follow. Yusuf Aksura, one of the leading Turkish nationalists saw the idea of Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism as a handicap rather than an asset. His argument was that 'the Ottoman Islamic nationalism, rooted psychologically in Islam, had no appeal to the various Christian groups in the Empire. Those were the Greeks, Bulgarians and Maronite Arabs.' (70) He advocated a more secular brand of nationalism, based on the supremacy of the Turkish ethnic group. 'This became the policy of the young Turks (1908-18). The young Turks, stressing Turkish national characteristics, departed radically from the Islamic universalism and the expressly anti-Turkist policy of Ottomanism.' (71)

70- Karpas, H.K., (ed.) "Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East", New York, Praeger Publishers, 1983, p.XXV.

71- Ibid., pp.XXV-XXVI.

Illustrating the dramatic impact this radical ideology had on the conservative forces in Turkey, Karpas quotes the Turkish poet; Mehmet Akif (d. 1936) : 'Is it the Devil that put into your minds the idea of nationalism? Nationalism shall destroy from its foundations Islam which keeps under one nationality so many different national groups.'(72) But the impact of the French Revolution's ideas was deeper than mere individual allegiance or protest. It produced drastic changes in Turkey in the person of Kamel Ataturk. It is surprising to learn that again, in the Muslim heartland, secular nationalism was realised at the hands of a free-mason as Ataturk was obviously a member of this organization.(73)

It is not wrong to assert that nationalism in the Arab World was a mirror reflection of Turkish nationalism, or to be more precise, as a defence against it. While still under the umbrella of Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism, the Arabs sensed a threat of being reduced to the status of a secondary ethnic group, in the event of the young Turks' application of their ideas. It is reasonable to believe that 'the interests of a national community must meet with opposition from another national group if a nationalist feeling is to arise. As nationality is a psychological group reflecting a state of

72- Ibid., P.XXVI.

73- Cf. Benoist-Mechin, "Mustapha Kemal: le loup et le leopard". Paris, Editions Albin Michel, 1954, pp.103-111.

mind, it is unimportant whether the opposition of interests is real or imaginary as a result of propaganda. It is sufficient for the group to believe in it to develop a nationalist attitude.' (74) However, 'when before world war one, Arab nationalism was directed against Ottoman control, Syrian Christian Arabs were among the leading nationalists.' (75) Indeed, many historians of the Middle East remarked that nationalism was more popular within the Christian Arab intelligencia, than within a strictly Muslim group.

Iqbal, the famous political thinker and poet remarked, Islam is too wide in scope to be contained within the orbit of nationalism. He expressed this idea when he wrote: 'Nationalism in the sense of love of one's country and even readiness to die for its honour is part of the Muslim faith. It comes to play the role of a political concept and claims to be a principle of human solidarity demanding that Islam should recede to the background of a mere private opinion and cease to be a living factor in the national life.' (76)

74- Hans, N., op. cit., p.216

75- Hudson, M.C., "Arab politics: the search for legitimacy", London & New Haven, Yale University Press, 1977.

76- Vanker, A.F., "Iqbal And Nationalism", (in "The Muslim World League Journal", vol.10, No.8), Mekkah, 1983, p.41.

To Iqbal, 'western civilization, having displaced the universal ethics of Jesus, had set in motion its own moral decline. In renouncing religion as a basis for political life and adopting national (secular) systems of ethics and policy, the west had forfeited its soul... Islam, he feared, would meet the same fate as Christianity did in Europe, it would be forced into retirement, and humanity would lose the only living force that could free man's outlook from its geographical limitations. Only a political religion can provide a model for a state that would transform religious ideals into working principles. The lack of such state made modern man cease to live what Iqbal terms 'soulfully'. 'In the realm of thought he lives in open conflict with himself; in the spheres of economic and political life he is in confrontation with others.' (77)

But as a humanist poet, Iqbal is dismissed by many nationalists for being too idealistic. They maintain that religion must remain a personal matter. The Palestinian thinker, Dr. Ishaq Musa al-Husayni, maintains that secularism in his view is inevitable yet benign to religion. He writes: 'there is a difference between separating religion from the state and separating religion from society... I hope to see the day when all our activities even marriage,

77- Ibid., p.42.

divorce etc. are unified under one well-organised civic system of life. We want a purely nationalistic policy which pays no regard to religions and sects but works always for the interest of the nation.'(78) Another ideologue, A. Sedeh, the founder of the Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party defines religion as 'the institution that dealt with the mysteries of the soul and immortality, the creator and the supernatural'. As a Christian he argues that 'the adherence of the Syrian Muslims to a Pan-Islamic movement exposes their interests to coming into conflict with the interests of their countrymen of other faiths and to becoming lost in the interests of the greater community, over which they have no control, and which is always in danger of disintegration in the struggle for political power on the part of the constitutive nations as has happened in the Abbassid period and in the Turkish period.'(79)

Such arguments may have an intellectual appeal, but in the field of practical politics, they reveal substantial weaknesses. The predicament of civil war-torn Lebanon is too serious to allow any doubt as to the importance of religious allegiances. The 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon has shown how ephemeral the concept of national unity as based on

78- Karpat, H.K., op. cit., p.213.

79- Ibid., p.53.

ethnic and linguistic factors can be. Instead of fostering the spirit of solidarity of the Lebanese people, the Israeli invasion has actualized an intrinsically deep division of this people. It has revealed that a national anthem, a common flag, a common nationality, a common language and so on, were mere cosmetic symbols, rather superficial, if compared with the religious feeling of identity.

Not only in Lebanon, but everywhere in the Arab world, there is a feeling of disenchantment with the idea of Arab nationalism. Some individuals started to look at the Iranian revolution for an alternative route towards emancipation. Indeed, when the Shi'it militia drove the 'national' army out of west Beirut, president Jmael's posters were replaced by those of the Iranian religious Leader; Imam Khomeini, and not with those of the local political leader N. Berri.

This is a very important indicator of the general state of mind of the common Muslim citizen in Lebanon. At any rate, this reveals that the religious propaganda is now as important as the secular one. There is now a general consensus among western observers, that everywhere in the Arab world today, prevails a diffuse but very apparent resurgence of Islam as a modern political ideology. 'It is frequently possible, on asking an Arab to what country he

belongs, to receive the answer: 'I am a follower of Islam.' (80)

This Islamic fundamentalism has put considerable pressure on governments of the region to be less secular than they wished to. Thus, contrary to the general trend in the West, secularism tends to lose ground in the region. But the problem of opting for religious or secular politics, transcends the mere bad or good-will of political leaders. It is better defined in its international dimension. The Arab political leaders are faced with a real dilemma. It is to find a 'national' ideology that will satisfy the requirements for modernity, with favourable international relations on the one hand, and on the other, being true to one's own cultural identity. The two requirements are not always easy to reconcile. Perhaps, the diversity of solutions proposed throughout the Arab world is a blessing in disguise. The different political systems will prove themselves and show to others how worthy -or not- they are. Politically immature and inexperienced after centuries of foreign domination, monarchy, democracy, fascism and other forms of political systems were experimented without much success. Will the Iranian revolution play a similar role to

80- Fisher, W.B., "The Middle East and North Africa: an introduction" (in "The Middle East and North Africa", 29th edition), London, Europa Publications Limited, 1982, p.13.

that played by the French revolution? Only the future will show.

'Arab nationalism in which we believe,' wrote A. al-Bazzaz, 'is based.. not on racial appeal, but on linguistic, historical, and spiritual ties, and on fundamental vital interests.'(81) The only difference between this definition and an Islamic one would be the element of language.

These ideological conflicts clearly reflect the inability of the Arab world to unite in their educational policies around common values. It is not wrong to assert that, generally speaking, there are as many educational policies, in Arab schools as there are political ideologies. Hence, any conceptual analysis of educational aims in the region requires a classification of the Arab countries in ideological groupings. The implications of such an analysis transcends a purely educational discourse for indeed, there is a dialectical relationship between the school and its wider context.

81- Hudson, M.C., Op. cit., p.34. Cf. also page 38.

Arblaster(82) attests that 'whether it be the result of deliberate planning or of historical drift and inertia, the content of our education is determined by what people have thought to be the purpose of education, and those purposes can never be socially or politically neutral.'

Thus, one country may stress aspects of tradition in the curriculum, another, modern technology and a third, humanities and yet another historical materialism as is the case in the Soviet Union. By thus doing, each country aims at realising its national goals. Over a decade ago, Szyliowicz(83) remarked that 'adaptive systems tend to emphasize religious instruction to a far greater degree than the radical regimes, and accord a sizable proportion of the primary school curriculum to religious education. Overall, the average is 12%, but in Saudi Arabia, 36% of the primary school curriculum is taken up with this subject as compared to 2% in Algeria and 11% in Egypt.'

Unfortunately, it is doubtful whether any conclusion can be drawn from these figures. There is no clear cut demarcation line between what is religious and what is not, considering the characteristics of Islam. It is perfectly

82- Arblaster, A., "Education and ideology", (in Education for democracy.), Harmondsworth, Penguin Ed. Special, 1970, p.50.

83- Szyliowicz J.S., op. cit., p.24.

right to assert that learning a technological subject is religion as well. This is a difficult epistemological point that will be discussed in the next chapter.

Even the more radical among the modernists in the Muslim world; K. Ataturk, justified his reforms, not as a reaction against Islam, but as a reaction against the false interpretations of that religion. In an address to the Turkish people, he said: 'You must know that the evil men who guided us along wrong paths, covered themselves, often in religious garbs. They deceived our pure and innocent people with the words of the shari'a.. there is a yardstick for our religion (Islam) available to everybody. If you use this yardstick, you will realise immediately what conforms and what does not conform to the religion. If something satisfies reason, logic, the interest of the nation, the interest of Islam, do not ask anyone and accept it, for that thing is religion.'(84) Ataturk is right in everything he said, except the unilateralism which he promotes. Things are not to be implemented without asking anyone but should be discussed first, and on a consensus basis, implemented.

While the Islamic values and dogmas were sometimes radically different from those prevalent in Europe, the

84- Karpat, H.K. . op. cit . , p.403.

secularist appeal in the Arab world was more diffuse than precise. Secularism was not an attack against Islam as such, but, as the modernists argue, against false interpretations of it. It is precisely this attitude that paved the way to widespread cultural borrowings in the region.

As-Sufi(85)condemns such an attitude as resulting from an infantile mentality. In his own words, the Arabs 'were to be (taught) from Western universities that they had a historical and cultural place in the new civilization, for were there not great Muslim scientists and mathematicians..surely, if they had pursued this line and not been held back by the obscurantist ideas of the shari'at (the Islamic legal code) they would be in the forefront of the modern advanced peoples! No, indeed, they were not inferior to the Westerners -they would prove how like them they were.' This sarcastic attitude is not totally unjustified.

Quoting Gibb; the famous British Orientalist, Jansen(86) remarks that 'the real significance for Islam is the inward reaction towards the Western cultural values which are seeking to find their place within Muslim society under cover of these borrowings. Everything depends on the capacity of

85- as-Sufi, A., "Jihad: a groundplan", op. cit., p.31.

86- Jansen, G.H., op. cit., pp.107-108

Muslim society to defend and protect its values and cultural traditions against the Western invasion. If it fails in this task, it is lost as a Muslim society, it will inevitably become a more or less faithful copy of Western society with secondary characteristics, peculiar to the different countries and languages.

All Arab countries have adopted modern educational institutions in the form of universities, academies and colleges. This, constitutes one of the most important facts of social change. A combination of modern technology, with its vast potential for production of goods, and the traditional spiritual heritage would, it was thought, regenerate the classical glory and greatness of Muslim society. Unfortunately, on a world wide perspective, only Japan seems to have made any significant headway in this respect.

The educational challenges to the new governments were, then, to revive and reform the traditional system, to integrate it with the modern system, to expand both without losing sight of their cultural identity.

The first Arab country to have attempted to respond to such aspirations was Egypt, but only in 1953, a year after Colonel Nasser took power. It was decreed that a national

primary school system would replace the existing one, offering free and compulsory education for boys and girls from age six to twelve. The curriculum included the Qur'an and religious instruction (with alternative instruction for non-Muslim pupils). Arabic, patriotic education and a full range of other subjects. Special stress was on religious education and Arabic. The teaching of a foreign language was abolished. From then on, the school system was greatly expanded, inevitably at the cost of quality. The high level split between Islamic and Western University systems was closed when in 1961 al Azhar; Islam's leading theological establishment, was brought under government control and was obliged to teach modern subjects -to female students as well as males

The Sudanese, because of the long-established missionary school system, found it much more difficult to resolve the problem of cultural dependency. English remained the language of instruction in secondary schools till the early 1970s. A concession made to the southern region was that in the first two school years, local dialects written in Arabic not Latin characters were to be the medium of instruction. Pupils are taught religion, but each religious group its own.

The three North African countries; Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, found it harder to Arabize the system left by the

French. Because the political elite in those countries was mostly French educated, the issue of Arabization has often resulted in heated political rhetoric. The Moroccan leftist leader, Mehdi Ben Barka, supported the retention of French as a compulsory subject, 'to open a window on the Western Culture.'

In Algeria, in 1976-7 academic year, the three systems of schooling were integrated: foreign, mostly run by the Roman Catholic Church; national Westernized; and Islamic, run by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. They all now became part of the same basic school of nine years.(87) The Islamic traditionalists disliked the integration of their schools as much as did the missionaries, but the former were compensated by the introduction of religious education in all schools.

In Syria, private foreign, mostly missionary schools, were partially integrated into the national educational system, but the religious schools were not.(88) Arabic became the medium of instruction. Although the multiplicity of Syria's religious sects obliged religion to be kept out of politics, it was brought back into the school as a compulsory subject -each sect studying its own faith. In short, all Arab

87- Cf. chapter five, section about Algeria.

88- Cf. Chapter five, section about Syria.

countries that regard themselves as Islamic states, have brought the teaching of Islam into the curriculum of their public educational systems.

All this appears to be an enlightened policy in terms of safeguarding the initial values and avoiding the polarization of society into different cultural groupings, but if looked at from an Islamic fundamentalist perspective, these developments are misconceived. A common content of education for the whole nation does not liberate the minds of people but may enslave them. This criticism is not directed against one form of educational content or another, it is more a criticism of the whole social structure in which the school is but one component. It is a criticism of a model of society which resulted from the attractive nationalist principles of the French Revolution. Some Arab intellectuals regard these educational reforms, to put it mildly, as mere cosmetic changes, that do not touch the real problem; that of reconciling present developments with the original values. This problem has been actualized in recent days by the Arab educationists in their declared need to define an Arab philosophy of education.

The problem revealed itself to be not the difficulty of defining what is the philosophy of Arab education but the difficulty of having any form of consensus regarding this

issue. In a divided Arab world, this is hardly surprising. It is more appropriate to speak about Arab philosophies of education for each nation-state has its own. As such the school can contribute in further alienating Arabs belonging to one nation from others belonging to another if any integrating policy such as that of ALESCO fails.

In his article; 'Systems of education and systems of thought', p. Bourdieu(89) shows how far the school can be a socializing institution. He asserts that 'individuals owe to their schooling, first and foremost a whole collection of commonplaces, covering not only common speech and language but also areas of encounter and agreement, common problems and common methods of approaching the common problems.'

As an illustrative example, the Soviet Educational system, appears explicitly to serve the above mentioned functions. It is viewed by the political authorities as a strategic institution for the propagation of all knowledge as conceived through the Marxist Leninist ideology.(90)

89- P. Bourdieu, P. (in "Knowledge and control", edited by Young, M.F.D.), London, Open University Set Book, 1971, p.191.

90 Cf. Klein M.S. "the challenge of Communist Education", New York, Columbia University Press (East European Monographs.), 1950

Although not explicitly confessed by western Governments, the school in the West is no exception and cannot be divorced from the socio-political reality in which it is installed. Schools reflect, as it were, the 'living spirit' of a people. 'The school, both implicitly, and explicitly, imparts certain values and morals which affect the content and contexts of education. This is done by determining what is (and what is not) acceptable pupil/staff conduct. The selection of books, texts, films and analogies used to illustrate and explain certain points in the syllabus, all play an important part in the total culture of the school.'(91)

In point of fact, recent trends within the academic nexus, tend to depict the school as a socializing institution more than anything else. But this change has resulted in even more drastic changes. Certain people started to question the legitimacy of what is taught and even the legitimacy of the school itself. The proponents of such views are best known as the deschoolers. They maintain that 'learning occurs naturally in the course of encountering real-world problems, but when these are subdivided into mathematics, economics, accounting and business practice, they become so artificial that for most people, learning can be induced only at great

91- G. Sergeant, G., "A textbook of Sociology". London, Macmillan Education, 1979 (2nd ed.), p.242.

cost.(92)

At the opposite end, some social scientists retort that such radical views are unrealistic and mistaken. The school is necessary and plays many functions. These are, in the classification of T. Parsons summed up in four main categories:

1. Emancipation of the child from the family.
2. Internalization of social values and norms, at a higher level than is available in the family.
3. Differentiation of the school class in terms of actual achievement differential valuation of achievement.
4. The selection and allocation of human resources into the adult role system.(93)

A careful reading of this classification reveals a fundamental intellectual, and thus philosophical position. The author views the school as a micro social

92- Reimer, E., "School is dead: an essay on alternatives in Education", Harmondsworth, Penguin Education Specials. 1971, p.104.

93- Reid, I., "Sociological perspectives on school and Education", London, Open Books, 1978, p.36.

system. That is, a necessary, therefore viable, institution. This position suits best the conservatives for it leaves the status quo untouched but surely not the radicals, or indeed certain articulate recipients of the school message.

Thus for instance, to the proposition that there was, at Williamsburg a college with a fund for educating Indians, as early as 1744, the Indian spokesman replied to the commissioners on the following terms: 'We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges, and that the maintenance of our young men, while with you, would be very expensive to you. We are convinced, therefore, that you mean to do us good by your proposal and we thank you heartily. But you who are wise, must know that different nations have different conceptions of things: and you will not therefore take amiss, if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same with yours. We have had some experience of it; several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the northern provinces; they came back to us, they were bad runners. Ignorant of every means of living in the wood, unable to bear either cold or hunger, knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, nor kill an enemy, spoke our language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, nor

counsellors: they were totally good for nothing. We are however, not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it, and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them.(94)

The above quote speaks for itself; it shows in a most eloquent manner how 'socialisation' may lead to alienation. This is only felt by the dominated classes not by the dominant ones for the dominant classes impose their culture and legitimize it as being The culture. With the advent of nationalism, this fact has become so common that people do not question it any more.

Since modern nationalism is the spirit of the age, today, this problem of discontinuity between the old and the new should be analysed from the point of view of the nation-state as a legitimate and distinct unit for comparison. Unfortunately, it is not possible, on practical grounds as well as on methodological ones, to approach the Arab World as a whole. On practical grounds, it is just impossible, given the period allotted to this study, to review all of the 22 Arab states' educational policy with the legitimizing discourses and

94- Reimer, E. op. cit., p.98.

so on. On methodological grounds, it appears less hazardous to compare 'oranges' with 'oranges' for at least, there is ample ground for comparison with similar concepts applied to similar local conditions. All the above analysis is not wasted, for as Dewey indicated in his description of the stages of reflective thinking, the problem identified has become clearer and it will therefore be more possible to find the appropriate solutions to it.

For the sake of methodological rigour, only some 'socialist' states in the Arab World have been selected for study. Taking into account the obsolescence of social organizations, it is highly probable that this choice would be unjustified with time, for governments change from one regime to another without warning. Egypt for instance was the first country to adhere to 'socialism' but has chosen another path now. The choice fell on the 'socialist' countries because of different reasons. First, because the traditional element in these countries is Islam and the element of modernity Socialism, and Socialism is basically a materialist vision of the world, at least in its ideal model. Obviously, there is a problem of reconciling two seemingly contradictory ideologies that is facing these countries. In education, these problems are very acute

for it is the individual who must cope with such contradictions. What does society expect him to be? What is most important to him; national development or the knowledge of the self? What is, here again, the educational philosophy in these countries and whether these philosophies and the policies derived from them are elements of political stability and economic development? What are the best policy solutions? The problem remains basically the same as the one identified in chapters one and two with the exception that it is restricted geographically to certain Nation-States and in time to the post independence era, from the 1950s onward.

Three countries have been selected for study in that their constitutions specifically point to their socialistic options. These are Algeria, Libya, and Syria. South Yemen is a very interesting country to study in that its 'Socialism' is very much a Marxist Leninist version, more than any other Arab country and hence is an extreme case of ideological contradictions between the new and the old. Unfortunately, as the regime is a relatively recent one, the data was impossible to gather without travelling to the country itself, which was not possible for material reasons. The following chapter is a 'rational construct', a sociological tool intended to approach the 'national

character', as a prelude to a description of national aims and policies in these Socialist Arab countries.

IV- THE NATIONAL CHARACTER: A RATIONAL CONSTRUCT

He connected the two seas.

Between them there is an inter-space;

they do not dominate.

-Qur'an.

It does not need many supporting arguments to show that any national philosophy in general, or the national educational goals and aims in particular, are a reflection of local conditions, the formulation of hopes and aspirations of one people in the form of legislative texts concerning education. These texts are what Popper termed man's socially created world. Unfortunately, in comparative education, the aspects of man's socially created world need an exhaustive description if they are to be fully understood. A single issue, such as the aims of education pertaining to any country, necessitates a description of the whole cultural ethos of that country, the context to which such aims are supposed to respond. This is especially true when the public, to which this description is given, is not familiar with the cultural ethos of the country concerned. Needless to say that this is a formidable task.

The use of rational constructs, however, would facilitate

this task. Holmes(1) remarked that the problem taken as the starting point of any research and the context in which it is examined will influence the choice and amount of detail included in the construct. He maintained that 'normative statements (and hence attitudes, beliefs, aims etc.) can be selected and classified in the light of three criteria or indicators. An ideal-typical normative pattern should usually include information about the nature of man, the nature of society and the nature of knowledge.'

'The validity of a construct depends upon the extent to which it is accepted to be appropriate to the context for which it has been designed.'(2) In the case of the Socialist Arab countries, two main philosophical sources imposed themselves. These are on the one hand Islam and more specifically the Qur'an as the backbone of the Arab cultural tradition, and on the other hand scientific Socialism as the overtly-expressed element of modernity towards which these countries are striving.

When dealing with such normative topics, one has to make an evaluation in order to ascertain certain value judgements.

Nevertheless, there are acceptable standards within which one

1- Holmes, B., "Comparative Education: Some considerations of method" London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1981, p.116

2- Ibid, p.121

should seek an objective terrain. These can be found within the confines of a specified theory of the social sciences. 'Social scientists, of course, cling to their own theories. Middle-range or regulating theories are usually derived from philosophical assertions and consequently a normative element is rarely absent from any social scientific theory.'(3)

The nature of this research implies that the theories of political and economic sciences may be as useful as theories pertaining to education proper. It is, indeed, accepted nowadays that comparative education should be a multidisciplinary field of study. However, to be credible, these theories should be selected from appropriate philosophical sources. 'Usually it is possible to establish, in the light of historical research, that the theories advanced by a particular philosopher have influenced legislation and institutions established in accordance with it.'(4) In the case of the Socialist Arab countries, the philosophical source does not appear to be a unilateral one but proved to be a mosaic imposed by the uniqueness of Arab history; from the influence of purely Islamic doctrines to those of modern ideologies. For the Socialist Arab countries, original Islam and Marxian theories are by far the

3- Ibid., p.119

4- Ibid., p.121

dominant ideologies.(5) Although the choice of these philosophical sources is extreme, it is justified both logically and sociologically. Logically because there is an historical evidence that the source documents of these ideologies are very much the seminal text of present developments and sociologically because for the sake of ideological purity there is a tendency in committed individuals to seek the original model either among the Socialists or the Muslims. To seek a common ground between these opposing ideologies is in fact the best way to depict the conflicts that the individual faces in every day life in these countries.

Any conceptual analysis implies, at the start, a questioning of pseudo-legitimacies in order to ensure, on rational grounds, that conditions are sufficiently plausible for any innovation. The national progress accomplished in overall revenues or even in distribution and standards of living, cannot be used as a satisfactory standard. Economic development is worthless if the price is that of different types of socialism, more or less "specific", more or less similar to Marxism, but nevertheless divisive and alienating.

5- The Marxist theory was not adopted by the governments concerned but it was the main inspirational source for people like Michel Aflaq, the founder of the Ba'ath Party, the pre and post independence Algerian intelligencia. Libyan Socialism is almost an offspring of Egyptian Socialism, which is also influenced by Marxist doctrines.

The definitions which they attribute to these terms are not enough to qualify them as good or bad. One must go further than pure political descriptions. The terms democracy and socialism or even Islam, have acquired such a wealth of synonyms that there would be enough room for manoeuvre to suit everyone. It would be wiser to rely on sociological standards. It is in the light of all these considerations that the sociological tool that is the rational construct concept, has been used.

The use of rational constructs is a technique of conceptual analysis that may elucidate any discussion about educational aims. Not in the sense that it would lead to suggestions about what ought to be the purpose of education, which might degenerate into a defence or criticism of stated aims but in the sense that it would show how far these aims are nation specific.

At another level, the differences between nationally stated aims and theories are very obvious. The theories, which justify and explain these aims, can be traced back to national constitutions and political memoranda. Holmes(6) notes that these theories 'rarely spell out fully or justify the theory of Man, Society, or Knowledge from which they have

6- Holmes, B., op. cit., p.121

been derived. They legitimize theories which, while implicit, can be made explicit by analysis and reference to appropriate philosophical sources. It is unlikely that any one piece of legislation (or constitution) will offer a complete construct. Furthermore, a constitution may include among its clauses proposals made by individuals holding different theoretical positions.'

The rational constructs selected, with their corpus of theories do not describe a reality, they play the function of an analytical tool. They are intended as Holmes contends; to 'simplify some constituents of national characters', (7) as well as analysing hopes and expectations of some people (mainly politicians). Only at such a level of understanding can one legitimately suggest a policy solution to a given problem.

WHAT MAN?

It is easy to discuss primitive man, or western man, or

7- Ibid., p.126

economic man, or psychological man, but it is difficult to define man tout court. Yet, the question of what man is -or what is meant by human nature- is in the words of Hollins,(8) 'the source of all philosophy, and is ultimately the basis of every system of education.' He continues; 'Only when we know what man is can we say how he should be educated. Is man a glorified animal, expendable in the service of others, or in the service of the state; a part only of the whole, and subject to the whole? Is he to be trained in the skills and techniques of production and scientific achievement?' These questions are intimately linked with the process and aims of education; They need an answer if the aims of education are to be properly understood.

Unfortunately, no two philosophers agree upon any one definition; Marx would disagree with Lao-Tze's definition and Lao-Tze would disagree with Confucious' definition. One may argue that a definition gains credibility only when people identify themselves to it. Thus, only for the Communist would the Marxist definition hold true. Similarly, only for a Muslim would a Qur'anic definition be appropriate. The exception does not refute the rule.

8- Hollins, T.H.B., "Aims in Education; the philosophical approach", Manchester University, 1964, p.109

It is not right to assume that the majority of people in the countries selected for study here, identify themselves with either the Islamic man or the Socialist. But it is safe to say that in view of the characteristics of the context (the majority of people are Muslims and officially, the media attributes great importance to Socialist man), man, and indeed society and knowledge (in the abstract sense) are a mixture of two ideal types; the Islamic and the Socialist.

First, what is man from an Islamic perspective? The Qur'an pictures him as the viceregent of God here on earth: 'Behold, thy Lord said to the Angels, I will create a viceregent on earth'(9) According to the Islamic Foundation, 'When faith, action and realization are in perfect harmony, man manifests the fact that he is the viceregent of God on earth. Though man derives everything from Allah, he is the most complete manifestation of the attributes of Allah and as such, he is Allah's representative on earth. The entire creation is potentially under his dominion. Therefore, Islam does not set any limit to man's knowledge, authority and power, except that there is a fundamental limit. Man's attributes are derived and hence man is not self sufficient.(

10)

9- Qur'an, Chapt. II, Verse 30.

10- The Islamic Foundation, "Islam: The essentials" Leicester, 1974, pp.6-7

In the same line of thought, Ali al-Jamal(11) puts it thus: 'The will of Allah is the root upon which the will of the slave (man) is organised.' The word slave is the attribute by which man is referred to in the Qur'an. It indicates that man is not free. Does the determinism of man's genetic inheritance support this idea? Certainly, the idea is there.

It was mentioned in the previous chapter that Islam is manifest in the Muslim world as 'folk' or popular and 'Orthodox'. the Islam of the doctors of law and the Islam of the Sufi brotherhoods. One is based on intellectual justification, the other on direct experience and knowledge. One may say that the Orthodox is similar in its categorizations to the Aristotelian intellectual tradition, and the popular Islam is similar to the Platonic or Socratic tradition of knowledge of the self. Because the latter deals with the knowledge of the self, it offered much of the literature on the meaning of the concept 'man'.

So, man in the Qur'an is depicted as a representative of God on earth. But this is the ideal man, the one who reaches a certain degree of purity and knowledge, he is a Wali an individual who is near to the divine presence. One may call

11- al-Jamal, A., "The meaning of Man" Norwich, Diwan Press, 1977, p.241

him a gnostic because it is the element of knowledge that is crucial here.

al-Jamal, himself popularly consecrated as a (Wali) describes his experience of the divine presence thus: 'Know that part of what occurred to me is that a certain state came to me, so the attributes of Allah appeared in manifestation in myself, and in all creation...I began to love whoever loved me and I loved whoever did not love me because I saw that my essence contained existence, high and low, and all existence was part of me. It was like my limbs and extremities.(12)

The ideal Muslim man is Muhammad. As described by A. as-Sufi,(13) Muhammad is the Messenger of reality, i.e. Allah. This reality has addressed people in the Qur'an through Muhammad, for this reason he is called the Messenger. This definition illustrates what has been said earlier namely that man is the representative of God and as such has a share in divine power. By holding the legacy of a messenger, Muhammad had explicitly fulfilled his basic nature of viceregent of God. The (Wali) is said to have realised the Muhammadan nature. This is similar to the Buddhists when

12- al-Jamal, A., op. cit., pp.349-50

13- as-Sufi, A., "The way of Muhammad" Norwich, Diwan press, p.

they speak about the 'Buddha nature'. As-Sufi, (14) describes the Muhammadan man in the following terms: 'The shaykh (the Wali) is simply the man who has fully surrendered his self-form and filled himself with the clear radiance of the perfect behaviour of the Messenger.'

According to the same author, Muhammad was 'the most generous of men. Neither a dinar nor dirham was left him in the evening. If anything remained and there was no one to give it to, night having fallen suddenly, he would not retire to his apartment until he was able to give this excess to whoever needed it. He was never asked for anything but that he gave it to the asker. He would prefer the seeker to himself and his family, and so often his store of grain for the year was used up before the end of the year. He patched his sandals and clothing, did household chores, and ate with his women-folk. He was shy and would not stare into people's faces. He answered the invitation of the slave and the free born. He joked but he only spoke the truth. He laughed but did not burst out laughing. He did not eat better food or wear better clothes than his servants...The conduct of this perfect ruler was untaught. He could neither read nor write, he grew up with shepherds in an ignorant desert land, and was an orphan without father or mother.'

14- Ibid., pp.3-7

Indeed, the quality of giving the excess of wealth to whoever needed it, is in line with the Marxist-Leninist view of man. By nature, he is a social animal, and as such, lives with others in what the socialist doctrine terms a collective. 'A collective is composed of a group of individuals who sublimate their egotism for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the group.' (15) Does Marx refer to this attribute of man as liberated from his egotism in his ideal communist society? The similarity is tempting.

However, in the socialist society, 'the individual is first considered to be a member of a collective.' (16) And the meaning of the term collective is defined by the common material needs of the whole of society. Although the Islamic man is ordered in the Qur'an to contribute to the material needs of the people around him, he is not, however, limited only to seeking the material needs of society as an ultimate goal, nor is he first a member of a collective. Whereas the Socialist man is determined by his relationship to labour, the Islamic man is determined by his relationship to God. His knowledge, actions and morality are determined by that relationship.

15- Klein, M.S., op. cit., p.76

16- Ibid., p.77

It is important to point to the Muslim concept of Unity of God to fully appreciate these ideas. In it, the concepts of observer and observed become self contradictory. Unity does not imply duality; Man in this system of ideas cannot help but be totally determined. This attitude resembles, but is not quite the same as that of Pantheistic Christianity such as that of the American Unitarian transcendentalists and the Neo Platonist before them,(17) The Muslim conception of Oneness of God cannot be termed Pantheism or Neo-Platonism as the definition of God differs in both systems. For the neo-Platonist, God would mean the whole, the universe, whereas for the Muslim, the definition is open ended. It is not in vain that the Muslims refer to the Divinity by their well known exclamation Allah akbar (lit. God is greater). It means that any idea about God is refuted on the grounds that it is still incomplete for God is greater than one is imagining Him. It is therefore more appropriate to say that in Islam one may reach gnosis of God but not knowledge of Him. The concept of gnosis may be compared to the Christian concept of faith; it is a kind of knowledge that is intrinsically existential and as such transcends the discriminating faculty of the intellect but is nonetheless certain.

17- Passemore, J., "The Perfectibility of Man" London, Duckworth, 1972, pp.93-94

In this connection a whole corpus of Qur'anic terms has been incorporated in the jargon of those who claim to have understood the mystery of Godhood as well as that of manhood. Those are the Sufis. One of them, Ali al-Jamal(18) states that the 'relationship with God is obtained when there is knowledge of Him and knowledge of Him cannot be obtained when one is still alive.'

In effect, there is a tradition of the Prophet which says: 'die before you die.(19) He is also reported to having said that 'man is asleep, and when he dies he wakes up'.(20) All the quotes cited here allude to the important idea that basically, the ideal, or the perfect man is he who knows he is determined, a surrendered one, a muslim. This attitude is referred to by the Muslim gnostics as the Muhammadan nature.

The death alluded to has -especially in the sufic circles- been termed the death of meaning. It is also called fana' fil-Llah or annihilation in God. The science of the gnostics of Islam has turned mainly around this question of how to become truly surrendered to the Divinity. It is only natural that the teaching Shaykh is he who has fully assimilated this

18- al-Jamal, A., op. cit., p.370

19- as-Sufi, A., "The way of Muhammad" op. cit., 1975, p.8

20- Ibid., p.7

fundamental message. Indeed, by many people, the Shaykh is considered to be the living example of the Prophet, hence a contemporary ideal Islamic man.

As-Sufi(21) comments; 'The Shaykh is simply the living example -he is not Messenger, for the message has been delivered- but you could say that he is the Message... one who makes choices and selects and rejects without struggle. He is fully surrendered to his creature-state, to advancing seasons and to the sameness of days. And for this reason he is utterly turned away from us; he greets us and feeds us and counsels us, but he is not caught up.' He goes on describing him : 'The whole of his existence is spent in one thing - he is in a constant state of awareness, of collectedness, or if you like recollectedness... His reality is that he is in constant and unceasing communication with Reality itself, He has subjugated the self, its struggle is over... He is a Master - yet at the same time he is that by the extreme token of opposites - he is a slave ... He is the slave of 'It', of this very reality we want to know and experience ...He is the perfection of slavery. He is bound, utterly constrained, without choice, helpless, obedient. He does what he had been commanded to do. We observe also that everything that comes in to him, goes out from him. He is merely a vortex of

21- Ibid.. p.8

energy, and money is distributed and people are fed and clothed, and he goes on bowing and prostrating and praising this Reality with its endless generosity and compassion and provision.' (22)

This description of the Muhammadan man shows that the individual is helpless and completely determined by the 'Reality' that made him exist, and indeed, his knowledge is determined by that. This is diametrically opposed to the Marxist view that considers Man as self-creative. 'Man the worker, the producer of things to satisfy his wants, as he comes to understand and control his natural environment and himself, acquires the need to express himself and comes to see his activities as forms of self-expression. So man, recognising his activities as forms of self-expression, sees himself as self-creative. Man the mere producer, by his work, which involves acting on a natural environment external to him, develops his power and educates his senses, and so becomes man the creator, and knows himself for such.' (23)

This attitude towards life is of course an active one based on materialist principles. The Islamic attitude is not less active but the 'acts' are not solely economical. He

22- Ibid., p.7

23- Plamentaz, J., "Karl Marx's Philosophy of Man" Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1975, p.73

must live and feed his family, so he must work, but Islamic man does not consider that the meaning of his being is to work in order to live comfortably and help others live. The meaning of his being is twofold as was put by the Prophet : 'Act for this life as if you were going to live forever and act for the hereafter as if you were to die tomorrow.' The five daily prayers, fasting, giving away excess wealth... are all acts for the hereafter, they are also believed to be the source of knowledge that will direct one's life transaction. Material production is not what is expected from the Islamic man. Further, 'It is dangerous to interpose those old preconceptions of an ethic that says we must struggle and work and compete to be a healthy society, and we recall that the working, competing, struggling society has spent itself in a quite terrible frenzy of competition and struggle that has all but destroyed the bio-sphere in which we work to live.'(24)

It becomes clear that what is dealt with in this study is a juxtaposition of two cosmologies; the Marxian one makes the cut on the economic factor of human life whereas the Islamic one makes it on the level of the relationship of individuals with God, Allah, The Reality. It holds an uncompromising affirmation of unity. The unity finds expression in the

24- as-Sufi, A., op. cit., p.12.

individual, not outside of him. It is important to cast more light on this aspect of unity that so characterizes Islam. How is it expressed by the man Muhammad?

'The man, Muhammad, affirms unity. He says one, not two. So he does not say it, but It says it through him. He says, I merely tell you what the reality is like. But it is not from me, for there is no me, there is only a locus of communication.'(25) This affirmation of unity finds expression very clearly in the following prayer of his : 'O Allah, show me the truth as truth, and I will follow it. Show me what is denied as the denied and make me shun it. Protect me in case the truth should become doubtful to me, and I then follow my inclination without guidance from You. Make it be that my inclination is in obedience to You, and may You be pleased with my harmonizing with You. Guide me correctly in regard to whatever I am in doubt as to its truth, although that doubt is by Your permission. Truly You guide whoever you want onto the true way.'(26)

If this is read carefully, a quite astonishingly fine balance may be observed in the way in which he addresses Reality as both other-than-he and at the same time recognises

25- Ibid., p.14

26- Ibid., p.14

that his whole self-form in its individuality is the property of Allah. His doubt and the adjusting of his doubt are from one source, that is not the 'I' that asks. The 'I' that asks appears to be helpless. The 'You' that is addressed is total.

Again, if one considers the foundation of Muslim self-identification defined in the credo : 'There is no God except Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah', one may realise that this affirmation of unity can be understood in the light of what has been said. That is, when I say there is no God, this would imply that there is no me to reject God, for that would make me god-like, that is, a power positting this and that. Even the word Islam alludes to that 'death of meaning', the root of the word is Salama, it means to be safe, to give over, to surrender, to submit. The submitted one has no power. If he acts, his acts would be utterly determined, even if he acts willingly.

If the Islamic man is helpless concerning the determination of his condition, although he acts to change it for the better, Communist man is not helpless. It is put this way by Brezhnev : 'Soviet Communist man is a man who, having won his freedom, has been able to defend it in the most trying battle. A man who had been building the future unsparing of his energy and making every sacrifice. A man,

who while an ardent patriot, has been and will always remain a consistent internationalist.'(27) It is clear, from these accounts, that in fact the meaning of 'man' in the Communist doctrine is diametrically opposed to that given to him in Islam. It is now necessary to consider the concept 'society'.

WHAT SOCIETY?

The concept of society has been formulated in various ways in sociological terms. "Society" is frequently used merely to refer to an encompassing network of social relationships that enclose some specific phenomena. Thus, a student of race relations may insist that interracial behaviour can be understood only as part of the organization of the larger society in which it occurs and yet may fail to provide any analytical conception of the nature of this larger whole.(28) This implies that not only do societies differ but also the meaning of the concept may be given different interpretations. 'Analytical definitions usually treat a

27- Holmes, B., "Comparative education : some considerations of method" London, George Allen & Unwin, 1981, p.169

28- International encyclopedia of the social sciences No 14, op. cit., p.577

society as a relatively independent or self-sufficient population characterised by internal organization, territoriality, cultural distinctiveness, and sexual recruitment. Specific definitions vary considerably in regard to which of these elements is emphasized.'(29)

It is important to ask in the first instance these questions: how should individuals in a given society be regarded and how should they be treated? Mention was made earlier, that Socialism is antithetical to individualism, which means that the Socialist man is by implication a non-individualistic member of the society in which he lives. In other words, he is expected to share what is his with others; for what is his is not his, but the community's. Furthermore, Marx and Engels considered that 'only with community with others has each individual the means of cultivating his gifts in all directions; only in the community, therefore, is personal freedom possible.'(30)

According to the Marxist thesis, such individual emancipation cannot be attained in a capitalistic society; it is possible only within the framework of a Socialist Society.

29- Ibid., p.577

30- Klein, M.S., "The Challenge of Communist Education: A look at the German Democratic Republic" New York, Columbia University Press (Boulder; East European Monographs) 1980, pp.546-547

Such a society 'forms an integrated collective entity. All the groups of which it is composed -social communities, work collectives, various kinds of associations- are bound together by the community of their interests, which is rooted in the material needs of the whole society.'(31) In this context, human abilities are judged positively when the resultant related activity contributes to the common welfare. Yet, this is not antithetical to individual welfare. Klein(32) comments: 'Working and learning in a collective environment.. helps the individual to activate his potential, to stimulate his energies and abilities.' Consequently, it is expected from a socialist man that he should have understanding of his place and role in a society in which all are equal. This is probably what explains the importance given to communist ideology in the Soviet school curriculum.

An Islamic man is not less expected to be informed about the characteristics of his society, for he has clearly defined rights that he can claim and a set of obligations to which he must conform if he does not want to be penalised by the community to which he belongs. Nevertheless, he has no right to claim to be equal to others, either in wealth or knowledge or otherwise. This was made explicit over and over

31- Ibid., p.76

32- Ibid., p.76

again in the Qur'an. These are some verses; 'Are they equal those who know and those who do not know?' 'Are they equal, the blind and the one who sees, or are they equal, the darkneses and the light?'(33)

The Socialist slogan of equality of opportunity seems much more attractive than the harsh Islamic observation that reality is set up in differences; the rich and the poor, the day and the night, knowledge and ignorance, sanity and insanity, to no end of opposites. From a socialist point of view, this position holds no justice whatsoever, but this has been dismissed by the eminent Islamic philosopher, al-Attas on the grounds that justice must not be mistaken for equality. He said that 'justice is to put things in their right place in a system.'(34) Thus, from an Islamic perspective, justice can be defined only within the system of values provided by Islam.

In a Socialist society, 'the criterion against which moral behaviour is judged, is related to the welfare of the

33- Qur'an, chapter 6, verse 51.

34- Seminar on Islamic education organised by the Department of Comparative Education, Institute of Education London University, London, 1982

collective rather than the self-interest of the individual.' (35) In an Islamic society, moral behaviour is judged by relating it to the principles proposed by the Qur'an as well as to the behaviour of the Prophet.

What can be said straight away about the definition of man in the two models, is that while material interests and common good determine the socialist man's moral values, it is exactly the opposite that determines a Muslim actions; moral values determine material interests and common good. The Socialist fights private ownership and the exploitation of man by man, the Muslim fights injustice, idolatry and unbelief.

Now, injustice is put side by side with the idolatry and unbelief, though it may seem arbitrary, it is not. In point of fact, idolatry and unbelief are the roots of injustice. That is, in an Islamic perspective. It may be argued that justice can only be defined in an overall system of values. The Islamic one is based not on the humanistic concept of equality between men but on the concept of the oneness of God. This is a totally different emphasis on what is considered good and bad. According to this conception, morality is not imposed from outside of man, but from inside,

35- Holmes, B., "Comparative Education: some considerations of method" op. cit., 1981, p.168

since the concept of oneness implies that man's actions are determined by God anyway. The believer will act according to what he considers good as defined in the Qur'an whereas the unbeliever, the one who rejected the message of oneness would think that he is the proper creator of his actions. His morality will evolve with his state of mind or indeed the national legal code. In other words, his morality is imposed to him from outside in spite of him contributing in determining his code of conduct; that is in principle.

If the prerequisite of doing justice, for a socialist, is to become acquainted with the sociological 'laws' that determine the evolution of mankind, the prerequisite for a Muslim is to become acquainted with the knowledge of unity of God. Indeed the socialist attests that 'the education of the population as a whole in the spirit of scientific communism, strives to ensure that all working people fully understand the course and perspectives of world development, that they take a correct view of international and domestic events and consciously build their life on communist lines, communist ideas and communist deeds should blend organically in the behaviour of every person and in the activities of all collectives and organizations.' (36)

36- Klein, M.S., op. cit., p.34

After all, what is this concept of a socialist society? 'The good society based upon ownership of the means of production by workers and upon the development of appropriate relationships between workers and between them and modes of production. In such a classless society, there can be no exploitation of one man by another. It is a technological society.' (37) In the eyes of a capitalist, this would be described as a totalitarian society, undemocratic and so on. For a socialist, it is the ideal society because there is no exploitation of man by man or one class by another.

How does the Islamic man consider it? He will surely judge it by comparing it with what he conceives as a model of a good society. This idea of society constituted of workers and means of production would undoubtedly seem strange to him, especially when one tells, him in line with the Marxian views, that 'the foundations of society and the real springs of social development lie in the economic relations between men.' (38) This utilitarian conception of society that stresses man's natural economic interdependence as the source of order of the system of inter-relations that is society is alien to a Muslim. 'The Islamic concept of society is (Ummah) which does not connote a racial, geographical or kinship unit;

37- Holmes, B., op. cit., p.125

38- International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, op. cit., p.577

Ummah is an ideological community, a brotherhood in faith.(39)

The faith itself encourages neither capitalism nor socialism. The basic need of the Islamic man does not appear to focus on matter. The worship of God comes first. Indeed the Qur'an states; 'I (God) have not created Jinn and man except to worship Me.'(40)

The ideal Islamic society must not be mistaken for an 'inward-project' directed society. It is rather a society organized in such a way that it facilitates the realization of that project. 'It would seem that the goals of a totally outer-directed society may be considered basically insane, in the same way that the goals of any group totally given over to an inner-directed existence would appear obsessively rejective of balanced and sane existence.'(41)

On the other hand, 'the Socialist, (economic) conception of society starts with the assumption that man's most

39- Saqeb, G.N., "Modernization of Muslim education" London, Rearch Press, 1977, p.125

40- Qur'an chapt. 51, verse 56

41- as-Sufi, A., "Jihad: A Groundplan" Norwich, Diwan Press, 1978, p.42

fundamental problem is to provide for his material needs.'(42) To realise this objective, man must cooperate with other men by entering into relations for production. These relations, if they are stable, would constitute an economic structure in which, according to Marx, is involved two crucial phenomena: the division of men into classes and the exploitation of one class by another. It is through this conception of society that the ideal Socialist society is defined. It is therefore important to describe the latter.

'The Marxist thesis considers that stratification and exploitation make the continuing stability of economic structures precarious, and for this reason, compulsive apparatus such as law, religion and ideology, develop to support the economic order and bring temporary stability into inherently unstable situations.' (43)

This society is based on the abolition of the corrupt state and society in which man exploits man. The task is then to install a classless society as described in the Communist Manifesto:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all

42- International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, op. cit., p.580

43- Ibid., p.581.

rents of land to public purposes.

2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance.
4. confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.
7. Extention of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal obligation of all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries, gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equal distribution of the population

over the country.

10. Free education for all children in public schools.
Abolition of child factory labour in its present form.
Combination of education with industrial production.(44)

It is astonishing to remark that this model of society sought, and indeed implemented in varying degrees in the socialist states in the Arab world has been more popular than the following "Islamic" model. The word Islamic is put between inverted commas because it is by no means the only model. In point of fact, the Qur'an does not offer any ideal model of an Islamic society. It offers however a principle upon which a society can be built. The specific verse that indicates this principle is the following: 'You were the best community among mankind; you call people for doing good and you counsel them not to do what is not good.'

Now, good and bad, again, are defined within a system of values. of things to do and things to avoid. Usury, or the concept of 'interest' for example is forbidden in Islam. This entails that the banking system as known in the West is anathema to what an Islamic society requires, in order to

44- Marx, K., & Engels, F., "The Communist manifesto"
Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1967, pp.104-105

manage its economy. As-Sufi(45) brings the argument to the point of denouncing paper money as being a magical illusion that veils the theft process rendered possible by the ability of governments to print money. These issues are too vital to be accepted by a mere label saying 'unislamic'.(46)

The same author(47) draws a model of how an ideal Islamic society should be organised. He describes it in five points. This ideal Islamic society would be realised when there is abolition of:

1. Bureaucratic centralised ministries.
2. Police and army elite under control of central bureaucracy.
3. Illusory democratic leadership fronting a 'czarist' leadership of one or a few.
4. The inaccessibility of the state leadership plus their deification.

45- A talk given in Norwich, Qul tape, "A Political Method for Muslim Activists"

46- Monetarism is too vast an issue to be tackled here, but it would be a very interesting research topic to be undertaken by people still worrying about authenticity problems.

47- as-Sufi, A., "Jihad: A Groundplan" p.41

5. The work/play syndrome. Thus the people are enslaved by the production process; at the same time they are programmed to place all excess social energy in isolated sports arenas under paramilitary surveillance. Alongside this, for the introspective is the arts arena which also filters social criticism and makes it ineffective yet 'voiced'.

The main attack that the author launches is against statism, or the nation-state principle. In his own words; 'statism implies control from birth to death, it leaves the ordinary citizen in an experience of complete helplessness, and every social experience taken out of his or her hands.' (48)

It is realistically difficult, in this modern era, to imagine a society, surviving without police or army. Even the Iranian revolution does not seem to be aiming at such a model. If the Medinan model, the Prophetic social organisation is accepted to be the ideal type, then, the Iranian model does not seem to be very Islamic. But it can be argued that the force of circumstances do not allow such a model to be implemented. One must not be dogmatic to the

48- Ibid., p.41

point of forbidding the use of a fridge at home just because fridges were not used during the life time of the Prophet.

If statism is an efficient means of organising society and fulfilling the basic Qur'anic principles, then there should be no problem in adopting statist policies in matters of governing. This does not mean that there is no problem with the nation-state style of government, it simply means that there is need for research in this matter. But the final word would be when these issues are clarified through a genuine democratic opinion poll, as the Qur'an confirms that the hand of God is with the majority. In other words, the truth about these matters would be officially known when the majority of people can voice their opinion, not through a kind of representative democracy but through a direct one; a la Libyan.

Assuming that As-Sufi's conception is right, the whole legal system of the 'ideal' Islamic society is based on trust between men. Therefore the need for a professional body taking the responsibility to police the community disappears. The Prophet is reported to having said that all members of the community are shepherds and that each one is responsible for his flock. In other words every one is a politician. As-Sufi contends that in the contemporary "modern" society, 'The private immorality and corruption is in order to give

people the illusion of freedom, while on no serious issue have they anything of an opinion. In economic transactions, we have demonstrated that it was not acceptable or allowed to deal in promisory notes as currency, as value. These notes could not be imbued magically with value. Paper was only worth paper.(49)

On the other hand, there is no doubt that polygamy is allowed in Islam and that it should be an integral part of an Islamic social set up. 'The basis of society is the home -now the home is by definition not necessarily confined to a one-wife home but can accommodate a four-wife family.'(50) The idea of polygamy has been taken by some Western polemicists as a weapon to discredit the legacy of Islam. But this is not difficult to defend, especially when one keeps in mind that the human history has been marked and still is -remember the Falkland- by devastating wars, in which thousands and sometimes millions of men in the prime of their youth, lose their lives. What will be the outcome in a society where polygamy is not allowed? Thousands if not millions of women without husbands, thus opening the way to declining moral standarts.

49- as-Sufi, Qul tapes, op. cit.

50- as-Sufi, A., "Jihad: A Groundplan" op. cit., p.15

Another important aspect of the Islamic society is deduced from the non statist creed.(51) It is the element of 'no-prison-no-police'. 'Prison, bureaucracy, police, all these instruments of tyranny are based on the stasis, fixing, instituting, paralysing. This is the way of Pharaoh.'(52) The author of this quote continues; 'we confirm, in Islam every man is a policeman and a soldier. There is no politically imposed group in the society. All men have the right to bear arms. This is binding according to the Shariat (the law).'(53)

The model proposed appears to be a non structuralist one. In his own words, the author says(54): 'Imperial bureaucracy is not ordained in the Qur'anic model.(55

51- This is an an assumption that holds until refuted

52- as-Sufi, A., op. cit., p.16

53- Ibid., p.16.

* His assertion can however be discussed because there is nothing in the Qur'an which specifically alludes to bearing arms as a human right. On the other hand, there is no mention of forbidding it. This is a matter to be agreed by the the people concerned, through applying the principle of consultation and consensus, i.e., through a democratic ballot.

54- Ibid., p.19

55- Again, this criticism of bureaucracy is not explicitly mentioned in the Qur'an. No ideal model of what an Islamic society is like was given in the Qur'an. What was given was a principle. The Qur'an states : "You (the original Islamic community) were the best community; you call for good and council people to avoid evil and believe in God." Thus the ideal society is that in which people can voice their opinion, and a society where the concept of Oneness of God is comprehended. The issue needs serious research (the present one is a contribution to this

) The goal is a fluid governance without tyranny and with the mutual moral co-operation of the members towards the fulfillment of social obligations.'

This criticism of the bureaucratic organization of society carries weight especially when one bears in mind that the picture of centralized control over people was exhaustively depicted and condemned in the Qur'an. It was the picture of the pharaonic civilization with its pyramidal structure and power based in the top; Pharaoh, the Godhead.(56)

Indeed all modern societies are now power-based societies, especially in the third world, where the state has become the army and the army the state. The common citizen is helpless. The religion of such a society has become the social process so that everyone is induced to commit himself or herself to

55(cont'd)end) and open discussion. Democracy is urgently needed in the region. The people should decide about what will their society be, and if things go wrong, they are the only people who will be held responsible. No democracy breeds violence and coups. The one that should be responsible for the condition of a country must not be the leader but the people. The leaders should be prepared to apply the Islamic humble position of holding no knowledge of their own except that which is given to them by God. The hand of God is with the majority.

56- One generally associates bureaucracy with large organizations which are operated on the basis of the principle of efficiency in order to accomplish large-scale administrative tasks. Bureaucracies organize their offices according to the hierarchical principle. In other words, each office is under the supervision and control of a higher one. The office holder usually has a contractual arrangement with the bureaucracy, and he receives a salary and has a right to pension.

the same unified project; the gross national product, development and social evolution, with the school as a powerful weapon to socialize each individual in view of directing him towards this same project.

Ideally, the main objective of the Islamic society has always remained the implementation of the norms of Islam as codified in the Shariat (the law), for the welfare of the Ummah al Islamiya (the Islamic community). Only through the Shariat are social ills remedied and individual and collective emancipation reached.

True, there are different divine laws, which have been revealed to other communities before the advent of Islam, and these are accepted as equally valid. Nevertheless, basically, the central message in those laws turned around the idea of unity, doing good and warding off evil. Although in practice, this similar divine message has, historically, been implemented in diverse fashions by each community, this does not make them obsolete. Each community is responsible for the way it consented to organise its life and cannot be denied that liberty by another community. The Qur'an made it explicit to the Muslims that they cannot argue with the people of the 'book'; the monotheists, the Jews and the Christians. But also it was made clear that there is no Prophet after Muhammad, hence every doctrine that comes after

him, holds false values within its corpus.

Consequently, it is safe, from an Islamic point of view, to question all infiltration of values other than those found in the Islamic Shariat. The criterion upon which good and bad are measured, is the Islamic law itself, not the Communist Manifesto. Now, if the communist Manifesto embodied certain elements which are found in the Qur'an, the implementation of such ideas is likely to generate more problems than the implementation of totally new ideas.

If the humanistic project of Marx, that of realising equality between men, seemed attractive to many political leaders in the Arab world, it has nevertheless been questioned by the conservative forces in that region. For the full fledged Muslim activist, there is no such thing as equality between men. The Qur'an says: 'We (The Divinity) have created every thing in pairs.' That means that night and day, male and female, rich and poor are a set of necessary and continuing dynamic opposites which have always existed as they do today. Even the nature of man himself as was mentioned earlier must be set up on the balance inward and outward, sensory and meaning, breathing in breathing out, and finally life and death. This is, in fact, the most serious criticism conducted against the Marxist theory of historical materialism. If history has evolved by the

dynamic interplay of opposites such as oppressor/oppressed, then history would stop in a classless society, for there would be no dynamic interplay between opposites to make history. The 'undetermined realm of man's freedom' remains a utopia.

In line with what has been said, A. as-Sufi comments: 'Those societies which have attempted only to fulfil the outward needs of man have created gross and opaque human beings -forced by the inexorable law of opposites to an inward poverty which replaces their outward wealth, and forced to inward insecurity to balance their passion for material security...There is no way that all men arrive at some kind of global middle class ease. It is in the nature of the forces governing existence that those in the middle, will insist on expanding (the gross national product) more and more. Man does not arrive at middle status. The one always has dominance until the opposite takes over. It is always like this and there is no changing the Sunna (the way) of Allah.' (57)

WHAT KNOWLEDGE?

57- as-Sufi, A., op. cit., p.21

Marx rejected all views, whether couched in religious or philosophical terms, which attempt to explain man and nature other than materialistically. He saw two philosophies; one materialistic and true (scientific) and the other idealistic and false.

The traditional aspect of Arab culture, Islam, as a doctrine based on the belief in a transcendental being, not concretely observed, in scientific terms, is bound to be categorized as being an idealistic philosophical system and not scientific. Science as understood by Marx is based on the observation of matter and 'materialism is the view that nothing is real but what is material, and minds must therefore be forms of matter.'(58)

In the eyes of Marx, Hegel was the idealist par excellence. 'In Hegel's system, religious concepts are thought to bring us very close to the ultimate truth of things. Their defect, according to Hegel, is that they express the ultimate truth in imaginative or pictorial forms. Genuine philosophical thinking, he held, takes us beyond pictures and images to the self-conscious grasp of what is

58- Acton. H.B., "What Marx Really Said" London, Macdonald, 1967, p.17

ultimate, the absolute mind.'(59) Materialists such as Feuerbach would retort in the following terms: 'We do not see or hear or smell God, nor have we such evidence for his existence as we have for stars or atoms. Nor can we go to heaven or hell and report upon them on our return. Our thoughts about these subjects, therefore, must have arisen from our human nature and from the human situation. We have never met an infinitely powerful and loving being; and hence our idea of God as such a being must be a human power and human goodness.'(60)

Whatever the personal understanding and experience of Feuerbach, concerning the concept of God, the direction he takes, from an Islamic perspective, seems mistaken for how can a whole be apprehended by the part? The whole means the infinity of the universe plus the conscious mind not as two separate things but as one and the same reality. It is put thus by the Qur'an: 'He (God) is the first and the last and The-Outwardly-Manifest and The-Inwardly-Hidden.'(61) In other words, God encompasses and transcends man. Hence the mode of comprehending God, or say the concept of God, is not dualistic or atomic. However much one multiplies one's

59- Ibid., p.12

60- Ibid., p.21

61- Qur'an, Chapt. 57, verse 3.

atomic experiences of parts, no continuum as a concrete whole will be experienced. The concrete whole is to be intuited as such. The whole is not to be apprehended by accumulations; a whole thus arrived at is no more than parts added. An all embracing whole must be directly grasped as a whole, complete in itself. But if it is grasped in the way in which parts, atomic parts, are grasped, it ceases to be whole, it turns to be a part of the whole.

Therefore, the continuum, undivided, indivisible, and yet a concrete object of apprehension, cannot belong to the world of particulars. It belongs to another order of existence; it constitutes a world by itself, and it is attainable only by transcending one's everyday experience of multiplicity, that is by an "existential leap". This is a thing which Feuerbach seems to rule out. The concept of 'death of meaning' was not considered by Feuerbach or those who belong to the same cultural tradition. It may be argued that the state of mind of these materialists seems to be a mutation in a specific cultural ethos, quite different from that prevailing in the Arab world.

According to Feuerbach, 'if justice reigned on earth, a supernatural mechanism for obtaining heavenly substitutes for it would be superfluous. Men fail to fulfil themselves in their earthly lives, the only lives they have, and

compensating for this by imagining supernatural fulfilment.'(62) There is no doubt that he should be categorised as a full fledged unbeliever, Kafir. or at least, ignorant, by any Muslim. The view that gives supremacy to man and advocates that he is alone, the source of power, goodness and justice is antithetical to the Islamic one. It has been mentioned earlier that, by definition, a Muslim is he who is helpless as to being able to determine his own destiny, and is predetermined. This is not a fatalistic doctrine. Man is free to do whatever he wishes and when he does it it is all he could possibly have done. He was determined to do it. There is a paradox here. Man is absolutely free to do anything he likes and at the same time he is absolutely determined by this very reality that is himself in the universe. Indeed, it is often said that the highest truths are expressed in paradoxes.

'The basis of Islam is that we consider ourselves to be observed. Allah observes us. We are the slaves of the creator. The creation is in turn our slave. Allah (tabaraka wa ta'ala) has set man over the creation, over all the things of creation, but we are ourselves slaves of the total reality because we are momentary. We are dependent. We are in-time. The reality itself is not dependent upon the forms which come

62- Acton, H.B., op. cit., p.22

into being and go out of being.' (63)

Assuming that the definition of justice is 'to put things in their proper place in a sytem', then the requirement of man to practise justice on earth, is to recognize his place in existence, and he cannot know his place in existence when he does not know himself, nor would he be able to know himself as a creature if he does not know God as the creator. This follows the same logic as knowing day and night. Without day night cannot be comprehended and vice versa.(64)

In point of fact, the Prophet is reported to having said that he who knows himself knows God. In other words, the knowledge of God and the knowledge of man's nature are one and the same knowledge. The story of Moses as narrated in the Qur'an was of great significance to the Muslim gnostics and teaching Shaykhs in terms of explaining the process of comprehending the Divinity as well as realising one's own nature. The story is that Moses asked God to reveal Himself so that He could be seen by Moses. God answered; 'You cannot see Me, but I shall manifest myself to the mountain facing you. If the mountain remains in its place, you will see Me.'

63- Darquawi Institute "Islam" Norwich, Diwan Press (Journal No 2 of the Darquawi Institute), 1976, p.78

64- Cf. the story of Socrates about knowing oneself and why wisdom is to recognise one's ignorance. Cf. "the apology of Socrates" by Plato.

When God revealed Himself to the mountain, the latter disintegrated and Moses fell down unconscious. When he recovered his senses, Moses repented saying; 'Glory be to Thee, I was among the ignorants.'

Al-Alaoui(65) comments on this Qur'anic verse saying: "Moses wanted to see Allah, the answer was; 'you did not see Me, because I am not outside of this universe, and not inside it, and not separated from it, nor united with it. I own the totality of you who are heedless of Me. If you realize My nearness to you, you will become humble. Moses collapsed, when the 'between disintegrated and the 'where' disappeared, and the eye was happy with the eye.' Al-Alaoui explains this unitary knowledge of the self and the divinity at one and the same time in the following terms: 'Man is powerless, Allah is the powerful. Man is ignorant, Allah is the knower. Man is dead, Allah is alive, to what has no end of the opposites. Only when man recognizes his attributes does he recognize the attributes of Allah and only when he recognizes the attributes of Allah does he recognize the attributes of himself.' (66) Knowledge is an attribute of God, sight is an attribute of God... so man's sight and knowledge are God's but God's sight and knowledge are not man's for man does not

65- al-Alaoui, A., "Knowledge of God" Norwich, Diwan Press, 1981, p.13

66- Ibid., p.14

have anything of his own. Man is by definition a slave Abd and does not have anything of his own.

When Moses realized that there is no 'between' and no 'where' to see God, he collapsed as a separate observer. In other words, he died the 'death of meaning'. It is paradoxical that this condition is not in conflict with the world of dualistic thinking. It does not negate everyday experience. After the death of meaning, sometimes called 'annihilation in God' there is baqa' fi-Llah going on in Allah. This "existential leap" makes one realize that God's hands are holding the spade. Hence Moses repentance from his imagining two, a subject and an object; 'Glory be to Thee, I was (before this experience) among the ignorants'. Hence again the Christian saying; 'Let thy will be done, not mine.'

As-Sufi(67) asserts that 'this knowledge is only accessible to one who is prepared to undergo a profound existential transformation. The idea of knowledge being an ideational process is not even considered. Men's words are not to be mistaken for men's deeds.'

The above description of knowledge does not exhaust its meaning, for as was discussed earlier, to every thing there

67- al-Jamal, A., op. cit., p.2 p.2

is a pair and indeed, while the source of knowledge is ignorance, knowledge as such has an inward manifestation which is the cognitive process which is put into motion either by unitary knowledge or by dualistic knowledge. it has also an outward manifestation, which is the thing in itself.(68)

It may be argued that the meaning of knowledge as defined in Islam is large and comprehensive enough to incorporate the Marxist theory of knowledge. 'If materialism is the view that nothing is real but what is material and that minds must therefore be forms of matter.'(69), (cf. Pavlov's theory of Knowledge) the Muslim who adheres to materialism in order to comprehend the outside world would say : 'materialism is the view that nothing is real but what is material and that in my mind (heart)(70) nothing is real except Allah.' Hence it is not Materialism anymore. Now, if the implications of reconciling, when defining knowledge, two different values -Islam and Marxism- appear to be disastrous in the social life of the "Islamo-Socialist" community, then there is

68- Cf. the whole book of A. al-Jamal, 'The Meaning of Man', op. cit.

69- Acton, H.B., "What Marx really said" op. cit.. p.17

70- The organ of non dualistic, that is unitary, knowledge is the core of the human being, his heart. There is a tradition of the Prophet which says that neither the heavens nor the earth contain God except the heart of the believing slave, the one who has realised his slavehood.

conflict. But if it succeeds and helps the Muslim community both to retain Islam and to seek technological development through Socialism, then there is no problem. But much needs to be elucidated.

If 'Marx rejected the claims of speculative philosophers (metaphysicians) to obtain knowledge of the world other than the knowledge obtained by use of the scientific methods'(71), a Muslim does not find difficulty in agreeing with him. The Qur'an is not against reason. The only difficulty is that it accepts reason and indeed urges people to use it, but at the same time transcends it. It transcends it in metaphysical issues, Al-Ghayb or the elusive, the absent, the unseen, such as life after death. These unobservable aspects of Reality are beyond the range of human perception, and cannot be proved or disproved by scientific observations or speculative thought.(72) They are a matter of trust or faith.

But apart from these metaphysical issues, the abolition of priesthood and hereditary kingship in Islam, the constant appeal to reason and experience in the Qur'an, and the emphasis that it lays on Nature and History as sources of knowledge are all different aspect of the same idea of giving

71- Acton, H.B.M., op.cit., p.30

72- Asad, M., "The Message of the Qur'an; translated and explained" Mecca, Muslim World League, 1964. p.5

the individual the opportunity of using his own mind and reason in order to judge. The appeal to reason and its exaltation go hand in hand with the command for all men and women to acquire knowledge and wisdom(73) to study and use nature's signs(74), and to learn from the histories of nations(75) The Qur'an condemns traditionalism and blind imitation of ancestors when reason shows that they were wrong. It extols freedom of thought and self-determination for each individual and generation(76) Furthermore, there is no ambiguity in the Qur'anic command to travel in 'the spacious earth of God to discover and understand His ayats (signs) therein, and to derive economic, educational and spiritual benefits.(77)

Knowledge of the world as understood by Marx is not all there is for a Muslim. Knowledge of the world will give him the power to bring to perfection his condition 'on earth' in

 73- Qur'an, Chapter:verse; 2:44, 242, 269. 6:152. 8:22. 9:122. 17:36. 18:65-66. 20:144. 25:44. 35:28. 36:62, 68. 39:9. 45:2-11. 58:11. 67:10. 96:1-5.

74- 2:269. 3:189. 10:5-6. 13:3-4. 14:32-33. 16:10-16. 20:114. 31:20. 45:12-13. 55:33. 58:11. 96:1-5

75- 3:116. 7:176. 12:111. 14:5. 16:4. 17:21. 22:46. 29:20. 30:9. 33:62. 35:27-28, 43-44. 40:21. 43:8

76- 2:134, 141, 286. 6:69-70, 165. 16:96-97, 111-112. 45:15, 22 etc

77- 39:10. 2:197-198. 3:136. 6:11. 12:109. 16:36. 22:45-46. 27:69. 29:20. 30:9, 42. 35:43. 40:21, 82. 73:20

order that he be thankful to the One who was the only generator of all knowledge and action. This conception of knowledge has a moral value because the knower is humbled by his knowledge when he knows that all comes from God and is a gift from Him.

From a different angle, 'Marx believed that philosophical and scientific knowledge are inherently practical'(78) This means, as had been shown by Lenin, that there is practically no distinction between what is philosophical and what is physical : 'Matter is a philosophical category designating the objective reality which is given to man by his sensations, and which is copied, photographed and reflected by our sensations, while existing independently of them.'(79) The properties of matter in dialectical materialism are specified in the following theses :

-Matter is eternal.

-Matter is essentially in motion.

-This motion in matter is essentially an upward movement, an evolution or history.'(80)

The unity of matter and motion, the second thesis, is of the utmost importance to dialectical materialism since it

78- Acton, H.B., Op. Cit., p. 31

79- Klein, M.S., "The challenge of Communist education" op. cit., p.20

80- Ibid., p.20

indicates that the motion of matter is essentially a self-movement and, thereby, eliminates the requirement of the concept of supernatural power.

The Islamic position is that Matter has never not existed for that would negate the existence of God. The Qur'an says that 'God created the heavens and the earth with the truth.' (81), , and the word truth is one of the names of God. 'Allah is the apparent Truth.' (82) Also, 'before the creation of the universe, Allah was and there was nothing with Him ... He is as He was.' (83) If it is accepted that God is eternal, the matter is eternal too. It is a simple logical deduction. It is also logically true that in this instance, Materialism and Islam hold the same view.

When dialectical materialism states that matter is essentially in motion, the Islamic view confirms this affirmation since the Qur'an states : 'Allah. There is no god (idol) but Him, al-Hai The Living, al-Qayyum The Self-Subsistent.' (84) The name (The Living) is the energy or motion and (The Self-Subsistent) is the field.

81- Qur'an, Chapter 45, verse 22

82- Ibid., Chapter 24, verse 25

83- as-Sufi, A., "The hundred steps" Norwich, Diwan Press, 1981, p.65

84- Qur'an, Chapter 2, verse 255

Linguistically speaking, 'the root from which the name (Self-Subsistent) Qaama is derived, means standing, existing, remaining to be built on, manage, perform, preserve.'(85)

As for the third point that characterises dialectical materialism, which assumes that the motion in matter is essentially an upward movement, an evolution or history, it is not shared by Islamic thought and belief. 'The kafir (unbeliever) imagines himself to be in a situation in which existence is in some way, according to him, making itself plain. He imagines it is not complete, it is evolving, it is in process of, as Professor Attas said, becoming. So it is not complete. The process is not complete and therefore the creature is not complete. He imagines that man is not complete. But even in their language we have no evidence, from the time this idea came into being and from the measurement of man, of any point at which there had been evidence that man is changing, intrinsically, in his shape. In other words, he seems to be the highest form of creature and as complete a form as these very primitive forms of which they claim we are adaptations. Now, of course, they are finding out that very ancient molluscs in the depth of the ocean, having made mutation in adaptation, are reverting to their original condition millions of years ago. In other

85- Abdur-Rahman, A., "The Sub-atomic World in the Qur'an"
Norwich, Diwan Press, 1980, p.8

words, given the removal of the need for some kind of minor adaptations, the form is going back to some kind of original form on which it was created.'(86) It is safe to suggest that Islam views history as a circle and not a spiral. It is cyclical and not evolutionist, but the matter can be argued. However, such an exercise is not crucial to the present study.

The evolution of knowledge or (the coming of age) as put by Al-Attass is 'a childish thing to be put away.'(87) He considers that what is important is to learn to have the courage to be. Further in his work, he describes evolution as part of western ethos of humanism and that it is a materialistic world view. 'The spirit of western culture that describes itself as Promethean is like the Camusian Sisyphus who desperately hopes that all is well because I suspect that the fact cannot be that all is well, for I believe that he can never be happy in that state. The pursuit of knowledge, like the struggle to push the stone from the plains up the Mountain ... becomes a kind of serious game, never ceasing as if to distract the soul from the tragedy of unattainment.'(88)

86- Darqawi Institute op. cit., pp.78-79

87- Ibid., p.4

88- Ibid., p.130

Another Muslim scholar; Abd-al-Qadir As -Sufi, commenting on the important Islamic philosophical book, The Meaning of Man, takes a radical position by denouncing not only the radical materialistic epistemology, but all the existing 'scientific' ethos. The whole seems hostile to the knowledge process as viewed by the Qur'an. He states: 'All literature published today is obliged to be absorbed into a total culture module whose tentacles stretch round the whole world. The Peking Academy, the Russian university system and the western academic community basically share the same world-view and accept the same central thesis that exalts the continuing tyranny of speculation defined as freedom, the myth of research, the cult of system, and the priesthood of the doctorate. Most important in our approach to this text is an understanding that access to its meaning and therefore its applications is impossible unless the reader is able to understand that he had to circumvent the quite imperialist block that stands in the way of approaching the book's subject matter.' (89)

The author states further that the foundations of knowledge are only accessible to the one who is prepared to undergo a profound existential transformation, and that the idea of knowledge being an ideational process must not be

89- al-Jamal A., op. cit., pp.1-2

considered. This radical position is indeed justified when one considers what has already been said about the nature of Islamic man and society. The Islamic man is helpless, utterly determined, whereas the Socialist man is expected to determine himself to the extent of creating his condition and his being. The difference is wide between the two models. A description of the Muslim knower has been put this way by Abd-al-Qadir As-Sufi : 'The goal we have said again and again, is the annihilation of the illusory particularity that limits and encases one in the shell of the self. The opening of awareness expands the self until it recognises that it is indeed the whole universe, then beyond that is the shattering, destroying power of the divine Majesty (Death of meaning) revealing that all this splendour that is creation is of itself nothing, and there is annihilation, the seeker is uncreated. He is undone. He was a knot and the knot is untied, only the string remains, one Timeless.'(90)

In the same line of thought, al-Jamal says that 'when man is still alive, books help man, but when man dies the 'death of meaning'. (Unitary knowledge), books are helped by him.' i.e. the circle has completed a revolution or a cycle and man already knows what he and his community need, the essential for a decent life and death. This description tastes of

90- as-Sufi, A., "The way of Muhammad" op. cit., p.176

course of esotericism, but can one really dismiss it by the simple name of esoteric? People differ in their opinions and beliefs, even some of the Muslims would reject this description for being too daring, and couched in the knowledge of the sufis which does not accord the knowledge they possess themselves.

Who is right and who is wrong? The answer would depend on the individual identification to a particular group or a particular cultural ethos. Compared with the above epistemology of knowledge -argued here to be the original Islamic one-, its counterpart, the Socialist one differs in many fundamental instances, sometimes diametrically.

'Lenin considers knowledge to be a reflection, or copy of reality in the sense that operations of the external world upon the human sense organs, give rise to the representations and concepts that depict or mirror the world outside.'(91) Knowledge is considered to be the reflection of reality in human consciousness and, according to Lenin, it must be viewed as a process in which 'the mind' is elevated from a state of ignorance to one of knowing and in which there is a concomitant transformation of 'things-in-themselves' into

91- Klein, M.S., op. cit., p.24

'things for us'.(92) Lenin elaborates his view in three epistemological postulates : (93)

- Things exist independently of our consciousness, independently of our perceptions, outside of us.
- There is definitely no difference in principle between the phenomenon and the thing-in-itself, and there can be no such difference. The only difference is between what is known and what is not yet known.
- In the theory of knowledge, as in every other branch of science, we must think dialectically, that is, we must not regard our knowledge as ready-made and unalterable, but must determine how knowledge becomes more complete and more exact.

The acquisition of knowledge, therefore, is regarded as a dialectical process in which the human brain develops an increasingly accurate perception of reality as a result of its interaction with the external environment. 'The form of this interaction is practice and, in dialectical materialism, it is the foundation of the entire knowing process, from beginning to end.'(94) It has been stated that Lenin viewed knowledge as a process in which the mind is elevated from a state of ignorance to one of knowing. This position reflects

92- Ibid., p.24

93- Ibid., p.24

94- Ibid., p.24

again the idea of evolution of knowledge, which the Muslims don't share. The explanation of the difference must be enlightened by an Islamic cosmology not by using a foreign conceptual framework which will undoubtedly leave the western reader a feeling of unfamiliarity. To examine the issue, one must examine the Arabic language itself. The view of mind and body as irreconcilable opposites in English, is based on the exaltation of nouns over verbs and is not compatible with Arabic where the nouns derive from verbal roots. The roots are all connected to the existential reality.

Again and again, the root implicates the vital elements of existence (not the doctrine). The sword, the camel and the desert provide root after root. So, when we come to mind we do not find any word for it in Arabic. Instead we come closest to it with the root LUBB, meaning core - the core of a fruit. This gives us an immediately clear and sophisticated concept of the centre of man's being, his consciousness not as a repository of information, or a memory bank, but rather as some seed source which already contains within it the total reality of the organism, and that would imply the cosmos.'(95)

95- as-Sufi, A., "Indication from signs" Atlanta (USA), Iqra, 1979, p.24

The 'acquisition' of knowledge, therefore, is not regarded as a dialectical process in which the human brain develops an increasingly accurate perception of reality as a result of its interaction with the external environment (the Marxist view) but rather as a remembrance/recognition duality. The Qur'an is also called the remembrance Adhikra. The question then is, how can one remember the outside world (the reality)? Lenin considers that it is through concepts that we depict, or mirror, the world outside. The Islamic view is in a way similar but the nature of the concepts is not similar. The 'Qur'an is categoric in declaring that Allah taught Adam, primal man, all the names, or if you like, all the words (concepts). This implies that (man) found from within himself the capacity to decode what was outside himself.

Thus, one may argue, with as-Sufi that the evolutionist fiction of a simian intelligence beginning with grunt identification and moving on to complex coding is not tenable. The evidence clearly demonstrates that the more primitive the language, the more sophisticated and complex the communications web within it. Indeed we can now see from our present position of barbarism that language decays rather than develops. Arabic, being the oldest in the semitic

group, is an ancient language.'(96) Further, the author states : 'the act of cognition itself is a receiving and decoding of signs. The sign is not the thing in itself (or the concrete reality is not the thing in itself),(97) it is a dynamic mode of apprehending the thing while recognising its thingness. Sign is the mode which recognises thing and meaning, not as two but as one, and at the same time. It is thing apprehended, we repeat, by a mode of cognition which grasps meaning and object in one direct experience. It is not tagging. Naming indicates. Recognising signs is a transformative process of rendering dynamic the form-universe.'(98) This must not be mistaken for the evolutionist theory of knowledge. It is dynamic but not in the sense of evolution. The Qur'an is considered to be the ultimate decoding grid of existence. Furthermore, from a Qur'anic view point, 'a society that does not draw its knowledge patterning directly from observed human experience which transformatively reads cosmic and personal signs is trapped in an illusory and deceptive system of control over

96- Ibid., p.8

97- From a unitary perspective, the thing in itself is not separated from the observer, and therefore is not a thing in itself. The observer is the observed and the observed is the observer.

98- as-Sufi, A., "Indication from signs" op. cit., p.9

people.'(99)

If the materialist philosophy and its central grid, dialectical materialism is considered to be the marker upon which the Socialist man comprehends the reality, Qur'an is the marker for the Muslim. In this instance, there seems to be no compromise between Islam and Socialism. If man embarks on the course of knowledge laid down by the Qur'an, action and discovery are not separated from the discoverer. 'They cannot be when Heisenberg and his (magicians scientists) sketched their new physics, people thought that the breakthrough had come. The experiment, it was said, was only valid from (the view point) of the experimenter. The observation held validity from that point of observation only, thus it seemed as if the two had been united in one concept. But it was the dazzling deception. There is absolutely no real way in which mathematical formulae can include the formulator. From the existential position of the observer, the much vaunted precision of the scientist may hold for what he describes, but how can he himself be described mathematically? Only language can deal with human experience.'(100) It is the Qur'an for a Muslim that unveils that, not any other science or manifesto. It is through the

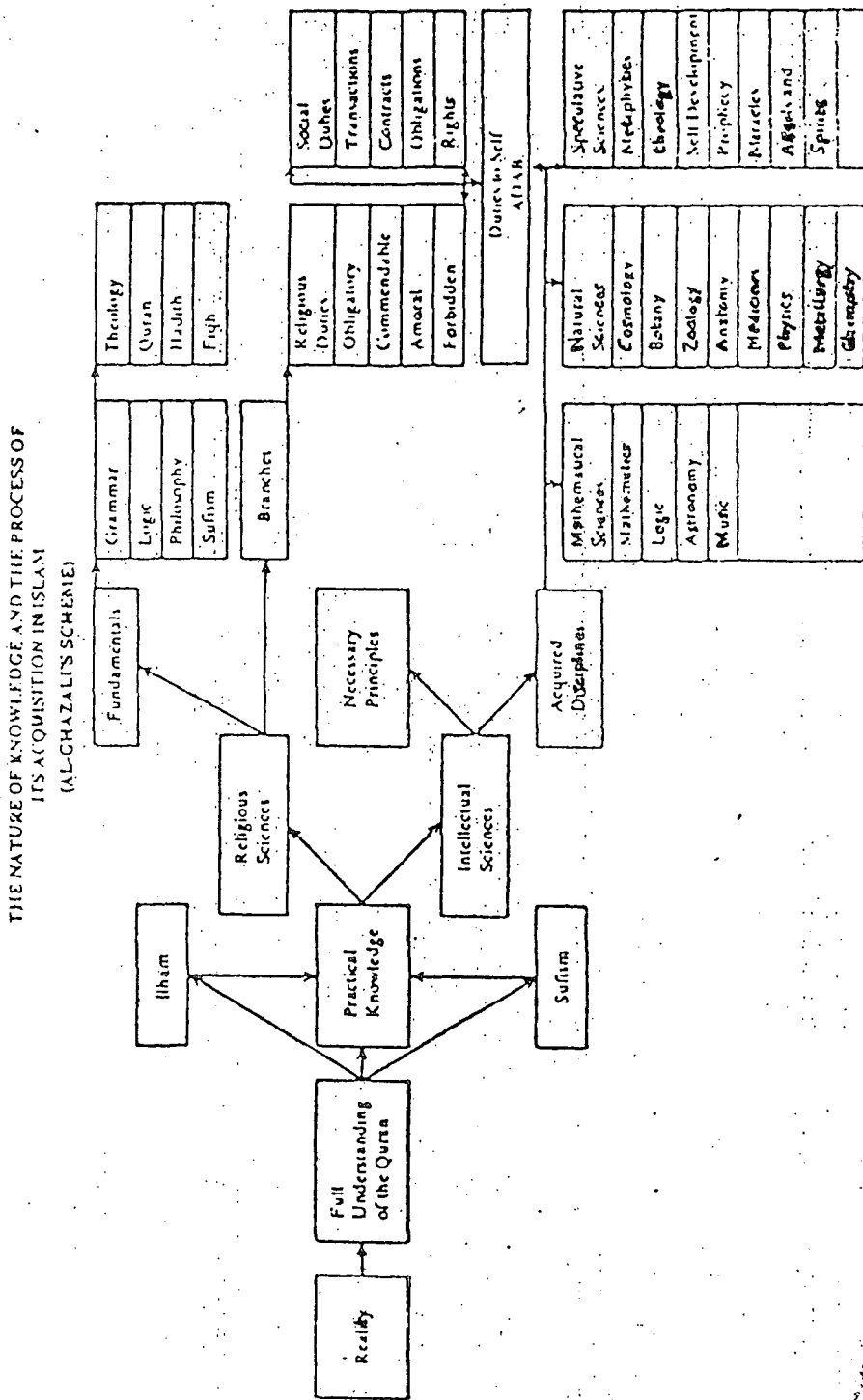
99Ibid., p.16

100- Ibid., p.19

teaching of this book that knowledge of God (reality) and from this point all other knowledge issues.

One of the greatest scholars of his time Al-Ghazali has put it in a scheme (cf. Fig. IV.1 next page). What is significant in this scheme, is that there is no restriction of knowledge to either spiritual or material. As such, knowledge in Islam, and by derivation in an Arab education curriculum is ideally speaking, of an encyclopedic nature. This is similar to the Socialist conception of knowledge, hence might be harmoniously transplanted to an Arab context. Unfortunately, the Socialist polytechnical conception of knowledge rules out any idea of concept depicting a concrete reality called God, whereas the former does with the further argument that at the stage of comprehending such a reality, the dualistic 'atomic' nature of intellectual rationalization becomes obsolete. Hence, knowledge in Islam appears to be of two different natures, one is existential and a prerequisite, the other is intellectual and optional.

It is this idea of prerequisteness that undermines any Arab attempt to identify their national ideology with the Marxist Leninist view of man, society and knowledge. There are indeed similarities between the two cosmologies and it is this characteristic that encouraged some political leaders in the Arab region to adhere to socialism, not that they do so



(Fig. IV.1) THE NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE PROCESS OF ITS ACQUISITION IN ISLAM. Source: Sageb, G.N., Modernization of Muslim Ed.

without questioning the feasibility of the process of transition towards a 'just Socialist society', they question it and this is why there are so many types of more or less specific socialisms in the region, so many interpretations of Marx and the Qur'an.

In this process of cultural borrowing, any misconceived policy can be disastrous in terms of political stability. It is because the school is so strategic an institution and its content so relevant to these issues that an enquiry in this complicated sphere of values was opened. The goal is to suggest a relevant and enlightened educational policy in the region. The following chapter is a description of present educational aims and policies in three Arab Socialist countries. In the light of the present rational construct one should be able to have a qualitative grasp of what is going on in these countries.

V- EDUCATIONAL AIMS AND POLICIES IN THREE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Cherry blossoms-
So many of them,
I am bent over.
-Sobaku.(1728-92)

Algeria, Libya and Syria have been selected because nationalism in these countries is very strongly tinted with Socialism. Socialism became the raison d'etre of the nation state. But there is a sense of unease about this, especially when the Algerian constitution (1976) affirms that: 'The state is Socialist. Islam is the state religion.'(1) The state of unease is created by the convergence of Islam and Socialism. To go straight to the point, one may ask; is there not a fundamental contradiction between these two ideologies, for indeed, a religion is an ideology, especially when it is espoused by a state. The reason behind the adoption of Socialism as explained by the Algerian constitution is that 'the irreversible option of Socialism is the only path to complete national independence.'(2)

1- The Middle East and North Africa, "Algeria" London, Europa Publications, 1981-82, p.277

2- Ibid., p.277

The Libyan constitution (1977) for its part stipulates that: 'The official name of Libya is the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya The Holy Qur'an is the social code in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.'(3) Again Islam and Socialism in Libya seem to, officially, harmonize.

However, the 157-article constitution of Syria, define the country as a: 'Socialist popular democracy with a preplanned Socialist economy.'(4) Islam is not brought into formal politics. This is due to the multireligious social condition of that country. It is nevertheless true that 87% of the population is Muslim. It goes without saying that any government policy must take into consideration the popular aspirations if it is to have any legitimacy and if that country is to have any semblance of political stability.

Within the context of these countries, the school is given a difficult task; that of socialising the rising generations into a given ideal model of man living in a given type of society. The problem is whether the ideal model of man, society and knowledge any country chooses, is realistic enough to bring about a successful policy solution to the problems of the day. If the problem of the day is

3- Ibid., p.616

4- The Middle East and North Africa, op. cit., p.766

reckoned with because they are the individuals who resist change, and because they do, they are likely to jeopardise any national policy. These individuals can be found at all levels of the social strata. They can be farmers, businessmen, bureaucrats or politicians. The problem is a dichotomy between the official ideology and the unofficial one. In the school context, it reveals itself as an ideological message, an educational philosophy in the formal education contents and structure and basic attitudes of teachers pupils and their parents.

Why consider aims and policies? The answer, as is shown below, is that any enquiry into the philosophy of education, the ground upon which the present study's problem was located, entails an enquiry into the aims of education. The educational policies are brought into analysis because they are the real immediate 'interpretation' of these aims by the people concerned. This approach does not crystalize a state of affairs into a permanent present, but acknowledges an obsolescence in the educational phenomenon.

Before embarking on any comparative endeavour, it is, for rigour's sake, necessary to clarify some key concepts, such as 'educational aims', 'policies' and the term 'Socialism'. The distinction in the use and meaning of such terms as goals, aims and objectives is not universally accepted, but

one may argue with Lauwerys and Cowen(6) that the semantic problems of ascribing universal meaning to concepts such as these, are not important as long as there is recognition of the fact that there are differences in levels of generality of discourse concerning these educational issues. The important task, therefore, would be, before any discussion about these normative aspects, to give a definition of the concepts used.

According to the same authors, 'the discussion, examination and analysis of statements regarding goals, aims and objectives may clarify, guide, constrain or channel efforts to achieve desired futures. Philosophers and statesmen may declare that their general purpose is the establishment of an Islamic society, or of a perfect Socialist society or the building of a just nation, or the provision of full equality of opportunity for all, or of a true democracy. Such very general hopes may be labelled as goals indicating valued hopes.

The term 'educational aim' can be applied to less general, middle-term aspirations which guide efforts at one or several levels of an education system. For example, 'in order to

6- Lauwerys, J.A., & Cowen, R., "Theoretical aspects of the problem" (in Unesco, "Educational Goals" Paris, Unesco -IBE 1980), p.20

increase the material prosperity of the nation, we must establish technical schools and colleges'. Expressed with more specificity than general goals, aims inform and closely parallel national statements of educational policies.(7) The goal of equality of educational opportunity takes shape as an educational aim for second-level schooling through a phrase stressing the provision of an education appropriate to the age, ability and aptitude of pupils; or through statements stressing the need to improve the educational prospects and conditions of females.

Statements of educational objectives can usefully be constructed as the specific tasks allocated to the teaching-learning process whether at particular levels of education system, or for particular groups (e.g. rural children).'

As a problem solving approach, the methodology used in this study does not allow the liberty of reviewing all goals, aims and objectives in the selected countries, as this is better suited to a descriptive area study. The analysis is based on the statement of educational goals and aims only. Reference to educational policies such as the description of the national educational ladder and the content of general

7- For a definition of the concept of educational policies, refer to chapter two, pages 82-83.

education is meant to illustrate the orientation in matter of education, in practice, in the countries concerned.

According to the International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences,(8) Socialism both logically and sociologically, can only be understood as a contrast to individualism.' The early French Socialists described this individualism, in the socio-economic plan, as a doctrine of laissez faire or free enterprise, which they denounced. Against the automation and egoism of society, as Saint Simon called it, the social critics proposed a new order based on association, harmony, altruism and finally, the word that superseded all of these -Socialism.

The heart of Socialism is to be found, it appears, in the idea of community and in the doctrine that men can realise their full potential and achieve human emancipation. Marx, who was converted to the idea, tried to avoid the utopia of many of the French by making his doctrine rest on a more scientific basis. He sought to realize the idea of community through the sphere of philosophy and what he held to be its material embodiment; the proletariat. He did distinguish between Socialism and Communism in the sense that the first is the transitional stage whereas the second would be the

8- International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, No 14, USA, Macmillan and free press, 1968, pp.506-532

undefined realm of man's freedom.

In the same document, mention is made that Marx never took a dogmatic view as to any single course which the Socialist movement would necessarily have to follow. In several instances, he felt that Socialism might be achieved peacefully in the Western countries, where democratic institutions were being established. But he never ruled out the possibility of, and even the need for violence, should the occasion demand it. Thus, for instance, the Algerian revolution, which was of course a struggle for independence, can be considered as an example of the latter alternative. according to Marx, a Socialist revolution must lead to the abolition of private property, the end of social privilege, and the breaking of the political power of the old ruling classes.

At the present time, it is easy to see several manifestations of Socialism in the world, each different from the other, although seeking a common objective; human emancipation. But human emancipation can be dramatically restricted in its meaning. Such is the case with some Socialist movements, which are basically only pressure groups seeking social concession from the state for the immediate benefit of the working class. But they have neither an economic programme nor any idea of planning.

In societies like the Arab ones undergoing rapid change, dichotomies are created by the dynamic interplay between the new and the old. More than ever, the values of the past have to be selected on their contemporary usefulness. In the Arab world as a whole, one may identify three main political philosophies, and this implies, of course, educational philosophies. One may term them as the conservative, the moderate, and the radical or revolutionary ideologies(9) In the first category, there are more or less fundamental patterns, held to be almost 'absolute'. One may think of religious norms in their traditional or in a modified form, where the basic question is how a given religion, Islam in the case of the Arab world, should be practised and interpreted, and how its essentials should be transmitted to the next generation. Such a model may be applied to countries of the Gulf such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Bahrain.

In the second category, there are those patterns which are closely linked to particular social loyalties. These may concern smaller communities which are clearly perceived, or larger and less clearly perceived communities in a specific country or region. Depending on whether the stress is laid on loyalties to specific smaller communities, or more general

9- The word "revolutionary" does not necessarily mean a "secular" political ideology.

human values, particularist and 'tribal' values or universal ones can be accentuated. The countries that may correspond to such a category are Morocco, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan.

In the third category, there are those patterns which are derived from the way in which the future is perceived. On the one hand, an historical continuity can be stressed, and on the other hand, the newness of the present can be shown. This may lead to a radical transformation of a society, a mobilization mostly in a revolutionary sense. The degree of change with regard to the past, the direction given to the future development of society, and the means used to bring about the desired changes have political relevance and may lead to decisions and actions affecting the existing authority. To bring about a new start, usually to free a society from direct or neo-colonialism, and for this purpose an ideological mobilisation generally has to be achieved. The educational system can then provide a powerful tool to make younger people participate in the new direction. If the word 'Socialism' and 'revolutionary' are used, much depends on what is understood by these words, and the same is true if the term 'Islamic' is used. The countries in this category are Algeria, Libya, Syria, South Yemen and Iraq.

For purely methodological, as well as some practical reasons, the object of the present study focuses on some

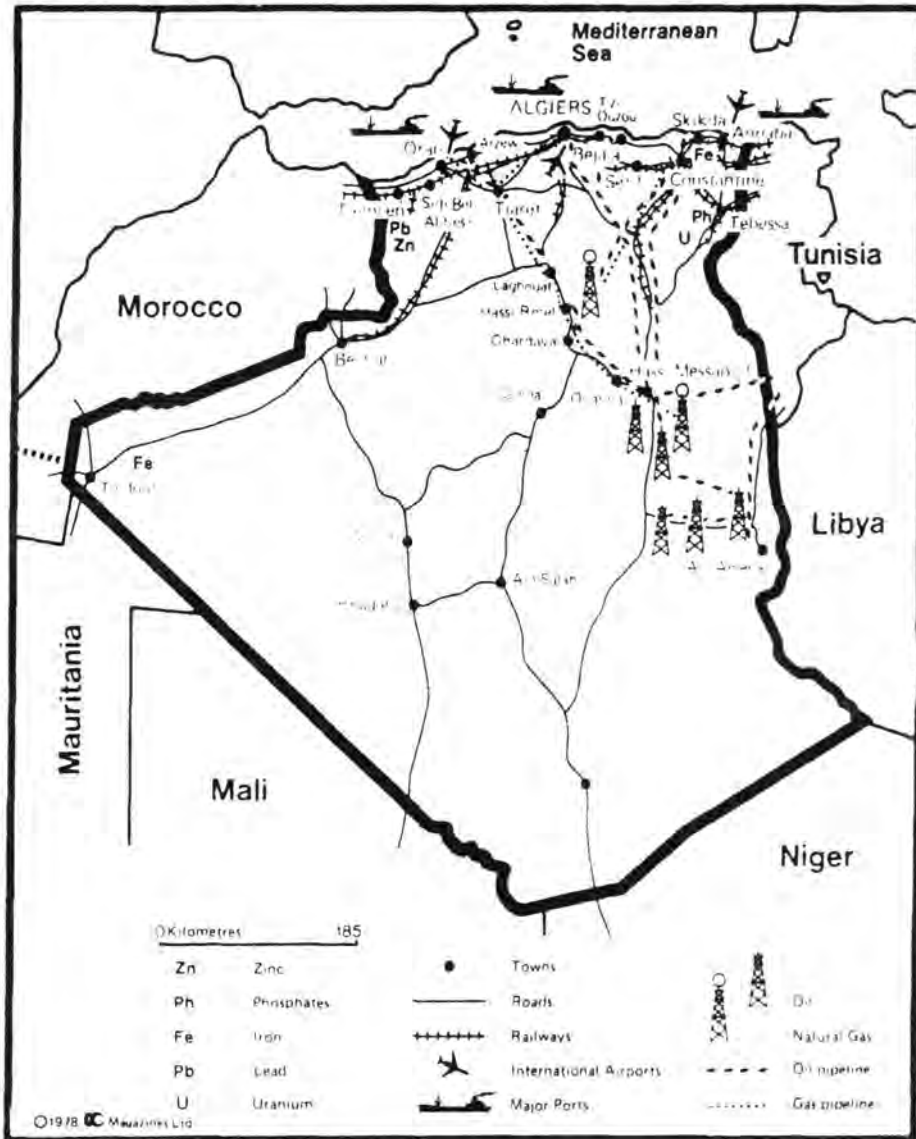
countries of the latter category only. The choice of three countries only to be the focal point of analysis, namely, Algeria, Libya and Syria was determined by the availability of data needed. But the scope of the study, although focussing on the nation state as a unit for comparison, transcends this unit. The scope of the study is better apprehended within the concept of overall Arab unity.

THE CASE OF ALGERIA

From the 1100's BC, Algeria came successively under Phoenician and Carthaginian and Roman rule. The vandals took Algeria in AD 429, but the Byzantine Empire reconquered parts of it in the sixth century. Islam was introduced in the seventh century and was soon embraced by the overwhelming majority of the people. Arabic became the chief language, although Berber culture remained strong in rural areas. Northern Algeria was part of the Ottoman Empire between 1518 and 1830, when France seized Algiers. French colonization was bitterly resisted, although Algeria was proclaimed a French territory in 1848.

After World WarII, several nationalist organizations united to form the Front de Liberation National (FLN), which began open warfare against the French dominated government in 1954. A cease-fire was negotiated in 1962 and Algeria became

ALGERIA



(Fig. V.1) THE MAP OF ALGERIA: Source M. East Yearboob, 1980

independent on July 3, 1962. The first President, Mohammad Ben Bella, was deposed in 1965 by a Revolutionary Council led

by Colonel Houari Boumediene. The 1976 Constitution restored elections which were held in 1977 and 1982. President Boumediene died in 1978 and was succeeded by Benjedid Chadli. Algeria has since independence been a one-party republic, and Socialism was Algeria's political ideology.

According to the 'International Handbook of Educational Systems'(10) 'although countries like Tanzania and Cuba attract a disproportionate amount of attention to their attempts at educational reform, Algeria has possibly been more successful than any other Third World countries in terms of remodelling its system to suit its needs. There are two reasons for this. First, the approach to reform is incremental and gradualist, rather than being based on doctrinaire radicalism. Second, the method of implementing changes in the system is essentially experimental...Although there is still much to be done, Algeria is well on the road to a comprehensive, modern and relevant educational system.'

The effect of cultural dependence continued to be felt for a number of years after the advent of political independence, for many reasons. In the first place, education was still largely modelled on that provided by France; second the Evian

10- Cameron J., et al. (editors), "International Handbook of Educational Systems" (Vol. 2), Chichester & New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1983, p.574

agreements institutionalized forms of cultural co-operation tending to aggravate acculturation, with the arrival of a large number of Co-operation Programme Personnel to fill the gap left by the massive departure of European teachers, the possibility of opening schools and colleges in Algeria to correspond to the official French courses and undertakings by Algeria to organize within the limit of its possibilities, in the Algerian universities, the common basic education dispensed in the French universities, on similar conditions as to curricula, attendance and examinations. This last provision was no doubt the most dangerous for the evolution of the national educational system, as the requirement of equivalent degrees and the prestige attaching to the latter were to handicap any attempt to achieve revolutionary changes in the system during the first few years of independence. Not until the four-year plan (1970-73) was it possible to have an all-round view of the reforms required which was not coloured by the inherited arrangements.

Consequently, with a view to the introduction of a really national education system, radical innovations were introduced. In 1970, the Department of National Education was split in two. The new departments were the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education and the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, each of which was to work out a programme of reform. The reform of higher education

was determined in 1971 whereas the reform proposed by the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education was adopted under the second four-year plan (1973-76). But parallel to these abrupt changes, two no less important changes were actualized. The first one is a set of institutes of technology, intending to train the drop-outs from the educational system as specialised staff for the production of goods and services. These may be compared with the British Youth Training Schemes organised by the Manpower Services Commission. The second, is a machinery for lifelong education, in the form of the Centre National d'Enseignement Generalise (CNEG). It appears in the light of a corrective to the specialized training provided in the institutes of technology and as a safety net for those leaving the formal educational system, to insure their occupational and human development.

The reform of the Ministry of Higher Education introduced in 1971 aims at an integrated system producing graduates capable of playing an operational role. Teaching is organised on the modular system. The formulation of the programmes and their implementation are co-ordinated at the level of the institutes (the basic units or departments) as under the conventional system. The logic behind this integration is to realise the objective of adjusting to the quantitative and qualitative manpower requirements to the

national economic and cultural realities. Contrary to the United Kingdom, the universities in Algeria tend to specialise e.g. the University of Science and Technology, the University of Social Sciences. Each University in turn, is made up of institutes (or departments) responsible for dispensing education in a strictly defined field. For example, the University of Science and Technology consists of the institute of Biology, Institute of Physics, Institute of Mathematics, Institute of Geology, Institute of Mechanical Engineering, etc.

The second four-year plan saw the approval of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education's educational reform by the Political authorities (Le conseil de la Revolution). The reform involves the generalization of a basic nine-year education by remodelling intermediate education and combining it with the elementary course preceding it; the aim was to promote the institution of a common nine-year course of general education, with the gradual adoption of a polytechnic approach to education.

Now, no other innovation is so much imbued in the spirit of Socialism as is the last one. The concept of polytechnical education was referred to by Marx, (first elaborated by R. Owen) and Lenin and later developed by Lenin's wife, L. Kroupskaya. Do the Algerians really want

to educate their youngsters in the Soviet fashion? Is such educational theory compatible with the overall educational philosophy of the Algerian nation?

The Algerian principal political reference document, the National Charter, first published in 1976,(11) stated that general education must not only be unified, but it must be entirely recast according to realistic criteria. In this respect, and according to the unalterable principle of unified education and a single ideological orientation of our young people, the religious educational sector will have to be merged into a unified general education and be harmonized with its spirit, its intellectual disciplines and its syllabuses. It is desirable that within as short a space of time as possible, the same education should be developed at both primary and secondary school level; the religious education as such will be phased out. It was as matter of fact integrated with general education under the tutelage of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education in 1976-1977. Basic and Polytechnical Education was to be gradually introduced.

11- This document is the official interpretation of the Algerian constitution and covers all aspects of man's life; his rights and duties within a set of social institutions. At the time of writing up this thesis, the National Charter is being discussed nationwide in order to amend it after a decades' experience with the one now being ammended. The new one has not appeared yet but decentralization and privatization seem to be the main elements of change that will appear in the new one.

Thus, several political discourses were and still are being made in order to legitimize the reformed school. The Minister of Education A. Ben Mahmoud for instance, speaking about the new reform, said: 'The dynamic process of building an Algerian society, responding to our Revolution's present phase priorities, cannot be put in motion solely on a material and technical basis. It also needs, and it is almost an essential requirement, a higher level of man's formation, culture and social consciousness. That is, a harmonious development of man on the intellectual, physical and moral planes through a Socialist ethic and the values of the Arab-Islamic civilization. In this context, the reform of the whole school system becomes extremely urgent. This need, arises from the fact that schools in general are responsible for the transmission of values and knowledges to the young generations for they must be formed in a dynamic way in order to bring about the necessary social change.'(12)

Some conclusions can already be drawn from the above mentioned quote. First, that a Socialist ethic and the values of the Arabo-Islamic civilization are, officially, not contradictory, and secondly that, in view of the process of modernization going on in that country the schools are

12- Ben Mahmoud A. (Minister of Education) "Le Projet de l'Ecole Fondamentale et Polytechnique" Algiers, Ministry of Education, 1976. p.6

considered to be important means contributing to the social change. There are also some concepts that reveal a Socialist conception of development. Teaching the younger generation in a dynamic way implies that school should be adapted to the global change of the society, which attracts one's attention to dialectical materialism. At any rate, one of the official texts published by the Ministry of education(13) makes it clear that the educational reform was dictated by the objectives of the Socialist Revolution, which in itself needs that the school be the instrument of its progress and continuity. The same document states that the task of the Public authorities would be to make of the school, both in its structure and in its content and methods, a reflection of popular aspirations and a perpetuation of the Socialist option. At this point, one may ask whether the popular aspirations and Socialist directives are compatible. This is in fact the key question whether in the case of Algeria or the rest of the countries selected for the present study, Socialism is reconcilable with the popular aspirations. If one assumes that they are compatible, this would imply that Algerian Socialism is not a secularist doctrine, and therefore one's suspicion that the political discourse is very much imbued with Marxist concepts is unfounded. Indeed, the National Charter of Algeria stated clearly that 'Islam is

13- Ministry of Education. "Bulletin officiel de l'Education" Algiers, Ministere de l'Education National, 1976. p.3

the religion of the state.'(14)

While speaking of the popular aspirations, the political leaders stressed the importance of being independent from alien values and institutions. according to the publications of the Ministry of Education(15) the Algerian authorities have always considered that the Arabic language and Islam were the only valid reference for the people to regain their legitimate cultural identity as well as their national consciousness which have been alienated during the French occupation of Algeria. This publication has specifically pointed to the fact the neo-colonialist media propagated by the French aimed at making the people believe that Arabic is incapable of insuring communication and exchanges in the social and economic activities of the country and would not assume scientific and technical progress. To say as much as this would of course mean that those who propagate such ideas deny the goodness of a whole culture. This is a typical case of cultural imperialism. It therefore needs to be challenged. Quoting historical evidences has often been the logical outcome in such exercises.

14- Ministry of Culture and Information. 'National Charter' (English translation), Algiers, 1981. p.18

15- Ministry of Education. 'Bulletin officiel de l'Education.' Algiers, 1976, p.3

Before the French colonisation, 'there existed in Algeria a certain number of centres for higher learning in which the medium of instruction was Arabic and the disciplines ranged between astronomy, mathematics, history, geography, arabic literature, rhetoric, theology and muslim law'.(16) In fact, there had been a rich cultural and intellectual life that produced some of the Arab world's greatest scholars, such as Ibn Khaldoun and Ibn al-Khatib of Constantine.

It then became legitimate, when the long struggle for independence succeeded in 1962, that the Algerians set about establishing an educational system that would not only meet their immediate and long range needs, but also redress previous wrongs. 'They inherited an educational system offering French rather than Algerian education. Between the inherited system and the new, designed by the National Commission for educational reform, was the transitional system in which preschool education had been eliminated while primary school remained of six or seven years duration (cf. fig. V.2 in page 297).

However, French language formerly the medium of instruction, became a foreign language and the first three years of primary education were totally in Arabic. Although

16- A.A.C.R.O. "Algeria" World Educational Series, New York, 1978, p.2

enseignement moyen (middle school education) changed in its structure and content, secondary education is largely unchanged in structure, but Arabic now plays as important a role as French as a language of instruction, and it is now possible to earn a degree in many disciplines in which Arabic is used as the teaching medium. (17)

By 1985, the inherited system is expected to have been replaced by a new system designed for the needs of an industrializing society. (18) Pre-school education was to be re-established, but with guarantees that all children will have access to such schools. By 1985, enseignement fondamental et polytechnic is to be fully implemented. This system is regarded as the 'cornerstone of the reformed educational system' (19) In this new system, instruction is expected to be in Arabic by Algerian teachers.

Thus, in 1976, an ordinance was signed by the President H. Boumediene, revealing the general aims of this new school. Article 25, states: 'This new school must dispense the bases of social sciences and especially historical, political,

17- Ibid., p.66-95

18- Ministere des enseignements Primaire et Secondaire. "Les Grands Axes de Developement du System Algerien d'Enseignement de 1974 a 1985" Algiers, 1973, p.23

19- A.A.C.R.O., op. cit., p.7

moral and religious knowledges. This will awaken in the pupils, consciousness of the social laws of evolution. It will also bring about the acquisition of behaviours and attitudes that are in conformity with the values of Islam and Socialist morality.' This article does not, in fact, state new conceptions concerning education, it is merely a restatement of previous official texts or discourses. In effect, President Boumediene said in a discourse held in 1969: 'the goal of the Algerian school today, is to create a new man imbued with the higher interests of his country, convinced of the need for a Socialist policy of development in every field.(20) Our country is in need of thousands of national cadres for the promotion of agriculture and building of industry, and so as to obviate the need for foreign cadres. Algerians must be capable of replacing these guests, for however worthy their efforts are, they cannot be compared with those of Algerian cadres. This goal can only be attained through a radical reform of the teaching system, a real revolution which must be embarked upon immediately for it is an urgent necessity.'(21)

20- the formulation 'Socialist policy of development' is very significant in that it reveals a basic position towards Socialism as cosmology. It restricts its meaning to that of 'strategy', therefore devoid of any spiritual significance. In Boumediene's statement, Socialism appears to be an organizational model that helps a society immerge into the technological age.

21- President Boumediene H. Oct. 1969 quoted in Ministry of Information and Culture, Algiers, 1973

It is only through many reshufflings that the present education system has arrived at its final stage of implementing basic and polytechnical education.(22) It is a school of nine years that will replace the former primary and middle school by a single structure, new curriculum and new teaching methods. This school was introduced after a long maturation time, basically, since independence faced the leaders of Algeria. It reveals the basic principles adopted by the policy makers. It is, within the Holmesian problem solving approach, the element of change in its institutional dimension. The following poses the problem in purely educational terms.

EDUCATIONAL AIMS AND POLICIES.

The aims of government policy are that education shall be free at all stages and compulsory at both first and secondary levels. This policy seeks to achieve arabization, democratization and scientific and technological progress through education. (23)

22- Cf. Annex 3 for meaning of Polytechnical education.

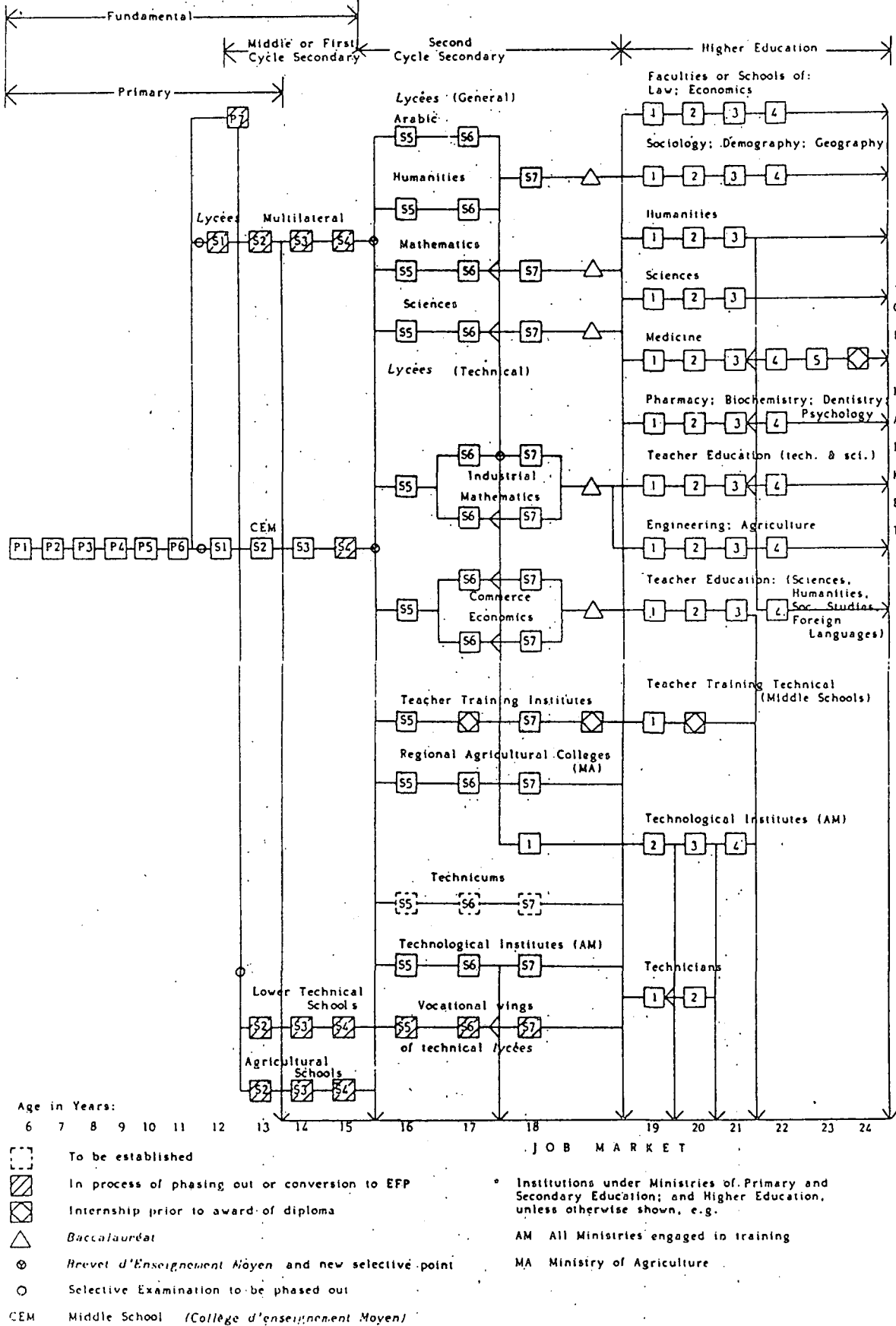
23- International Bureau of Education, "International Yearbook of Education" (Vol. XXXII, prepared by Homes. B.) Paris. Unesco, 1980. p.18

According to the Official Journal of Education, (24) the fundamental principles of education in Algeria are:

- To develop the personality of children and citizens and prepare them for active life
- the provision of general, scientific and technological knowledge,
- the response for people's aspirations for justice and progress,
- the awakening of consciences to the love of the mother land.

Thus, the educational system aims at inculcating, in the young, the principles of justice, equality between citizens and peoples in order that they may fight all forms of discrimination. It also aims at providing an education that favours understanding other peoples and cooperating with them for the sake of universal understanding between nations; an education in accordance with the rights of man and his fundamental liberties. The Organisation of such a system can be apprehended in the following diagram. The diagram does not show the preprimary schools or as called in Algeria; l'Ecole Preparatoire because they are still to be introduced, but officially, they are part of the formal educational system. As defined in the official Journal of Education, in

24- Ministere de l'Education, "Bulletin Officiel de l'Education"
Algiers, 1978, p.13



(Fig. V.2) STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN ALGERIA.

article 17, p.15(25) This system is comprised of the following four levels:

- Pre-Primary Education,
- Basic Education,
- Secondary Education,
- Higher Education.

1. Pre-Primary Education is provided for the children who have not reached the age of compulsory education. It is meant to prepare children for basic education by:

- inculcating in them good practical habits,
- creating in them the sense of tasks to be performed and the love of the fatherland,
- habituating them to efforts and collective work,
- providing for them an appropriate artistic education,
- and initiating them into the foundations of reading, writing and counting.(26)

This type of education is the responsibility of the minister of education, who determines the conditions for admission, the timetable, the programmes and the methods. He is also responsible for teacher training and

25- Ministere de l'Education, 'Bulletin Officiel de l'Education' Algiers, 1978, p.13

26- Ibid., Art.19

determines the status of these teachers(27)

2. Basic Education (Cf. Annex 3)is meant to provide the foundations of a general and common education for all pupils and lasts for nine years.(28) Its aim is to provide:

- an instruction in Arabic so that they master the written and oral expression. This type of education should allow them to communicate with their social milieu. - an instruction comprised of the foundations of mathematics and sciences so that they can acquire analytical technics, reasoning, and understanding of the world.

- a systematic study of the modes of production, an education for work by work in workshops and units of production allow the pupils access to a general instruction about the world of labour. This should prepare them for a basic professional training and allows them to choose the right job.

- the bases of the social sciences, and especially, the knowledge of history, politics, morals and religion. It allows pupils to understand the role of the Algerian nation, as well as that of the revolution and the laws of

27- Ibid., Art.23

28- Ibid., Art.24

RENTREE SCOLAIRE 1985-86



(Fig. V.3) A PRIMARY SCHOOL CLASSROOM IN ALGERIA: Soure El-Moudjahid, 1985.

social change, also, the acquisition of behaviour and attitudes in line with the values of Islam and Socialist morality.

- an artistic instruction to awaken their esthetic taste in order that they may participate to the cultural life.
- a basic physical education on a regular basis.
- the teaching of foreign languages for simple documentation in these languages and the knowledge of other cultures in order to promote mutual understanding among peoples.

3. Secondary Education is a three-year cycle, grades 10-12 (ages 16-18) for general and specialised secondary education, but the duration for technological and professional secondary education may vary.(29) If a student intends to pursue university studies, he will attend either a general, technical or industrial, or commercial secondary school.(30) Most subjects in these schools are taught in Arabic. The secondary curriculum includes maths, physical sciences, Arabic, French, another foreign language, history, geography, and physical education. Students may choose one of three tracks, including letters, maths, and science.

Upon completion of the three years of secondary school, a final exam is administered. Students who pass are awarded either the Baccalaureat d'Enseignement Secondaire, the Baccalaureat d'Enseignement Technique Industriel, or the Baccalaureat d'Enseignement Technique Commercial depending upon their track.

Parallel to the general secondary programme are technical institutes, or secondary level technicums. The latter are more vocationally oriented and are designed to

29- Ibid., Art.38

30- Ibid., Art. 34

supply mid-level technicians.

Ministries offering training programmes in institutes under their auspices include Agriculture, Commerce, Education, Finance, Industry and Energy, Information and Culture, Interior, Labour and social Affairs, Planning, post and Telecommunications, Water Resources, and youth and sports.(31)

4. Higher Education is available at universities, specialised institutes under the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, and Centres Universitaires. Higher education includes the following: the University of Algiers, the University of Constantine, the University of Oran, the University of Annaba, the university of science and technology of Algiers, the university of science and technology at Oran, polytechnic Institute of Architecture and Urbanization, National Veterinary Institute, National Agronomy Institute, Higher Institute of Interpretation, Higher Institute of Commerce, Institute of Optometry, Institute of Applied Psychology and Vocational and Academic Orientation, Institute of Telecommunication, and a number of smaller cities have specialised Centres Universitaires

31- Schmida, L. C. et Al. "Education in the Middle East"
Washington, Amideast, 1983, pp.4-5

French is the language of instruction in most technical areas and in some social sciences and humanities subjects. Most social sciences, humanities, and law courses are taught in Arabic. English is exclusively used at the Algerian Petroleum Institute and the National Institute of Electricity and Electronics (both run by the Ministry of Industry and Energy) and in many upper division courses at the other institutes.(32)

At present, the most striking example of the commitment of Algeria to Arabization is the degree to which the schools and increasingly the universities are committed to teaching through modern literary Arabic. The late President Boumediene said: 'the settlers imposed their language and vision of history upon us, and so to begin with we must reawaken what is truly Algerian in our culture... we must reawaken our history.'(33) This return to old values is intimately linked to the notion of national independence. If political independence has been achieved in 1962, much needs to be done culturally and economically. The regime's vision of the future is of an Arabic speaking expanding population in an Arabo-Islamic state which has converted its mineral

32- Ibid., pp.5-7

33- Cameron, J., et al., op. cit., p.579

resources into an industrial economy which, with a rejuvenated agriculture, provides full employment and guarantees Algeria's independence from the capitalist and communist worlds. This explains the present monopoly of the state in matters of culture economy and politics, as expressed by the institutional organization of the country. In the school proper, more than any other educational institution, the late 'Basic and Polytechnical school' reveals in its official aspects the Algerian main aspirations (cf. page 297).

Historically, the school reform 'reflects the Algerian Revolution's preoccupation'(34). Being a country that has opted for Socialism as a strategy for development, it would not be surprising to hear that the Algerians have the intention to apply the Socialist principle of Polytechnical Education. However, Polytechnical education as described in annex3 has proved to be intrinsically based on materialistic principles,(35) in the Marxist sense. 'Acquiring knowledge is the dialectical process that occurs when the human perception of reality is tested through interaction with the

34- Ministere de l'Education National, "Le Projet de l'Ecole Fondamentale et Polytechnique (The project of basic and polytechnical school),Algiers, 1977, p.17

35- It is not implied here that they are counter to the Islamic principles

physical environment... This interaction between theory and practice is the essence of polytechnical approach to learning.'(36)

This perception of the school within a certain social ethos, would, logically speaking, lead to a certain perception of morality; either a religious one or a secular one. Thus for instance, Communist (Socialist) morality 'is not believed to be inculcated by means of sanctimonious preaching and discourses on morality... Only by working together with workers and peasants is it possible to become real Communists.'(37) As an Islamic country, Algeria is not expected to go that far in its conception of Socialism. This would mean that the moral values of the Algerian man would not be those of the real materialists. In effect, the political leaders of that country insisted that the Arabo-Islamic principles should be taught in school. 'As a reflection of the requirement of Algerian Revolution, Polytechnical education must ensure the transmission of Algerian values, the sources of which are Socialism and Arabo-Islamism.'(38)

36- Cf. Annex 4.

37- Cf, Annex 4.

38- Ministere de l'Education National, Le Projet de l'Ecole Fondamentale et Polytechnique, Algiers, 1977, p.18

In order to understand the Algerian position more clearly, it is important to consider the definition given to this new school. Although it is called (l'Ecole Fondamentale et Polytechnique) which means basic and polytechnical school, the Algerian authorities do not make any reference to Marx and Lenin when defining it. Nor do they refer to any specific thinker such as Gandhi of India, to define the concept of basic education. Their approach is rather of a semantic kind as is described in annex 3.

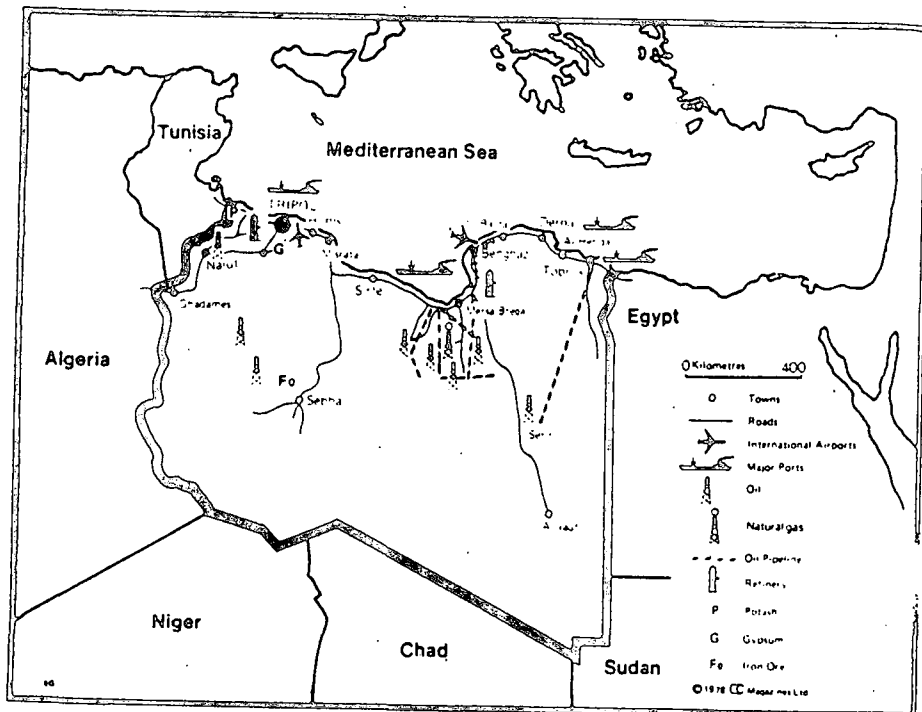
THE LIBYAN CASE

From early times, Libya came under the influence of many cultures, including those of ancient Egypt, Phoenicia, Carthage and Greece. Rome occupied the north by AD 85 and in the 5th and 6th centuries there were periods of Vandal and Byzantine rule. The Arabs conquered Libya in 643 and most of the indigenous Berbers soon embraced Islam. From 1551 the north was part of the Ottoman Empire, but Italian rule began when Italy seized Tripoli in 1911. From 1943, Britain ruled the northern provinces of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, while France governed the south-western province of Fezzan.

The fully independent United Kingdom of Libya (a federation of three provinces) was established on December 24, 1951, under King Idris. In 1963 Libya became a unitary state and in 1969, the King was deposed and a republic was proclaimed. A Revolutionary Command Council, headed by Colonel Muammar al-Qadhafi, took control and the Senate and House of Representatives were abolished. In 1973, a 'cultural revolution' was launched. People's committees were set up. They were dedicated to Arab nationalism and Socialism.

LIBYA

Policies



(Fig. V.4) MAP OF LIBYA: Source, M. East Yearbook, 1980.

Throughout the Ottoman period, the only centres of learning were religious institutions. The quality of education available, and the length of time one could spend as a student, were limited. The student could be trained as a teacher of the Arabic language or religious science or as a judge of Islamic jurisprudence.

During the Italian occupation, religious education continued to be the major type available. More Qur'anic schools were opened through private efforts, but instability of the region and severe economic conditions prevented this

already inadequate system of education from flourishing. Secular schools were also opened in a few urban centres during this time. The policy of the colonial administration was to restrict the number of Libyans educated beyond the primary stage, and all teaching was conducted in Italian. The handful of Libyans who wanted to seek further education had to travel to Egypt, where they could continue mainly in Arabic literature and religious science, or to Italy and a few other regions for study in more secular fields.

The British administration put more emphasis on secular education and established vocational schools separate from religious educational institutions. The new schools still inadequate, with meager resources and teaching staffs, served only residents of urban centres.

At independence, more than 90% of the population were illiterate and only a handful of Libyans had been given an opportunity to study at a university or to qualify for a recognized profession. During the first decade of independence, severe economic problems, regional conflict of interests, and poor management of the available resources handicapped the development of a sound education system.

The discovery of oil in the 1950s brought a radical change in the Libyan economy and eliminated the economic obstacles

to education. Since then, educational facilities have greatly expanded, schools have been built in rural and remote areas, more colleges have been established in the University of Libya, and more vocational schools and training centres have been instituted.

During the monarchy, education was influenced by religious elements more than in any of the previous periods. This was due to the fact that the King was before independence a Religious leader of the Sanusi brotherhood order. It is only natural that his reactivation of existing religious institutions and the development of new ones should follow.

Education development in Libya has been pursued recently in response to manpower shortages in sensitive technological vocational fields, and the Libyan educational system has therefore begun to emphasise job-related training rather than more classical educational curricula. In 1975, a group of Libyan educators predicted that between 1976 and 1980, the Libyan economy would require 300 000 technicians and skilled workers. At the time, only 140 000 students were enrolled at secondary and post-secondary levels, and less than 10% of these were attending institutes of higher education. In 1981-82, the Ministry of Education reported that 1 089 953

students were enrolled in Libyan schools and universities.(39)

Pressing educational priorities, in Libya, are to supply a sufficient number of Libyan teachers and to Libyanize school textbooks at all stages. A religious education system parallels the general education system. The Libyans did not think, as the Algerians did, that for the sake of national unity, the education system should be one and the same for all children from kindergarten school age till the age of 15 or 16. the arguments put forward to legitimize these opposing conceptions may differ because the people at the top are different. An explanation may also be that the size of the populations in the two countries dictates to the policy makers the policy to take.(40)

At independence in 1951, the overall literacy rate among Libyans over the age of ten years did not exceed 20%. With expanding school opportunities, by 1977, the rate had risen to 51% overall, or 73% for males and 31% for females. Relatively low though it was, the rate for females had jumped from 6% in 1964. The number of adults enrolled in various

39- Schmida, L. C., op. cit., p.65

40- Dempsey, M., "The Daily Telegraph Atlas of the Arab World" 1983, put the population of Algeria at an estimate of 20.042.000(1982), and that of Libya at 3.233.000(1982).

literacy programs had increased from 114.000 in 1973 to more than 163.000 in 1976. Literacy courses were offered in all parts of the country, and the 1976-80 development plan called for the elimination of illiteracy by 1980.(41) Under the Five Year Plan for 1981-85, \$3.37 billion have been allocated to educational development. This is equivalent to 5.9% of the total development budget.(42)

EDUCATIONAL AIMS AND POLICIES.

'The aims of Government educational policy are that education should serve to transmit the Islamic culture and religion and, further, prepare the rising generation for the world of work.'(43)

Since the first of September Revolution, 1969, one of the main objectives sought has been to use the wealth derived from oil revenues for the benefit of all the people in that country. The significant rise in per capita GNP: (US \$8640

41- Unesco, "Prospects for Educational Development in Libya", (Report prepared by a Libyan task force in collaboration with the Unesco.), Paris, January?Februaru 1979. p.2.

42- Schmida, L. C., op. cit., p.65

43- Unesco, "Prospects for Educational Development in Libya" op. cit., p.2

in 1980 as compared to US \$1920 in Algeria in 1980) and US \$1340 in Syria(1980)(44) based on oil production is reflected by a corresponding rise in living standards in all aspects of life in Libya.

In order to ensure that these high living standards will be maintained for the benefit of future generations, the government is persuing two lines of action, one in the economy and the other in education. The government economic policy is based on the assumption that at some point in the future, oil revenues will inevitably decrease, even though the known reserves are substantial. Over-reliance on these revenues would thus carry the risk of total national income decreasing to a level that would not allow the maintenance of present living standards. In order to minimise this risk, investments are made in new industries and enterprises independent of oil production, as also for the development of agriculture, forestry and fisheries.

Investment in education is likewise seen as contributing to future economic development. Prior to the 1969 revolution, just over half of the boys and less than one third of the girls were enrolled in primary schools, and only about 2000 students annually completed general secondary

44- Dempsey, M., "The Dayly Telegraph Atlas of the Arab World" op cit.,

education. Vocational training and technical education were practically non-existent, and only a handful of students were able to follow higher education. This state of affair generated importation on a large scale of foreign technicians, skilled labour and teachers at all levels of instruction to meet to the requirements of the present development programme. In 1979, about one third of the total labour force were expatriates.(45)

Education witnessed a significant growth. What is more significant, however, is the context in which such growth took place. The political reorganization, whereby all authority is delegated to the people, is of fundamental importance. Thus as far as education is concerned, responsibility for education is now vested in the people's committees in each of the 45 zones of the country, and more specifically in the People's Education Committees.(46)

The guiding principles for these committees to perform their educational function are, according to a report presented at the 58th International Conference of Public Education, (Geneva, 1981)(47

45- Unesco, "Prospects for development in Libya" op. cit., p.1.

46- Ibid., p.2.

47- Centre of Research, Training and Teaching Equipment, "Taqrir aan Tatawur at-Taalim Khilaal al-'Amain 1978-79 wa 1979-80" Communique about the evolution of Education during the years

) as follows:

1. Education is an effective process through which the overall standard of the Libyan Arab citizen can be promoted.
2. The education process vitalises the Libyan Arab citizen's awareness and understanding of spiritual as well as national values; and promotes his/her sense of belonging to the Arab Nation and belief in Arab Unity.
3. Islam is the main source from which education derives its principles and objectives.
4. The educational process is an effective method by which the individual is liberated from ignorance and backwardness which hinder him from fully participating in the battle of the Arab Nation to realise its goals of freedom, Socialism and unity.
5. One of the objectives of education is to make the rising generation aware of their educational and cultural heritage and its contribution to human culture.

6. Education is a means of preparing the necessary manpower for social and economic development.
7. Provision of opportunity for the individual to express himself freely through democratic discourse and positive interaction with society.

In contrast to the detailed rationale put forward, by the Algerians, to explain and legitimize their educational aims and policies, the Libyans were less particular in this concern. Nevertheless, the following is an attempt to clarify these general principles and determine where the stress lies.

A content analysis of these general principles reveals a significant repetition of certain concepts. These are concepts related to nationalist values repeated 7 times (Arab nation², Arab unity, cultural heritage, social and economic development, the Libyan Arab citizen, society) the second important concepts are those related to education, and those related to personality development, repeated 6 times. (Education as a process was repeated 3 times, as a means^{..2}, educational principles¹) and those related to the overall individual improvement (promotion of the overall standard of citizens, vitalisation, promotion of the sense of belonging,

liberation of individuals' awareness, freedom of expression or liberation). The concepts related to religion were repeated 3 times only (spiritual, Islam, Cultural heritage). Other concepts such as Democracy, Socialism, freedom, unity, and human culture were repeated only once.

Relying on this quantitative analysis, one may conclude that education in Libya is first determined by nationalism and then by the individual and education in its intrinsic value. Religion is surprisingly relegated to the fourth place, but more surprising is the level of emphasis for Socialism; mention of it was made only once. Let one compare these findings with those of a conceptual analysis of the political discourse in order to provide a correct picture of the normative pattern upon which educational policies are based in Libya.

Qadhafi laid aside his political and administrative functions in 1974 to devote himself entirely to the formulation of ideology. The fruit of his sabbatical was the publication in 1976 of the 'Green Book', in which he set down his definition of the nationalism and Arab Socialism that had been put forward as the basis not only for the Libyan revolution but also for the emerging Arab nation. It is commonly assumed in the West that 'at the core of Qadhafi's

political concepts were the precepts of Islam.'(48) Nonetheless, the social structural and historical circumstances surrounding the strongly religious legitimation to all political undertakings in Libya remain often unexamined. Qadhafi must resort to religion if he is to gain any popular support, but this does not make of him a religious reformist or leader in the larger sense of the word.

In North Africa, as in most of the rest of the Muslim world, there were two distinct and sometimes opposed traditions of Islam which have been characterised as the 'scriptural' and the 'folk'. The adherents to the former are the Ulema; the doctors of law and theology, the jurists, teachers and mosque officials. The latter are the Sufi brotherhoods, informal and diverse groups of mystics and reformers.

In Libya the military officers who took power in 1969 were the first secular political leaders to rule. The King of the previous regime had been not only a political figure but a religious dignitary as well. It is his role as the head of the Sanusiyya religious brotherhood that has permitted his accession to the throne of the Libyan Kingdom.

48- Nelson, H.D. (ed.) "Libya: a Country Study" Washington, The American University, 1979, p.56

During the colonial period, 'European influence had served to strengthen the hand of the religious conservatives at the expense of the secularists. The Italian colonial administration had cultivated the non-Sanusi Ulema while the British had supported the claims of the Sanusiyya to represent the country.'(49) There was, however, a small secular nationalist elite whose traditions reached back into the 19th century(50) When the military officers, avowed admirers of Abd al-Nasser's Arab nationalism, took power, they turned to the Ulema who were already prepared to welcome a change in the regime. It is this context that has created the conditions in which Nasserite ideology was transformed into a variant of Islamic/nationalist Socialism in Libya.

Qadhafi's approach to the application of Islam in government was one of using Islamic precepts to justify policies rather than adopting Islamic organizational structures for political purposes. He declared that Islam is free of fanaticism if rightly understood and decried what he called the unjust 'hatred and animosity' against Islam by the 'fortresses of colonialism'(51)

49- Anderson, L.S., "Religion and Politics in Libya" (in Journal of Arab Affairs, Vol.1 Oct.1981), Fresno (USA), Middle East Research Group, 1981, p.55

50- Cf. chapters two and three on nationalism.

* Also see Anderson, L.S. op. cit., pp.56-75

51- Nelson, H. D., op. cit., p.56.

Libyan women call for military service



(Fig. V.5) LIBYAN WOMEN CALL FOR MILITARY SERVICE. Source: Libyan People's Bureau in London, 1984.

'Qadhafi was a secularist; his claims to legitimacy were based on the representativeness of his regime... with an Arabic accent typical of the frontier between the major provinces, his abhorrence of regionalism and his dedication to nationalism and unity (Libyan and Arab) was borne out in his very education. A fervent admirer of the Egyptian President G. Abd al-Nasser and his version of Arab Socialism, Qadhafi proclaimed freedom, Socialism, and unity the goals of the revolution. He was also personally pious and the revolution very early reflected his view that religious affairs are properly seen within the perview of

government.(52) He does not see any contradiction between religious consciousness and political decisions, but he distrusted independent religious groups.

Nationalism and Socialism were the higher among the priorities of the Qadhafi government but in Libya, Islam had been given a more prominent role than in Egypt, Algeria or Syria, because of the potentially divisive role of independent religious groups, which are quite powerful in Libya. The history of competing religious establishments, each of which had been known to cooperate with the European powers, required in Qadhafi's view, particular vigilance by the government.(53)

A look at the school programmes in the general education stages supports the argument that nationalism is the key word in Libya. To teach children about the national development plans as early as the age of seven is highly suggestive of the importance of nationalism in that country. The school system has been conceived in such a way that the political ideology is sure to be internalised by every Libyan.

52- Anderson, L.S., op. cit., p.67

53- Ibid., p.70

The compulsory schools consist of six years of primary school, three years of preparatory school. In the primary school, children proceed automatically from an inferior grade to a higher one except in the grades four and six where they are examined. Those who fail are allowed to repeat the same grade. If some fail twice the same grade, they are allowed to proceed automatically to a higher grade. The same holds true in the middle schools except in the final year where the pupil who fails twice is expelled with a certificate attesting his completion of compulsory education.(54)

The religious education consists of all the stages and regulation of the above described system except that the disciplines taught differ. On top of the normal disciplines in the 'secular' stream, the Qur'anic schools as they are called stress religious sciences and Arabic. This education extends into the secondary schools and the graduates can join any of the faculties offered by the higher education system.

It is officially acknowledged that due to the rapid development of education and the resort to expatriates,(55) 'the recent rapid expansion resulted in the fact that the

54- Centre of Research, training & Teaching equipment, op. cit., p.9.

55- Unesco, "Prospects for Educational Development in Libya" op. cit., p.2

quality of education at this level has suffered. The main target for future development should, therefore, be qualitative improvement.'

1. Primary Education. 'according to the present Constitution and the 1975 law, education is the right and the duty of all Libyans and is compulsory until the end of the preparatory stage; parents are required to send their children to school during these years. The 9-year-compulsion, in the Libyan education system, resembles the 9-year-basic and polytechnical-education which is also compulsory in the Algerian system. Basic education, it is thought, should go as far as well into adolescence when the child's personality starts to take shape. In fact education, as conceived by the Algerian policy makers, is: "to create a new man imbued with the higher interests of his country, convinced of the need for a Socialist policy of development in every field."(56) The word 'create' is very significant in that it suggests that the school is the main instrument in the hands of the government, to shape the ideal type model of a good citizen.

56- A.A.C.R.O., op cit., p.7

Educational Aims and Policies

Primary Education	Secondary Education	Higher Education
	Teacher Training (1)(2)(3)-(4)	University
General Education (1)(2)(3)(4)(5)(6)-(1)(2)(3)-(1)	Lit. (2)(3)	Medecine 6 yrs Dentistry 5 yrs Engeering 5 yrs Pharmacy 5 yrs Petroleum Eng. 5 y Nuclear Eng. 5 yrs Agriculture 4 yrs Veterinary Scie. 4 Science 4 yrs Economics 4 yrs Education 4 yrs Arts 4 yrs Law 4 yrs
General Islamic Stream (1)(2)(3)(4)(5)(6)-(1)(2)(3)-(1)(2)(3)	Scie. (2)(3)	
	Intermediate Tech. Colleges -(1)(2)(3)-(4)	Higher Inst. Techn. Mech. & Elect. En. Electronics Environment Techn. Medical Laborator. Petroleum Engineer
AGE >...		
6 7 8 9 10 11	12 13 14 16 16 17	18 19 20 21 22 23

(Fig. V.6) THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF LIBYA.

At the age of six, children of both sexes join primary schools for the first part of the compulsory education, the course of which lasts for six years. Pupils in Grades 1, 2, 3 and 5 are promoted automatically. At the end of grades 4 and 6, a written examination at school level is held. according to this examination the pupil is either promoted or retained. In case of failure twice at

the same grade, the pupil is automatically promoted to the next grade.

2. Preparatory Education: (Middle Schools) The preparatory level is a three-year cycle and is also free and compulsory. In 1979-80, there were 1 135 preparatory schools with 222 690 students, and 17 369 teachers. The student/teacher ratio was approximately 13. The curriculum in these schools is identical to that at the primary level with the addition of mathematics and English. (57)

Promotion from grades 1 and 2 is decided by an examination held at the school level, the pass mark of which is 50%. On the other hand, in case of failure twice at the same grade, the pupil is automatically promoted to the next one. In the examination, the pupil should obtain the minimum pass mark for each subject. In case of failure twice at this grade, the pupil is issued an attestation of having completed compulsory education, the Preparatory School Certificate being given only to those who pass the examination.

3. General secondary Education: is also free for all Libyan

57- Schmida, L. C., op. cit., p.66

students. In 1979-80, there were 160 general secondary schools with 49 449 students and 3 330 teachers. The student/teacher ratio was 13.(58) This cycle lasts three years and is generally intended to prepare students to enter one of Libya's three universities or three higher institutes of technology. To be admitted to secondary schools, the student should have the General Preparatory School Certificate.

The course in the first year is general, while in the next two years, the student joins either the literary or the science division. First year curriculum includes Arabic, English mathematics (including mechanics), French, physics, Islamic studies, geography, history, chemistry, natural history, physical training, musical education, and drawing. In the second and the third years, the common subjects for all students are Islamic studies, social studies, Arabic, French, English, and the national development. Other subjects are specific to either the literary or scientific division.(59)

58- Ibid., p.66

59- Centre of Research, Training and Teaching Equipment in Libya, "Taqrir 'an Tataour ata'lim Khilaal 1978-79 and 1979-80" Libya, 1981, p.9

Promotion from first and second years is decided by examination held at school level; while in the third year, a public examination is held at national level. To pass this examination, the student should obtain the pass mark for each subject on condition that the examination secures 25% of the mark of each subject of the final written examination. Those who pass the examination are awarded the General Secondary School Certificate.(60)

4. Technical and Vocational Education includes teacher training, intermediate technical colleges and higher institutes of technology. These schools are also free and offer programmes of either three or four years duration. In 1979-80, there were 581 technical training institutes with 13 847 students and 1 004 teachers. The student/teacher ratio was about 14.(61) Similar to General Secondary Education, students who have the Preparatory School Certificate are admitted to either teacher training or the intermediate technical colleges.

Intermediate Technical schools offer a four-year programme. Graduates of this programme are admitted to higher institutes that offer three-year programme in

60- Ibid., p.9

61- Schmida, L. C., op. cit., p.66

commercial, industrial, or agricultural subjects. Vocational training centres operate in the major cities under the General Vocational Training Administration. These include the Petroleum Affairs Institute which train skilled workers, technicians, and managers for the oil industry.(62)

Continuing manpower shortages and high student drop-out rates have resulted in several reform proposals. One People's Congress proposal(63) of January 1982 suggested that specialisation in schools be encouraged at an earlier stage. Thus, general secondary schools would be phased out and replaced by secondary level technical training institutes, whose curricula would be linked to those of the universities and higher technical institutes. Another suggestion directed all public sector corporation to hire only graduates of technical institutes.(64)

These schools are financially and administratively run by Secretariats, the secretariat of Education being responsible to run their examinations and issue of

62- Ibid., p.67

63- Cf. next chapter for the State administrative organisation diagram, p.382.

64- Schmida, L.C., op. cit., p.67

certificates. Promotion from one grade to another is assessed on the basis of 60% for the year's work and 40% for the final examination on condition that the student scores 50% of the mark. To obtain the diploma, students at the final year have to pass a written examination and a practical one at the end of the year. Students of the four year course who excel themselves join university faculties on certain conditions. The following courses are given: agriculture, financial and economic studies, applied engineering, industry, social welfare, electricity, health, civil aviation, drama and music, petroleum affairs, financial and administrative studies, teacher training, domestic sciences, pastures and forestry, technical instructor training. (65)

There are four main Higher Institutes of technology, they are as follows:

- Higher Institute of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering comprised of two departments, one of mechanics and the other of electricity.
- Higher Institute of Electronics comprised of the departments of Engineering, Electronic Control Engineering, Electronic Communication Engineering and

65- Centre of Research, Training and Teaching Equipment in Libya, "Taqrir 'an Tataour ata'lim Khilaal 1978-79 and 1979-80" op. cit., p.10

Microwave Engeneering.

- Higher Institute of Technology is comprised of the department of Environmental Technology and the department of Medical Laboratory Technology.

-Higher Institute of Petroleum is comprised of the departments of: Mechanical Engeneering, Petroleum Engeneering, Electrical Engeneering, Exploration Engeneering and refining engeneering.

In 1979-80, Libya had 104 teacher training institutes, with a total of 27 827 students and 2 113 teachers. The student/teacher ratio was 13. Teacher training for primary schools consists of a five-year post-primary cycle or a two year post-preparatory cycle. Preparatory school teachers are trained at special institutes with a four-year preparatory cycle. Studies in the first year are common to all, and for the next three grades, students choose one of six specialised departments: Islamic Education and Arabic Language, Social Studies and English Language, Math and Sciences, Art Education, Physical Education, and Music Education. Secondary education teachers are trained in university faculties of education.(66)

66- Schmida, L. C. op. cit., p.67

5. Universities: There are presently two major universities in Libya: the University of Al-Fateh in Tripoli and the University of Garyounis in Benghazi. Work was completed in late 1980 on a third university, the Technical University of Marsa Brega. In addition, the colleges of Arabic Language and Islamic Studies were incorporated into the Libyan university system in 1970. There are also three higher institutes of technology in Brak, Houn, and Bani-Walid. Under the latest Five Year Plan, the number of students in universities is projected to grow from 19 300 (1980-81) to 30 500 (1986-87) -an annual growth rate of 9.6%. The number of students in technical schools is projected to almost double, from 13 800 to 27 000.(67) The three universities comprise faculties giving various courses; such as agriculture, arts, medecine, science engeneering, economics and commerce. Students who have obtained the General Secondary School Certificate (Literary and Scientific) and students at intermediate technical colleges who have excelled are admitted to these universities. The course of study ranges between four and six years. Most of the faculties give full-time semestrial courses. Admittance requirements are the same for Libyan as well as other students according to the admission policy of individual

67- Ibid., p.67

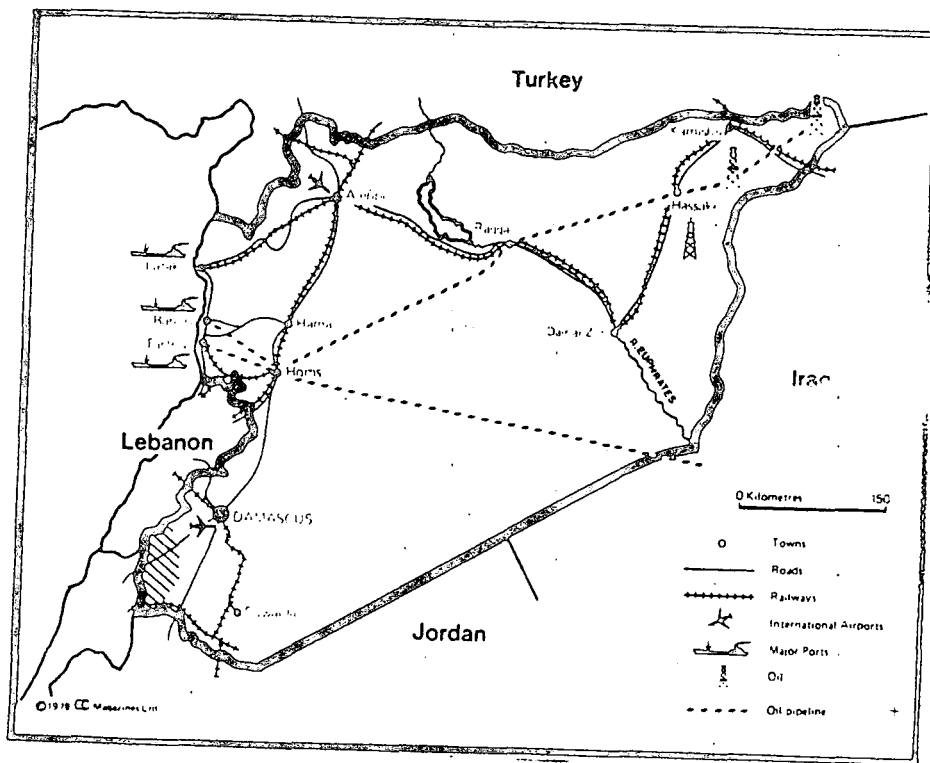
faculties.(68)

68- Centre of Research, Training & Teaching Equipment in Libya,
op. cit., pp.10-12.

THE SYRIAN CASE.

The Syrian coast was part of the great trading civilization of Phoenicia in early times. But, throughout much of its history, Syria was under foreign domination. The Arabs conquered Syria between AD 634 and 636 and, under the Umayyad dynasty, Damascus became the centre of an Arab empire that stretched from the Atlantic Ocean to India. In 750, however, the empire's capital was moved to Iraq by the Abbasid dynasty and Syria declined. From 1095-1291 Syria featured in crusader wars and from 1516 Syria was part of the Ottoman Empire.

In 1920, despite nationalist demands for freedom, France began to rule Syria under a League of Nations mandate. An independent republic was proclaimed in 1941, although foreign troops remained in Syria until 1946. The early years of independence were marked by political instability. In 1948, Syria was involved in the Arab-Israeli War. In 1958, Syria joined Egypt and Yemen in the United Arab Republic, but it withdrew in 1961. In 1967, Israel seized part of the Syria east and north of the lake Tiberias (the Golan Heights region). In 1970 General Hafiz al-Assad, former defence Minister, took power and he was elected President in 1971. In 1973, there was further fighting in the Golan area and in



(Fig. V.7) MAP OF SYRIA: Source, M. East Yearbook, 1980.

1976, Syrian troops were sent to restore order in Lebanon. In 1980, Syria signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the USSR.

Under the 1973 Constitution, Syria is a 'Socialist Popular Democracy'. The President heads the government which he appoints. Legislative power is vested in the 195-member People's Council, which is elected by universal adult suffrage. There are five political parties grouped in the national Progressive Front, the dominant party being the Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party.

The goal of the Syrian Arab Republic's national education is formulated thus: 'National unity, freedom, Socialism and participation in the progress of mankind, as well as in scientific development, a sense of historical struggle and pride in national heritage are goals of the education system. To achieve these the State provides free and compulsory education at the first level and directs it towards fulfilling social and economic needs.' (69)

EDUCATIONAL AIMS AND POLICIES.

Education in Syria is free at all levels but compulsory only at the primary level. The Ministry of Education -in cooperation with the Director of Education in each region- controls all formal education below the university level, while the Ministry of Higher Education controls all post-secondary institutions. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) administers some schools, mostly at the primary level, and training programmes are administered by the Ministries of Agriculture, Health, Industry, Petroleum, Public Works, Social Affairs, and Labour. Arabic is the language of instruction in all public schools. Private

69- I.B.E., "International Yearbook of Education" (Vol. XXXII, Prepared by B. Holmes), Paris, Unesco, 1980, p.196

schools are strictly controlled by the government and many have been nationalised over the years.. Today, less than 5% of Syrian students attend private schools. In 1979, government expenditure on education amounted to 5.8% of the gross national product. Syria's budget for education reached \$8 million in 1983, ten times the educational budget of 1973.(70)

Article 21 of the 13/3/73 decree No 208 define the aims of the educational system as follows: "The educational and cultural system aims at creating a nationalist Arab generation, Socialist, having a scientific frame of mind, attached to its history and its land, proud of its heritage and imbued with the spirit of struggle in order to realise its nation's objectives in a context of unity, freedom and Socialism, and to participate in the service and progress of humanity."(71))

These aims find their significance in the official political discourse. Although several parties coexist in Syria, it is apparent that educational policies are in line

70- Schmida, L.C., op. cit., p.97.

71- Ministry of Education Damascus, "Le mouvement éducatif pendant les deux années scolaires 1979-1980 et 1980-81," presented at the 38th session of the international Educational Conference held in Geneva in 1981, p.2.

with the ideology of the Ba'th party.(72) The Minister of education puts it thus: "Education in our country aims at creating the new Arab, providing back our Arab authenticity. These aims are based on the aims of our great Party; the Ba'th Socialist Party. The guidance we get in directing these aims are from our leader and guide, our militant comrade, Hafiz al-Assad. The more the Arab individual possesses the will to militate for progress, the conviction in his Nation's rights, the knowledge and the know-how, the more would he be able to contribute in his country's and Nation's building, the more would he be able to defend it and realise his higher aspirations of Unity, Freedom and Socialism."(73)

These aspirations are operationalised into aims and objectives in the Syrian legislation. Thus, for example, it is foreseen(74) that "schooling is a right guaranteed by the state. It is free in all its cycles and compulsory at the primary level. The state envisages a prolongation of compulsory schooling to other levels. The state supervises

 72- Cf. Ministry of Education, "At-Tarbiya fi-l Djoumhouriya al-'Arabiya as-Suriya lil 'Am ad-Dirassi 1982-83 & 1983-84." (Education in the Arab Syrian Republic for the Academic year 1982-83 & also the same publication for the year 1983-84) -Damascus.

73- Ibid., p.3.

74- Article 37 of the 13/3/73 decree No. 208.

education and directs it in the direction of society's and production's needs."

These aims are further elaborated by legislating that the school should have certain targets to realise. These are the following:

1. To form the Arab citizen, attached to his Arab fatherland, believing in his Arab nationality as well as in his nation's aims of unity, liberation and construction of the Socialist society. Concerned by the problems of his nation as well as those of his fatherland, believing in revolution as a path for action, believing in freedom, which he defends and practices in the spirit and responsibility of a Socialist.
2. To reinforce the Socialist values, based on scientific bases in the minds of the youth. To emphasise the link between the country's struggle and the Socialist one,(75) to negate all forms of selfishness, feeling of family, community, tribal and regional belonging that may accrue in the Arab society. The individuals belonging to the

75- The Socialist struggle outside the confines of the nation state is against exploitation and more precisely, against colonialism and imperialism, which implies that there is an element of solidarity between the countries who follow the path of liberation called socialism. This is the universal dimension of Marxism.

later are undistinguishable in the Arab unity.

3. To interest the youth in the struggle to realise the aims of Arab unity, to liberate the Arab Society from class exploitation, external dependency and all kinds of colonialisms and imperialisms. To emphasise the link between the Arab national struggle and the struggle of all peoples and militants for national liberation, construction of Socialism and to erase colonial domination in all its aspects of exploitation.
4. To form a generation conscious of the danger of the zionist invasion as well as the causes behind it. To mobilise it so that it participates with efficiency in the national fight in order to suppress the zionist aggression and liberate all the occupied lands of the Arab fatherland.
5. To reconcile the Arab citizen with the civilizational heritage of his fatherland in order to increase his confidence in it and in its ability to contribute in enriching the human civilization. This will develop in the Arab citizen an awareness that he is, as well, an individual of the human society.
6. To prepare the citizen to assume his responsibility in

the democratic peoples' institutions, by understanding their bases and the rights of the working masses, contemplating their destiny and participate in the policy making and the control of it.

7. To affirm the nobility of work and glorify collective productive work in order to realise a society where no exploitation prevails.
8. To train the Arab citizen to reflect objectively, to have a sensitive scientific outlook, believing in science in order to treat individual and social problems in a scientific manner, far from the prejudices of the mythical and occult minds.
9. To train the citizen to be a mature person, fully grown in a diversity of dimensions; morally, mentally, emotionally and socially.
10. To train the citizen in holding positive relations, happy in his family and in his society, respectful of spiritual and moral values and the rights of man.
11. To form a healthy strong citizen, enjoying a balanced psychological pattern, emotionally mature. esthetically sensitive, capable of satisfying his intellectual,

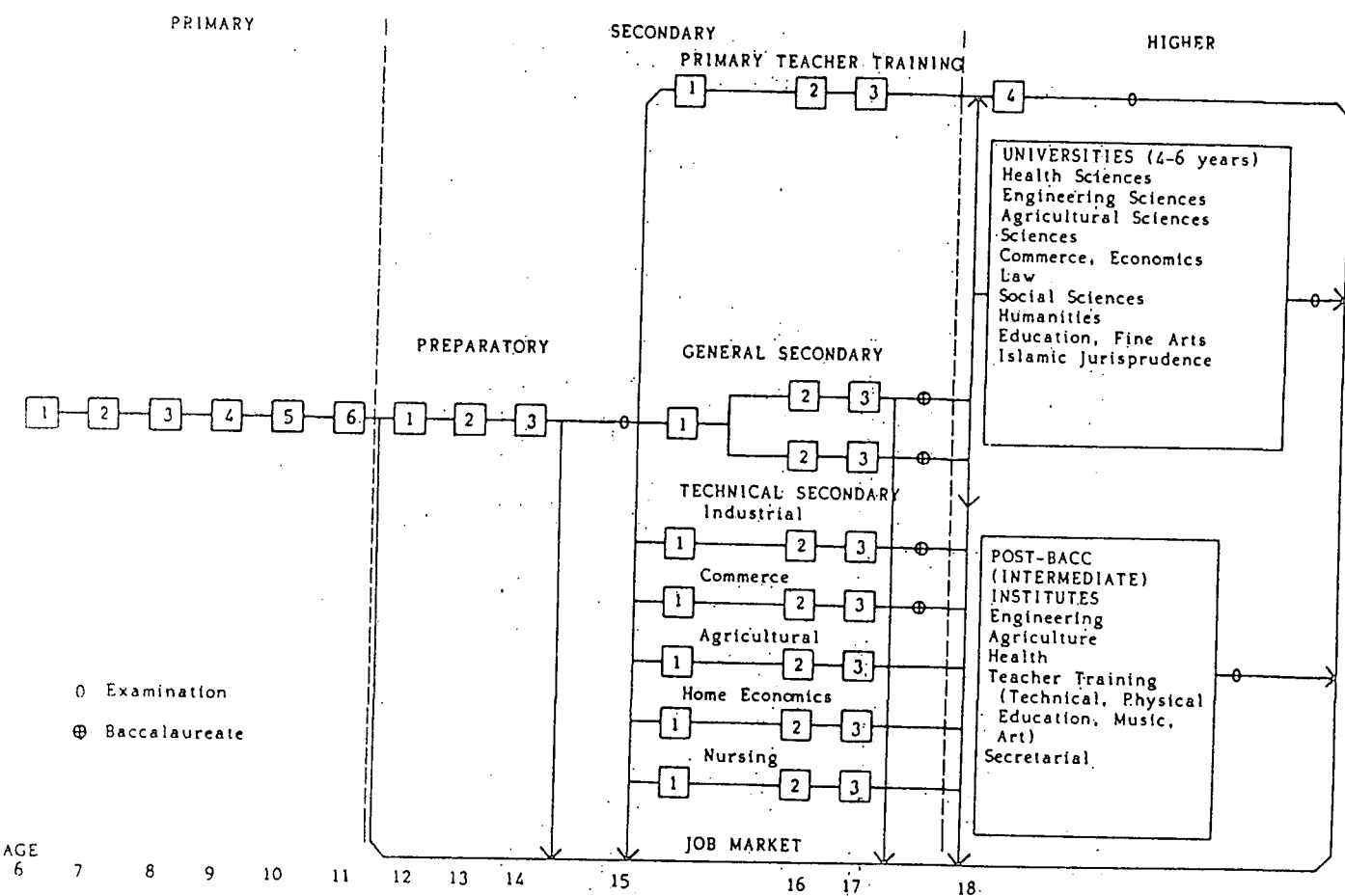
artistic and recreational interests and hobbies

It is in the light of these middle range educational aims that specific aims and objectives of the different levels of instructions have been formulated. What can be said as a commentary is that compared to both Algeria and Libya, Syria seems fully engaged in Socialism and nationalism while religion is left as a private concern under the category of individual freedom. Nevertheless, as is shown below there is a gap between this normative commitment and the institutional reality in that country. The school system is more selective and less democratic or egalitarian than in Algeria or Libya. Private schools are allowed presumably for the privileged although curricula are centrally designed. Access to university is much more difficult. The following reveals this state of affairs.

STRUCTURE AND CONTENT.

Schooling is divided into six years of compulsory primary education, three years of middle school education, and three years of secondary education. General secondary education offers academic courses and prepares for university entrance; the last two years of this stage are divided into literary

Educational Aims and Policies



(Fig. V.8) THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF SYRIA.

and scientific streams. Vocational secondary education offers courses in industry, agriculture, commerce, and primary school teacher training. The entrance age for secondary schooling is fifteen years except in teacher training institutions, which also accept fourteen-year-old candidates. This system was established in 1967 when the country signed the Arab Cultural Unity Agreement with Jordan and Egypt, introducing a uniform school ladder in the three countries and determining curricula, examination procedures,

and teacher training requirements for each level.

1. Primary education is free and compulsory. It aims at a harmonious and integrated development of the child, and this, in the physical, psychological, social, moral, national and emotional plans by providing the necessary means to find his path in life; as a working citizen.(76) Primary enrolment has grown rapidly over the years, reaching 1,555,921 in 1981. In 1979, 41% of all educational expenditures were made at the primary level. Most of these schools are run by the government but 3% are private and 2% of primary schools are provided by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. Curricula vary but must be approved by the Ministry of Education.(77) Subjects studied at the primary level include religion, Arabic, arithmetics, science and hygiene, history, geography, civics, writing, drawing and handicrafts, physical education, and singing.(78) physical education. As early as 1978, the curriculum stated to be revised in collaboration with the Jordanian authorities as a

76- Ministere de l'Education, "Le Mouvement Educatif pendant les deux Annees Scolaires 1979-80 et 1980-81 en Syrie" Geneva, 1981, p.27

77- Schmida, L. C., op. cit., p.97

78- Ibid., p.97.

concrete first step towards Arab unity.(79)

When the French left Syria, after the Second World War, there were only a little more than 1000 primary schools, with about 150 000 pupils. Now there are seven times more schools, and nine times more pupils.(80) This increase has been achieved without sacrifice of quality in terms of teacher/pupil ratio. At 1 teacher for every 34 pupils, this ratio has not changed over the past three decades and compares favourably with that prevailing in any other Arab country.(81)

Although the six-year primary education is compulsory, it is not always possible to enforce the law. This is apparent from the statistics, which show that girls form only 2/5 of the student population. Despite this, and although Syria is still an agrarian society, with half of its working population engaged in agriculture, dominated by illiterate parents, the annual drop-out rate among the primary students is noticeably low at 6%.

2. Preparatory school education, (middle school), lasts

79- Hiro, Dilip. "The times" London, Nov. 16, 1978.

80- Ibid.

81- Ibid.

three years (covering ages 12 to 14) and is free, but not compulsory as is the case in Algeria and Libya. All students who successfully complete primary education, have good health and are the right age, are eligible for this cycle.(82) Although there has been a rapid growth in enrolment at this level, a high drop out rate between primary and middle schools remains. In 1981, the enrolment in these schools was 418,604.(83)

The middle schools is a continuation cycle of primary education and aims at developing the citizen's personality so that he may acquire the necessary knowledge and moral values. This cycle is viewed as a cultural and scientific prerequisite stage for secondary education and represents a basic level for professional and educational orientation.(84)

The curriculum includes religion, Arabic, foreign language, mathematics, music, social studies, general science, sciences, handicraft, physical education, military science, and female education. Student

82- Minister de l'Education, "Le Mouvement Educatif pendant les deux Annees Scolaires 1979-80 et 1980-81 en Syrie" Geneva, 1981, p.28

83- Schmida, L. C., op. cit., p.98

84- Minister de l'Education, "Le Mouvement Educatif pendant les deux Annees Scolaires 1979-80 et 1980-81 en Syrie" Geneva, 1981, p.28

evaluation at this level is based on oral examinations plus a mid-term exam during the first semester and two tests and a final exam during the second semester. Students receive an Annual Certificate of Study at the completion of each intermediate year. At the end of three years, all eligible students must sit for the nationally prepared essay-style Intermediate Level Diploma Examination (al-Kafa'a or Brevet) in order to receive the General Preparatory Certificate. A score of 42% must be achieved in order to pass the exam and advance to secondary school. Less than 50% of the students at this level continue on to the secondary level.(85)

3. Religious education which is free is run by the (Awkaf) religious affairs Ministry and provides a six-year course parallel to the preparatory and secondary cycles in the secular system. At preparatory level the number of pupils in religious schools is 3% of the secular school enrolment. Curricula are substantially different from those drawn up by the Ministry of education. The government's growing emphasis on industrializing the country and raising agricultural output have matched a decreasing enrolment at the religious institutes from

85- Schmida, L. C., op. cit., p.98



(Fig. V.9) SCHOOL EXAMINATION IN SYRIA: Source, Ministry of Ed., Damascus.

1,206 to 1,144.(86) This, it might be argued, shows a declining interest in religion.

In order to cope with the rising demand for teachers, to put into effect the ambitious plans for expanding primary and secondary education, the government has had to increase vastly the number and size of the teacher training colleges. Between 1962 and 1976, the number of teacher's training colleges was raised from 9 to 22, and

86- Hiro, Dilp. op. cit.

that of students from 2 466 to 7 329.(87)

4. The secondary cycle also lasts three years, is free and covers grades 10 to 12 (ages 15 to 17). Enrolement in 1981 was 159 386.(88) A dramatic change has occurred in this cycle. Most of the 64 secondary schools in existence towards the end of the French Mandate were run privately, often by Christian missions. On the eve of the 1963 Ba'athist revolution, the private schools -at 194- exceeded those managed by the government by 53. By 1978, however, the private schools formed only 8% of the post primary schools.(89)

It is divided in two types: Secondary General which is in turn divided into literary and scientific (either public or private), and Secondary technical, which includes vocational branches, business, home economics, nursing and agricultural education, or a student may attend a Primary Teacher Training Institute.(90)

87- Hiro Dilip. op. cit.

88- Schmida, op. cit., p.98

89- Hiro, Dilip. op. cit.

90- Minister de l'Education, Damas, op. cit., p.29

The students who follow the general literary track focus on philosophy, geography, history, and foreign languages, while those of the scientific track concentrate on biology, chemistry, and physics. All students are required to take courses in Arabic studies and philosophy, a foreign language, physical education, and military training (for boys). Upon the successful completion of the three years of study and the passing of a nationally prepared essay exam, students are awarded the General Secondary Certificate, sometimes called the Baccalaureat or General Certificate of Secondary Education.(91)

The secondary technical schools are run by the government. Among these, there are 24 industrial secondary schools and 23 commercial ones. While the general secondary certificate (Baccalaureat) implies automatic acceptance for university, holders of the technical (Baccalaureat) have limited opportunities of further education. The top three proceed every year to university. between 1962 and 1976, this cycle underwent expansion, such as for instance the industrial training colleges, which doubled; from 7 066 to 13 172. And so it

91- Schmida, L. C., op. cit., p.98

did at the agricultural institutes from 817 to 1 551.(92)
The government is encouraging enrolment in technical programmes, for the Syrian economy is in great need of technical graduates. In 1981, enrolment in technical secondary schools was 26 154, up from 14 375 in 1974.(93)

The aim of technical secondary education is to train the required manpower in view of a Socialist transformation of the sectors of industrial production and the services. This is necessary in order to start a technical infrastructure of a Socialist economy, in the light of a continuous growth in the public sector. This type of education is linked to the economic development plan and the needs of the national economy. Another important aim of this type of education is to enforce the complementarity between theoretical studies and applied science and develop in the student the scientific method of thinking, scientific research and self criticism. This helps him to proceed in innovation and creation, enrich his experience in order to reach the required technical level that may respond to the needs of industry, commerce, agriculture and services.

92- Hiro, Dilip. op. cit.

93- Schmida, op. cit., p.98

The remaining streams at secondary level do not lead to the Baccalaureat examination. The Ministry of Agriculture runs secondary agricultural schools, two of which offer special training (One in veterinary science and the other in farm machinery). There are also home economics and nursing courses at secondary level for those girls who do not opt for general or commercial education. (94)

5. Higher education is comprised of four universities: one in Damascus, one in Aleppo one in Latakia and one in Homs. The University of Damascus was originally founded as a medical institute in 1903. It now has 12 faculties: Agriculture, commerce, Medecine, Pharmacy, dentistry, Engeneering, languages, sciences. law and veterinary medecine. According to Hiro Dilip, (95) Damascus University is the only institute in the Middle East where all disciplines, including pure sciences and medecine, are taught in Arabic.

Immediate plans for university development in Syria include new departments of metallurgy, chemical engineering and a farm mechanization centre at Aleppo, a

94- Minister de l'Education, "Le Mouvement Educatif.. op. cit., p.29.

95- Hiro Dilip, op. cit.

department of marine engineering at Latakia and a language centre at Damascus. After the 1963 Ba'ath revolution, the universities have undergone a large expansion. The University student body has jumped from 18 569 in 1962 to more than 65 000 in 1976.(96)

University education for the Syrian nationals and the Palestinians is free, as long as the student does not fail his finals. If he does, he has to pay the amount of \$Syr 100 to 150 a year. Such fees, together with other incidental charges for libraries and so on, contribute only a fraction of the annual cash budget of \$Syr 63m, the huge deficit being made up by the Government grant.(97)

A concluding remark is that by and large, policies in education reflect the official aim of transforming the school system in accordance with the ideology of the Ba'ath party by making the training provided in the schools responsive to the nation's manpower needs.

SUMMARY AND PROBLEM STATEMENT.

96- Hiro, Dilip., op. cit.

97- Ibid.

Change occurred in the institutional pattern of Algeria, Libya and Syria during the colonial period. At the same time, the physical pattern of these countries witnessed important changes as well; their maps were arbitrarily created. Some important mineral resources were also of important significance. At independence, a change occurred in the normative pattern; nationalist and Socialist ideologies were adopted.

However, these ideologies were not borrowed ready made. They were developed by local thinkers and political leaders. They were, thus, a mixture of two ideal type ideologies, namely original Islam and original Socialism, which made them neither totally Socialistic nor fundamentally Islamic.

One may argue that the problem and the politics of Arab social change are better understood in the light of Myrdal's distinction between higher and lower valuations. The higher valuations are those educational goals and aims that deal with Arab unity. The lower valuations are those that deal with the national needs, namely manpower requirements and socialisation into a 'national' mould. The higher valuations are avowed aspirations and the lower valuations are the present concrete day to day requirements and actions.

The countries selected for study view Arab unity as an extension of their Socialistic aspirations -Libya and Syria more than Algeria. Socialism is to be realised. It is therefore a higher valuation. Islam as well as the nation state were already part of the culture; Islam for centuries and the nation state in the recent past. They are therefore what moulds the mental states of the people. They are the lower valuations.

In the case of Libya, at first sight, Islam appears to be what forms the higher valuations of the leaders of that country but as was demonstrated earlier, Islam was brought into formal politics because in that country, before the Qadhafi era, power was based on a purely religious legacy in the person of King Idris who was a Sufi shaykh. In spite of the strongly religious rhetoric in the regime of Qadhafi, it is Pan-Arabism that prevails for him and not Pan-Islamism. Just recently, while commemorating the 16th anniversary of the 1969 September revolution, his speech was dominated by his passionate interest in achieving Arab unity -by force if necessary. He said that, if Arab states rejected a recent Libyan proposal for a federation of Arab states with a rotating presidency, "clashes will begin, violence will begin, because we cannot leave the Arab world in its present state. So we announce to them that there can be no respect for borders from now on... this is an internal matter, an

internal revolution, not a war between one state and another."(98)

In the Algerian context, the Islamic rhetoric, as well as Arab nationalism, are less apparent. Nevertheless, Islam is allowed a place in the constitution. This is understandable when 99% of the Algerians are Muslims. But in Syria, Islam is not apparent and is kept in the background to leave the secularist ideology of the Ba'ath Party paramount. This is also understandable when that country is a mixture of religious sects in spite of the domination of the Sunni Muslims. One may safely conclude that Islam is not a higher valuation in the three countries but a lower valuation and therefore more prone to be the main element of resistance to change.

In educational terms, the problem statement can be formulated as follows. In the school sub-system, an asynchronous base of a Holmesian problem could be located in the post independence era in the explosion of aspirations (Arab cultural Intergration, manpower requirements, technological advancement, individual promotion...) These were identifiable in the growth in the number of children to be schooled, the number of teachers, institutional

98- The Guardian (English Daily Newspaper), Tuesday, Sept. 3, 1985

reorganisation, governmental subsidies.... Against this relatively rapid change, non-rapid change could be identified in basic attitudes such as parents attitudes towards girls education, egoistic policies of a nationalistic nature rather than Pan-Arab educational policies. Although there are indications that change is occurring in certain countries such as Syria and Jordan which are harmonizing their educational policies, there is a time lag between resolutions and implementations, which creates problems.

The problem thus identified and located in time and space, certain policy solutions suggest themselves. But before embarking on such an endeavour, there still is need to provide some important theoretical comments on the above described educational aims and policies in the light of a suitable theory of social change. This is a preparation stage to enable one to predict present policies and suggest alternative solutions.

VI- ANALYTICAL COMMENTS

High wind, cold moon,
Long stream through the sky,
Beyond the gate, no shadow-
Four sides, eight directions.

-Shokaku.

The previous chapter was merely a descriptive account of educational aims and policies in the three countries of our study. There is still need for an explanatory account of these policies.(1)

Algeria, Libya and Syria viewed education as a strategic tool in the hands of the State, to bring about the kind of society and prosperity they wish to provide for their children.(2) The transition from Capitalism to Socialism is considered to be, not just a matter of changing economic and

1- The "how?" of an account does not need to be supported by a theory of social change. The "why?", however requires such theory. In other words one does not need to have any specific conception of how things normally change when describing an event or a fact. one needs, however, the support of a "theory" to explain such change and whether it follows the "general pattern" or is an exception. In the light of the hypothetico-deductive method, such theory might be refuted when exposed to local initial conditions. For the time being, the Marxist-Leninist theory seems to be the logical choice since these countries are Socialist. This choice provides an explanation from within, so to speak.

2- Cf. chapter five of the present thesis.

political structures, It also involves changing the way people think about work, social relationships and society in general.(3) It is what Brian Holmes calls the pattern of society's mental states,(4)

The element of exploitation experienced during colonization has convinced many that the Marxist analysis of history is correct and that his views on social change are, consequently also correct. In the International context of the dialectical relation colonizer/colonized, the Leninist theory on imperialism is an extension of the Marxist thesis of class struggle. It stipulates that, in this context, the dialectical interplay between oppressor and oppressed makes history. However history is made by man and man can either hasten the process of change by revolution or slow it down.

 3- Casteles, S. & Wustenburg, W., "The Education of the Future: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Socialist Education" London, Pluto Press, 1979, p.1

4- The Marxist theory of social change can be incorporated in the Holmesian methodological model or taxonomy, which is the one used throughout the present study.

* Cf. B. Holmes, "Models in Comparative Education" (in Compare, Vol.11, No.2), 1981, pp.155-161.

* Also, in order to understand this concept of "mental states", consider the concept of "residue" of Pareto in S. Finer, "Pareto, Mind and Society". Ogburn's "Non-material non-adaptive culture" is also of importance; cf. W. F. Ogburn, "On Culture and Social Change; Selected Papers" Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1964. Myrdal calls the "mental states" "lower valuation", cf. G. Myrdal, "An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy" New York, Harper, 1944. Marx calls this pattern "the false consciousness" or petite bourgeois mentality. Cf. K. Marx, "Capital", Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1976.

The goal of this evolution -or revolution- is to realise the undetermined realm of man's freedom.

Assuming, from another perspective,(5) that there is a dialectical relationship between consciousness and material conditions, "backward" consciousness can hinder changes in material conditions and vice versa. Education, in Socialist societies, must be viewed as the planned and systematic shaping of consciousness.(6) Planned, that is, according to future priorities (basically economic) in order to further liberate man from all exploitation. In effect, this dual function of the school as shaping consciousness and contributing to change was presented in the speech of the late Algerian president, Boumediene, when he said: 'The goal of the Algerian school today, is to create a new man imbued with the higher interests of his country, convinced of the need for a Socialist policy of development in every field...Our country is in need of thousands of national cadres for the promotion of agriculture and building of industry, and so as to obviate the need for foreign cadres.'(7)

5- Taking the nation-state as unit for analysis.

6- Castles, S. & Wustenberg, W., op. cit., p.1

7- A.A.C.R.O., "Algeria" New York, World Education Series, 1978, p.9. (Quoted from a document of the Ministry of Information & Culture, Algiers, 1973.

Again, in Syria, the function ascribed to the school as is apparent in the report presented at the 38th session of the International Educational Conference held in Geneva(8) (Cf. present thesis pp.335-341) appears to be that of "creating" a new type of citizen, believing in his nation's aims of unity, liberation and construction of the Socialist society, and believing in revolution as a path for action. The school, thus, has the important function of reinforcing the Socialist values and linking them with the country's struggle for freedom. The school is also viewed as a means of motivating the youth in the struggle to realize the aims of Arab unity, to liberate the Arab society from class exploitation, external dependency, and all kinds of colonialism and/or imperialism. The school must, also, reconcile the old and the new, prepare individuals for policy making in a democracy, affirm the nobility of work and glorify collective productive work, and train the citizens to be mature persons.

According to what has been said, the function of the school appears to be more important than that of the family or the influence of the wider society on the individual's personality, since it has the responsibility for creating or forming a new type of citizen. However, theoretically, the

 8- Ministry of Education Damascus, "Le mouvement Educatif Pendant les deux annees scolaires 1979-80 et 1980-81" Report presented at the 38th of the International Educational Conference held in Geneva, p.2.

school is not the only element of change, for indeed, the material basis of society is to be changed at the same time. Thus, for example, Syria witnessed a rapid economic growth, which began in the 1930s,(9) accelerated in the 1940s, and lasted until the late 1950s. Besides agriculture, industry expanded rapidly, stimulated by the need of the Allied Forces in the area during World War II and domestic shortages of goods.(10)

Nonetheless, at independence, in 1946, the country was still predominantly agricultural with many isolated rural villages and nomadic herders. The tempo of the economy depended on the amount and timing of the rains that determined the harvests and condition of livestock of the bedouin tribes. Modernizing the economy and the society it supported constituted a long and difficult task, because economic development required changes in techniques, institutions, and people.(11)

9- It is during this period of colonisation that major institutional changes were introduced. The 'technical problem is defined within a societal taxonomy. Cf. the Holmesian taxonomy in chapter two.

10- Nyrop, R.F., "Syria: a Country Study" Washington, the American University, Washington, 1979, p.98

11- Ibid., p.97

It has been during this period of independence, that the country witnessed an explosion of nationalistic aspirations. Many people wanted to develop the country and provide the population with a decent standard of living including health care and schooling, but political instability hampered achievement. Clashes between groups over who would design what, and what would be the strategy for economic development lasted until the mid-1960s. Also four wars with Israel and heavy defence expenditures compounded the difficulties facing the country.(12)

The labour force was short of skills in many different fields. In 1970, the number of professional and technical staff and administrators and managers amounted to 5% of the work force.(13) The shortage of skills became acute during the investment boom of the mid-1970s, causing economists to identify this deficiency a major constraint on future development.

Consequently, in the 1970s, planners and government organizations gave greater attention to increasing the skills in the labour force. A number of vocational schools and specialised training facilities, including one for

12- Ibid., p.99

13- Ibid., p.101

administrators and managers, became more active. Construction of industrial plants and other projects often included job training by foreign suppliers. Greater efforts were made to identify and plan for the economy's manpower needs. Thus, between 1970 and 1979, the enrolment ratio has witnessed a marked increase in technical school enrolment, from 3.4% to 4.2%.⁽¹⁴⁾ On the other hand, general education enrolment decreased from 48.3% in 1975, to 47.2% in 1980.⁽¹⁵⁾ Public expenditure on education as a whole has increased during the period 1970-1975 from 12.6% of the national budget, to 14.8% during the years 1975-80.⁽¹⁶⁾

Theoretically, in class societies, there is no single education system but rather a whole range, each specializing in one kind of education, such as education of slaves or education of slave owners.⁽¹⁷⁾ Paradoxically, the present structure of the Syrian education system, as described in chapter five reveals, that there are many types of schools especially private (for the rich) and religious (for non-Socialist-conscious citizens), and that the Socialist

14- Unesco, "La Croissance des Effectifs Scolaires dans les Etats Arabes: Tendances et Projections jusqu'en 2000", Paris, Unesco (Division of Educational Policy & Planning), 1982, p.58.

15- Ibid., p.55.

16- Ibid., p.85.

17- Castel, S. & Wustenberg, W., op. cit., p.1

aspirations of the Syrian society are not realised. One may argue that it is still in a process of transition towards Socialism.

Indeed, there is an element of inevitability inherent in the Marxist theory of social change. It is assumed that when a specific mode of production such as feudalism or capitalism reaches the limits of its development, a process of transition to a new mode of production begins, which would generate a societal crisis.(18) Change in the mode of production leads to change in the social and political structures, which implies that the old forms of education are no longer adequate, and have to change as well.

This is especially true in the case of Algeria, which nationalised all private companies, especially in the petrochemical industry and extended such policy to the educational system. All private schools were nationalised in 1976 in such a way that the educational system was unified in a single structure. Thus, religious and secular streams were merged together in 1976. Libya and Syria have not yet made a similar move. Nonetheless, the religious stream in the

 18- As Holmes puts it, 'Change' conflicts with 'no-change'. Whereas many theorists identify the 'change' element as occurring first, either in the 'material adaptive', or 'non-material adaptive' culture (Ogburn) The Marxist theory tends to view change as occurring first in the 'mode of production'. This concept is equivalent to Ogburn's 'material adaptive' culture.

general education of Libya is controlled by the same Ministry as that which controls the secular stream. In Syria, the religious stream is controlled by the Ministry of Awkaf, which defines its content, and the private schools have a financial autonomy, as well as the right, in principle, to define the content of education offered in them. Syria, according to its stated educational aims appears to be the most radically Socialist among the three countries. But in real life, in the institutional pattern, Socialism is less apparent than it is in Algeria and Libya. In other words, between their higher valuations and the actual actions as witnessed in the institutional organisation of their educational system, there is an important gap.

This may be explained in the light of the Marxist theory of social change, which considers that institutions belong to the super-structure of society, in the same way as the law, the state, science, religion, culture and the various ideologies. This super-structure is the social product of society's material base, which is made up essentially of 'production relations'. The latter give rise to the productive forces based on ownership of the means of production, and the bourgeois Capitalist class can thus,

dominate the exploited proletariat.(19)

As a result, educational institutions become a mechanism designed to perpetuate these relationships from generation to generation; each individual being brought up to carry out the social role proper to the class to which he belongs. Education, as the French sociologist, Bourdieu, put it, becomes nothing more than an instrument of the 'reproduction' of the social system. But this interpretation applies only to Capitalist societies. Apparently, in the countries of the present study, most of the means of production belong to the state, which is Socialist and therefore, in theory, run by a government formed of workers.

At any rate, the revolutionary governments in the three countries took it upon themselves, officially, both, to change the material basis of society as well as people's consciousness. Values such as individualism, profit-seeking, competitiveness, and belief in the superiority of mental work over manual work are considered unsuitable for building Socialism. This is why the governing leaders of the three countries refer to a 'cultural revolution to bring about the victory of Socialism, and consequently the liberation of man

19- Fragniere, G. "Education Without Frontiers: A Study of the Future of Education from the European Cultural Foundation" London, Duckworth, 1976, p.26

from the shackles of poverty and exploitation.

Theoretically, in an advanced phase of Socialism, when the enslaving subjugation of individuals to the division of labour, and thereby the antithesis between intellectual and physical labour has disappeared; when labour is no longer just a means of keeping alive but has itself become a vital need, when the all-around development of individuals has also increased their productive powers and wealth is more abundant and equally distributed, only then can the ideal society in which the famous slogan 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs' be realised. One may conclude that one of the main tasks of a transitional society is to create the conditions necessary for overcoming the distinction between mental and manual work. The importance of education lies in its ability to make all citizens capable, not only of doing productive work, but also of planning and organising this work, not individually, but collectively. To be able to do so, the individual needs to know as much as possible. His knowledge must be of an encyclopedic nature.

The early Socialist response to the new problems is illustrated by an examination of one of the most important educational models of the age: Robert Owen's New Lanark Schools. Marx leaned on Owen's experience when he came to

set out his theory of a new type of education. This new form of education has generally been referred to, particularly by German and Russian Marxists as 'Polytechnic education'. It is also the model adopted(20) by Algeria.

'Owen has shown us in detail that the germ of the education of the future is present in the factory system; this education will, in the case of every child over a given age combine productive labour with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings.(21)

Marx's theory of polytechnic education was taken up by Lenin and Krupskaya and adapted to the conditions of backward Russia. (cf. Annex4) In many countries, attempts have been made to realise the Marxist principles of polytechnic education. Methods have varied considerably due partly to political differences and partly to varying social and economic conditions. Unfortunately, the demand for manual work is not as high, in the region, as that for intellectual work, in an office, a school, a hospital or other white or

20- The word adapted is more relevant in the case of Algeria: the Algerian approach is more of a semantic one. Cf. annex 3.

21- Marx, K., "Capital" (Vol. 1), Harmondsworth, Penguin Books Ltd., 1976, p.614.

blue collar professions. This, the Marxists would argue, is evidence of the persistence of an outmoded Capitalist system, where those who perform these -easy- tasks belonged to higher classes.

In order that the 'false consciousness' be eradicated, or the mental states of the people be changed in accordance with the official ideology, it may be necessary that time be allowed for the people to get used to new ways of looking at the world. But there are certain strategies that may be preferred in order to make this transitional stage shorter. The transformation of social consciousness is necessary not only in itself, as the basis of new forms of Socialist morality and ethics, but also as a vital factor in changing the material structures of society. The best strategy, it appears, is to change at the same time, both, the superstructure and the infrastructure of society.

The old ruling class of landowners(22) and Capitalists may be replaced by a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie which holds the key posts in party, state, and the economic hierarchies. This is especially true in Syria of the Alawites, most of whom were poor peasants in the mountain region around

22- The Sunni Muslims, for instance, in Syria.

* Cf. Dam (van), N., "The Struggle for Power in Syria: Sectarianism, Regionalism & Tribalism, in Politics. 1961-1980" London, Croom Helm, 1981.

Latakia. They were disadvantaged politically and socially. To the Alawites, the armed forces, which as a profession was traditionally shunned by the upper crust of Syrian society, proved the principle channel for mobility. In time, they came to hold key positions inside the military and also came to dominate the Ba'ath Party machine through their military connections.(23) The only problem with the legitimacy of power of this sect, however, was that it represented only a very small minority in the population of Syria and could not possibly represent the whole proletarian class. Nonetheless, the power in Syria seems to be in the hands of the poor and they may represent the majority of the poor.

Indeed, from a Socialist perspective, a strong workers' state (dictatorship of the proletariat) remains necessary under Socialism until old values of privilege and class distinction is overcome.(24) The notion of 'worker' is better understood as the base in the hierarchy of the social system. The social organisation in Socialist thinking is based, as was suggested earlier, on the idea that there is a dialectical relationship between the governing body (the top) and the governed (the base). Moreover, real power comes from the base; the top is an organisational structure, formed of

23- Nyrop, R. F., op. cit., p.177

24- Castel, S. & Wustenberg, W., op. cit., p.5

workers, people previously oppressed by the Capitalists (the colons).

In other words, a workers' State is a State formed of those who took a revolutionary path in order to liberate themselves. The revolution, it is often said, is on-going. Its aim is to liberate this emerging identity of an Arab individual belonging to the Arab nation, or the Algerian, or the Libyan, who is an Arab and a Muslim, from any domination. The revolution is basically a struggle to liberate man from all aspects of exploitation and provide a decent living to the common citizen. The leaders in these countries have taken the burden of such responsibility, and it is they who are more exposed to the monopoly of the world economy by the few, (Cf. The letter sent by the Algerian President Boumediene, to Kurt Weildhime, Annex5) to the disadvantage of the developing countries. They cannot afford not to be firm; in the sense of limiting individual freedom and implementing protectionist policies to protect their developing economies. Since their policies are characterised by overall total planning, every aspect of social, political or economic life is studied in relation to everything else. Centralization is the logical outcome.

Education will not cease to be a problem after a Socialist revolution. The revolutionary government is then faced with

the task of transforming the political, economic and social structures which it has inherited from the old society, the colonial powers in the case of Algeria and Syria, and monarchic rule in Libya. As long as this task has not been achieved, the risk of a restoration of Capitalism or even feudalism in one form or another, persists.(25) But one cannot say that Socialism in these countries was the logical outcome of an outmoded Capitalist system unless when one considers colonialism as a form of Capitalism. It is, therefore, important to consider this Socialism in context.

SOCIALISM IN CONTEXT.

Socialism implies unity of purpose and interest. In a Socialist society, there should not be a diversity of parties but a single one. However, as compared to the one party regimes of Algeria and Libya, Syria has five main political parties.(26) It is also the country which has witnessed the greatest political instability during its earlier years of independence, with weak parliamentary governments and unstable military regimes.

25- Castel, S. & Wustenberg, W., op. cit., p.3

26- Nyrop, R. F., op. cit., pp.30, 32, 162, 165-166, 167, 176, 179-180

In 1958, Syria merged with Egypt to form the United Arab republic, but after an army coup in 1961, seceded to form the Syrian Arab Republic. After a short period of civil rule, further army coups followed in 1962 and 1963. Under the leadership of General Hafiz, member of the Arab Socialist Renaissance (Ba'ath) Party became predominant in the government. In 1966, the army deposed General Hafiz and in 1970, after a bloodless coup, the military (and more moderate) wing of the Ba'ath Party came to power, led by Lieutenant General Hafiz al-Assad. In 1971, he was elected President and in March 1972 formed the National Progressive Front, a grouping of the five main political parties.(27)

In 1985, the political and governmental systems continued to be led by President Hafiz al-Assad, in power since his takeover in November 1970 through a military coup. Socialism of the Ba'ath Party continued to provide an ideological legitimization and continuity in the years after 1963. That ideological label, however, became less doctrinaire than pragmatic under the Assad leadership. He sought to broaden its political base by co-opting various minor non-Ba'athist political Parties into a united front, officially known as

27- Cameron, J. & Hurst, P., "International Handbook of Education Systems" op. cit., p.850

the Progressive National Front.(28) This unification may explain the relative political stability under the Assad regime. But there is no denying that there was a strong authoritarian tendency in the management of political affairs. Political activities were closely monitored, and expressions of organised dissent or opposition were sternly dealt with by the authorities. The politics of loyal opposition had as yet no legitimate status in Syria, a source of grievance for the country's intellectuals, students, some conservative Sunni Muslim leaders, and labour groups.(29) This authoritarianism is, according to the Socialist perspective, necessary if the Socialist revolution is to be safely guarded. Thus, one may say that, officially, there are five parties in Syria, unofficially, there is only one party and it is the National Progressive Front.

In Algeria, the government organization is less complicated in that there is only one party. Messaadia,(30) while addressing the Students at the Second National Conference of Algerian students abroad,(31) told them not to bring from abroad different ideologies and try to set up

28- Nyrop, R.F., op. cit., p.153

29- Ibid., p.153

30- Messaadia Mohammad el-Sherif, is chairman of the Permanent Secretariat of the Central Committee of the FLN in Algeria.

31- Algiers, July 1985.

parties of different shades because Algeria needs only one party. The rationale behind his argument is that during the French colonisation it was necessary that all parties should unite under the banner of the FLN, with the one aim of liberating the country. He said that if there had been several parties, we would have fought against each other instead of fighting the French. Similarly, he said, we need to unite in order to build the nation; the revolution continues. If Algeria has gained its political independence, it is still indirectly colonized, especially economically.

To the common belief that the one party system tends to generate a totalitarian regime, the political leaders of Algeria would contend that the opposite is true. That when there is only one party in a country, there is true democracy. One may argue that since anyone can join the party, conflicting views can be discussed within the single platform offered by the party. A multi-party regime encourages dissent and opposition whereas a unique party encourages consensus and constructive action.

In the same line of thought, it is assumed that only one education system should be allowed in a country in order to gather all efforts around a single set of national goals instead of responding to the diverging needs of the different minorities in the countries concerned. This was the policy

of Algeria but Syria and Libya have not followed as yet.

One may speculate that Syria, with its five parties, is still a Capitalist society with a predominantly Alawite ruling class, who hold, according to Sir David Roberts, (32) the key posts in government. Hence, as the theory suggests, in a Capitalist society, the interest of the ruling class is to prevent the lower classes from understanding the real structure of production and of society. Their educational policies tend to be based on propaganda and make-believe rather than on the concrete reality of the oppression of the majority by the few.

On the other hand, theoretically, those who hold power in a Socialist government should be selected from among the proletariat, i.e the majority of people. Not on blood, class or sectarian criteria but on their personal abilities. A revolutionary mentality is that which is based on the principle of liberating the masses of oppressed people. If the oppressed people have a religious mentality, why should

32- Sir David Roberts was the former Ambassador to Lebanon and Syria. He demonstrated in a seminar opened at the University of Durham on November, 12 1985, that this religious sect, of which the president Hafiz al-Assad is a member, hold the key posts in the government and especially in the armed forces.

* Also Cf. Dam (Van), N., op. cit.

they be subjugated in the name of materialistic freedom.(33)
This situation can be illustrated by the allegory of a good man who while worshipping in his house heard someone knock on the door; he asked who was there and the reply was "I am Evil". The man replied to him saying "go away I don't need you". So Evil stood by until Good came and knocked on the door. When the worshipping man learnt that the visitor is Good, he opened the door. But when he opened the door, Good entered and Evil entered with him.

If there is a basic difference between Socialism and Islam and both are adhered to by a people, such a situation can lead to a conflict of meanings according to people's mental states. The young intellectuals may be attracted to original Marxism as a theory of social change because it is elaborate, has a force of argument and has served the freedom movements well, more so because it will allow them in certain societies to have access to positions of power. However, there is a methodological danger in ascribing to the Marxist laws of social change a status of truth. There are flaws in the

33- According to the Danish office of Amnesty International, between 5000 and 25000 'Sunni' Muslims have been killed by the government troops on various occasions, including 1000 political prisoners in Tadmur prison in June 1980. (Ref., Impact International, 26 August, 1983, p.12). Also according to Impact International, op. cit., of October 1983, '150 Syrian Muslim political prisoners belonging to the Mujahidin opposing the Nusairy regime and lodged in Aleppo prison were killed en masse by Syrian security force helicopters by rockets'. There are numerous reports of this kind which confirm that the Sunni Muslims in Syria are being gunned down.

inductive method.

The problem is of a semantic nature. This was made explicit by the Algerians when speaking about their 'Basic and Polytechnical School'. A semantic problem implies that people must sit and talk if they are to resolve any misunderstanding because otherwise a conflict of meanings would create social tension with its destabilizing effects on society as a whole. A conflict of meaning implies that different individuals may hold different models of reality. If these individuals are not allowed to voice their preferences, a violent change may occur in society. Therefore, it is essential that policy-making concerning the wider society or the school sub-system should be based on pragmatism rather than dogmatism, if it is to respond to the real needs of the people. Furthermore, any policies that are not based on a democratic structure of policy making is likely to bring about political instability that may jeopardise any prospective plans.

A concluding remark about these theoretical issues is that debates in an educational context, in which individuals and groups, as politicians, educational workers or interpreters, are involved in central questions about the provision and purpose of educational institutions, are at base ideological and are part of the wider arguments concerned with the

control of the State and the form that social relationships and the rights of man should take within the State.(34) It is therefore necessary to consider the management of educational systems in the context of the state organisation in the three countries.

OUTLINE OF STATE ORGANISATIONS AND THE MANAGEMENT OF EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS.

In Libya, those concerned with education are the Secretariat for Education, the inspectors, the headmasters, and the local authorities. Responsibility for education is now being vested in the People's Committees in each of the 45 Zones of the Libyan Jamahiriya, and more specifically in the People's Education Committees.

In a report drafted by a Libyan task force with the collaboration of Unesco,(35) it was made plain that this

34- D. Warwick, "Ideologies, Integration and Conflict of Meaning" in M. Fluder & J. Ahier (ed.) "Educability, schools and Ideologies" Croom Helm, London 1974, p.86

35- Unesco, "Prospects for Educational Development in Libya" Paris, Unesco, 1979, p.2

could be understood, only if reference to the overall social organisation is made. The task of these committees is to:

1. execute the decisions taken at the level of the Basic Peoples Congresses in each district,(36)
2. inspect educational institutions and solve their personnel problems,
3. implement the relevant legislation,
4. prepare the exams,
5. follow up the educational action by providing facilities for the full board of students, elaborating statistical data about all aspect of education,
6. implement the literacy programmes and identify what is required in order to fulfil these programmes, elaborate educational projects and so on.(37)

At the highest level, (Central Authorities) there is the

36- There is no provincial administrative division in Libya.

37- Centre of Research, Formation and Teaching Equipment in Libya "Taqrir 'An Tataour ta'alim Khilal 1978-79 and 1979-80" Libya, 1981. (Communique about the evolution of education in the years 1977-78 and 1979-80).

General Educational Secretariat headed by 'Secretary' (Minister) chosen by the General People's Congress and the local Secretaries of the Basic People's Committees. The main function of the General Educational Committee is to coordinate the actions of the Basic Educational Committees and outline programmes -in the light of decisions taken at the level of the General People's Congress- of action and measures of following up the decisions taken through the channel of local authorities.

At the university level, before the 1973 Libyan Cultural Revolution, the Rector was appointed by the King, and he represented the chief executive. Faculties were administered by Deans chosen by the Council of Ministers and a Faculty Board consisting of the heads of the various departments within each Faculty. Now the administration of the university, like the administration of most governmental institutions has changed. The Faculty Board was replaced by a People's Committee whose membership was later standardized to include six Faculty members, four students, two instructors, and a worker.(38)

The Committee chairman became the Dean of the Faculty.

The University Council has also been transformed into a

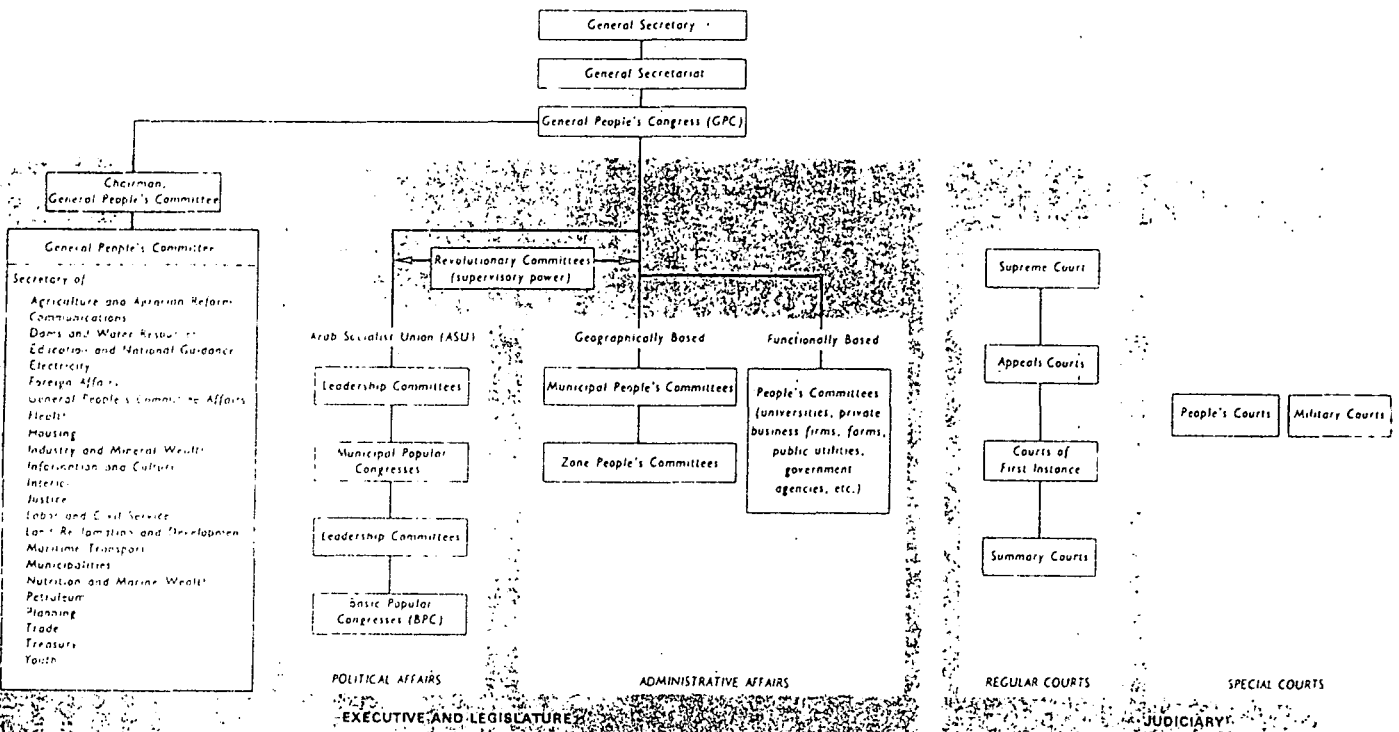
38- Schmida, L. C., "Education in the Middle East" Washington, Amideast, 1983, p.68

People's Committee, and the chairman of this committee assumed the position of President of the University. The higher department of the Secretariat (Ministry) of Education is responsible for certifying the diplomas for graduates of all institutions of higher education.(39) But this is understood only in the context of the general administrative framework of the Libyan Jamahiriya. Understanding the recent political reorganization whereby all authority is delegated to the people, is of fundamental importance.

The People's Committees are the executive and carry on day-to-day administration while the congresses are deliberative and legislative bodies that enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy, dear to Qadhafi's principle of "No Representation in Lieu of the People".

This may be illustrated by the incident of the four British detained in Libya in 1984 (according to England, they were hostages, but according to Libya, they were spies). Terry Waite, the envoy of the Archbishop of Canterbury went to Libya to secure their release by contacting Colonel Qadhafi, but the latter "could not", he explained apologetically to Terry Wait, "order the release of the hostages himself. That privilege resided with the Libyan

39- Schmida, L.C., Ibid., p.68

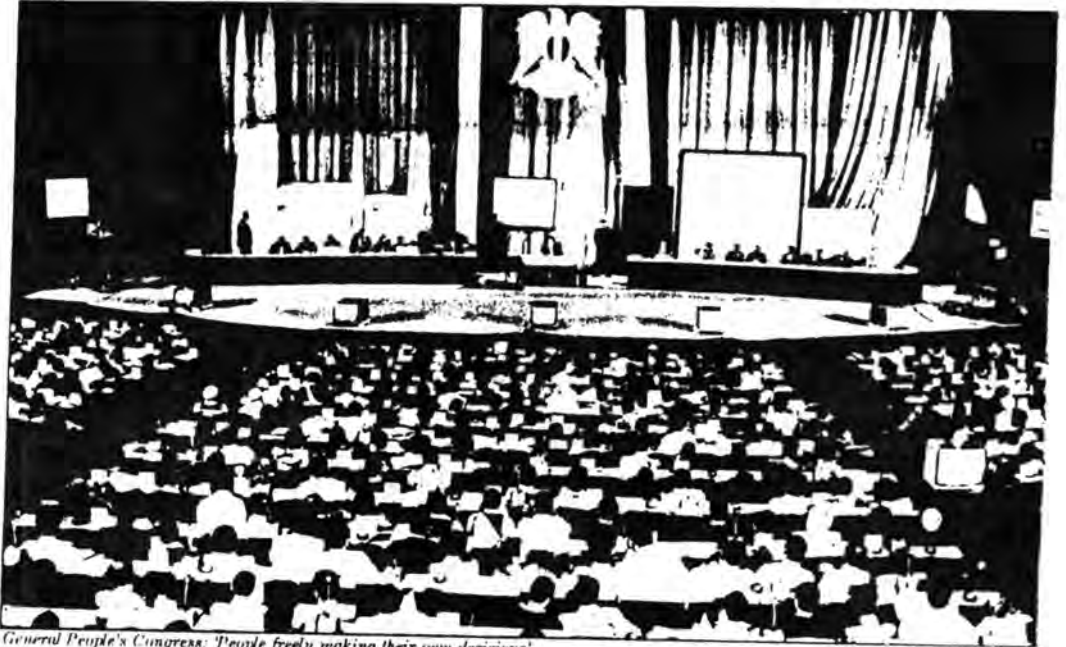


(Fig. VI.1) NATIONAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE IN LIBYA, 1979.

People themselves, as expressed in the Basic People's Congresses, nor could he speed up such decision."(40) Following from the decision of the 2 150 Basic People's Congresses, held during the preceding month, the General People's Congress authorised the release of the four British.

The basic Congresses group Libyans together, not just in terms of geographic location, but also in terms of

40- New Society, (review) 14 feb., 1985, p.243.



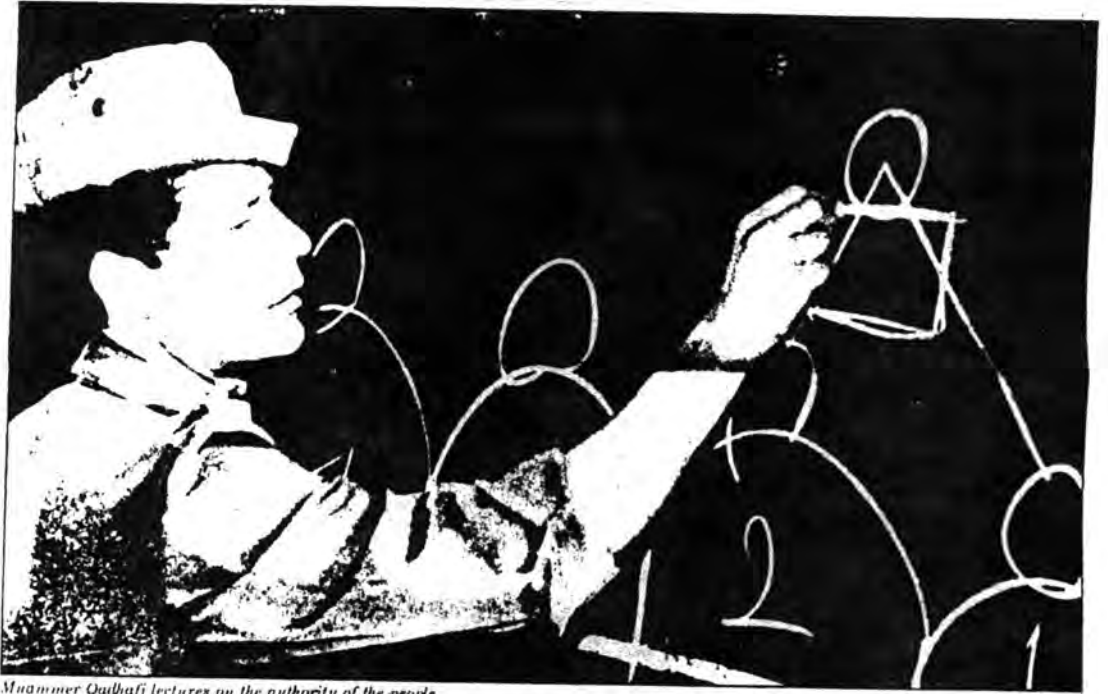
General People's Congress: People freely making their own decisions

Congress opens in Tripoli

(Fig. VI.2) GENERAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS IN TRIPOLI, 1985.

professional interest. Each basic Congress mandates delegates to represent its views on a range of issues at the General People's Congress, or at a regional Congress. The mandated delegates do not debate the issues before the General People's Congress. They have been instructed by the basic congresses what opinions to express and how to vote. This preserves the assumption that power resides with the basic elements of the political structure.(41) The system is the exact reverse of a Western-style parliamentary democracy,

41- The chapter about the rational construct has shown how every individual, in Islam, is a politician. It appears that in Libya, this power has been restored to the individual.



Muammar Qadhafi lectures on the authority of the people

(Fig. V.3) QADHAFI LECTURES ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE PEOPLE.

where delegates are representative of their constituents, and debate issues according to individual or party preferences. (42)

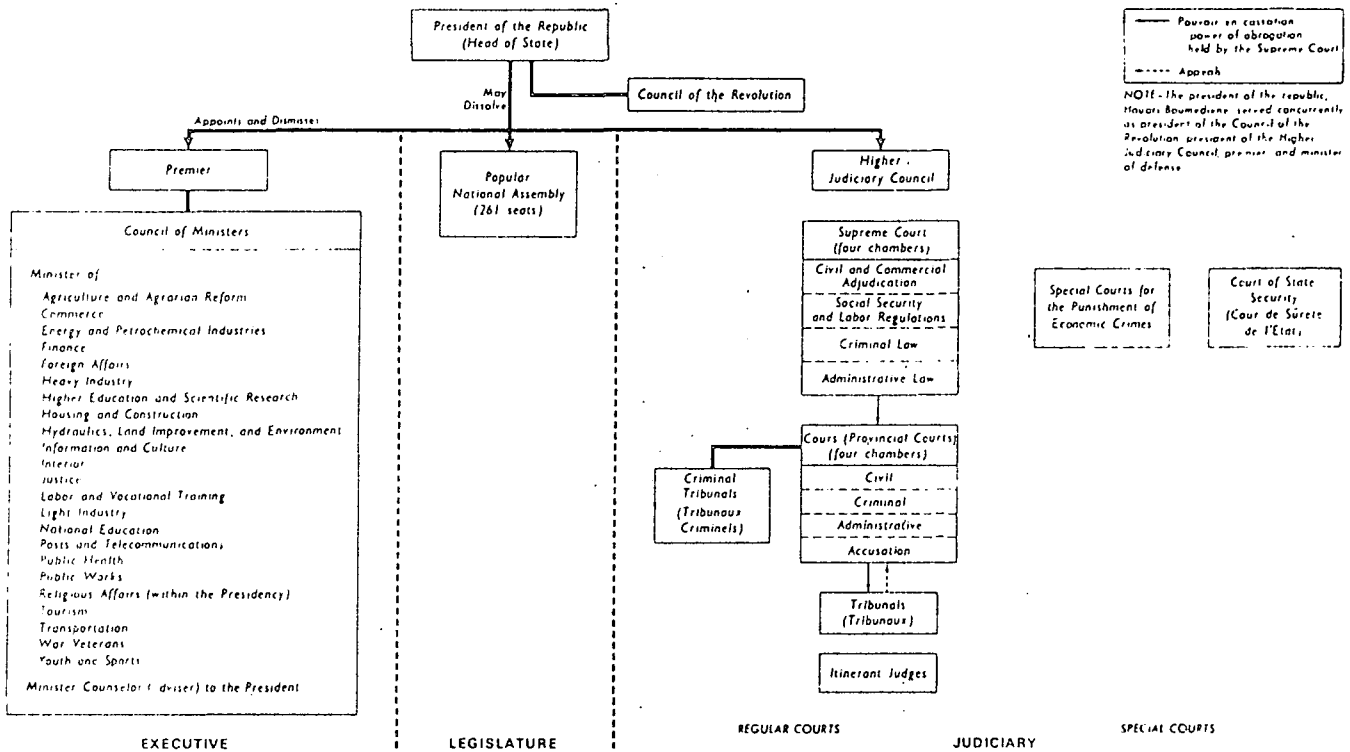
Qadhafi stresses in his "Green Book" that parliaments have been a legal barrier between the people and the exercise of authority, excluding masses from power, while usurping sovereignty in their place. The party, he says, is the rule of a part over the whole because it is composed of people who have common interests. They form a party to achieve their

42- New Society, op. cit., p.244.

ends, impose their outlook or extend the hold of their belief on the society as a whole. The party system is the common tribal and sectarian system. The society governed by one party is exactly like that which is governed by one tribe or one sect.(43)

In Algeria and Syria, the administrative organisation of the government is more similar to the Western model; i.e representative democracy, as was stated earlier. The Algerian institutional system rests on the principle of the single-party state. The Front de Liberation National (FLN), is a vanguard force, guiding and organizing the people for the building of Socialism, and is the sole legal party. It is divided into a Secretariat, a Central Committee, a Political Bureau, Federations, Kasmass and cells. The Central Committee (elected by Congress and constituted of 120-160 full members and 30-40 alternate members, meeting twice annually) chooses a party Secretary General who automatically becomes the candidate for the Presidency of the Republic. Members of the Political Bureau (between 7 and 11) meet monthly. They are chosen by the Secretary General and endorsed by the Central Committee. Party and State organs work in different frameworks and with different means to attain the same objectives. The decisive posts in the State

43- Qadhafi, M., "The Green Book" (Vol. About Democracy) London, Martin Brian & O'Keefe, 1976, pp.10-14



(Fig. VI.4) NATIONAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES IN ALGERIA, 1978.

organisation are held by members of the Party leadership.(44)

The president of the republic, who carries the title of head of state, heads the executive branch of government, the Council of Ministers (Cabinet),(Cf. fig. VI.4). The Constitution stipulates that a single candidate for president will be nominated by an FLN congress and subsequently elected by direct and secret universal suffrage. The electorate thus has the opportunity, theoretically, to confirm or reject

44- The Middle East and North Africa (1984-85), "Algeria" London, London, Europa Publications, 1984, p.265

their leader but not to choose him from among competing candidates.(45)

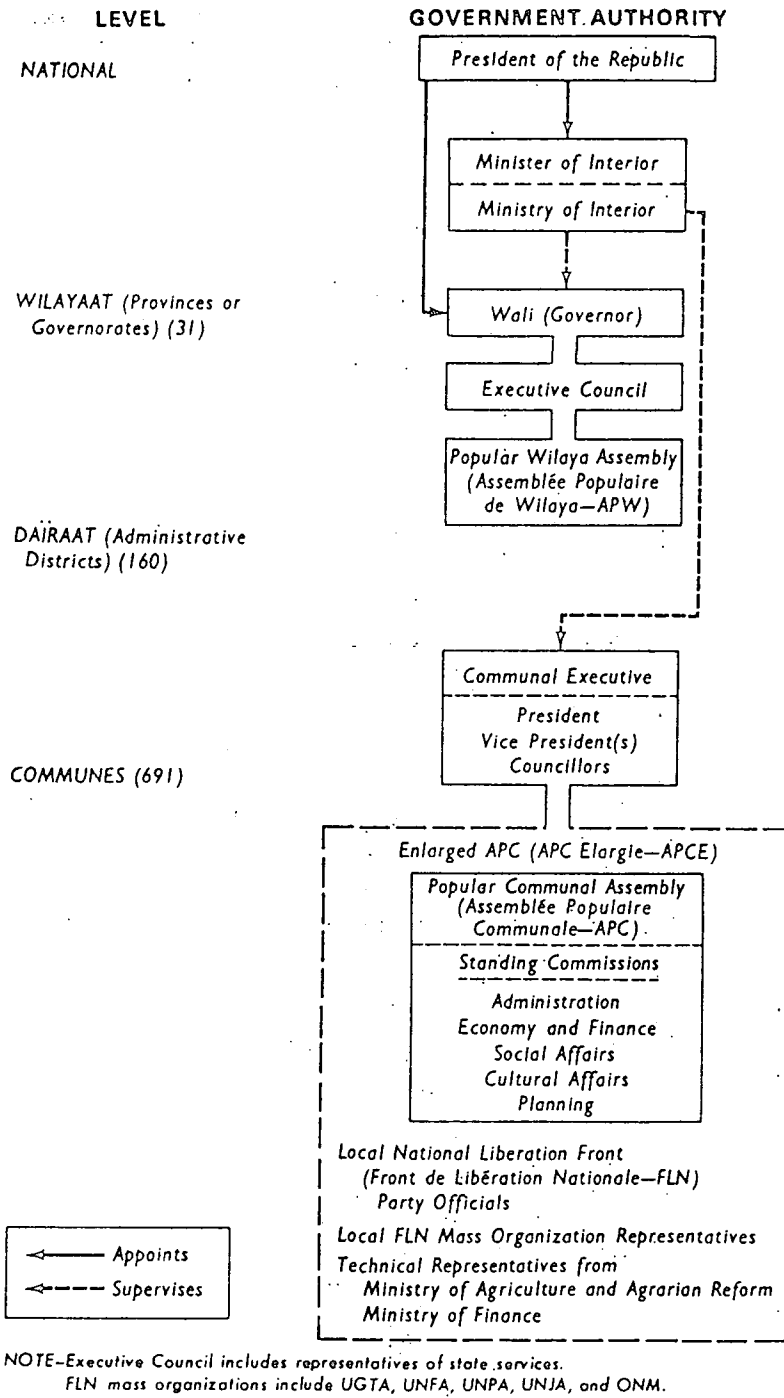
All important powers are concentrated in the office of the president of the republic. He is the guarantor of the Constitution, supreme commander of the armed forces,(46) president of the supreme court, and president of the Supreme Security Council. In accordance with the National Charter and the Constitution, he determines the nation's domestic and foreign policy. He can grant pardons. He may issue decrees and take important national questions directly to the electorate through referenda. He presides over the Council of Ministers and over joint meetings of party government organs.(47)

The National People's Assembly prepares and votes the law. Its members are nominated by the party leadership and elected by universal, direct suffrage for a five-year term. The

45- Nelson, H.D. (ed.), "Algeria: A Country Study" Washington, The American University, 1979, p.204

46- At the time of writing this thesis, 1985, some news reached us that the President stepped down from the position of supreme commander of the armed forces by upgrading five colonels (his own present rank) to the status of Generals, while he remained just a colonel. It is probable that he has no military function at all by now.

47- Nelson, H.D., op. cit., p.205.



(Fig. VI.5) SUBNATIONAL ALGERIAN GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION, 1978

deputies enjoy parliamentary immunity.(48)

A the provincial and district levels, these People's Assemblies (APC), officially elect from among their members a president, two or more vice presidents (depending on the size of the communal population), and several counsellors. In practice the president is approved by the central government before being elected. The officials form the communal executive. With no financial autonomy, the commune depends on the central government for operating capital and thus cannot undertake projects solely on its own initiative. It is linked to the central government through its supervision by the Ministry of Interior (as well as other Ministries such as that of Education) and its receipt of state services (usually channelled through the Wilaya). FLN party organs at the local and provincial levels also help link the various administrative units with the central government.(49)

The administrative organs of the Wilaya and its Executive Council are similar to its communal counterpart. Its members are selected and subsequently elected in basically the same manner. The Executive Council, however, is under the direction of the Wali (Governor), who is appointed directly

48- The Middle East and North Africa, op. cit., p.265

49- Nelson, H.D., op. cit., p.205

by the President of the Republic and is the direct representative of the state and its Ministries within the Wilaya.(50)

In Syria also, the President enjoys strong powers. He is elected for a seven-year term by universal suffrage. He must be a Muslim, at least forty years of age. He is nominated by the People's Council -the national legislature- based on the proposal of the ruling Ba'ath Party. The nominee is submitted to a national referendum. To be elected, the candidate must receive an absolute majority of the vote; if not, a new candidate must be selected by the Ba'ath Party for formal nomination by the People's Council(51)

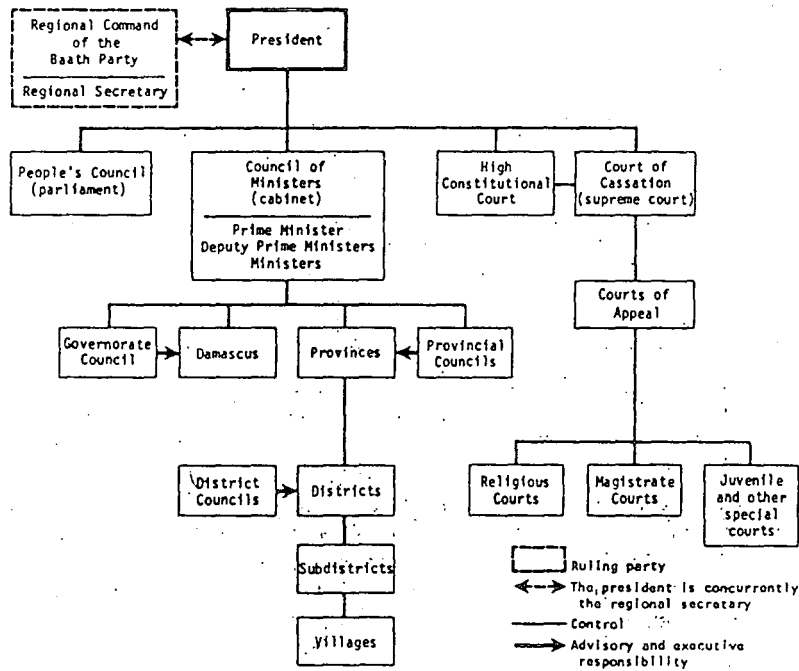
The President is both the head of the state and the chief executive officer of the government. He is vested with sweeping powers that may be delegated, at his discretion, to one or more Vice Presidents he may appoint. The President, who is also commander in chief of the armed forces, appoints and dismisses the Prime Minister and other members of the Council of Ministers and military officers.(52)

50- Ibid., p.205

51- Nyrop, R.F. (ed.), "Syria: a Country Study" Washington, The American University, 1979, p.156

52- Ibid., p.156

Syria: A Country Study



(Fig. VI.6) NATIONAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE IN SYRIA, 1979.

The Council of Ministers, headed by the Prime Minister, is responsible to the President and serves collectively as the executive and administrative arm of the President and of the state.(53)

The country is divided into 14 administrative units consisting of 13 provinces Mohafazats and the city of Damascus. Each has a governor who is appointed by the

53- Ibid., p.156

central government on the proposal of the Minister of Interior. He is responsible for administration, health, social services, education etc. Working closely with the Governor is the Minister of Local Administration whose main function is to coordinate and supervise local development projects. The Governor is assisted by a Provincial Council 3/4 of whose members are popularly elected for a term of four years, and the rest appointed by the central government from among the Council's elected members.(54)

Provinces are divided into districts Manatiqs and sub-districts Nawahi. The village is the smallest administrative unit.(55) Districts and sub-districts are administered by officials appointed by the Governor subject to approval by the Minister of Interior. District and sub-district councils are headed by mayors (President of Communal Popular Assembly).

In the educational sub-system, it is the Minister of Education -in cooperation with the Director of Education in each region- who controls all formal education below the university level, while the Ministry of Higher Education controls all post-secondary institutions. Other Ministries

54- Ibid., p.160

55- British Council, "Educational Profile for Syria", London, The Council, 1979, p.4.

such as that of Agriculture, Health, Industry, Petroleum, Public Works, Social Affairs, and Labour, administer specific aspects of education.(56) Nonetheless all aspects are centrally coordinated at the level of the Council of Ministers in the framework of representative democracy.

Thus, it is safe to say that centralization dominates the management of education. Indeed, it is the Minister of Education who is responsible for the planning orientation and general supervision of educational matters.(57)

However, the Ministry, in case of necessity, calls for the contribution of Directors of Education, specialists in educational orientation, head-masters, teachers, popular organisations and other relevant authorities for their operational experience.(58)

Nevertheless, decision making depends on the Minister of Education, who participates in the elaboration of the overall societal plan at the level of the Council of Ministers. He is also responsible for the implementation of educational

56- Schmida, L.C., op. cit., p.97

57- Ministere de l'Education de Syrie, "Le Mouvement Educatif Pendant les 2 Annees Scolaires 1979-80 et 1980-81" Geneva, 1981, p.8

58- Ibid., p.8

decisions. In doing this he is helped by his Vice-Ministers in the departments of the Ministry. Higher Education, however is decentralized in that higher institutions enjoy financial and administrative autonomy.(59) The Algerian educational organisation is very similar to the Syrian one in that higher education is decentralized, but became so only recently, while general education remains highly centralised.

At the top level, it is the head of the state who legislates for the organisation of the educational and training system by decrees. Educational matters among other issues are discussed at the level of the Council of Ministers before any legislative decision is taken by the President, who appoints the Minister of Education, defines his responsibilities and the limits of his power. All decisions are taken after reference to the constitution and the legislation for the wider society.(60)

Thus, for instance, the decree No. 81-37 of March, 14 1981 defines the responsibility of the Minister of Education as that of generalising basic education by promoting and controlling the type of education for children of compulsory school age. He is responsible for providing a unified

59- Ibid., p.13

60- cf. Ministere de l'Education, "Bulletin Officiel de l'Education" Algiers, 1978, p.13

educational system at this stage, equal opportunities, access to culture and knowledge, in order to prepare the young for a general, technical or vocational education in the secondary cycles.(61)

In contrast to the British Educational system, the Algerian system is highly centralised. Until recently, the teachers in every school in England, have been free to determine the content of their courses, limited only by the requirements of the examination boards, in Algeria the trend is towards unification of the curricula, structure and the methods used in the educational system. Indeed, the Minister of Education, who in reality makes sure that the decisions taken at the level of the Council of Ministers are in accordance with the policies to be followed, is the one who decides about:

- Questions related to curricula, the plan of studies, and the teaching methods,
- the drafting of organisational directives of the educational system,
- school regulations,
- implementation of the national educational plan in different sectors,
- the regulations for school buildings and the teaching

61- Ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement Fondamentale, "38 Conférence de l'Éducation" Geneva, November 1981, p.7

REUNION DU CONSEIL DES MINISTRES



Algerie Presse Service

(Fig. VI.7 MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS IN ALGERIA.
Source: El Moudjahid, 1985.

equipment,

- the regulations related to exams and certificates,
- the definition of types of schools as well as their geographical distribution,
- the administration and pedagogical structure of the different types of schools,
- the determination of the roles and status of staff, in collaboration with the Ministries of Finance and that of Public Works (at the level of the Council of Ministers),
- inspection and control of administration and teaching in the different schools.

The local authorities; 31 provinces Wilayas subdivided in Dairas or districts, are given the responsibility of collecting and communicating to the central authorities all informations related to the implementation of the national educational plan, and making sure that decisions taken centrally are executed.(62)

The Decrees 543 and 544 of 1984, defining the status of the university, promulgate a decentralization of the university in matters of administration.

Who then in fact, determines such matters as the curriculum, the exams, and solves local problems? Is the decision-making centralized or decentralized? Although what preceded gave a general descriptive answer to these question, it will be useful to collate this information in a model that permits a synoptic comparative analysis. A picture, as the chinese say, is better than a thousand words. Talcot Parsons' model, as adapted by Holmes(63) seems relevant.

From this model one may determine cross-nationally the level at which educational policies are formulated, adopted and implemented. Issues such as curriculum development,

62- Ministere de l'Education, "Bulletin Officiel de l'Education" Algiers, 1978, p.22

63- University of London, Comparative Education Department, 1981

CENTRAL AUTHORITIES
=====

PUBLIC INTEREST
-Council of Ministers
-Gl. People's Congress
-Ministers of educ.
-Secretaries of educ.
-Counsellors, Inspectors

PROVINCIAL AUTHORITIES
=====

PUBLIC INTEREST
-Popul. Wilaya Assembly
-Popul. Mohafaza Assemb.
-Directorates of educ.
-Inspectors, Counsellors & other officials.

DISTRICT AUTHORITIES (SCHOOL)
=====

PUBLIC INTEREST.
-President of APC, Mayors
Head teachers, Deputies,
Teachers
-Pop. Communal assembly
-Basic peop. Congresses
-Basic Peop. Committees
-Unions

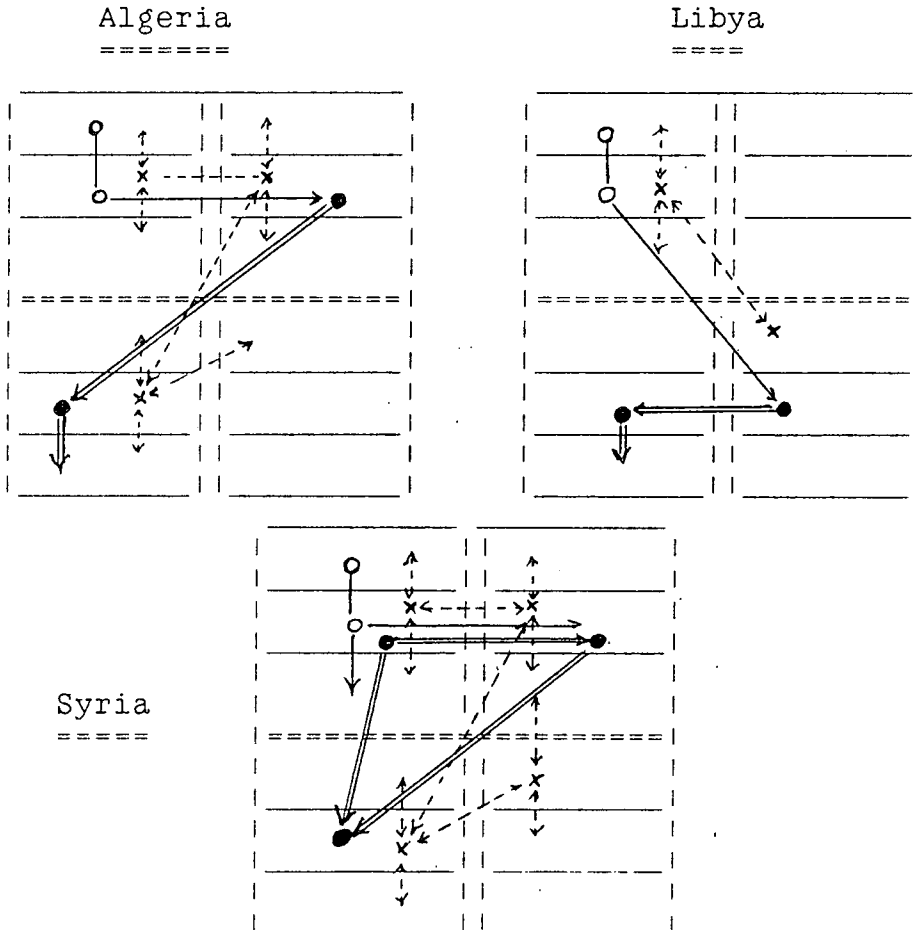
(Fig. VI.8) MODEL OF POLICY RESPONSES IN THE THREE COUNTRIES.

which is the major interest of the present study may be clarified.

One notes in the diagram below that, in the case of Libya, there are no intermediate subnational administrative divisions. Indeed, the Libyan leaders established a system of partially elected municipal and Governors' Councils, abolished the Governors and reorganized the national government which is directly dependent on the subnational (district) government system. This striking degree of innovation and modification resulted from the desire to achieve at least three goals:

- The replacement of a subnational leadership, based on

Policy formulation: x & follow up: - - - - ->
 Policy adoption: o & follow up: ————>
 Policy implementation: ● & follow up: = = = = =>



(Fig. VI.9) EDUCATIONAL POLICY RESPONSES IN THE THREE COUNTRIES.

traditional and cultural groups with administrators possessing the skills needed to modernize the country,

- the increase in mass representation and participation,
- the achievement of mass support for the new political system and its leaders. (64) Perhaps the most important factor

 64- Nelson, O.I. & Palmer, M. (ed.), "Libya: a Country Study", Washington, The American University, 1979, pp. 179-196.

is the implementation of Qadhafi's principle of "no representation in lieu of the people". It appears that Libya comes nearest to having realised a "strong workers' state" if by worker one means the layman. In this instance it is useful to refer to the chapter about the rational constructs to understand that the Marxist utilitarian conception of society could not be accepted in an Islamic context.

The above model could, unfortunately, not shed any light on the school curricula, nor would it be realistically possible to start such an analysis in a global study such as this. But it is nevertheless assumed that the exercise of genuine democracy in education would bring a Socialistic content of education, for the definition given to Socialism(65) in the chapter on the rational construct, was based on the assumption that it is the opposite of individualism. It means sharing and it includes power sharing, and participatory decision making. It is then evocative of democracy and is part of the debates about the control of the state and the form of social relationships and the right of man within each country. If the curricula are chosen locally and the decisions about what should be taught are decentralized, in accordance with consensus theory, then that is a content that responds to the exploited classes' needs,

65- Cf. chapter five of the present thesis, pages: 278-282.

and that is Socialism. Libya then, here again seems the nearest to having implemented a relevant Socialist education.

At the opposite end, Syria seems to be the furthest from realising a Socialist education content. Perhaps the content is more Socialistic than in either Algeria or Libya, but in this case, the meaning of Socialism would be that of the materialists. But this kind of Socialism does not suit the mental states of the local population and would be too dogmatic to fulfill the ultimate Socialist aim of man's liberation from all exploitation.

Algeria is somewhere in between, in that its policies are not based on dogmatic Socialism, but at the same time has succeeded in unifying its educational system and adapted it to local conditions by introducing, for instance religious subjects in its "Basic and Polytechnical School", opening the school to its environment and banning the elitist education of those who could afford to send their children to private schools. Everyone goes to the same types of schools however overcrowded they may be.

This suggests that the system represents the majority of people and that the leaders of that country are practising a policy based on consensus rather than a policy based on favouritism. It implies, and this is an assumption, that the

policy makers at the top represent the people.

If Libya seems to be following a relevant policy, this does not mean that all other countries in the Arab World should follow suit. It is dangerous to believe that what works in a specific context would necessarily work in another. Libya is a country with a relatively small population, which implies that the management of its administrative affairs does not need a high degree of standardised procedures and can function with a distribution of power to the common people. But on the other hand, one must also consider the possibilities offered by the developments of modern communication technology (Cf. next chapter).

From an international perspective, the tendency towards bureaucratization, which has been characteristic of the development of the modern nation-state, and consequently, of the educational systems in many countries, and to which mass education movements have given additional impetus, has generated serious problems, not the least of which is the increasing estrangement between school and community. One of the school's major problems at present is that it leads a life increasingly separate and isolated from other educational institutions (such as the family, the media, the religious organisations, etc.) In addition, it is isolated

from the economy, (except perhaps in the case of fulfilling the useful function of providing jobs for a vast number of people) and the other non-educational institutions of society.

In countries such as Algeria, with a centralised system for the administration of schools, the undertaking has become so vast that effective control of it has become practically impossible.(66) Consider, for instance, the huge problem facing the National Pedagogical Institute, which is the only responsible agency for printing school textbooks. This Institute has been given the task of making available in 1985-86 more than 32 million textbooks (2 million 70 thousand more than in 1984-85). It was obliged to seek the collaboration of external printing houses. These worked without stop in order to achieve the task in time for the beginning of the school year.

It is obvious that too much centralization paralyses the system, but decentralization has its problems as well. In the case of Libya, it is often said that the major problem facing the policy makers is one of coordination(67) and

66- Problems of printing books and logistic as expressed in El-Moudjahid, August 8, 1985.

67- Unesco, "Prospects for Educational Development in Libya" (Report prepared by a Libyan Task Force in Collaboration with the Unesco.), p.2.

cooperation between different elements because of blurred lines of authority and responsibility. Does the communication technology offer any help in the systems of extreme decentralization? And through what type of social organisation should such decentralization take place? These questions must be answered with a specific context in mind. It is the context from which the present study started; that of Arab unity, Arabo-Islamism, but in a world of far reaching scientific discoveries, population explosion, imminent danger of world-economic collapse and the polarization between North and South. These are the most striking aspects of the context in which the above questions are raised.

Besides the organisational problems facing the three countries of the present study, one of the major refuting instances of their present policies is their belonging to the Arabo-Islamic civilization. In other words, it is the mental state pattern of the people in these countries that tends to be the major problem. This is directly linked to the institutional changes introduced during the colonial period, which, in turn, generated changes in the normative pattern of society and the legislature. The major institutional innovation was the bank. It is the one that supports all other institutions. It is there to facilitate the economic transactions between people and, by thus doing, realise Third World countries aspirations for rapid development.

In the West, it is so wide spread that almost each individual has an account, but in the Arab World, people are still resisting it. They prefer to keep their money at home because they don't see any value in putting it in the bank. Islam forbids taking interest on loans (or deposits). Theoretically, in a country where there is less money in circulation than there should be, the equation of exchange is reduced, and the circulation (velocity) of money is reduced. In the American domestic trade, figures reveal that a unit of money deposited in the central bank is sufficient to generate exchange equivalent up to four times its original value.(68) The possibility of increasing, in this manner, the value of money makes it possible for the bank to increase its wealth. In countries where the velocity of money is reduced by certain attitudes of the people towards the bank results in a comparatively slow development of the economy, unless all business is in the hands of the state. This would imply that the state should adopt a Socialist economic policy of over-all economic planning, if it is to issue the right amount of money. One might say, that, apparently, original Islam and original Socialism meet by fate. Unfortunately, the main problem in the Socialist social organisation is the problem of bureaucracy, and often that of undemocratic

68- Day, T. T., "The International Monetary Chaos and the Advancing Necessary Revolution in the World Financial Order" Albuquerque, The Institute for Economic & Financial Research, 1980's p.13

authoritarianism, which run counter to the Islamic concepts of Shura (Consultation) and Idjmaa (Consensus).

In the light of these mental state patterns, one may predict the outcome of present social and educational trends and future developments (cf Annex6 for an Islamic theory of social change).(69) What is however needed, in the light of what preceded, is genuine democracy in society at large and, by consequence, in the school sub-system. The process of constructing a curriculum and selecting its content involves earlier value decisions on educational aims and selection criteria.

In order that the gap between the decision-makers and the average citizen may not become unbridgeable, it will be necessary for all institutions to begin serving their respective educational function, and for the mass media of communication to be safeguarded from the danger of control by any powerful group (such as the Ba'ath party in Syria for instance), to be allowed the freedom to express a diversity of views on problems of democratic life, and to promote, in cooperation with institutions and agencies of society the continuing education of citizens. Society must gradually be

69- The last chapter in which alternative policies are suggested, is essentially based on the basic principles delineated in this Islamic theory of social change.

"deschooled".

Persons living in a society where democracy prevails need to reach consensus Idjmaa on the general rules regulating their behaviour. Differences should be settled by negotiation and by legislation. The minorities (Christian minorities in Syria for instance) must be encouraged to hope that by accepting the principle of majority rule and then providing constructive criticism of the weaknesses of the majority position, supplemented by effective techniques of persuasion, their views may some day become the views of the majority. Unity can be attained, not through authoritarianism, but through teaching the principles of democracy and encouraging individuals to incorporate those principles into their lives. Unity is also fostered by promoting knowledge and appreciation of a common cultural heritage. Diversity should be tolerated as Islam does not deny that other communities have also the truth in their own right and should be given the freedom to choose the way they regulate their lives and be responsible for their choices. Schools should therefore be extremely decentralized and increasingly undistinguishable from other institutions of society. The following chapter is a development of the above ideas.

VII- EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIETAL ALTERNATIVES

What is good, Pheadrus,
and what is not good?
Need we ask anyone-
to tell us these things?

-Pirsig, R.M.

In the three countries, the demand for education is still considerable, and at all three levels.(1) Qadhafi, however, questioned the wisdom of over spending in the educational sector.(2) Not long ago, public opinion maintained policy makers' confidence in education as being responsible in man's social advancement. They had taken over the arguments of the economists and educational planners, and saw education as a vital investment, essential to economic growth and immune from overproduction. However, times are changing and it is not wise anymore to view education as an economic investment made by the state to reproduce a societal order that has proved problematic.

1- Cf. chapter one page 45 for figures concerning education spending in relation to the national budget and the GNP.

2- Ref. "The Guardian" beginning 1985. See also his "Green Book", Vol. on Culture. He specifies that education is not and should not be made compulsory. The wisdom in this assertion is that the individual is the first and the last judge on whether any form of education is good for him. If education is made compulsory, it may become an instrument of tyranny in the hands of would-be illegitimate rulers.

It has been suggested in the historical chapter that what caused cultural stagnation in the Muslim world is the centralization and control of education by the state. The chapter about the rational construct revealed that the approach to knowledge, from an Islamic perspective, should be of two kinds: a prerequisite existential non-intellectual knowledge triggered by the practice of religion and an intellectual but non-obligatory knowledge, which suggests a non-compulsory education as known today. Surely, abolishing compulsory education in order to harmonize with the national character implies a vision of a different kind of society.

It is not relevant, however, to go back 14 centuries back, to the model of Medina, for the circumstances then were quite different from what they are now. It is better to envisage a new model, which may take into account the characteristic of the modern world but preserves the Qur'anic principle that the ideal society is that in which the individual does good, shun what is evil and believe in God. In other words, the ideal society is a non-materialistic and democratic society. It would be useful to suggest alternative models of society that may best suit the context of the Arab world in modern times.

SOME USEFUL MODELS.

Any prospective approach to solve educational problems implies explicitly or implicitly, the use of a model. These models can be seen as epistemological tools, typological terms of reference for policy makers, based partly on respect for given facts, significant trends, and the will of the social groups concerned and the institutions specifically created to define collective options.(3) Building the history of the future entails a normative choice of one or different social models.

Indeed, this choice can fall under what is known in comparative education literature as 'selective cultural borrowing'. Thus, for example, the analysis of educational strategies for education meant for the 21 century to be implemented in Europe, a different cultural context than the Arabo-Islamic one, was helpful in that it provided a comparative reference point from which it was possible one's own position. This is easy to understand: day cannot be defined if reference to night is not made and vice versa.

The excellent prospective study proposed by the European Cultural Foundation named "Plan Europe 2000"(4) was of an

 3- cf. Fragniere, G. "Education Without Frontiers: A Study of the Future of Education from the European Cultural Foundation" London, Duckworth, 1976, pp.28-30

4- Ibid.

undeniable relevance because it had been proposed in the now universal context of international monetary crisis and with a view to uniting the European community. The context of the Arab world is just the same but with a different civilizational background.

Fragniere identifies four societal models.(5) He defines them as:

1. A neocapitalist society,
2. the welfare State,
3. a Socialist society based on authoritarian planning,
4. and a Socialist and libertarian society, based on decentralization.

1. A neocapitalist society would be a linear projection, without surprises; the seed of which is to be found in contemporary America. The dominant subsystem is the economic. From this point of view one speaks of a "consumer society" and an "economy of growth".

- Education is geared to satisfying the manpower

5- Ibid., pp.196-198

requirements of the economic system and includes advanced forms of selection. It implies a system of mass education built on present day lines. The educational methods will be strongly influenced by new techniques and individualized teaching, but the content of education will not be visibly different. The primary objective is to satisfy the demands of the economy.

2. The welfare State model is marked by the impact of Socialist and democratic policies. Its seeds are most clearly apparent in contemporary Scandinavian societies. The dominant subsystem is the social. Social security, health, housing and town planning would predominate.
- The emphasis is on social stability and on the integration of minority groups by means of an education which sets out to deal with inequalities and social problems. Substantial resources are made available to non-vocational life-long education. Teaching methods are influenced by techniques conducive to individualised education, and by group learning. The main objective is social balance, but economic needs, particularly those of the working classes, are also important.
3. The model of a Socialist society based on authoritarian planning is based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the seed of which is in the present day Russia. The dominant

sub-system is the political. Here importance is accorded to educational and cultural facilities.

- Education aims at creating a new man and to lead to an ideology which will lay the foundations for an egalitarian society. The structures reflect the integration of study, work and social life, while at the same time satisfying the collective needs of the society. The methods are based on learning through work and experience, and imply study in groups. What is sought is defined collectively. The aim is to integrate man to the social system.

4. The model of a Socialist and libertarian society is based on decentralization, direct democracy and participation, spontaneity and individual creativity. Its seeds are to be found in the "counter culture" and in the sporadic but widespread attempts throughout the Western World to evolve a communal way of life. Dominant and closely interwoven sub-systems are the communal and the cultural. This type of society is marked by its spirit of extreme decentralization.

- The heart of educational creativity can be defined as the full development of the individual within a community life which he has accepted of his own free will. The structures are "deschooled", with different centres for study and private initiatives creating an informal

network of educational resources (diffused education). Teaching methods are centred on individual interests and are project-based. Study is largely integrated with the social and physical milieu of the individual.

These models, as suggested earlier, play the role of epistemological tools that may help one clarify the different orientations in educational matters in Algeria, Libya, and Syria. They are also helpful, in that they suggest alternative choices from which one may elaborate in view of bringing the aim of overall Arab Unity nearer. One may borrow bits and pieces from all of them to construct a new model that may suit one better.

Apparently, the model of a Socialist society based on authoritarian planning seems to describe the present situation in Syria and, in a lesser extent, in Algeria but the social system of Libya appears to include elements from, both, the authoritarian Socialist model and the one describing a Socialist and libertarian society, with its elements of decentralization, direct democracy, spontaneity, and individual creativity. Indeed, in the international context, Qadhafi is very much seen as an advocant of the 'counter culture', a radical and a rebel. His theory of direct democracy has a hint of the desinstitutionalization of society strongly advocated by Illich.

If asked to predict future trends in the region, one would not go astray to suggest that decentralization will gradually dominate these societies. Signs are already apparent in Algeria, with the regime of president Bendjedid, that pragmatism, away from doctrinaire Socialism, privatization and decentralization are gradually being introduced at all levels of society.(6) Moreover, knowing that the vast majority of the population in these countries is Muslims, and that the Islamic tradition harmonizes better with a decentralized social system(7) than with the Marxist-Leninist authoritarian system, the tendency will be that future policy-makers in the region will implement policies that are in harmony with the national character.(8) They will try to realise, both, their higher valuations and aspirations for

6- The 1976 Algerian National Charter, the country's ideological platform, although subject to a wide democratic debate before being endorsed, shows through the terminology used, a strong Marxist influence. The new charter (1986), after ten years experience with the one now obsolete (1976), reflects public discontent with over centralization and Marxist alienation of Muslim fundamental values. See Annex 7 for a review of the latest news about the ideological debates concerning the dichotomy between Islam and Socialism. Annex 7 represents, in line with the Holmesian hypothetico-deductive method, a testing of the following policy proposals (hypotheses), which were formulated before reading these latest reports (18 January 1986).

7- Cf. chapters three and four, especially the section about the concept of society in Islam in chapter four of the present thesis.

8- We hear also just lately, that the army in South Yemen (a radically Marxist state) has split up and that there is fighting in Aden. This is a further proof the materialist ideology is hardly accepted in Islamic lands, and that if it is imposed, it is likely to end up in blood-shed.

freedom in a world of polarizations and dependency, and the lower valuations of the layman with his attachment to what a Marxist would term as a retrograde religious mentality. Hence, the Socialist libertarian model applies more than any other in depicting future trends in the region.

What supports the argument that decentralization and privatization are the trends of the future is that the economic and financial crisis, latent for several years, has turned the attention of Western governments towards other, more pressing concerns, such as unemployment and controlling inflation, which implies gradually decreasing educational subsidies for schools and universities. Those who thought that education would contribute directly to economic growth are no longer so sure, and governments are now less inclined to follow them and further increase the necessary budgets. Only ten years ago there was a shortage of teachers. Today, the number of teachers is sufficient or even, in certain countries, there is a surplus. Education is no longer necessarily the road to social advancement and an improved standard of living. Surely, if formal education is considered to be a burden on the economies of the developed North, how much more so would it be in the developing South?

Historically, in the Muslim world, formal education developed following the increasing organisation of the

'state'(9) on Byzantine lines. There was a transformation of the informal education offered in the mosques, bazars and market places, through which the majority of the population was trained. The enormous increase of knowledge in modern times, the industrial revolution, the desire for economic growth and more recently, the desire for more social justice, explains the development of schools as separate institutions and until very recently, every one took it for granted that the school sector would continue to grow.

The doubts apparent today arise, not from the popularity of some new theories, but rather, from the inevitable consequences of certain facts. The formal education system is not the only educational activity, for the mass media, the employers, the religious institutions,(10) the unions, clubs, cafes and other social groups are also very active in this sphere. The function of the schools might well be better performed by other bodies. The need to replace such competition by some form of integration is particularly urgent and obvious, since the schools, and even more, the

 9- Modern statism is coming under increasing criticism from some Muslim activists. These form pressure groups that are bound to influence the policy-makers, and this is becoming more and more obvious.

10- Mosques and Zaouiyas or independent centres of "religious" learning. The term religious has been placed between quotation marks because the meaning of religion in Islam is different from its meaning in the West. Cf. chapter three and four.

universities, are no longer always fulfilling their traditional roles of preparing individuals for specific working life, transmitting a living culture, and facilitating social mobility and advance. Will 'deschooling society' help as an alternative educational policy?

DESCHOOLING AS AN ALTERNATIVE ?

The central, coherent feature of deschooling is a critique of institutions and professionals made popular by Ivan Illich. According to Ian Lister,(11) after Illich, we can never look at schools or teachers in quite the same way again. Summing up Illich's thesis, he argues that institutions fail badly to do the things they claim to do, limit the scope of activity, raise its costs and restrict the distribution of services to people.

Michael W Apple(12) remarks that Illich wishes to create a vision of different educational relationships, to posit a new

 11- In the introduction to Illich, I., "After Deschooling what?" New York, Writers and Readers, 1976, p.6

12- Apple, W. M., "Ivan Illich and Deschooling Society: the politics of Slogan Systems" (in "Society, State and Schooling" Edited by Young, M. et al.), Bercombe, Lewes (Sussex England), The Falmer Press, 1977, P.95.

reality based on trust and overt interpersonal need. He is influenced by his priestly background, and from this perspective utopian prospects precede political action.

One may, however, argue that while Illich's vision of a future educational alternative is radical, it cannot be termed as utopian. It is too easy a dismissal of him. It is radical because he challenges the assumption shared by Liberal and Marxist alike, that educational progress means getting more people into schools for longer periods of time. Up to this point in Britain, for instance, the two major positions had been that of the Socialist and liberal progressives on the one hand, arguing for more institutions and more open institutions, and on the other, that of the conservatives, celebrating old institutions such as the grammar school and universities, and wishing to 'put the clock back' (13)

A third alternative is Illich's institutional critique. He argues that no country in the world, today, can afford the kind of education it says it wants in the form of schools and teachers. (14) Deschooling implies that school is a modern phenomenon, and 'education' a relatively recent concept.

13- Lister, I., op. cit., p.6

14- Ibid., p.6

Quoting Illich's phrase that 'schools are too-easy targets', Lister remarked that mass schooling is something intimately connected with the rise of the modern, industrial and bureaucratic state. This argument complements that presented by as-Sufi(15) in which while describing the model of the Islamic society, he depicts its antithesis, the modern bureaucratic nation-state, with its power elite at the top, as tyrannical and un-Islamic.

The fundamental choice offered by Illich's alternative is that between an education fit for an increasingly efficient society, and a new society in which education ceases to be the task of some special agency. For Illich, 'education' involves the conscious choice by an individual or group to learn something. As such, it is a self determining process, not a compulsory activity that is forced upon an unwilling student.

Intrinsic in Illich's view, is that a good system of education must fulfil at least three purposes:

1. Those individuals or groups who desire to learn, must have access to adequate resources at any time during their lives, not just during the years usually set aside

 15- Cf. Chapter four, on the rational constructs, section on the concept of Islamic society.

for formal schooling. Thus, technology must play a crucial part in the process of a "deschooled" education.

2. Quality education must also challenge the ideas of institutional certification by providing access for those people who want to share their wisdom with others who might want to learn it from them. Obligatory curricula become unnecessary.
3. Finally, a system of education that proposes to be excellent must furnish an opportunity and the means for individuals to make public any issues or challenges they wish to make before the body politic.(16)

These ideas, while not operational and therefore dangerous to implement are stimulating and seminal, but not utopian. How many a utopia of the past has become a reality in our contemporary world? Indeed, not long ago, the school was viewed as directly related to development and people like Illich, who brought this into question were considered as dreamers, but it is no longer the case now. There emerged popular dissatisfaction with the institution of the school and this is increasingly apparent. More than mere dissatisfaction with the institution of the school, people

16- Illich, I., "Tools for Conviviality", London, Calder & Boyer, 1973. pp.11-45.

started to point to other institutions in society. Schools, as Illich points out, are too easy targets.(17)

From another and less radical perspective, Fragnier pointed out from the European Cultural Foundation,(18) that it is no longer clear how to assess the results of education. Which institutions achieve, from society's point of view, the most beneficial and useful results? He argues that a strict separation of general education and vocational training is not only rejected by the specialists but seen by all as an obstacle to certain social and educational aims such as individual development or equal opportunity. It is realised that the introduction of 'vocational' elements into general education and the broadening of practical training would provide only a partial and temporary solution. To alternate periods of theoretical study with on-the-job experience might help to solve this problem. This perspective is clearly an attempt to find a solution to Illich's questioning of the 'hidden curriculum'.

Illich contends that the hidden curriculum teaches all children that economically valuable knowledge is the result

 17- Illich, I., "After Deschooling What?" London, Writers and Readers, 1976, p.42

18- Fragnier, G., "Education Without Frontiers" London, Duckworth, 1976, p.8

of professional teaching and that social entitlements depend on the rank achieved in a bureaucratic process. The hidden curriculum transforms the explicit curriculum into a commodity and makes its acquisition the safest form of wealth. It ties the learning process to full-time attendance, thus illegitimizing the educational entrepreneur.(19) The hidden curriculum, according to Illich, initiates the citizens into the myth that bureaucracies guided by scientific knowledge are efficient and benevolent. This same curriculum instils into the pupil the myth that increased production will provide a better life. The school, thus, fulfils the function of political indoctrination. Through the school, the student becomes politically powerless.

This radical condemnation of schooling is based on another of Illich's criticisms of contemporary attitudes towards growing up. He contends that individuals who in previous times have been accorded all the rights of adults at a young age have now lost them. With the institutionalization of education, adulthood has become more and more elusive. The institutionalization of the school has become a 'form of child care and a rite de passage which we take for granted. The school is supposed to remove the excess population from

19- Illich, I., "After Deschooling What?" op. cit., pp.37-39

the street, the family or the labour force. This restraint on healthy, productive and potentially independent human beings is performed by schools with an economy which only labour camps could rival'.(20)

For Illich, each intellectual and social institution has its contradictions, and its negative elements, already built into it and as the institution develops, these contradictions get larger. As formal schooling reaches more people, more people are turned into passive consumers who can be manipulated, and the more the school reinforces social and economic distinctions generated by the economic structure of society. From this perspective, the only hope for change resides in individual action,(21) which he himself is practising.

The vision of men and women that Illich seems to hold is an optimistic one. Not only are people self-creating and capable of self direction, but any institution that fetters man, that prevents this potential from evolving, must be either reconstructed or eliminated.(22) This is grosso modo

20- Illich, I., "Celebration of Awareness: A Call for Institutional Revolution", Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1970, pp.93-94.

21- Apple, M. W., op. cit., p.104

22- Ibid., p.104.

Illich's thesis. But reforms a la Illich are too radical to be implemented in the present state of our society. Too many people depend on the school for their survival and the first of them is the teacher. Are there any alternative solutions?

It is in the context of these educational debates, as well as in the context of international institutional and political changes that the European Cultural Foundation elaborated a global educational plan based on the studies of many researchers.(23)

A EUROPEAN OPERATIONAL PLAN.

This plan finds a homogeneity in the context of four general principles, dictated, by these institutional and theoretical pressures. These principles are:

 23- The book "Education Without Frontiers" is the final report of the education project of the European Cultural Foundation's 'Plan Europe 2000'. It offers a map of the future of Europe's educational system. Starting from the undisputable premise that education in Europe has now reached a critical point, it outlines the probable causes of the present crisis (energy crisis and pressure groups) and the best ways of meeting it, and pictures what schools will be like in the 21st century. Among the developments forseen are life-long learning, the transformation of the present divisions of the school system into new divisions more consonant with the natural development of the child, recurrent education with paid educational leave on lines similar to holidays with pay now and a revolutionary change in the relationship between student and teacher.

- Equal opportunity,
- Life-long learning,
- Participation and autonomous learning,
- Counselling.

Among these four principles, the first one, i.e. equal opportunity seems the more problematic in an Arabo-Islamic context. It is based on the assumption that the modern bureaucratic state(24) should be a necessary condition of a social grouping, and that the state is responsible for the social and material well-being of its citizens.

The idea of equality of opportunity has evolved, in the West, in diverse manifestations. The first reforms to realise it aimed at equality of access. Then, probably because of the Marxist critique and vision of society (class struggle)(25) the emphasis shifted from the idea of equality of access to a wider sphere. In order to realise genuine

 24- which, as we have seen, rests on the bank as a magical multiplier of the national wealth through legitimate and less legitimate means. If it does not use these means, it would not be able to support the huge bureaucracy required to control the social pyramid. The state is based on the bank and the one controlling the bank is the Godhead Faraoh. This is not an allegory, it is a picture very clearly drawn on the promissory note; the dollar. This is not an imaginary conspiracy theory. The more one gets acquainted with international monetarism and the crisis North/South, the more this theory becomes justifiable.

25- The Marxists contend that there can be no equality of opportunity when the material conditions of working class families are not conducive to educational success.

equality of opportunity in education there should be genuine social equality and flexible school structures. The problem in this dispute, however, is that it is difficult to determine what is natural and what is artificial inequality. In other words, if a blind person does not possess the same opportunities as someone who sees, and this will be reflected on his material condition, is it right to blame society as being unjust and not offering the blind all opportunities at the disposition of the clairvoyant while they could not possibly have the same opportunities? Society can however compensate the disfavoured by a policy of positive discrimination. This is the old dispute between heredity and milieu.

Fragniere(26) argues that the educational system cannot remedy entirely the effects of the social hierarchy, and that it would be vain to seek a truly egalitarian school in a structurally inegalitarian society. He further contends that the structure of power remains an important environmental factor in social inequalities and that this necessitates power sharing and an equitable distribution of social wealth. In other words, it necessitates greater democracy and greater equality.

26- Fragniere, op. cit., p.43

Of course, this argument derives from a capitalist perspective and is addressed to a capitalist audience. In a muslim society, the issue of equality of opportunity has no supporting public pressure group. This is probably due to the different scale of values in the region.(27) No doubt, in the contemporary Arab world the issue has become a familiar subject of discussion, especially in the Socialist countries but it has not become a serious political topic. From an Islamic perspective, poverty and wealth are natural phenomana. They cannot be artificial, they are a divine decree. This is not fatalism.

To understand this, it is worth remembering that the concept of the "Oneness", Ahadiya, of God implies that the action of man is not outside the action of God. Man is free to do whatever he wishes, and when he does it, it is all what he could possibly have done. And it is the will of God. If he asks for more social justice, it is God who willed him to ask for more social justice. If he does not, it is also the will of God. From this perspective one may assume that if "injustice" had prevailed as it did in the West, then the issue of equality of opportunity would have been brought into formal politics with a strong public pressure behind it.

 27- It is important to affirm again, as was mentioned in chapter four, that justice is to put things in their right place in a system.

Now, if the Islamic cosmological system does not define justice as based on the assumption that all people must be equal, materially or in knowledge, it would be arrogant to try to invent this principle, while in 'reality' it does not exist.(28)

At any rate, the demand in Europe for more social and educational justice has generated proposals for a more flexible educational system, the creation of links between the various channels and the planning of a basic education common to all. In England, the outcome was the introduction of 'comprehensive schools'. This solution to the problem of equality of opportunity created an educational structure with forms of training with as many bridges as possible between them, a school population much more socially diversified and a period of observation so that each pupil could be guided towards studies best suited to his aptitudes.

This perspective was to be developed, according to "Plan Europe 2000" in line with the technological evolution with the vision of a post industrial society. This society will require, if it is to respond to a very complex division of labour, an educational system involving a very thorough

 28- The reality is the subjective reality of each individual. Whoever makes a model of the universe, as Ibn Arabi asserts, he can only make a model of himself, and above each one possessing knowledge, there is a Knower.

non-selective basic education for all, followed by a very selective advanced education for a large minority.(29) (encyclopedic curriculum in the basic cycle and essentialist in the secondary and tertiary cycles)

Reforms of this kind cannot be termed radical, because they do not question the overall social organisation. They merely touch the sub-system that is the school and can thus be seen as no more than cosmetic reforms. They can be devices that condition students to be happy in institutions that prevent them from clarifying their actual educational, economic, and social situation. Equality of opportunity implies the acceptance of the school as an institution through which the individual may secure his social mobility through a set of bureaucratic institutions. It implies that personal knowledge is (and must be) discredited.

The concept of equal opportunity may be contradicted when one looks at the meaning of man. If certain people campaign for equal opportunities because they seek more power over man and things, others see their fulfilment in the internal development of their own personalities, in being free to choose whether they need any sort of education at all. They may choose not to have equal opportunity with the school as a

29- Fragniere, op. cit., p.43

prerequisite. Equality of opportunity is a principle that is not relevant in an Arab-Islamic context.

On the other hand, the principle of life-long education is very relevant, not only is there an Islamic tradition that encourages people to seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave, but also because the modern world, with its rapid progress in all aspects of life, requires that individuals in all aspects of social transactions must continually upgrade their theoretical knowledge as well as their practical knowledge.

How can an educational system, -which is not compulsory- facilitate this life-long education? The European response is that there should be moves towards implementing a system whereby major companies organise to a greater extent their own training. In the school sub-system, selection in certain branches of study must be postponed. This trend to delay the moment of selection is supposed, not only to improve the chances of the underprivileged, but also to enlarge the pool of ability from which selection can be made.(30)

While the first part of the proposal can be readily accepted by the majority who hold different views of the

30Fragniere, op. cit., p.48

world, and would be relevant to the Arab world, the second part is more problematic. The purpose behind this delay of entering into active life, some would argue, would be to convince and mobilize opinion. Of course, as Fragniere argues, this can be justified on the ground that the mobilization of opinion is to prepare people for change, that it is a political tool which will allow us to choose today what we wish our future to be tomorrow.(31) However, he does not say anything about the hidden curriculum a la Illich

Once the process of education is life-long, the aim of education will no longer be restricted to mastering certain techniques, obtaining specific qualifications, and becoming familiar with certain aspects of culture. Once the process is life-long, these goals are never final but always open to question and review. From the European perspective, life-long education is complementary to the principle of equality of opportunity. Thus, this futuristic vision implies the development of a pre-primary education, the diversifying of study channels and individualized teaching, through applying the life-long principle and suppressing the rigid connection between age and educational levels, through alternating periods of theoretical training and productive

31- Op. cit., p.54

work.(32)

The refuting instance, however, is that this huge educational endeavour necessitates vast funding. If the public money such as that raised from the sale of minerals, or that available in the Bait al-Male,(33) the money the source of which is the tax system Zakat, can cater for priorities or from the revenue of the state investment in different enterprises without using any monetarist means of artificially controlling the flow of money, and by thus doing increasing the wealth of the country. This money must be tied to the national gold reserve.(34

32Fragniere, op. cit., p.56

33- There is no equivalent for this term in English but it can be compared to a central bank where the "national" wealth is gathered once every year to be distributed or invested immediately after. Money is not 'created' by the government, but is 'real', in the form of gold, silver, dates, minerals and so on. One may use in these deals a signature, a promise to pay, and this is paper money, but it is doubtful whether these notes can change hand to a third party, a fifth and so on before they are exchanged for the goods they are supposed to buy. What is now known 'paper money' or 'fiat money', and the function it performs in society, is an innovation, sometimes questioned by Muslim activists. The issue, in this specific context of world financial crisis, needs an urgent and serious study from an Islamic perspective. This may break the status quo in this conflict North/South. It may destabilize things for a while, but the knife of the surgeon is compassionate.

34- It is often said that oil is the "black gold", and since there are huge quantities of it in the ground, the state can always justify that its promissory notes are backed by gold. Nevertheless, the note in circulation must not create inflation. It is difficult, as annex 6 demonstrates, to control inflation, and therefore dangerous to rely on promissory notes (to pay what? Inflation means that the promise is broken) in all economic transactions in society. So the best way would be to go back to

) If in this case, the national funds are sufficient, the above educational programme seems attractive. To facilitate the analysis, it is assumed that the funds would be enough as long as spending on a huge bureaucracy is reduced to the minimum.(35)

The basic principles that suggest to one the probable evolution of the Arab educational systems are not deduced from the study of these systems alone. They take account of what is happening outside the field of education, in society at large. It is evident, for example that there is a resurgence of Islam(36) and that the educational content and

 34(cont'd)gold and silver as currencies instead of using paper money. Or if paper money is used, only by the one whom promise to pay is made to. This is an ecological philosophical and political position.

35- On touching these sensitive points, one must recognise that a priority in education should not be to try to achieve universal compulsory education but to concentrate on educational research. Research should be conducted by a group of specialists, such as economists, psychologists, philosophers, politicians... in order to decide what is best for the nation. The present study is, thus, important, because it would stimulate discussion and bring into question the status quo concerning certain things that are taken for granted.

36- The proof of this is, besides the Iranian revolution, that according to the French daily newspaper, "Le Matin" the last Alesco Conference (Rabat, May 1985) was devoted to examining strategies for educational development in the Arab world. Among the suggestions of the Conference was the formation of alliances among various national and regional organisations and in particular, recommended cooperation between Alesco and the Islamic organisation for Education, Science and Culture (Isesco) in formulating regional educational strategies and facilitating linkages with non-Arab Islamic countries. (Le Matin. Paris, 8 May 1985

strategies are bound to be influenced by the values of Islam. It is also evident that education has to become life-long, not only because of the Islamic encouragement, but also because of the rapid accumulation of knowledge.

The direct connection between the orientations of the educational system and those of society as a whole is exemplified in the idea of participation and autonomous learning as suggested by Fragniere of the European Cultural Foundation.(37) He argues that in every sector of society the idea of participation dominates our age and will undoubtedly make a profound mark on the future of our social and political structures. Direct democracy and informed, shared responsibility is everywhere advanced as an ideal to replace traditional representative democracy and its system of formal liberties. The Libyan experiment in this instance should give a useful "comparative perspective" to the rest of the Arab countries.

Since the practice of direct democracy encourages individual maturation, why not extend it to the teaching/learning process itself. The teacher should not be someone who teaches but someone who is prepared to learn as well as teach, a Socrates. He cannot be a full time teacher

37- Fragniere, op. cit., pp.64-74

if he is prepared to learn as well as teach. Teaching as a full time "profession" should be phased out. The result, according to Fragniere,(38) is not that the teacher is put out of a job, but that a new conception of what the teacher should be doing will arise. The process of teaching will be seen as an exchange rather than a passive pupil facing a dominant teacher. In the Arab World, it should lead to reducing the teaching profession to a minimum. This is because about 80% of total educational spending goes on teachers salaries, which is too much of a sacrifice if the teacher can be done without. Adopting such policies would discourage many from leaving the farm in order to earn a secured salary in the teaching profession. If the computer can replace the teacher and the teacher can contribute to the agricultural development of the country, why not apply the policy of reducing gradually the number of teaching posts, while at the same time increasing gradually the use of modern teaching machines?

The school should not be the only educational institution, although it is still needed, but it will be radically different from the one now prevailing. The individual can develop himself through his relations with an environment which moulds him and from which he differentiates his own

38- Ibid., p.66

personality. The more decentralized the system is, the more participation there will be in all sectors of society, the less state subsidies are required with all the implications this has for controlling any possibility of inflationary economy which has proved so destructive in all aspects of European life.

The movement towards political centralization borrowed from or imposed by the colonial powers has produced strongly centralized but separate nations in the Arab region. It should become obvious, by now, that movement towards Arab intergration does not mean further centralization and reinforcement of diverse institutions in the different countries. On the contrary, the Arab world will be able to unite only to the extent that it succeeds in overcoming the centralizing philosophy of Socialism or even nationalism. Decentralization, which must be extended to a regionalization of the political, educational and economic aspects of society will necessitate a more democratic national administration.

There is no doubt that too much centralization paralyses the system. Unfortunately, decentralization has its problems as well. In the case of Libya, it is often said that the major problem facing the policy makers is one of

coordination(39) and cooperation between different elements because of blurred lines of authority and responsibility. Nevertheless, the problem can, theoretically, be solved with the introduction of modern communication technology.

Direct democracy "participation", will, through the cooperation and dialogue it involves, introduce a feedback into the system, which will make possible a more accurate measurement of results, the creation of goals and methods, and the provision of additional information relevant to reform. In the final analysis, in such a democratic process, the true nature of education will be revealed, only by the attitude adopted towards it by the people. Hence, the present global proposals are no more than a ground plan for future developments. They are based as was said earlier on the features of the national character, present educational trends and a normative vision of the future.

SCHOOL, DEMOCRACY, AND THE COMPUTER IN THE ARAB WORLD.

In the summer of 1985, during the second National Conference

 39- Unesco, "Prospects for Educational Development in Libya" Paris, Report prepared by a Libyan Task Force in Collaboration with the Unesco, p.2.

of the Algerian Students Abroad, an Algerian social scientist met with many students coming from the United States of America, France, the U.S.S.R., England and other developed countries to investigate their opinions concerning modern communication technology and how to promote it in the school in Algeria. Although learning by audio visual means was included in the investigator's theme of interest, the discussion has invariably centred on computers, their utility as a means of maximising efficiency in the school and in society at large.

On how to promote the use of computers in the schools and outside the schools, the students tended to polarize into two distinct groups. The first group held that Algeria would be better off if she invested in sending some students abroad to master the new technology, both in its hardware and the technics of developing software, in view of importing the know how and start a national industry from scratch. The second group held that Algeria would be better off if she invested, instead, in buying the hardware and making it available so that the importance of its use would be recognised by the majority. The genius to develop this new technology would come from within, by necessity. This genius can very well be the fruit of one or several entrepreneurs. In other words, the responsibility of introducing this new technology will not remain in the hands of the state

bureaucracies but in the hands of individuals who are financially interested in developing this new industry in a market that is still untapped.(40) Clearly, some students are already favouring the decentralization of decision making and allowing the creativity of the individuals and their sense of interest to be a natural planner of society.(41) Others are still imbued with the spirit of overall social planning.

Notwithstanding the different opinions on how to promote computers in Algeria, it is important to note that the desirability of introducing such technology was not questioned. Indeed, in the wider society, the idea is being diffused through the mass media, such as the semi official newspaper, Al-Moudjahid. The argument of one of the many articles on computers goes as follows:(42)

 -"Algeria is increasing efforts in order to provide itself

40- This is an interesting field of research for those engaged in business studies, in contribution with the linguists. One may advance that by designing a local hardware computer industry, adapted to the specificity of the Arabic language -based on verbal three letter roots. This is an opportunity not to be missed because the market is still untapped and it requires originality and creativity. The bureaucratic bottlenecks should be eliminated in order to encourage entrepreneurs in this field.

41- Cf. Popper, K.R., "The Open Society and its Enemies" his concept of "peacemeal social engineering". This does not imply that society should become a Capitalist one. Strategic institutions such as the banks and other big corporations should remain under the control of the state. Private banks cannot function in an Islamic context.

42- El Moudjahid, 'L'enseignement de l'informatique, l'Ecole Fondamental aussi.' Algiers, 1st sept., 1985

L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'INFORMATIQUE

L'école fondamentale aussi



(Fig. VII.1) THE COMPUTER: AN INNOVATION IN THE ALGERIAN 'BASIC SCHOOL'. Source: El-Moudjahid, 1985.

with a performing and efficient computer system (or network). In this context, the government has examined in successive sessions at the level of the Council of Ministers (1978, 1982 and in 1984), policies concerning communication technology.

-Our country is, therefore, just starting a technological revolution, and this implies, by necessity, the famous problem of the transfer of technologies.

-Computer courses are being generalised at the levels of the Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of National

Education and the Ministry of Labour and Professional Training... The article goes to explain these trends:

-Traditional education is, more than anything else, based on knowledge to transmit and how to transmit it. It is addressed to an abstract individual representing the average intellectual standard of a classroom. Now, in an instruction assisted by computers, all this changes. The computer is given the task of repeating patiently and impartially so that instruction becomes individualized rather than addressed to an abstract average individual. Every pupil or student would work at his own pace and is immediately and critically evaluated for his work.

-Instruction becomes, thus, child-centered. The teacher will be liberated from his repetitive tasks and becomes free for his very important function as a mediator between the learner, the machine and knowledge.(43) He will know the progress of each individual according to the data on marks, time spent on each exercise, and the overall performance,

 43- In this context, one may suggest that the precondition of all future pedagogical reform is the training of teachers. Their role is going to change, not only because of the introduction of technological aids but because he is required to know life in the factory. Education today has become divorced from the community in which it is located, and yet, the community, with all its facets, is one of education's most valuable resources. If education is to be dynamic, it must be fully integrated with community life. This necessitates the use of television, computers, evening classes, courses at the place of work and so on. Obviously, teacher training is essential, but on the other hand, the number of these teachers is going to be reduced because of the introduction of modern technology.

stored in the computer's memory.

-To develop computer sciences in school environments enables the child to discover the logic, the key concept, of computing."

Indeed, if such technology is diffused in society, many monotonous and time consuming operations, at all levels of social transaction can be solved at a cheaper price. This would mean that the machine takes over many jobs, especially those of a bureaucratic nature. It also means that many people would become unemployed.

Unemployment as a problem should, however, not be a refuting instance of the desirability of modern communication technology. What is a refuting instance is social poverty and a low standard of living. In an Islamic society, a basic right of man is not as specified in the United Nation's charter of human rights, one of work, but one of having the time to reflect about his own coming into existence and the meaning of it all. In other words, man should be given the time to worship God.

The national wealth of a country, if it is to be invested wisely, should not be spent on providing salaries for incompetent bureaucrats who are the red tape in an economy that needs to be more dynamic than it is at the present

moment. The wealth of a country is better invested if it eliminates as many jobs as possible in the services sector of society and improving the present system by making it more efficient, and less time consuming

Moreover, in countries where the land is not very generous because of the dry climate, and agricultural imports drain much of the State's budget, it is better to limit the recurrent spending on education and other services in terms of salaries, by replacing man with the machine in as far as this is possible. The link here with solving the problem of agricultural deficit is that with the increase of unemployment in the city, man returns to the land in order to cultivate it, using modern irrigation techniques, especially when one learns that under the Sahara desert a sea of fresh water exists and is waiting to be exploited. But the Arab World is not all a desert and does not all need to be irrigated to give a harvest. It just needs man to work it and depend on its produce to live. Unfortunately, as was mentioned in page 116, price policies discriminating against the farmer, and easy money earned in the city encouraged many people to abandon their lands. This resulted in urbanisation problems, agricultural dependency and emasculated bureaucracies, all of them necessitating huge spending by the state.

The call for a return to the land does not mean rejecting modernity, nor do the new proposal for education means abolishing the school totally. To the contrary, the concepts of "school" and "modernity" should be modernized. Thus for instance, it is preferable that the rigid relation between age and educational levels should be relaxed by using the computer as a determiner of one's attainment. This is necessary if the principle of alternating theoretical training and productive work is to be realised. The idea of participation,(44) implies that the function socialisation of the educational process will emerge in a clearer and more distinct light. The introduction to how society works should be based on concrete experiences and avoid the cul-de-sac of ideological discourse and the mental stagnation which often results.(45)

In recent years, perceptive observers have noted that schools should no longer educate to prepare for existing occupations and present day functions of society. Instead, they must prepare people for a world that may be radically

44- Because of the rapid accumulation of knowledge, which necessitates life-long education and occupational mobility as well as the adaptation of schools to this social trend implies that individuals, factories and other social agencies must participate in shaping the education of tomorrow. It requires, we repeat it again, direct democracy and informed shared responsibility.

45- Fragniere, op. cit., p.70

different from the one existing at the moment. The school must cultivate modes of reflective thinking that will enable tomorrow's adults to develop the requisite skills and abilities for living in a rapidly changing society.(46) A minimally bureaucratized society implies a blurred educational structure, an encyclopaedic bank of knowledge and a Socratic educational method.

The methods of teaching will aim less at passing on knowledge than at extending existing knowledge, rooted in experience. This is dictated by the principle that the individual is the only one responsible for determining the kind of knowledge he requires. The school can initiate them to learning methods which will serve them throughout their lives. The school must therefore concentrate on inculcating methods which will lay the foundations of an ability to learn rather than on amassing facts and figures; since facts would be readily available in memory banks of national computer networks throughout the Arab world. The methods must aim at developing an ability to conduct personal research. From this perspective, the school should become a place where people find various educational facilities with very few people to attend to them. These innovations should be

46- Rich, J.M., "Education and Human Values",
Reading/Massachusetts/London, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company,
1969, p.6.

gradually introduced without imposing any compulsion in education.

Feeding the hungry should become the first priority to be attended to, by those in charge of a nation or a community in an Islamic society. It should be a prerequisite if man is to have time to reflect on metaphysical matters and therefore to worship God, a necessary characteristic of an ideal society. A major function of the State should, thus, be to regulate the wealth of the country in such a way that it is beneficial to the majority. It is the function of a businessman who wants to invest his money in such a way that it brings the maximum return. The aim, really, is to reach a certain level of material wealth and welfare in order to have enough spare time for otherworldly concerns.

The strategy that seems to be followed by the three countries of our study appears to be that of mastering science and technology, in all fields; in agricultural machines, fertilizers, solar energy and so on, with the aim of controlling the environment for the benefit of man. This strategy is based on the assumption that doing by learning is a priority compared to learning by doing. This was, in fact, dictated by the historical context characterizing these countries. The leaders of these countries feel they have to improve the conditions of their citizens in a race against

time, they need thousands of technicians, engineers, social workers, administrators... in order to oil the mechanisms of their emerging industries. The school was consequently considered to be the strategic institution on which efforts must be concentrated.

No doubt, the school has an important function to perform, but the tree should not hide the forest. The school is not the only place where people learn. Moreover, if it is to fulfill its function, it must be based on certain principles. Some of these principles were inspired by the work the European Cultural Foundation. They are:

- No compulsion in school,
- participation or direct democracy,
- Opening the school to society and changing its structure,
- Introducing computer programmes for child (or/and adults) centered instruction.(47)

The teachers can practise other professions as well as being part-time teachers. At the primary level, it would be difficult for them to do so in that they will have many roles to perform, and therefore must work full-time in the teaching

 47- A feasibility study in terms of price of such a system should be carefully researched. It is wiser to start by a pilot study because one is experimenting with a human being and may jeopardise his future. The price of a microcomputer would normally be less or around a month salary of a teacher.

profession. Part of their work will consist in instructing the very young on how to read, write and count, using traditional didactic methods. To the older children who will be initiated into the techniques of individualized learning, the teachers can perform the function of advisers on how to operate the system of computer terminals, and to participate in soft-ware design. Their function should not be that of conveying a certain knowledge to the students but that of assisting them when they need assistance. They should be there to provide solutions to the problems facing the students. Another function of the teachers will be to counsel the students on the best way to get access, through their computer terminals to the right specialists in the different fields of study. These specialists should be grouped in a central agency, where the central computer data base is, where they perform a full-time job of attending to the needs of the student population.

At the intermediate, secondary and higher levels of education, the number of teachers to be employed can be reduced to a minimum, by enlarging the number of students in one classroom (with one teacher) to a whole town, or even to the whole country by a system of computer terminals, linked to a central agency formed of specialised staff on different subjects. The whole system can be further reinforced by a television network so that direct feed-back between

categories of students and teacher counterparts can be made possible.(48)

Of course, the task of the teacher depends on the characteristics of the subject taught. Let one consider the school programmes of one country and seek to determine where, within this programme, the computer can be introduced.(49)

The following represents some voluntarist proposals concerning the use of computers to be introduced at the level of 'basic' education in Libya. In the table below, all the subjects referred to are being taught at the present time in Libya. No attempt is made to change them or suggest new ones. What is suggested, however, is at which stage of the educational ladder can the computer be introduced and for which subjects.

Computers can be introduced at the fourth year (9 year-of-age) for the teaching of arithmetics and practical geometry. It is at the same time an introduction -without being the

48A pilot study, in one town should be enough to provide a final test of this theory. The criterion of success should be measured in terms an investment.

49- This point in itself can be the object of a doctoral thesis. One may conduct emperical experiments to determine at what age the child is better off with a computer in certain disciplines.
* Cf. Kelly, A.V.(ed) 'Microcomputers and the Curriculum', London, Harper & Row, 1984.

SUBJECTS	SCHOOL YEARS/SUGGESTED COMPUTER USE.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ISLAMICS					C	C	C	C	C
ARABIC					C	C	C	C	C
ARITHMETIC & PRAC. GEOMETR			C	C	C	C	C	C	C
SCIENCE & HEALTH EDUC.					C	C	C	C	C
DEVOLP. t PLAN					C	C	C	C	C
PHYSICAL EDUC									
FINE ART									
AGRIC. (BOYS) DOMES. (GIRL)									
SOCIAL STUD. (HIST. GEO...					C	C	C	C	C
MUSIC & SONGS									

(Fig. VII.2) LIBYAN SCHOOL PROGRAMMES & SUGGESTED COMPUTER USE IN THE BASIC STAGE.

subject of the course- to computers, and the development of abstract thinking in the child. The function of the teacher in these classes would be to acquaint the children with the new technology and at the same time explain how certain programmes on arithmetic and practical geometry can be understood in real life. Instruction can thus start to be

individualized as early as the age of nine, by providing certain of these courses in the form of games. In this case, the child interacts for his learning process, not with the teacher, but with the computer terminal.(50)

Other subjects need to be taught in the same manner, i.e. in a didactic way. The child at a certain age, is playful by nature, and needs an authority figure, to inculcate basic knowledge, like how to count, or how to read, or how to plant a seed.

At a later stage in his cognitive development, from the age of nine to twelve or thirteen(51) when he is able to think in an abstract way and have a moral awakening, when he starts to reason and test the acquired knowledge, a computer terminal can be of inestimable help.

Thus, subjects such as Islamic education can be fed into the computer in the form of facts and questions about these facts to test if the child has understood the piece of information. The rest of the programme will not be

50- Cf. Bake, C., "Micros & Mathematical Thinking" (in Kelly, A.V. (ed.) 'Microcomputers and the Curriculum'). London, Harper & Row, 1984, pp.107-125.

51- Cf. Piaget's stages of cognitive development (in Hergernhahn, B.R., "An Introduction to Theories of Learning" London, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1982 (2nd ed.), pp. 187-290.

introduced to him unless he reaches a certain efficiency in answering questions about the subject of his study.(52) Learning Arabic can be achieved through using the British modern technique of teaching English as a foreign language, i.e. by avoiding the traditional pattern of teaching all the rules of grammar but by practice and the use of multiple choice questions. A well designed computer programme would be invaluable for the student in this discipline. In the social sciences, its contribution is crucial in that it will help the student to acquire the ability to use the hypothetico-deductive method of investigation(53) and thus awaken, at a very early age, his independent judgement. This is crucial because it is what is needed if the practice of direct democracy is to have any meaning. This style of teaching will ease the task of the teacher. It would inevitably reduce the need for large numbers of teachers, and this, as we have argued earlier, is beneficial to the overall

 52- There is a danger to be avoided. One must make sure that the use of this new technology does not go to the extreme of alienating the child from the real world of blue sky or rainy day, considering the child as a mentally disturbed individual that needs one of these new electronic gadgets to keep him busy. To define the child in terms of intellectual processes to be acquired by means of computer induced techniques would mean putting the child in an assylum in order to cure his desease by artificial means so that he can be operant in the real world. Computer does not mean computism. one must keep an eye on the hermetism of "isms"

53- Cf. Kelly, A.V. (ed.), "Microcomputers and the curriculum" London, Harper & Row Publishers (Harper Education Series.), 1984, pp.64-84

economic development of a country. More people will return to the land to cultivate it, or engage in industry or trade.

A computerized educational system would not cost as much as the amount spent every year, on a large number of teachers and would-be pedagogically more efficient, in that every student would learn according to his own pace in any specialised subject. The network can be reinforced by an agency of vocational guidance, with the necessary data on how to apply, what are the conditions of getting the job, and what types of skills are needed for any student in order to be accepted. The recruitment can be done directly, through the computer network, without asking the student to provide all the bureaucratic details. This would have beneficial repercussions on other sectors of society. It would ease the need for having more bureaucrats, that drain much of the national wealth, create rural migration problems, and jeopardise many of the national projects by their inefficiency.

Orientation is an attempt to relate the individual's own education to what the educational system as a whole has to offer. Every step on the educational path is the outcome of a choice, and it is vital that the individual should know what is involved when he chooses. It is, according to

Fragniere,(54) scientifically and technically inaccurate to think that psychology is able to detect the existence in a given individual of potential aptitudes making it possible to provide "exact" educational guidance. Results are disappointing, mainly because of the rapidity of scientific and economic changes affecting industry.

In such a new order of things, it is argued, the general standard of living of the population of the three countries of the present study, and of the whole Arab world, if such a system is adopted and implemented in the whole Arab world(55) cannot but improve, at a faster rate than the one now prevailing. The national wealth would have been wisely invested and the return on this investment would be quickly felt. Many of the barriers to realising an Arab integration would be removed then.

Following this reasoning, one is compelled to say, a computer revolution in the school and in certain public agencies is urgent and should be embarked upon immediately in order to reduce the huge spending of the state in the

54- Fragniere, op. cit., p.76

55- And why not to the whole Muslim world, or if other nations do not disagree with the Islamic Spiritual and social values, to the whole world. The world then would become one, and it would not be controlled by any power because the individual is the beginning and the end. He would read his life and he would know his Lord.

services sector. This is urgent because, worldwide, national economies are passing through a crisis similar to the one witnessed on the eve of the second World-War. But this time the outcome of the crisis will be devastating if things get out of hand. Man, to secure his daily bread, can do anything. Society must prepare itself for the worst.

With present trends, it is easy to imagine a return to the land. The reasons for this reversal of attitudes are, as stated above, economic, and more precisely financial, but also the reasons include a reversal of attitudes towards development, a revolution in the scale of values (e.g. Iranian revolution), a rejection of the consumer society but at the same time an increased need for food on a world scale. Even in Europe, there is a new ecological awareness.

In the fifties and sixties, the nations of Europe were driven by the fear of lacking qualified man-power, on the assumption that the more people there were with diplomas, the greater the likelihood of economic growth. Today they are afraid, rather, of graduate unemployment and insufficient unskilled man-power.

It is also easy to predict, without distorting the facts upon which such predictions are based, that even the most centralized economies in the regions will be moving in a new

direction, that of increased decentralization, which will produce a new socio-economic context for education at the beginning of the next century. These trends are dictated by, among other things, the population trends and present bureaucratic bottle-necks. It is not, however, easy to predict exactly, what the educational system will be like as though there were a cause and effect relationship. Nevertheless, the above, instead of describing the education of the future, is an outline, in the light of an initial context, of how it ought to be and what are the best ways of implementing these policies. But before such a stage of implementation takes place, these policies must be adopted. There are certain refuting instances.

THE REFUTING INSTANCES.

The anticipated refuting instances are expected to be:

- in the physical pattern of society (no Computer industry).
- in the institutional pattern (nationally and internationally, if one aspect of the social structure is changed, the whole structure of national and international interrelations is disrupted. Most national or international institutions endeavour to see that their members perform certain rituals and acts, and carry out behaviour patterns in

accordance with prescribed social roles. They usually discourage any criticisms of the rationale underlying these processes, and they are rarely receptive to searching criticisms of the institution itself. Criticism may bring change, and change disrupts the social equilibrium, thing which the people in power would rather avoid.)(56)

- In the mental states of the people, too many people cannot face the uncertainty of a radical innovation. The teachers and their unions will fiercely resist anything which diminishes their prestige and the power of the school.

To overcome these difficulties, the people, in a context of direct democracy, should decide collectively, about the path they will take, and they should be prepared to accept the outcome of their actions and blame no one for the path they chose. They should not be directed by an elite of alienated individuals to blame them afterwards for having led them astray.

One voice within this context of direct democracy would say that, in order to avoid problems which will arise in any situation of change, a time lag should be allowed. The changes should be introduced, gradually, over a decade or so, depending on the specificity of the initial context. These

56- Rich, "Education and Human Values" op. cit., p.14

changes should be gradually introduced, in a pragmatic and piece-meal manner. But it would be difficult to evaluate the degree of success of this system. The first difficulty is to define the boundaries of the educational system so as to fix the statistical categories which make it up. Many traditional definitions do not apply any more; distinctions between formal education, between education for the young and for adults, between full-time and part-time, will become more blurred. It is, thus, difficult to know what should and should not be included in the educational system itself.

But this is precisely what is sought in an ideal Islamic Society. There should not be any human power over the power of the individual person to direct him in his life. The person is the only one responsible for his personal salvation, and his moral conduct. He lives in a community of similarly free and responsible individuals regulating their lives through a code of conduct, but there should be no human Godhead to control them and therefore dictate to them the way they should live their lives. The dictation has been given in the Qur'an, which the individual is expected to read. And what shall he read if it is not his life? And what shall he know if it is not his Lord?

CONCLUSION

The source of the fruit
is the tree
and the source of the tree
is the fruit.
al-Djamal.

At the start of the study, while the problem began to take shape in the context of Alesco's present preoccupations with defining a philosophy of Arab Education for the contemporary Arab world.(1) Islam proved to be of a central importance. This is because this "religion" encompasses the whole culture and it is the traditional element in a dialectic tradition/modernity. More, it is of central importance because it is a political religion that has proved to be dynamically shaping the present world as a supporting element of the freedom movements such as that of colonized Algeria. It has also shaped, and still does, a style of public pressure groups in the independent and contemporary Arab countries.

Islam was the spark which created what is known as the Arabo-Islamic civilisation and it is still what shapes the

1- Homogenous in culture but politically diverse.

contemporary Arab and Islamic worlds. The style and the contemporary self criticism of many of the Arabo-Islamic intellectuals are in varying degrees shaped by this religion. Faced with the problem of remaining authentic to their culture, in a fast changing world, and of finding a solution to the predicament of the 'underdevelopment' of the societies in which they live, they, each from his own background and perspective saw different solutions. There are those who saw tradition as a handicap (The Ba'ath ideologues), and those who were selective (the leaders of Algeria for instance.).

In this context, the historical perspective is invariably brought to the front because it is from the past that people identify their present predicament. To go back in history in order to identify the stage at which the "Arab society" or the "Islamic community", whatever is the perspective of the observer, started to decline is an ideological self identification. No matter how the historian tries to be objective, or deny his subjectivism, he is still a subject (he must be subjective),(2) observing an object. Implicitly or explicitly he defines his perspective and therefore his philosophical position. The philosophical position of the researcher of the present study was from within. He belongs

2- There is, however, what is considered good practice and it is to provide another version of events from another perspective. One must show the other side of the coin. This is where comparative studies are most helpful.

to this Arabo-Islamic culture, and saw the Islamic factor as predominant. His analysis proceeds from this premise. His 'subjectivism' is not arbitrary but it is based on 'facts'. These are that, within the context of Alesco's present preoccupations, an enquiry into the values of Islam was brought to the status of priority; if any definition of Arab educational philosophy, from which any educational policy may start, is to be achieved. The study is a circle. It started within an overall contemporary Arab educational context and it finished within it. In between many things happened.

It has been suggested in the historical chapter that what caused cultural stagnation in the Muslim world was the centralization and control of education by the state. As a problem solving approach, it identified the conflict, which is really a conflict facing the individual person, within the Holmesian taxonomy, as a change in the institutions of society and a non-change in the mental states of the people. The chapter about the rational construct revealed that the approach to knowledge, from an Islamic perspective, should be of two kinds: a prerequisite existential non-intellectual knowledge triggered by the practice of monotheism and an intellectual but non-obligatory knowledge, which suggests a non-compulsory education as known today. The scope of the study has, for some methodological as well as practical reasons, been restricted to three countries sharing a

'similar' ideology. It revealed that notwithstanding this similarity, which is in reality no more than a semantic one, their educational philosophies are diverse. How can the Arab world unite when the countries most similar are so mutually hostile?

Nevertheless, in the light of the contemporary national and international context, the educational trends and, indeed, the economic and political trends, suggest that unity will, ultimately be realised, by necessity. Decentralization will gradually prevail in these societies. Signs are already showing in Algeria, with the regime of president Bendjedid, that privatization and decentralization are indeed gradually being introduced at all levels of society.

Moreover, knowing that the vast majority of the population in the Arab countries are Muslim, and that the Islamic tradition harmonizes better with a decentralized social system(3) rather than with the Marxist-Leninist centralized and authoritarian system, decentralization will by necessity be gradually introduced.(4

3- Cf. chapter four, especially the section about the concept of society in Islam.

4- It is a paradox that unity should be realised by extrem decentralisation, but a paradox is often the true way of expressing and realising the Real. Man is in the universe but the universe is in man. Extrem decentralization means liberating man from being dominated by part of the universe (idolatry) to being dominated by God, the Alive, the Outwardly

) Furthermore, the inductivist approach which suggests that society will invariably evolve towards a certain vision of the future and that policies should therefore be undertaken in the light of certain "laws" is refuted. A "strong workers' state" has no justification. In a world of deep financial crisis, it is wiser that bureaucracies should be reduced to the strict minimum, and direct democracy implemented.

Bureaucracy is not a culprit only because of big spending on it but also because it paralyzes individual action. Everywhere in the Arab world individuals aspire towards Arab unity, but the present social organisations are preventing any progress in this direction. It is vital to think in terms of the "Arab world" as a first step (and maybe) towards thinking in terms of the "islamic world" and later just "the world" and at the same time to decentralize decision making structures. Otherwise direct democracy,(5) which really

 4(cont'd)Manifest/Inwardly-Hidden. Like in a circle where the place of beginning is the place of ends; it is out of absolute slavery that man gains absolute freedom. It is when he prostrates his head down that God lifts him up. This is the Islamic way.

5- The Qur'an says: The hand of God, i.e the right way, is with the majority. Consensus is better than force. There are a variety of ways of gaining consensus. The characteristic technique in a totalitarian state is the use of force and coercion. Any social philosophy used to achieve a consensus in a democracy must be consistent with the fundamental tenets underlying democratic life, if it is to bring some semblance of order and direction to the widespread value conflict in contemporary life.

means the individual's full freedom and responsibility in determining his life, ceases to be a living force. It was argued that information technology offers some help in the educational system because such system is at the present time the biggest bureaucracy. This new technology should, urgently, be introduced in the rest of society's institutions as well.

In this proposal, the distinction between formal and non-formal education disappears. The role of education as an "instrument of liberation" is reinforced. Industries, because of their need for a continual recycling of their work-force will collaborate in the closest way with those responsible for training. If study and work are linked together as a permanent feature of the new society, there will no longer be a clear distinction between productive and educational activities. This new society is, basically, a society without school and it is a school without society. In this society, man enriches the community and the community enriches man. It is a society where the action of man is not paralysed by a rigid bureaucratic apparatus, which paralyses individual creativity and action. It is a society where morality is imposed from within, not from without man.

The present study is a thesis, a point of view, a hypothesis. It requires an anti-thesis, another point of

view and an attempt to reconcile the two points of views, i.e. a synthesis which will become itself another thesis requiring an anti-thesis and a synthesis. Knowledge is an open ended process to personal enlightenment and it requires true, direct democracy. Only then would the enlightenment of one be the enlightenment of one's community and the enlightenment of one's community, one's enlightenment. The duality becomes one and there is only One.

Some considerations of method

This research is an attempt to understand the social dynamics of educational innovations in the Arab states concerned in so far as these arise from political or religious factors, and by the same token seek a measure of predictability in the interaction of important social groups in the field of education as one basis for educational planning and reform.

Any theoretical framework which seeks to provide policy proposals for different countries, will of necessity include a certain element of ethnocentricity. However, the methodology used here reduces this aspect of subjectivity to a minimum. The following is an attempt to justify what seems to be an alien scientific method, which is a consequence of non-traditional views about what is scientific and what is not. In the same way as natural sciences witnessed the post relativity era, social sciences and, by chance or by consequence, comparative education witnessed also such a revolution. It is the unfamiliarity of the method used here that justifies a rather elongated account on methodology.

Like other disciplines of the social sciences, comparative education is approached differently by different people. It has been viewed as a mere descriptive discipline that should help policy makers borrow aspects of foreign education. During the first half of the twentieth century it was considered to be a discipline that helps specialists predict the outcome of educational policies. 'Comparativists of this school, such as Kandel and Hans, were interested in anticipating or predicting the likely effects of the adoption of particular educational policies based on careful and expert observation of similar policies operating in other countries.'(1) A later development was that of analysis aiming at rendering this discipline more scientific, that is, less subjective, by using techniques already being applied in the social sciences. However, the use of such techniques and indeed the choice of some of these techniques to the neglect of others is largely determined by some epistemological positions from the part of the researchers. One may say that there are two main trends : Inductivism and Deductivism.

This research can be put under the latter category. It is not an arbitrary choice as should be clarified in the following. It is assumed that deductivism as conceived by the philosopher of science, K. Popper, is far more scientific than its counterpart the inductive scientific enquiry. 'The problem of induction, which has been called Hume's problem, has baffled philosophers from his time to our own. C. D. Broad described it as the

1- Hills, J. "A dictionary of education" p.18

skeleton in the cupboard of philosophy. Bertrand Russell wrote in his History of Western Philosophy (p. 649-700) 'Hume has proved that pure empiricism is not a sufficient basis for science. But if this one principle (induction) is admitted, everything else can proceed "in accordance with the theory" while at the same time confirm that all our knowledge is based on experience. It must be granted that this is a serious departure from pure empiricism and that those who are not empiricists may ask why, if one departure is allowed, others are to be forbidden.' (2) Hume's philosophical reservations about inductivism were later confirmed by the post relativity science and especially quantum mechanics. 'By the end of the century, progress in natural sciences had moved so quickly and, for that, the theories which had served scientists so well during the Newtonian epoch were proving inadequate. Electromagnetic phenomena, line spectra and the thermodynamics of radiation threw increasing strains upon Newtonian concepts. An attempt by Michelson and Morley to measure the motion of the earth through the ether was one of the several important experiments which culminated in a new cosmology, a questioning of the logical validity of the traditional concepts of mass, force and the like, and new theories of measurement. Through this thorough transformation of theoretical physics came the branch of science known as 'Relativity' (3) This has affected the very foundation on which the whole science is built. 'Philosophers of science have been discussing these consequences ever since, but in some ways, this revolution has had little effect on the discussion of many social scientists. If comparative educationists still wish to follow methods similar to those used in physical sciences, the changes in outlook brought about by relativity have fundamental implications for them.' (4)

B. Holmes, a physicist trained comparativist is certainly the most explicitly marked by this scientific revolution. Indeed, the methodology he developed for comparative education is essentially based on post-relativity scientific methods. For Holmes, Popper is a key figure in this evolution and he acknowledges his deep influence on his own conception of comparative education scientific method. Similar to that of Popper, it is a hypothetico-deductive one, mainly rationalist giving more freedom to the scientist and proceeding by refutation rather than confirmation of proposed hypotheses (policies).

 2- Magee Brian, "Popper", Fontana Modern Masters and Collins Glasgow 1979, 4th edition, p. 2

3- Holmes Brian. 'Comparative Education : some considerations of method' Unwin Education Books; London, 1981, p.43

4- Ibid p.45

'Relativistic theories of science give to the scientist a crucial role. He selects the data, he formulates hypotheses and theories and he draws implications from them applying theory to practice. According to these theories, men and women do not behave in accordance with natural laws, even though they may be able to comprehend them. The determinism, or fatalism of Marx and other historicists has to be radically modified by asking to what extent is man master of his own destiny and by what methods can improvement in society be planned'(5) Holmes believes that the choice lies between Mannheims's total social planning, in democratic or non-democratic societies, and Popper's piece meal social engineering. As a relativist, he prefers the piece meal social engineering alternative. Theories that pretend to explain everything can sometimes mislead many, and hinder rather than contribute to the evolution of science. This is similar to the belief that water boils at 100 degrees C. as a matter of universal law with absolute truth. Later experiments proved that it is not so, for water boils much quicker when it is on a high altitude. So then, this law depends on contingencies.

Popper remarked that to adhere to such universal laws or theories such as Marxism, has 'the effect of an intellectual conversion or revelation, opening your eyes to a new truth hidden from those not yet initiated. Once your eyes were thus opened, you saw confirming instances everywhere; the world was full of verifications of the theory...A Marxist could not open a newspaper without finding on every page confirming evidence for his interpretation of history; not only in the news, but also in its presentation.'(6) Such an individual would tend to seek confirmation of the hypotheses he puts forward as they spring from his universalist theory rather than from the uniqueness of an initial context.

Such a reservation about theories holding absolute truths left little room for theories of total planning of society. Holmes confirms that 'Natural laws (and by analogy social laws) should be considered as mere contextual empirically tested generalizations.'(7) This must not be mistaken for an intrinsically inductive empirical approach, the case of the positivists. 'Positivism assumes that universal general laws can be induced from classified data. Such examples are not contingent, that is, dependent on circumstances.'(8)

5- Holmes, Brian. Op. Cit., pp.45-46

6- Magee, B., Op. Cit., p.45

7- Holmes Brian, OP. Cit., p.45-46

8- Ibid., p.68

Popper believes that 'it is a profound mistake to try to do what scientists and philosophers have almost always tried to do namely prove the truth of a theory.'(9) His seminal achievement concerning the problem of induction has been to offer an acceptable solution. It begins by 'pointing to a logical assymetry between verification and falsification. To express it in terms of the statements: although no number of observations of white swans allows us logically to derive the universal statement (All swans are white). A statement reporting one single observation of a black swan allows us logically to derive the statement (Not all swans are white). In this important logical sense, empirical generalizations though not verifiable are falsifiable. This means that scientific laws are testable in spite of being unprovable: they can be tested by systematic attempts to refute them.'(10) In other words, the gate of new scientific discoveries is left open when what is sought is falsifiability rather than confirmation of general statements. These are no more than hypotheses.

Consequently, Popper has altered the traditional view of scientific method and has replaced it by his own; which he calls 'hypothetico-deductive method'. The following is a comparison of the two methods:

Traditional stages of scientific enquiry

1. Observation and experiment
2. Inductive generalization
3. Hypothesis
4. Attempted verification of hypothesis
5. Proof or disproof
6. Knowledge

Popper replaces this with: New Conception

1. Problem (usually rebuff to existing theory or expectation)
2. Proposed solution (i.e. new theory)
3. Deduction of testable propositions from the new theory
4. Tests (i.e. attempted refutations...observation, experiment)
5. Preference established between competing theories (which means suggestion of new hypothesis)'(11)

Holmes has applied this new method of scientific enquiry while affirming that Dewey's stages of reflective thinking have also determined his methodology. The adaptation of Holmes is as follows:(12

9- Magee, B., Op. Cit., p.26

10- Op. Cit., p.27.

11- Magee, B. Op. Cit., p.56

12- B. Holmes. Op. Cit., p.76-79 as main source, also M. A. lectures at the Institute of Education, London, where I was a

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1. Problem selection and intellectualization or analysis. (Here the framework for analysis is an adaptation of Popper's critical dualism, cf. below for more details)
 2. Formulation of policy proposals or hypothesis (general or universal statement, e.g. If the interpretation of Islam and Socialism is appropriate and reflects the initial belief of the majority of people, then political stability would be enforced in the Arab world following the experience of 'Islamic Socialism')
 3. The specification of initial conditions or context (specific statements about the conditions under which the general or universal statement above mentioned is to be applied.)
 4. The logical prediction from adopted hypotheses of likely outcomes (description of national policies as adopted at the present moment and prediction of their outcomes. Here a certain number of sociological tools are needed to compare the systems in question.)
 5. The comparison of logical predicted outcomes with observed events (A variety of documents is needed. Local and international newspapers, reports, interviews...).

These are the stages of Holmes Problem Solving approach with some considerations of its relevance to the present research. It is based on the assumption that 'problems arise as a consequence of asynchronous social change. This assumption implies that theory of social change is needed if the problem analysis is to be successful and replicable. Models are needed if the process of policy (hypothesis) formulation, adoption and implementation are to be analysed and compared. Finally, a classificatory system is needed if relevant societal data are to be identified and if the outcomes of policy are to be anticipated.'(13)

The theory of social change that Holmes suggests for his problem solving analysis is based on Popper's critical dualism as explained below. It is also his classificatory system for data identification and prediction. Other models are taken from other social sciences such as rational models of Weber, Parson's model of formal organisation, and so on, according to the analysis requirements.

'Popper describes critical dualism or critical conventionalism as the position reached when a conscious differentiation is made between the man-enforced (normative laws) or conventions, and the natural regularities (social laws) which are beyond his power... This does not mean that all (social laws) i.e. all regularities of our social life are normative... There are important (natural law of social life: sociological laws). These

12(cont'd) student, in the year 1981-1982

13- B. Holmes Op. Cit., p.76

laws, says Popper, are connected with the functioning of social institutions and play a role in our life similar to natural laws in engineering.' (14)

It is under this conceptual framework that Holmes worked out his hypothetico deductive method of enquiry in comparative education. In the same line as Popper, he said that 'the (laws of physics) and (sociological laws) are man-made statements, remain hypothetical, and if they are scientific should be refutable. They are consequently tentative and if we want to emphasize our uncertainty about their truth, we refer to them as hypotheses. Careful and detailed observation about the data of our physical and social worlds need not, (cf. Mill), and frequently does not precede the formulation of physical and sociological laws... Popper's natural and sociological laws are used to explain events by prediction statements.' (15) The way Holmes considers right to solving educational problems is not by looking back to the causes but by successful prediction of outcomes. It is, thus, an intrinsically rational position.

The epistemological position underlying the scientific enquiry in this study was similar to that of Holmes. What was sought was not to discover the causes of the identified problem but rather to anticipate the likely outcome of up to date educational policies in the countries concerned. The historical background to the study was intended for clarifying the "problem" instead of identifying the "causes". Alternative policy solutions were proposed and rationally tested in the light of present day events in the Arab world. The policy as viewed here are goal-directed: Would the educational system respond to the badly needed political stability in the Arab world? The problem as identified here is ideological and ideology in its application is politics. This is why educational policies were formulated in terms of 'political stability' rather than 'economic development' realisation of 'equal opportunity' or other educational issues. Until they are tested, the propositions remain not more than hypotheses. 'Testing involves making logical deductions from the hypotheses within the context of relevant factors and then (ideally) comparing the predicted events with the actual events which are observed to flow from a selected course of action. Agreement between predicted and observed events provides verification of a hypothesis. Disagreement between the two types of events (predicted and observed) constitutes a refutation of the hypothesis.' (16)

14- Ibid., p.77.

15- Ibid., p. 78

16- Jones P. E. 'Comparative education, purpose and method' University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Queensland 1971, p. 97

What should now be clear is that such a conception of the method and purpose of this study turned it to be both, a comparative education research as 'pure' and 'applied' discipline. 'Broadly speaking, the distinction lies in the extent to which as a pure science, comparative education as conceived here, eliminates those policies least likely to succeed and as 'applied' accepting present policies as a fait accompli and advise governments how best to put them into practice and inform them what outcome (good or bad) are likely to result when a particular policy is implemented.'(17)

A concluding remark is to say that the importance of this study has three dimensions:

1. National: This is translated in giving what is considered to be the best policy proposal to governments concerned.
2. International: By facilitating an understanding of foreign cultures and educational problems they face while reducing ethnocentric statements and giving more objective pictures of Arab nation-states to non-Arabs.
3. A third important dimension of this research is purely academic; it is a contribution to the evolution of comparative education as a new borne in the social sciences.

17- Holmes B. Op. Cit., p.47.

Educational Emphasis in the Arab World

EDUCATIONAL SUBJECTS, EDUCATIONAL CYCLES, WEEKLY HOURS
(P=Primary, M=Middle, S=Secondary, T=Total)

	Sciences				Mathematics				languages				Vocational			
	P	M	S	T	P	M	S	T	P	M	S	T	P	M	S	T
Jordan	21	12	24	57	24	12	14	50	10	18	15	43	12	6	///	18
Yemen	18	12	24	54	26	18	22	66	///	18	31	49	4	///	9	13
Bahrein	2	4	18	24	6	5	18	29	///	7	24	31	///	4	///	4
Morocco	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///
Libya	3	4	7	14	36	15	15	66	///	18	18	36	///	///	///	///
Koweit	12	14	43	69	24	22	35	81	///	32	30	62	///	///	///	///
Tunisia	2	///	14	16	24	///	28	52	10	35	///	45	///	///	///	///
Algeria	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///
Saudi Ar	15	12	15	42	32	15	18	65	///	18	30	48	14	6	///	20
Oman	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///
Qatar	16	4	26	46	30	15	16	61	10	5	20	35	8	2	///	10
Iraq	4	6	12	22	36	15	18	69	24	15	18	57	///	///	///	///

Continued...

EDUCATIONAL SUBJECTS, EDUCATIONAL CYCLES, WEEKLY HOURS
(P=Primary, M=Middle, S=Secondary, T=Total)

	Islamics				Arabic				Geography			
	P	M	S	T	P	M	S	T	P	M	S	T
Jordan	18	9	9	36	48	21	15	84	///	3	12	15
Yemen	41	17	27	48	54	18	32	104	///	///	6	6
Bahrein	18	6	18	42	11	7	35	53	6	3	18	27
Morocco	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///
Libya	18	9	6	23	10	7	8	25	6	///	6	12
Koweit	16	10	9	35	49	32	28	100	1	6	10	17
Tunisia	12	///	14	26	30	///	42	72	20	///	7	9
Algeria	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///
Saudi Ar	66	24	18	108	57	18	38	113	6	6	15	27
Oman	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///
Qatar	36	15	15	66	53	7	19	79	///	///	15	15
Iraq	12	3	6	21	54	36	21	111	12	6	9	27

Source: SHAMUT, A. & al-KHATIB, A.
 "Muhawalat tauhid wa-tatwir al-manahij ad-dirasiya
 fi al-bilad al-Arabiya: Dirasa Maidaniya"
 (Attempts to Unify and Develop Educational Programmes
 in the Arab States)
 Tunis. Alesco: Research Studies Unit. 1981. pp.37-38

The concept of "Basic and Polytechnical School in Algeria".

In order to understand the Algerian conception of their innovated school more clearly, it is important to consider the official definition given to it. Although it is called l'Ecole Fondamentale et Polytechnique which means basic and polytechnical school, the Algerian authorities do not make any reference to Marx and Lenin, who were the first to seek to implement it. Nor do they refer to any specific thinker such as Gandhi of India, to define the concept of basic education. Their approach is rather of a semantic kind as is described below.

The notion of basic school

The basic school can be apprehended in relation to the individual, in relation to society and also as an institution finding place in a coherent educational system.

1. From the point of view of the individual, the school is said to be basic because it acts first as an educational structure that provides an obligatory nine-year education, during the most impressionable period of the individual's life. In fact, it is between six and fifteen or sixteen years of age that is the crucial phase of the individual growth and development.

Also, it realises the universal right of individuals to be instructed and educated in the intellectual, physical and moral planes. It provides each individual with the possibility to acquiring the bases of knowledge, abilities, and necessary attitudes in order to gain his autonomy and be prepared to face life.

Lastly, through a global education centered on the development of all the abilities contained in the personality, it provides equal opportunities for each one to promote his talents and vocation.

2. In relation to society: The school is said to be basic because it realises the following basic objectives: first, a politico-ideological objective. Secondly, an economic one and thirdly a socio-cultural one.
 - First, this basic school is also called (l'ecole unique) which means the one school. It is a unifying school and is considered to be an essential element that will bring about national cohesion. For this reason it has a political and ideological function. the future citizen who goes through this school is educated in the love of the homeland, is nourished with the Arabo-Islamic values, is prepared to defend the acquisitions of the Socialist Revolution.

- Secondly, this school is basic in the economic sense, i.e. it is considered to lay the basis for a systematic promotion and development of human resources that will achieve the economic development of the country.

- Lastly, this school has a socio-cultural basic objective because it is an important element and essential factor for 'the Cultural revolution'¹ It provides especially an education by work and contact with the workers, also by the active use of the national language which is Arabic.

3. As an institution, (l'école fondamentale et polytechnique) represents the basis and foundation of the whole educational system. It is the platform from which choices and orientations of individuals to, either active life after a short or a long period of vocational instruction, or the pursuit of secondary education.

What preceded is the Algerian definition of the term basic education, the following is a definition of the term polytechnical education. These references are taken from the project of the new school in Algeria published by the Ministry of Education²

Polytechnical education

Polytechnical education is a system that makes reference to the nature of education provided. It is considered to initiate children into technological knowledge, not as a technique in itself but to be apprehended with its relations with man's actions to transform the environment. This initiation must permit access to the universal technical language, understanding of the elementary mechanisms of tools and machinery as well as knowledge of agricultural and industrial processes and knowledge of socialist administration and management in order to familiarize the children with the system of government in active way.

The objectives of such education are that it must ensure a really general and global education aiming in particular at:

- Providing the young with scientific and technical culture.

¹ Algerian Socialism is characterized by three main objectives to be realised: First, gaining autonomy in industrial production through an industrial Revolution. Secondly, promoting agricultural production by the application of technics as well as through the effective application of the principle of cooperation that characterizes the Socialist workers. Thirdly, regaining the Arabo-Islamic cultural values as well as spreading a scientific culture inspired from a Socialist world out-look. It is called the Cultural Revolution.

² Ministère de l'Éducation National, Le Projet de l'École Fondamentale et Polytechnique. Algiers, 1977, pp. 17-20

both, at a higher level and in a concrete fashion.

- Initiating the young into the laws governing the process of material production as well as the mechanisms determining social relationships.
- Ensuring the integration of scientific knowledge with its extension in practice, from thinking to acting.
- Laying down a general basis to permit motivations for professional choices.
- Inculcating a moral attitude towards world of labour, technical and manual activity.

Profile and content of the new school.

The profile given by basic and polytechnical school can be apprehended from three essential dimensions; knowing, knowing how to do, and lastly, knowing how to be.

First, the cultural, scientific and linguistic contents of the school should permit the child to proceed to secondary or vocational education as well as to acquire the necessary autonomy of a man adapted to his environment and open to progress.

Secondly, the knowing-how-to-do dimension aims at providing the child with a technological education which will give credibility to science and understanding of the process of production as well as the laws governing social progress. This education is not divorced from reality. For this reason it reveals in the child motivations for professional choices. From this perspective, polytechnical instruction will promote the acquisition of a practical and logical mind. It is this new mentality that will promote social progress and develop a personal ethic in the pupils, in favour of manual work and the workers.

Thirdly, the knowing-how-to-be dimension of this school will make it possible for the future citizens to be adapted to their environment, to be aware and active, to be penetrated by the ideological and religious values of society.

The profile of this school has led to a structural organisation of the contents into three cycles,³ learning how to read, write and count being the objectives aimed at. It is through active methods, socio-educational plays, a living experience of morality and religion that the first initiation to polytechnical instruction is achieved. This instruction is wholly in Arabic.

³ Refer to Figure 1 below.

AGE	CYCLE	PSYCHO-BIOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS.
6 to 9 years	basic cycle (degree I)	- Psychomotricity Dvt. - Practical & Intuitive intelligence, Curiosity Socialisation
9 to 12/13 years	cycle of awakening (degree II)	- Pre-puberty. - abstract thinking & moral awakening.
12/13 to 15/16 years	orientation cycle (degree III)	- Puberty. - aptitude to reasoning development of personal ethic - desire to act on the environment, to test the acquired knowledge, => Awakening of personal motivations.

Structure of the Basic and Polytechnical School in Algeria.

In the second cycle, those basic acquisitions are reinforced and the third cycle is described as that of orientation. It is at this stage that the cultural horizon of the children widens and offers criteria for orientation revealed essentially by a technological education. At this stage, a second foreign language is introduced. These are the disciplines taught: Mathematics, Arabic, Religious Education, Foreign Language I, Foreign Language II, Socio-economic education, History, Geography, Ethical Education, Physical Education, Natural Science, Drawing, Experimental work and Physics.'4

Structure and Method of the New School.

The Basic and Polytechnical school is a substitute for the former primary and middle schools (C. E. M.). It is a single and coherent structure in which the children find no obstacle to evolving. The proposed structure takes into account, as well as the biological development of the child, the need of pedagogical action, which in itself is not separated from the educational action. This structure

4 Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, le Projet de l'École Fondamentale et Polytechnique, Algiers, 1977, p. 26

includes three integrated cycles linked to the stages of child development. (see figure.)

The methods used are described as concrete and active capable of bringing about a scientific mind in the child, based on observation rendered possible by a polytechnical instruction in the school gardens and work-shops where productive work is performed.

Interdisciplinarity with its characteristic of collective work will demolish the barriers raised between disciplines. In fact theoretical, technological and practical elements are tightly coordinated and integrated.

As for the psycho-pedagogical action, it will take into account the difference in the rhythm of acquiring knowledge that characterizes different children.

Eastern Polytechnical Education

It is with the advent of the October revolution in Russia that Nadezhda Krupskaya, the wife of Lenin, developed Owen's and after him Marx's concept of polytechnical education within the framework of Marxism-Leninism. The following is an account of her views regarding the integration of polytechnical instruction into the school: "Krupskaya proposed a complete re-examination of the school curriculum and syllabuses, with a view of ensuring that all children have the possibility of reaching the highest level of scientific and technological knowledge integrated into their training in manual skills. In the preparation of syllabuses, research workers and technologists should come to the aid of teachers in discarding out-of-date material and working out the polytechnical approach. She saw the possibility of a new subject of study, 'organisation of work', acting as the connecting link between the school curriculum and the political-economic society in which the school functions. Productive work by the children should not be carried on under school auspices in isolation from the outside world, but in factories and farms side by side with the workers normally active there, whose participation would serve as an aid in the extension of the polytechnic principle to the adult community and the involvement of working adults in the whole educational process

Krupskaya stressed that the productive work of the children should not be too tightly specialised: experience in the factory should be so organised as to lead to an understanding of the function of each of the factory in the total economy of the area and of the country. Productive work should be both industrial and agricultural; it should be explicitly related to the content of classroom work; it should lead to an understanding of chemical as well as mechanical production; and it should be a training in initiative and intellectual adaptability as well as in manual skill and scientific knowledge. (1)

The implication of participation of research workers and technologists to the preparation of syllabuses are of a crucial importance. That is, the school must reflect the needs of society. For this reason, it is not surprising to see different manifestations to polytechnical education in different countries that apply it. However, the principle is the same, that is, there is a constant dialectical interplay between the surrounding environment and the school. Ideally speaking, the school rather than being isolated from the environment is in a continuum with it. Thus for instance, Russian educators view polytechnical education as follows: 'The content, organisation and methods of polytechnical education... should not of course, be regarded as

1- Klein M.S., "The challenge of communist education", New York, Columbia University, East European Monographs, 1980.

unalterable. Polytechnical education will develop in step with the development of the country's national economy, science, technology and culture.'(2) So the function of polytechnical education is to provide the intellectual foundation required for understanding the fundamental areas of contemporary human existence such as modern industrial production, labor and man-made environment for human advantage. The ultimate purpose is the creation of the material and technical basis for Communism in the USSR.'(3)

Again, in the case of the GDR, the most important task of socialist educational system 'is to equip the young and all working people with the knowledge which will enable them to complete the job of building up Socialism and of successfully tackling the many new tasks that will present themselves in industry, in science, technology, and all other fields of social progress during the coming years.'(4) In the GDR, polytechnical education is organised in a 10-year-form rather than 9-year-form as in the case of Algeria. The curriculum is organised in such a way that 'on one day of the week the children go to a factory or commercial enterprise to study methods of work. the object of this is to give them an insight into various professions and trades, and make it easier for them to choose their own vocation...The polytechnical training and education of the children and young people overcomes the one-sided intellectual or practical handicrafts education.

In the first sixth form, the children acquire polytechnical knowledge and skills in the handicrafts lessons and through work in the school garden. Handicrafts lessons are given in class-rooms specially equipped for the purpose. Here the children acquire the first technical and constructive skills and manual dexterity, particularly in wood and metalwork and in the handling of plastics. An elementary knowledge of tools and their uses is also taught. The children soon come to recognise that the correct use of tools, together with an exact knowledge of the structure and properties of the material to be worked, improve the resultant work. In this manner, their understanding of things technical is increased step by step. The children are to work carefully, think about what they are doing and why, and regularly check the results of their labour. At the same time their aesthetic judgement and sense of form and colour is schooled.

2- Shapovalenko S. G., "Polytechnical Education in the U.S.S.R.", Amsterdam, Unesco, 1963, p. 13

3- Ibid., pp. 22-24

4- Rosenkranz W., Apel H., and Kehrer E., "Polytechnical Education all", Dresden, Zeit Im Bild, 1965, p. 14

Work in the school garden is carried out on that piece of land which is allocated to each school and which the children themselves cultivate. In doing this, they learn the basic essentials of gardening, they tend the plants, observe their periods of growth and receive a knowledge of natural and artificial fertilization of the soil and of protecting plants from pests. They learn how to use gardening tools and are gradually introduced to the modern methods used in horticulture and farming.

From the seventh form onwards, a qualitative change is introduced into polytechnical education. From this time on, polytechnical lessons are held in industrial and agricultural undertakings in the socialist sector of the economy. In order to conform to the varying conditions prevailing in the different industrial and agricultural areas, differentiated basic courses have been worked out. For the industrial areas these courses are divided into the following: metalworking, mechanical engineering (I), electrical engineering, agricultural processes, mechanical engineering (II).'(5)

This is in short how polytechnical education has been conceived and applied in the German Democratic Republic during the 1960's. By now, one may safely assume that in order to cope with the changing times, some changes must have been introduced to the above described educational policies. There are however basic principles that may not change for a long time to come. 'The main tasks of polytechnical education are: a) to impart knowledge of the main branches of modern production and its general scientific bases; b) to teach the pupils how to use the basic instruments of production and to fit them into socially useful work.'(6)

Polytechnical instruction not only equips pupils with a knowledge of the scientific principles of production and with working skills but also of great educational value as a means of promoting all round development of the individuals: the theoretical (knowledge of the scientific principles of production) and the practical (acquisition of working skills).

Soviet educators consider that it is in the process of activity that the child develops. 'Muscles develop only if they are active. Similarly, a child's mental capacity cannot develop unless the mind is made to work intensively; the all-round development of a child's personality can only be achieved through

5- Ibid., pp.22-24

6- Shapovalenko S. G., op. cit., p.89.

the organisation of many-sided activity.'(7) Polytechnical education is considered to be the most appropriate means to achieve that many-sided activity.

It facilitates the physical development of children, since it involves pupils in physical labour. One of the healthiest forms of work is considered to be farm work, which takes place in the open and is characterised by a wide variety of movements. This will help to develop the child's nervous and muscular system and produce close co-ordination between his movements.

Another significance of polytechnical education is the 'mental development of school children and the formation of their world outlook.'(8) The Soviet educators argue that the alternation of mental and physical work creates more favourable conditions for mental work and hence also for the mental development of children. Moreover, the emotional impulses produced in children by their creative labour is believed to stimulate the work of the cerebral cortex and improve its general tone - which in itself facilitates the process of developing new temporary connections. 'And the creation of temporary connexions, as the famous Soviet physiologist Pavlov has shown, lies at the very root of training.'(9)

A third significance of polytechnical education is that 'it helps the moral upbringing of school-children.'(10) Communist morality is not believed to be inculcated by means of sanctimonious preaching and discourses on morality. As Lenin pointed out : Only by working together with workers and peasants is it possible to become real Communists. 'The father of pedagogical science in the USSR, K. D. Ushinsky, saw in labour the source of human dignity as well as the source of morality and happiness...he said : without personal work, man cannot advance, nor stay where he is; he can only go backwards.'(11) It is believed that in the process of work, school children establish the most varied relations between themselves, as well as with the adult workers. As a result, they develop certain specific forms of behaviour. The teacher's main task is to organise labour relations between pupils in such a way that good habits are acquired and the development of habits in conflict with the rules of Communist morality, prevented. Also, association with leading

7- Ibid., p.212.

8- Ibid., p. 214

9- Ibid., p. 214

10- Ibid., p.217

11- Ibid., p. 217

workers and farmers in the process of productive labour, affect the skill and experience of the children and inculcate something of the collectivist psychology; the development of a new Communist attitude to work, to working people and to public property.

A last significance of polytechnical education is that it provides that aesthetic development of schoolchildren.(12) Aesthetics is considered to be not only a qualitative manifestation of human work in material objects or products, but also human relations. 'The teachers therefore stress the beauty of the mutual relations existing within every group or brigade and encourage those relations in the course of social labour.'(13)

12- Ibid., p. 220

13- Ibid., p.222

A Letter from Boumediene to Kurt Waldheim.

At a time of mounting peril, following the 1973 October war in the Middle East, and the energy crisis, Boumediene addressed an historic message to Dr Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the Un, on 10 April 1974, warning against the new imperialism and pointing out the avenues leading to peace and cooperation.(1)

International relations are suddenly going through a new period of tension, provoked by certain great powers' lack of understanding over questions of raw material resources and development. In our view, questions of energy, of raw material, or of world inflation represent merely partial approaches to a problem which can only be resolved by the institution of true international co-operation. But such co-operation will never really be established until the international economic order is no longer dominated by the developed countries....

Some developed countries have gone so far as to refuse any aid to the most impoverished of Third world countries, whilst others have sought to make their grants of aid conditional on aid from other countries, notably the oil-producers.... The reality is that this kind of blackmail, which has no precedent in international relations, can only be explained in terms of the resentment felt by certain circles (who have for centuries been used for appropriating the wealth of the third World peoples) when faced with the fact that these peoples have embarked on an inexorable course which will do away with the exploitation they have suffered. In other words, the majority of developed countries have drawn no lessons from the debates during the last extraordinary session of the General Assembly, and still persist in seeking to solve contemporary problems outside the framework of the United Nations, with no regard for the principles adopted following the extraordinary session concerning the creation of a new international economic order.

It was thus with some perplexity, along with a certain apprehension for the cause of peace and justice in the world, that we learnt of recent declarations by representatives of the great industrialized countries, notably at the tribune of the UN General Assembly during the present session (1973-74)

The aggressivity of these declarations unpleasantly recall an age we thought had gone for good, and seems, to say the least, rather inopportune in the context of an organization whose primary vocation remains the maintenance of peace and international security based on co-operation and understanding. They amount to serious threats aimed at all the people of the developing countries producing basic raw material, and

1- Anouar, Abdel-Malek (Ed.), "Contemporary Arab Political Thought" London, Zed Books, 1983, pp.225-230

particularly at the oil producers....

And yet, the OPEC states have shown that they are conscious of their responsibilities towards the international community and anxious to preserve the opportunity for real co-operation with the industrialised countries. Oil prices were frozen purely and simply to enable those countries to gain better control over the mechanisms of their economies and to control inflation. But despite the freeze on oil prices, in force for the first nine months of this year, not only has the inflationary upsurge continued in those countries, it has reached unprecedented levels....

One cannot help observing that if the freeze on oil prices has had no effect upon the rate of inflation, the oil producing countries, along with the other basic raw material producers, are its first victims. The real danger of inflation must thus be sought in the very foundations of the economic system in the developed countries. This system, which for centuries has enabled the Western countries to build up prospering economies, is based primarily in the permanent exploitation of the poorer by the richer and the weaker by the stronger. One essential characteristic of such a system is that it can only evolve in the context of a constant increase in prices, which constitutes the main source of equally constant increase in profits accumulated by capital.

In the past, thanks to the surplus value, it has extracted from the labour of the working classes, and to the revenues it has appropriated from the raw materials of Third World peoples, the system in the developed countries has been able to cope with the effects of the endemic problems resulting from this constant race to raise prices and, correspondingly, to maximize profits (this is after all what the euphemistic term 'inflation' really refers to).

Today, however, the working class is sufficiently organised to prevent its rights being infringed, and a growing number of Third World countries, having successfully pursued economic liberation, have now won the sovereign right to fix the prices of their raw materials. The system in the developed countries thus finds it increasingly difficult to restrain the level of inflation whilst nonetheless allowing profits to rise higher and higher at break-neck speed.

Now that the Western countries can no longer employ their traditional mechanisms, namely the exploitation of the working classes and the pillage of the wealth of Third World peoples, they are forced to face their own contradictions. If they are really determined to master inflation and thereby put their economies in order, they must attack directly the real causes of the problem, namely the excessive profits of their companies, the

rate of return on capital, amortization policies and ruinous expenditure on projects that in no way contribute to the well-being of their people. But they are reluctant to recognize these factors as the real cause of inflation, for these factors are also the pillars of their economic system.

It is thus easy to understand their determination to recuperate their lost privileges, even if in order to replace the superannuated exploitative formulae of the past, they have to introduce newer and more subtle methods of appropriation, such as the mechanisms established under the cover of the struggle against inflation, notably the insistence that it is by natural right that prices in the industrialised countries rise constantly, unlike in the raw material producing countries where there is supposedly an obligation to keep prices stagnant or falling. The price control, which is set out as the objective of these anti-inflation programmes, is in fact simply a manipulation in which static or falling raw material prices help camouflage increased profits and high margins operated by economic agents within the system of the developed countries. It is mechanisms of this kind which explain the increasing pauperization of some nations, whilst others grow richer. In other words, it is through the exploitation of Third World peoples that many of the developed countries have attained a standard of living far higher than the one they could have generated from their own resources. So at a time when the world believes that the colonial domination is coming to an end, that imperialism is retreating before the steady onslaught of the Third World peoples' emancipation movements, and that all humanity is at last entitled to hope for a life of peace and tranquility based on the equality of all peoples, here we have resurgence of imperialism in its most implacable form, threatening to impose its dictates in the third World raw material producing countries.

...We are accused of taking arbitrary political decisions, whilst they are supposedly merely playing by the rule of the game. If a Western enterprise can be said to be responding to purely economic considerations when it determines its prices, often on a world scale, in terms of the nature of the market, production costs, amortization, return on investment and the prices of rival products, then by that logic can the measures taken by the oil producing countries be deemed to be inspired by purely political, and thus subjective and arbitrary considerations, given that the oil producers invoke precisely the same factors, but in terms of their own interests, to determine the level at which their products will be marketed.

If the decision is an economic one in the first case, then so it is in the second. If it is political when taken by a supplier of raw materials, why cannot the same be said when such a decision emanates from a Western company? Unless, of course, one believes that the accumulation of resources must remain the

exclusive privilege of the industrialized world and that the countries of the Third World must compromise or sacrifice their future in order to enable this accumulation to continue and to extend itself endlessly....

The Western powers who make such threats (aggression) seem to think that management of the world economy, which concerns humanity as a whole, is their exclusive prerogative and therefore stubbornly try to hang on to the monopoly of power they arrogated for themselves in the past. Indeed the so called co-ordination meetings are little less than councils of war designed to draw up a strategy which will enable the powers involved to reconquer the economic advantages they enjoyed until recently at the Third World's expense, and which they lost following the disruption of the then prevailing balance of forces, not as a simple matter of economic competition.

...Finally, Algeria reasserts its deep conviction that the only path to salvation involves true international co-operation, which implies a radical transformation of the established economic structures, a definitive rejection of the spirit of domination and exploitation, and an acceptance that the old order is gone for good. Only a transformation of the established structures in keeping with the tide of history and progress can ensure a harmonious settlement of the great economic problems of today and preserve peace and justice in the world.

Attempted prediction in the light of a Quranic theory of social change.

It is widely known in the West that the Islamic theory of Social change is a cyclical one. This knowledge tended however to be linked with people such as Ibn Khaldun rather than with the Qur'an. Ibn Khaldun is an interpreter of the original theory as the neo-Marxists are interpreters of the Marxian thesis.

The Qur'anic theory of social change is, contrary to the Marxist one, non-deterministic. Society will not necessarily fall after a rise. It will, however, do so if people transgress certain divine principles. In this eventuality, the Qur'an warns:

"Have they not walked the earth and considered what happened to those before them?

Those were more numerous, stronger, they controlled their environment but that which they earned did not save them.

When their messengers came to them with clear guidance, they dismissed them and were happy with the little knowledge they had.

That mockery turned against them.

When they sensed a Divine punishment they said we believe in God alone and we reject that which we were associating with Him. (The pride of themselves)

That did not save them. (after the spread of corruption)

This is the habit of God in dealing with people.

The unbelievers were losers."1)

Ibn Khaldun, as a historian of his time, saw this rise and decline in the short history of Islam itself, with the rise and fall of numerous empires. His thesis is based on the assumption that men become powerful and corrupt in the city whereas the humble simple bedouins retain their moral standards and will one day take over the city until they become corrupt themselves, to be overthrown in turn.

This interpretation of history should, however not be termed as deterministic. It was, up until Ibn-Khaldun's era, but the Qur'anic vision does not depict such fluctuations as something necessary. A society where justice prevails, will not fall. This society is depicted in the Qur'an as follows:

"Those who while given power on earth, perform the prayer, give the Zakat (the Islamic Tax), counsel each other for doing good and avoid what is not good.(2)

In other words, their society would materially be based on justice (Does Zakat mean socialism?), morally on a personal code

1- The Qur'an, Chapt.40, Verses 81-84

2- The Qur'an, Chapt.22, Verse 39

of conduct rendered possible by the knowledge of the oneness of God (cf. chapter about the rational construct and more specifically the concepts of man and knowledge in Islam) and consensus of will (the element of counselling each other implies democracy) Such society cannot be authoritarian and bureaucratic.

Away from Ibn-Khaldun's Middle ages context, and in the light of the original Islamic theory of social change, one may say that in view of the wide spread practice of interest (usury) in the national and international financial institutions (which is according to the Qur'an, unjust and therefore forbidden) an imminent collapse of the dominant culture can be predicted.(3) This possibility is, in fact a very serious possibility as will be demonstrated in the following pages. The wealthy north with its institutionalized practice of usury (taking interest on loans and deposit) will continue its exploitation of the indebted South until a grave financial crisis occurs. If it does it can lead to a major world conflagration, which will be disastrous in the developed North.

Traditionally, people used to exchange commodities or services through barter deals or through the medium of gold and silver. People used to exchange, say potatoes with cloth, cloth with suger and so on. The price of these goods and services was and still is determined by the equation of supply and demand. Similarly, gold and silver are a produce of the earth and their value was determined by the balance of supply and demand. Thus gold and silver played the role of what is now known as currency. Exchange was based on the intrinsic value of commodities direct, without any third party in between. There was no banking system, so to speak. There was no agency, or state that had the power to create currency.

With the rise of the modern Nation-State, gold has lost its monetary function. It is often said to be too rigid in a world of high rate of economic transactions in the modern world. Nevertheless, following the Iranian revolution (note the links between the Islamic injunction against taking interest, the Iranian money in the Western banks and the traditional function

 3- In the context of a hypothetico-deductive method of enquiry, this theory remains a hypothesis that requires to be refuted. The more such theory is discussed the more it is exposed to refutation. If however, the future proves it right, the hypothesis would have been tested. Even if proved right, the theory cannot be universalized. It is based on universal Qur'anic principles but these principles can be interpreted differently in different contexts. Ibn-Khaldun made his own interpretation for his own time and the author of the present study makes his own interpretation of such principles for his own specific time and context.

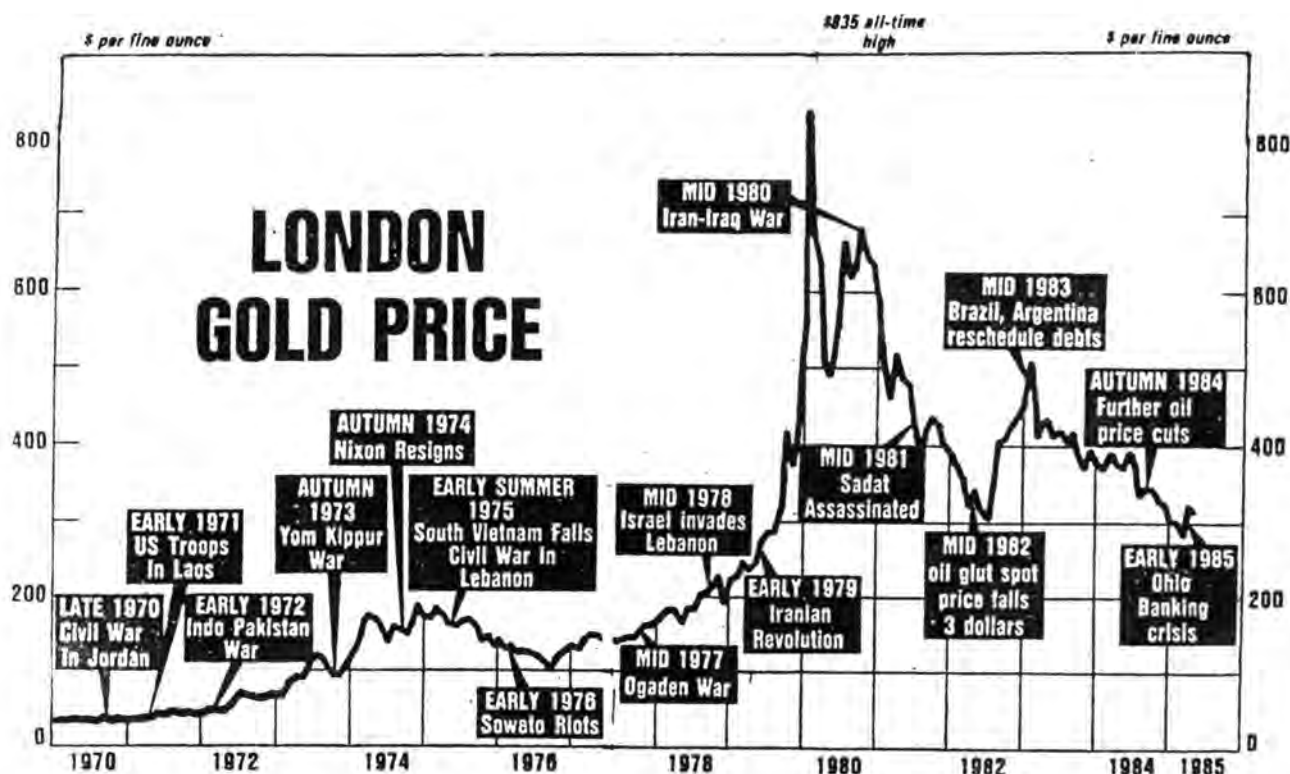
of gold as a currency.), a sharp increase in the price of gold (see diagram below) came like a shock when gold was no longer performing any monetary function. This was invariably a sign that something is drastically wrong with the monetary system of the world.

It is important to note that without the practice of interest a banking system, as known today, could not be serviced. It would be in deficit if it did not charge interest on loan. On the other hand, if it did not pay interest to depositors, the majority of these would prefer to keep their money at home in the traditional way. If such is the case, then cash availability would become scarcer and therefore business conducted by the banks would stagnate. In Socialist societies, however, the state and the central banks perform all the functions of the commercial banks in the Capitalist societies. Thus business in the Socialist societies is planned and boosted by the state whereas in the Capitalist societies, it is on the initiative of the bankers and those who have capital. The practice of usury in such a context is essential if any commercial bank is to survive, whereas in socialist societies this practice is less apparent, for a central bank can survive without the practice of usury. This is possible since the state has the power to print or create money. It can be in trade deficit (as is the USA) but it can survive. Nevertheless, this survival is a cost and it is inflation.

Paper money is theoretical money. The state prints money according to the level of transactions in the country. Because the effort of an individual is worth something, the state ensures he gets a token by which he can engage in economic transactions. The effort of someone working in the services sector is worth just as much as the efforts of a farmer. Paper money makes transactions between, say the bureaucrate and the farmer possible.

One may argue that the banking system is the sine qua non of the modern bureaucratic state. It is the main institution that has contributed to the fast rate of change and obsolescence of the modern world. It has facilitated economic transactions in society, which in turn has increased the rate of change in social values and institutions.

In the language of economics, one may say that exchange increases the utility of things. The more exchanges in a society, the greater the wealth of that society. However, when the volume of money in a market is higher than necessary by the volume of transaction, the country will suffer inflation. On the other hand, when the volume of money is lower than necessary, the country will suffer deflation. The scarcity of money then will increase the value of money and bring about a business crisis such as high interest rates, credit difficulties, lower sales



FLUCTUATION OF GOLD PRICES. Source: The Financial Times, 1985.

profits, unemployment, fewer transactions and economic stagnation.(4)

Inflation will lead to depressions and unemployment. Deflations are the painful cost which one must pay for states of inflation unless wars, destruction and epidemics do not perform this tragic offsetting task for them.(5) This is exactly what is happening in the world. In the developed North it is unemployment that prevails, and in the developing South, indebtedness, poverty epidemics and starvation. Hyatt(6) argues that society will be in a state of prosperity or in one of

4- Hyatt, T., "The Internationalization of Money" Albuquerque, The institute for Economic and Political World Strategic Studies, 1980's, p.16

5- Ibid.

6 Ibid., p.13.

depression depending on the management(7) of money by the agencies and individuals who are in charge of the affairs of that society.

However, such management is never easy as countries cannot be self sufficient in their transactions with the outside world, and in order to do so, they depend on the state of the economies of the world at large. So in addition to having an internal value, money has an exterior value but unlike the internal value, the exterior value of a currency is hard to control.

Thus, it tends to fluctuate according to the level of goods each country can sell and the price set for such goods by other sovereign states. Because the prices set from outside cannot be controlled by those in charge for the management of money in each country, the task of these managers to control the supply of their currency is rendered extremely difficult. They have to measure the volume of trade. They must measure the quantity of money available in the market. They must take these figures and project them into the future. They must ask themselves constantly: how will trade be three months, six months from now? What will be the price level? What will be the volume of funds available? How much income which the consumers have? What will be the level of productivity? What will be the credit situation, and many other questions along these lines.(8)

Failure to provide the right answers means an oversupply of money (inflation) or the opposite, which will make money dearer and therefore less conducive to transactions (stagnation). The fluctuations in the value of money in the international market makes foreign business very difficult. In any such transaction, between the moment when an order is received and the moment when the final consignee receives the goods he bought, the currency used changes value. The result is that one of the contracting parties will suffer a loss, while the other will reap a gain without any fault of the former or any merit of the latter.(9)

The result is that there is absolute chaos today in the international monetary market. There are approximately 150 independent and sovereign nations in the world and each nation issues its own currency. It does not have to ask permission from

7- Regulation of the supply of money according to the level of transaction in the country.

8- Day, T. T., "The International Monetary Chaos and the Advancing Necessary Revolution in the World Financial Order" Albuquerque, The Institute for Economic and Financial Research, p.15.

9- Hyatt, T., Op. cit. p.19.

a recognised international body to become a currency issuing nation. It assumes that its autonomy, that which is also known as "sovereign rights" is sufficient to give the right and power to issue its own national and unique currency.(10)

The solution to this international monetary chaos, according to Hyatt(11) is the creation of one single international monetary unit to take the place of all these individual currencies which are in circulation today. He argues that what is wrong with these currencies is that governments use them and abuse them to stimulate the export of their goods, to purchase cheaply abroad when they are confronted with an emergency(12) and for other strictly egotistical purposes.

The problem with the proposed solution is that a national currency, not only cannot, at the same time, act as a domestic currency and as an international currency, but that an international currency based on the principle of interest would not be acceptable by a large proportion of the population of the world.

This proposal has started to take shape already, as a first stage within the confines of the nations of the European Common Market, which considered the idea of agreeing a common currency under the supervision of a European monetary authority. This is considered as a matter of European survival. Hyatt,(13) however, goes further and concludes that the world must either move in the direction of a single international monetary unit or plunge, eventually, into a new world conflagration.

Even if the governments of the Middle East join this system, the common people will resist it because of the element of interest in it, and because of this, it will not succeed in the Islamic world. One may argue that the tendency would be to go back to the gold standard, and it will be based on the trust that

10- Ibid.

11 Hyatt, T., op. cit. p.24.

12- The United States did that when the oil prices increased. She was not prepared to keep currency tied to the gold standard, but printed as many dollar notes as was needed in order to purchase the necessary oil for industry. If the dollar remained tied to gold it would become scarcer in the country, therefore dearer and less conducive to economic expansion, or huge spending on arms and space programmes. Thus, it is not wrong to say that the USA bought its oil with paper. The outcome was inflation on a world scale.

13- Ibid., p.25.

governments will not manipulate their currencies to boost their economies.(14) The countries will then develop only in accordance with their real wealth as measured in terms of produce of the earth and goods processed by man, not in terms of a theoretical equation.(15) This position would be easily accepted by the ecology parties such as the Green party of West Germany. Too much development, they feel has turned against them in the form of acid rain and other pollutions of the environment.

One might argue that if governments do manipulate their currencies, they create a situation of natural imbalance. The higher they 'develop' in this fashion, the harder they fall; by the inexorable law of opposites. A natural economy is a balanced economy, it is harmonious as the change of seasons is harmonious. Thus a country, would spend only according to what it can afford, not according to its ingenuity in manipulating its currency.

In the the educational sector proper, the capacity of governments to keep students on young-age pension is apparently limited, and the holiday cannot go for ever. But in Western economies, a paradox persists: While economists started to question the assumption that education is directly linked to economic growth, they still view educational spending as a useful regulator for the economy.(16) The educational system became a major part of the economy. It is called the mass-service industry which had in-built, magical qualities -particularly the fact that, unlike productive industry, it could make failure and be excused and further expended. It maybe because it provides jobs for a vast number of people who get a secured salary and whose job is to contribute to socializing the rising generations(17) into accepting the status quo concerning a manipulated, as

14- The principle that there is no morals in economics does not apply in the Muslim world.

15- The equation of exchange is based on the assumption that both parties in the transaction gain. That gain is represented by an increment in the utility of things. This gain or increment represents the new wealth created by the one who gives more promissory notes than what he possesses of real wealth. The justification for this action is that he is helping every one proceed with their businesses, and since he takes interest, he increases his own wealth (from no wealth) as well. Money, it is said, is a device created by the inventiveness power of mankind for the purpose of facilitating and stimulating the equation of exchange.

16- Lister, I., in an introductory note the Illich's "After Deschooling What?" London, Writers and Readers, 1981, p.14

17- Day, op. cit. p.20.

compared to a natural, economy. If an economy based on real resources is allowed to develop, the majority of people working in the services sector of society would not be needed. They can thus return to the land instead of flocking in megacities of the incredible size of Mexico-city for instance.

All states, based on the Western model, are essentially inflationary. The attempt to satisfy some of their promises (of development) means, fundamentally, an increment in the bureaucracy of the state. New offices, new agencies, new posts, new authorities will be created. It is the inclination of all these to increase their power with the passing of time that implies the hiring of more people, the arrogating of more functions, more responsibilities, more power. A bureaucracy, any bureaucracy, means more bureaucracy.(18)

The outcome of an economy based on an artificially managed currency was two devastating world wars; at present it is the preparation for the third one. In the light of these considerations, and the eventuality of a major international banking crisis,(19) the only realistic financial policy would be the abolition of usury, which will if not eliminate all trading banks, (responsible for the predicament of the poor South). But this would mean that states should have a centrally planned economy, which implies huge bureaucracies, another predicament. What is then the solution? It appears, at the moment, to be the restoration of the function of gold and silver as currencies, and this implies the liberation of man from capitalist exploitation and the socialist paralysing effect of over-bureaucratization. The Libyan experiment of giving power to the people, although still using paper money as a currency, is very relevant because it reduces the government administration and allows an informal people's administration, diffuse in all aspects of society. (Modern communication technology can solve many bureaucratic

18- Day, op. cit., p.21.

19- Because of the crisis in the Middle East and the biased policies of the United States in the Area, the Arab nations were forced to quadruple the price of their oil; a decision which was promptly followed by all other third world producing countries. This has caused a grave financial crisis, and more important was its impact on the dollar, which traditionally played and still does, the role of an international currency. Because the United States is a major importer of oil, the rise in oil prices has destabilized the dollar. Having lost its stability, it is no longer qualifiable to act as an international currency. If the oil exporting countries should lose confidence in the dollar because of the huge United States deficits, the dollar will collapse and such a collapse would mean a new world depression by far worse than the one of the early thirties.

problems)

The impact of such policies would be that more and more people return to the land because the city would not offer them many jobs (if the services sector of society is reduced to the minimum). This means that the state would spend less on urbanisation, salaries for the many people required for manning an otherwise emasculated state bureaucracy, more agricultural self-sufficiency than the one nowadays prevailing, and other beneficial consequences.

In industry, self-management and decentralization implies that this sector would become less paralysed by bureaucratic bottle-necks than the one now prevailing, increased productivity, overall societal development. Reducing the state bureaucracy also means that in the eventuality of a banking crisis and the collapse of the international monetary system the countries concerned would be more self sufficient in foodstuff and the individuals more autonomous and less dependent on the state, until society, either nationally or internationally reaches a new state of equilibrium. But this state of equilibrium should not be based on usury (which means exploitation of the needy) or injustice (a bureaucracy is always unjust because rigid and inhuman). Islam, it proved to be, is the way to man's liberation in the material, physical, intellectual, and spiritual spheres. It is a guidance to mankind.

The ideological debate in Algeria: Latest news.

The following passage taken from the Times(18 January 1986) gives the latest news about the outcome of the debates concerning the revision of the first Algerian "National Charter" (1976-1986), which lays down the guidelines for development and the ideological basis upon which it rests. This report seemed important at this final stage of writing up the thesis because it is directly linked to the subject matter of the study and represents, in line with the Holmesian "hypothetico-deductive method of enquiry", a testing of the policy proposals (hypotheses) chosen for the region. These were, grosso modo, turning around the ideas of direct democracy and gradual decentralization of policy making to liberate the individual from the ossifying emasculated bureaucracies in order to realise the principles upon which an ideal Islamic society may emerge. These are democracy (consultation/consensus) and the practice of monotheism i.e. extreme decentralization so that all policy making is rendered to the individual.

Under the title "Chadli outflanks the Muslim extremists", the journalist (Reuter) proceeds describing the Algerian context. "Algeria's revised National Charter, the country's ideological platform was approved by a massive majority, 98.37% of the voters, in a referendum on Thursday, the Interior Minister, Mr Muhammad Hadj Yala said yesterday.

More than 10 million people -95.92% of the electorate- voted, and only 180,790 cast negative ballots, according to final figures released by Mr Yala.

The original charter which formerly established Algeria as a one-party Socialist state, was adopted by 98.5% of voters in 1976 when Colonel Houari Boumediene was president.

The new charter reenforces President Chadli's pragmatic line against Socialist ideologues whom he sees as blocking economic development and ossifying the system, Western diplomats said.

Mr Chadli has also come under pressure within his National Liberation Front for greater formal acknowledgement of the role of the Muslim faith in Algerian society.

The new charter puts more emphasis on Islam as a pivotal force, apparently in an attempt to outflank Muslim fundamentalists, the diplomats say.

Violent opposition to President Chadli's Government has come from a small but apparently well-organized band of extremist fundamentalists.

In a raid last August, they killed one guard in an attack on a police training college and seized a quantity of arms. Security forces are still hunting the group's leader, who escaped a police ambush two months later. Five policemen died in the shoot-out.

While the extremists have drawn attention to their cause with some of the worst violence since before Algeria's independence in 1962, the focus has been put on other groups through mass trials."(1)

1- The times, London, 18 January, 1986, p.5

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

GENERAL BOOKS.

As a Multidisciplinary study, Comparative Education necessitated a wide background of 'general knowledge'. This general knowledge included information about education and its relation to development, the Arab World, Islam, Socialism, Secularism, Philosophy, Methodology, Politics, Economics, Sociology, etc... The following does not include all the books consulted during the research but a selection in so far as these were found relevant and directly linked to the subject matter.

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