



CHAPTER II

EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND LEFT POLITICAL IDEOLOGY – A GENERAL SURVEY

I

Nationalism, historians generally agree, has been one of the most potent factors in shaping contemporary civilization. Throughout the modern world it has supplanted old loyalties, modified social relationships, changed forms of Government, created new loves and new hatreds. A survey of Educational Policy and Left Political ideology suggests one unavoidable conclusion: as Bruce Tiebout McCully observed, "Nationalistic feelings did not germinate of its own accord in the soil of India: rather it was an exotic growth implanted by foreign hands and influences"¹. Following the observation of famous historian Toyanbee, B.T. McCully said, "Without the existence of the British regimes and the element of foreign domination implicit in that system, the beginning of Indian nationalism would be difficult to envisage ... In India as elsewhere foreign rule produced an atmosphere favourable to the growth of national sentiment, and foreign education in time created native intelligencias in whose rank such ideas found a ready welcome"².

If the hand of the foreigners prepared the country for the reception of nationalist ideas, it also moulded the content of early nationalist thought. As Sir William Hunter saw, "Much of the latter — as the writings of Banerjee and other exponents show — was European in origin, having been appropriated almost whole-sale from the teachings of continental doctrines like Mazzini"³. In pointing out the specified role played by the educated nationalists Hunter said, "The liberal nationalists of India — the Banerjee, the Naorojis, the Mehtas, the Ghoses and others invented little or nothing in the way of ideology. Their contribution to Indian nationalist thought consisted for the most part in expounding a modified

version of doctrines which they had picked up as students in the Indian Universities or acquired later while studying in England or abroad"⁴.

Leftist political perception, nevertheless, was also adopted from Europe. The basic tenets of leftist political ideology in recent years are much owed to Marxism. The difference between the leftists of India and Congress as a national platform differs in their class attitude and class analysis. The group interests of the educated class which had emerged in the 'Seventies' and 'Eighties' of the Eighteenth Century, detached from the soil or from the hereditary crafts of their forefathers, many partially educated natives eked out a miserable existence. Lacking social position or property unable to rise above the status of petty clerks, they formed a kind of rootless educated proletariat. Their intellectual superiors, the educated elite, nevertheless, too nursed a grievance against the haughty foreigners who monopolized the highly-paid posts in the government services. In the later phase, the involvement of local bourgeoisie and native industrial aspirants were remarkable and finally "Common education drew the lower and upper strata of the educated class together. The objectives of the Indian Association, the programme of the Madras Mahajana Sabha, the Bombay Presidency Association, the agenda of sundry regional Conferences culminating in the first Indian National Congress at Poona, all bespoke the political interests of educated India"⁵. Participation in an organized movement like the Indian National Congress was therefore the logical step for the intelligentsias to take if such ambitions were to be realised⁶. As the Congress movement with its all India outlook gathered headway, "Each year", wrote Sir Willam Hunter of the Congress in 1888, "its electoral organization becomes, better developed, its sense of responsibility and its consciousness of power increase ... and it justifies more fully its claim to be considered a National Indian Congress"⁷. Soon after 1930s eminent political educationist of U.S.A. observed that the Congress Party, despite its claim to represent all India, "could at most speak for only a small fraction of the people"⁸. In classifying the very structure of the Congress as a political party Prof. B.T. McCully said, "From its infancy the nationalist movement bore

marks of its bourgeoisie origin - The very thing that made for homogeneity among educated natives"⁹.

Thus, two distinct standards appear in the fabric of early Indian nationalist theories. We cannot tell both of them progressive in the truest sense of the term. One school of thought, deeply indoctrinated with English political and economic doctrines, drew its chief inspiration from contemporary European nationalism. The other school alarmed by the steady penetration of foreign civilization throughout the Peninsula, advocated a revival of ancient Hindu culture in order to check the impending Europization of their country¹⁰ which was looming large.

The marks of snooty and elitist attitude toward education paved the way for Indian lefts to criticize and adopt a different outlook on education. To the leftists, it depends upon the class-outlook of the society. To them it is an inevitable offshoot of class in power controlling the means of production. It will adopt like many other policies the educational policy in favour of their class-interests since education is a super structure to the existing economy. To quote Marx and Engles: "And what about your education: Is it not social? Does not your system control education through the direct or indirect control of society when society is controlled by a section of people? The control of society in the field of education was not originated by the Communists; they just want to change the nature of social control, to save education from the clutch of the ruling class"¹¹.

After Independence despite many a suggestions sufficient initiative was not taken to implement fundamentals of educational policy. As Syed Sahadullah questioned, "with regard to mass-education Congress is still carrying the superfluous zamindary foppishness? Sufficient measures are yet to take place to arrange for compulsory elementary education ... Although introduction of primary education may not wait for socialist revolution, certainly elementary education in bourgeoisie country does not mean for all what is seen in a socialist state. Education in a bourgeoisie country is solely self-motivated. As it happened in Prussian

feudal state, like wise, in a bourgeoisie state the scope of education means loyalty of the section of people to a particular regime or class⁷¹².

The importance of Marxist or leftist analysis of education demands the Marxist interpretation of the socio-economic development of society. According to Marxist approach in a classless society there was no need of state. Later as classes evolved in society to maintain the exploitative system of production as well as the domination of the owning class gave birth to the state. In accordance with Karl Max, a state is nothing but a machine to maintain class existence; it is an oppression machine to exploit and suppress one class by the other. According to Engles, the concept of state is not adopted from outside, as Hegel said, a state is the march of God on the earth; it is the actualization of freedom and rationality, but the State is nothing of that sort rather the state evolved in a certain phase of social development. The state grew to solve and mitigate a contradiction, the contradiction of class-interests. It is an out-growth of society to solve the inner-contradiction and put itself above the society but gradually it cuts off all relation with the society. Now this social force away from the society is called state or state power. Thus, in accordance with Marx and Engles, as it grew to control the class-conflict it grew out of class-conflict, so it is natural that a state will represent the most powerful propertied class in society. Thus by their money power and wealth this class becomes the ruling class and continues repression and evolves new techniques of exploitation upon other classes.

According to Marx the major phases of social developments has been divided in five heads: (1) Primitive communal society, (2) Slave society, (3) Feudal society, (4) Capitalism and (5) Socialism. Slave, Feudal and Capitalist bourgeoisie societies, run the state system and the means of production in favour of their class interests and accordingly keep their dominance direct over the education and culture to perpetuate their owning position. These owners of means of production and also the ruling class dominate over the 90 Per cent of the people in state-society. On the other hand, according to Marx and Engles, socialism desires to establish the rule of 90 per cent of the people over the 10 per cent

privileged people. Thus, in course of time the need for the state by all means will be withered away with the establishment of communism.

1640 witnessed the culmination of the conflict between bourgeoisie and feudalism; 1789 witnessed the annihilation of Idealism in France. In 1871 Japan discarded the rule of Damo (Japanese feudal power). In 1867 with the abolition of serf-system (feudalism) in Russia got the first setback. But feudalism was not completely abolished from these nations with the installation of bourgeois system. However, geographical discoveries, specially, like discovery of sea-route to India and Asia by Vas-co-Da-gama in the fourteenth century, discovery of the sea-route to America by Columbus et al fulfilled the need for market to the nascent bourgeoisie of Europe. It can be termed rightly as the beginning of the Golden Age of the bourgeoisie march.

To perpetuate and maintain feudal exploitation and rule feudal class adopted some programme of actions. But education had been exempted from it. The need for education casts very little to go with traditional agro-production. In a feudal society education has a meager role in production system. The demand for education was mainly related to those in the administration. Although that was basically idealistic education based on three R's and filled with religious dogmas. Before the French revolution bourgeoisie in France fought a long battle against the feudal dominated and feudal conception of education. The Prussian victory over France finally brought the victory of the French bourgeoisie in Educational conceptions. Mr. H.C. Barnard said, "... The noteworthy advance which Prussia, for example, has made since the beginning of the century and her recent success in war against France was attributed as a much to her educational system as to her military organization...¹³. Again Encyclopedia Britannica says. "The Constitution of 1791 provided that primary education should be compulsory and free... In wars of 1866 and 1870 the Prussian school masters, were victorious and aroused in Western Europe the importance of popular education. For France the reform of popular education was essentially part of national restoration ... The law of 1888 abolished fees in all primary schools and training

colleges; the law of 1882 established compulsory attendance and finally the law of October 30, 1886 enacted that none but lay persons should learn in the public schools all distinctively religious teaching¹⁴. "Churches were the means of exploitation and oppression. Thus, rising bourgeoisie tried to inactivate these means of repression and exploitation. They became eloquent to separate education from the Church. They said, there will be no room for Church and Papal education in schools. State should take initiative on education free from religious dogma. The bourgeoisie educationists were demanding to start with universal, free and compulsory and secular education in France. Achieving political power, the French bourgeoisie immediately in 1792 introduced universal elementary education"¹⁵.

At that time whole Asia, Africa and America were major continental markets for England. With the expansion of market demand for goods were also increasing day by day. Invention of steam engine in the eighteenth century and its massive application in the nineteenth century and the industrial revolution was fast changing the whole historical perspective. Once bonded labour of the land, now in apparent freedom in Industrial world was facing a new challenge – a new crisis. A machine could now work for ten labourers. As a matter of fact, "In the feudal state as peasants turned rootless losing their lands, likewise, in capitalism, with advancement in machinery the labourers had lost their productive role in production and becoming unemployed"¹⁶. The period of industrial revolution was the period of development of bourgeois class in Europe. It was the struggling period of the nascent but rising bourgeoisie class against the feudal class. In 1779 bourgeoisie economist Adam Smith championed the cause of the educational spread in England and opined forcefully for the introduction of the Universal elementary education. At the beginning of the 19th century bourgeoisie in England arranged some educational facilities among Industrial workers. But their educational endeavour was halted time and again as the political power was still in the clutch of land owning section. Finally, Parliament sanctioned in 1834 and 1839 some amount of Rs. 20 thousand and 30 thousand pounds

respectively. In the meantime, for the interest of unlimited profit bourgeoisie in England arranged to impart little bit education among child labourers. In Factory Act enacted in 1844, it was provided inter alia.

Marx showed in his Magnum opus 'Capital'

'But the intellectual desolation artificially produced by converting immature human beings into mere machines for the fabrication of surplus-value, a state of mind clearly distinguishable from that natural ignorance which keeps the mind follow without destroying its capacity for development, its natural fertility, this desolation finally compelled even the English parliament to make elementary education a compulsory condition to the 'productive' employment of children under 14 years, in every industry subject to the Factory Acts. The spirit of capitalist production stands out clearly in the ludicrous working of the so-called education clauses in the Factory Acts, in the absence of administrative machinery, an absence that again makes the compulsion illusory, in the opposition of the manufacturers themselves to these education clauses, and in the tricks and dodges they put in practice for evading them.

It provides nothing more than that the children shall on certain days of the week, and for a certain number of hours (three) in each day, be enclosed within the four walls of a place called a school, and that the employers of the child shall receive weekly a certificate to that effect signed by a person designated by the subscriber as a school master or school mistress. Previous to the passing of the amended Factory Act, 1844 it happened, not infrequently, that the certificates of attendance at school were signed by the school master or school mistress with a across, as they themselves were unable to write.

Paltry as the education clauses of the Act appear on the whole, yet they proclaim elementary education to be indispensable condition to the employment of children. According to the English Factory Act, parents cannot send their children under 14 years of age into factories under the control of the Act, unless at the same time they allow them to receive elementary education. The manufacturer is responsible for compliance

with the Act. "Factory education is compulsory, and it is a condition of labour". The success of those clause proved for the first time the possibility of combining education and gymnastics, (on the very advantageous results of combining gymnastics and drilling in the case of boys with compulsory education for factory children and pauper scholar) with manual labour, and, consequently, of combining manual labour with education and gymnastics. The factory inspectors soon found out by questioning the schoolmasters, that the factory children, although receiving only one half of the education of the regularly day scholars, yet learnt quite as much and often more. "This can be accounted for by the simple fact that, with only being at school for one half of the day, they are always fresh and nearly always ready and willing laobur, and half school, renders each employment a rest and a relief to the other; consequently both are far more consequently both are far more congenial to the child, than would be the case were he kept constantly at one. It is quite clear that a boy who had been at school at the morning, cannot cope with one who comes fresh and bright from his work. I am quite sure that the true secret of producing efficient work people is to be found in writing education and labour from a period of childhood. Of course the occupation must not be too severe, nor irksome, or unhealthy. But of the advantage of the Union I have no doubt. I wish my wish my own children could have some work as well as play to give variety to their schooling"¹⁷ Further Marx added amongst other things, how the monotonous and uselessly long school hours of the children of the upper and middle classes, uselessly add to the labour of the teacher, "while he not only fruitlessly but absolutely injuriously, wastes the time, health and energy of the children"¹⁸.

From the Factory System budded, as Robert Owen has shown us in detail, the germ of the education of the future, an education that 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 beings¹⁹ "The antagonism between the

manufacture in division of labour and the methods of Modern Industry makes itself forcibly felt. It manifests itself, As with division of labour in the interior of the manufacturing workshops, so it with the division of labour in the interior of society"²⁰.

Modern Industry never looks upon and treats the existing form of a process as final. The technical basis of that industry is therefore revolutionary, while all earlier modes of production were essentially conservative. The bourgeois can not exist without continually revolutionizing the instrument of production, and thereby the relations of production and all the social relations. Conservation, in an unaltered form, of the old modes of production was on the contrary the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolution in production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, even lasting uncertainty and agitation, distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones, "All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all that is solid melts into air, all that is holy I profaned and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind"²¹.

By means of machinery, chemical processes and other methods, it is continually causing changes not only in the technical basis of production, but also in the functions of the labourere, and in the social combination of the labour processes But if Modern Industry, by its very nature, therefore necessitates variation of labour, fluency of functions, universal mobility of the labour, on the other hand, in its capitalistic form, it reproduces the old division of laobur with its ossified particularizations.... Modern Industry, on the other, through its catastrophes imposes the necessity of recognizing, as a fundamental law of production, variation of work, consequently fitness of the labourere for varied work, consequently the greatest possible development of his varied aptitudes. It becomes a question of life and death for society to adapt the mode of production to the normal functioning of this law.²²

Capitalist Education; "One step already spontaneously taken towards effecting this revolution is the establishment of technical and agricultural school, and of "Ecoles d'enseignement professionnel". In which the children of the working-men receive some little instruction in technology and in the practical handling of the various implements of labour. Though the Factory Act, that first and meager concession wring from capital, is limited to combining elementary education with work in the factory, there can be no doubt that when the working-class comes into power, as inevitably it must, technical instruction, both theoretical and practical, will take its proper place in the working-class schools. There is also no doubt that such revolutionary ferments, the final result of which is the abolition of the old division of labour, are diametrically opposed to the capitalistic form of production, and to the economic status of the labourer corresponding to that form"²³.

Definition of the new social system: "The system of unlimited exploitation of children's labour in general and the so-called home labour in particular is maintained only because the parents are able, without check or control, to exercise this arbitrary and mischievous power over their young and tender offspring The children and young persons, therefore, in all such cases may justifiably claim from the legislature, as a natural right, that an exemption should be secured to them, from what destroys prematurely their physical strength, and lowers them in the scale of intellectual and moral beings". It was not, however, the misuse of parental authority that created capitalist exploitation ... on the contrary, it was the capitalistic mode of production which, by sweeping away the economic basis of parental authority"²⁴.

For the quest of more profit a keen competition developed among the capitalists. On this Marx clearly commented: "This", they naturally say, "is an injustice and loss to us, as it exhausts a portion of the boy's strength, of which we ought to have the full benefit".

Mr. J. Simpson (Paper box and bag maker, London) states before the Commissioners: "He would sign any petition for it". (Legislative

interference) ... "As it was, he always felt, lest others should be working later than him and getting away his orders".²⁵

When the subject of education enters the periphery of jurisdiction then Marx commented that "The mode of examining the witnesses reminds one of the cross-examinations of witnesses in English courts of justice ... The whole force is true characteristic of the spirit of capital, not to call for a few extracts from this Report. For the sake of consciousness I have classified them. I may also add that every question and its answer are number in the English Blue books"²⁶.

Marx again showed that to save the society for whom the Factory Act was evolved to control the greedy mouth of 'Capital-Shark'²⁷. Marx wrote in capital: "...The changes in the material mode of production and the corresponding changes in the social relations of the producers gave rise first to an extravagance beyond all bounds and then in opposition to this called forth a control on the part of society which legally limits, regulates and makes uniform the working day and its pauses...."²⁸

However, he showed also in the conflict between zamindars and capitalist the working class became profitable by receiving some reforms. Marx wrote, "... The creation of abnormal working day is therefore a protected civil war, more or less dissembled between the capitalist class and the working class. As the contest takes place in the arena of modern industry, it first breaks out in the home of that industry England..."²⁹

H.C. Barnard wrote in the 'History of English Education', "Under this Act, the boys and girls those who were working in the textile mills, compelled the parents to send their wards to attend schools half of the day, either three or six days in a week. A few more schools were brought under this Acts of 1864 and 1887".³⁰

Syed Sahedullah said, "However Factory Acts made compulsory arrangement of primary education for the child labours. In one hand, the whole system was erroneous, on the other hand, the periphery of application was very limited Although in comparison with "no arrangement" it was at least introduced something".³¹

It explores that bourgeoisie state felt for the spread of elementary education among the working people for their own class-interest. Mrinal Das showed, "For the development of production system need for primary education is indispensable. In 1791 after the French Revolution compulsory and free primary education had been introduced. Behind the development of Germany there was also the introduction of primary education in 1870. The immediate need for technical education entitled only those who had primary education. As Germany the ardent competitor of England could arrange technical education side by side primary and general education, so they acquired industrial skill"³². This skill helped them to raise demands of their goods. H.C. Barnard showed: "Industrial Revolution and invention of steam Engine attracts people's attention of mechanical technology. Mathematics, science, architecture and Engineering got massive importance. At that time, French Revolutionary ideology focused the demand for wider educational scope among the working class. There were vacancies in industries for technical hands and those who had some technical knowledge they were accepted as eligible for these vacancies It was realized by all that those who had received certain form of elementary education if they could get little more education that might help to increase production. It would ultimately help to come out from their inherent strata but that would help them serve in a better way staying at the same strata of the society...."³³.

But the bourgeoisie were very speculative. "The experience of English educational history shows that replacing the stumbling block of the feudal class the bourgeoisie class in England introduced primary education Act in 1889. Meanwhile Prussia and France introduced it 100 to 150 years before England. For the surplus value they realized that need for the spread of education. But they equally developed those ideas which would deter revolutionary trends of the working class. They arranged plan-fully educational set up and syllabi which deterred and prevented the revolutionary sparks of the working class by influencing their mental and psychic world ... So for this flexible and ever changing

nature of bourgeois society helped in the spread and development of science, knowledge and technology. Can the common masses benefited in a capitalist society where education is run by individual motivation for profit generating? Naturally, bourgeoisie arranged and planned educational effort according to their need. And they give that much of education to the people as much it requires. The most cherished promise of salvation from bondage was not fulfilled by the bourgeoisie democratic revolution rather they bonded people from the bondage of serf-dom to the bondage of wage-slavery³⁴.

There are certain opinions of Karl Marx on education in his famous work: "Critique of Gotha Programme". Gotha Programme was an educational resolution taken by German United Labour Union (Social Democratic Workers Party of Germany and General Association of German Workers is referred as Socialist Workers Party of Germany). Lasal, the leader of the General Association of German Workers Party was the main architect of Gotha Programme. Marx pointed out the lacuna of the programme and gave aside notes about what it should be.

The educational clause of the Gotha Programme is given bellow. "Being Estate's moral and mental base German Labour Party demands:

1. Universal and equal Primary Education System should be established by the State. School going should be made sure by the state on the basis of universal, compulsory and free education for all".³⁵

Marx first raised a question "Equal education system? From which conception was it written? In present society (and discussion is going on present society) is it believable that equal education can be arranged? Or is it demanding for that education system, not only primary education, or education for wage labourer, other wealthy classes compatible with peasant class, will be forced to come down?"³⁶

On "Universal compulsory schooling arrangement for Free Education", he said, the first one prevails in Germany. Second one, (free education) prevails in Switzerland and also in U.K. Hence, Marx referred to the demand of 'free education' and he showed how it should be

analysed and judged from the Marxian or labour class-point of view. He said, two important questions are related with it. First, for which classes this expenditure will be given? And second, which classes will bear this expenditure? In the language of Karl Marx, "Although in some of the provinces of U.K. a few institutes of higher education providing 'free education', actually it bears education expenditures for higher classes from the collection of general taxes".³⁷ Thus Marx suggested to add a new demand. He said, "In the section of Primary education, demand for installation of technical (theoretical and practical) schools would be worth mentioning"³⁸.

Hence he put forth his objection in the word, "Primary education by the State". He observed: It's very much objectionable. Educational expenditure of Primary education, requisite qualification of the teachers, determining different branches of education by the general guideline of laws, again, this articulated laws, whether maintained or not, to supervise it through state inspectors or to put the state as people's educator - there is a great difference between the two. Rather it is desirable to keep Church as well as the State away from the educational front.

Despite so much democratic gesticulation and pampering, Lasolian group's slavery and faith on the state has made the whole programme a cursed. Rather, it can be said, it is a compromise between the two ideas, equally distant from socialism. It is needless to say, objection of the state involvement in educational system does not mean to exempt the state to provide education expenditure. It is worth mentioning that during Marx's life in England, in 1870, the law on Primary Education was taken, there was a provision for local elected organization to run the management of Primary education. H.G. Barnard wrote: "... a new local authority, the school board, was to be set up, it should be elected by the rate payers"³⁹ One interesting comment of the famous historian G.R. Travellian is worth mentioning here. He commented: "It was characteristic of the two nations that, whereas the German people already enjoyed good schools, but not self-government, the rulers of England only felt compelled to 'educate

their masters' when the workingmen were in full possession of the franchise"⁴⁰.

Thus, Karl Marx mentioned about the clause in regard to child-labour. He observed that education should be based on the age of educate and onto his health. He said every child needs to give some labour based on his age. With regard to prohibit child labour, Marx told, Prohibition of child-labour – it is indispensable to mention age bar. It is incompatible with the general prohibition of child-labour and existence of large industry. Thus, to him its just a statement.

Even if it could be fortified, it would be a reactionary step, because controlling strictly the hours of labour according to age, and the security measures taken for the children, to change the society by mixing productive labour at tender age, is a most powerful means".

The valedictory note has been analyzed by Marx in 'capital' most elaborately. In Communist Manifesto Marx indicated a few (ten) an agenda to be implemented to stir the movement, the last agenda of it was like this:

"10 Free-Education for all children in Public Schools. Abolition of the contemporary model of child-labour system. To add education with industrial production, etc."⁴¹

To summarise the total development of capitalism in the light of Marxism, "From the perspective of economic condition, the history of Europe can be divided into four broad phases (a) Formation of capital by the merchant class; (b) Competitive capitalistic age; (c) Monopolist capitalistic age; (d) Monopolistic capitalist age at the face of the inception of proletariat state after 1917. During the later phase of the 19th century capitalism took monopolistic shape in Western Europe and in Great Britain. The highest stage of capitalism is imperialism. Lenin in his masterly works "imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism" stated five basic characteristics of imperialism.

- (a) In the economic sector production and capital has become so centralized which generates monopolistic control on capital

- (b) Annexation of Bank capital and industrial capital, thus, supply of capital and accumulation of capital in industries, has given birth to a small but powerful coterie of capital supplies and investor.
- (c) As a result, previously imports of industrial goods were profitable, now its place has taken by import of capital.
- (d) These coterie of capitalists have formed different international monopolistic groups; they shared and divided the whole world market.
- (e) Most powerful nations among them has ultimately divided the other countries of the world and has captured it⁴².

These captured countries or markets of imperialists were their colonies. "Beside naked exploitation, the imperialists maintained these mass-repression and social injustices. So, the history of imperialism is the history of nationalist movement at the same time. Imperialism did not provide freedom or emancipation deliberately. The people of third-world achieved freedom by tremendous hardship-toil-blood tears and above all elevating nationalist movement"⁴³. This was a time, when one-third of the total global population came under the fold of socialist pattern of society. Generally speaking, before the debacle of the U.S.S.R. and the east-European countries the world witnessed the heyday of socialism and they made a major headway after Second World War, world wide.

Despite the above debacle the basic content and characteristics of capitalism is still prevalent in the light of crisis of capitalism. "The general picture of capitalism is, over production and lack of market. It destroys productive powers by destroying finished products of the capitalists, raw-materials, keeping productive machineries in idle by means of unemployment"⁴⁴. According to Mrinal Das, "In our days capitalism is absolutely playing a negative role". He further said: "Capitalism is a reactionary force at this modern-age. It is an enemy of further development of civilization and culture. It retrieves the development of science and technology: it tries to control the contradictions in society by means of prevaricated and mangled

education and human potent culture. But this gesticulation does not serve the basic interest to cope with the crisis of capitalism". "Thus, herein", he said that, "imperialism is also the last stage of capitalism, the inevitability of socialism is a must. But it does not destroy itself deliberately. The proletariat class will annihilate it by their revolutionary movement and will usher in and pave the way for further social development"⁴⁵.

In a class-divided and exploitation ridden society the greatest lacuna of education is that education has been taken aside from the direct production system. As a matter of fact, this education can not contribute to the society effectively. Thus, educated people stay away from the mainstream of labour force. On the contrary, the tie between working people and educational world becomes weak. Thus, millions of working people are deprived from getting sufficient education. On the other hand, educated section of the population either remains away from the productive world or put themselves in the hierarchy of managerial positions. This situation develops incomplete, partial and some-what prevaricated ideas. Justifying the relations between education and the world of creative production, Lenin said "Without establishing relation between education and the productive force, we cannot imagine an ideal society for the future. Technology and Science, where it has developed today, education or teaching away from productive force - away from education or teaching cannot flourish at its desirable goal"⁴⁶.

People liberation movement cannot be completed unless and until education can be attached with the mainstream of the peoples' movement and vice versa, proper education system cannot start unless and until liberation march of the people can be merged with. Education and true education related to the productive force helps to bring the change in social system. In 1918, Lenin delivered a lecture in the convention of the All Russia Teachers' Association : Education is a pivotal part of the movement that we are launching with all truthfulness and perfect honesty by the help of perfect clarity we can strike blatant lie and decepecting forces. We have declared to establish proletariat rule, our

sources of power and invincibility lies there. The bourgeoisie blatantly states that their educational institutions have no connection whatever with politics. This is a straight and pertinent lie. Mentioning the state of affairs in schools in Russia at the pre-revolutionary period, Lenin said: "All the academic institutions became arsenals of the bourgeoisie class. Bourgeoisie concepts were all pervasive in those academic institutes. The basic object and task of these institutions were to supply constantly reliable and loyal servants and skilled labour to maintain and perpetuate production ... We declare openly that education away from mainstream of life and politics is a farce"⁴⁷. Lenin's conjecture was turned into reality when we look at China's example.

Sunderlal correctly says that: 'Our visit same afternoon to the Yenching University proved even more important. This University was established in 1919 with funds mainly collected in America. The leaders of New China admitted that many private Americans must have contributed to those funds in a spirit of real friendship for China; but as later events showed this goodwill was soon twisted to imperialist ends. American imperialism began to use the Yenching University, as it was using other missionary institutions in China, not only as an instrument of cultural aggression but also as a weapon for political and economic domination'⁴⁸.

Sunderlal has effectively drawn the application of Marxism in the same institution. He says: "Now the whole atmosphere of the Yenching University is changed ... Yenching students are enthusiastically devoting themselves to the Resist America and aid Korea Movement ... The whole curriculum of the University has been reformed. Marxist perception of history and social development of Mao-tse-Tung's New Democracy are taught to all students"⁴⁹.

III

The role of politics in education can not be avoided. Veteran Gandhian and leading educationist J.P. Nayak wrote: "The political system always dominates the entire social scene, and hence those who

wield political power are generally able to control all the different social sub-systems, including the educational system, and manipulate them to their own advantage"⁵⁰. He also said, "Education is essentially a liberating force. The educational system, therefore, is never politically neutral and it always performs three functions generally simultaneously, viz., it helps the privileged to dominate, domesticate the underprivileged to their own status in society, also tends to liberate, which of these effects shall dominate and to what extent, depends mostly on one crucial factor, viz... the quality and quantity of the political education it provides"⁵¹.

Karl Marx showed in "capital" in 1867 that working people should develop themselves to cope with rapid changing nature of capitalism where he can learn and take the change to do many things at the same time. It needs to develop his profession at such a level when he can face any situation. Marx also pointed out-despite tremendous unemployment and crisis in capitalism trends are ushered in among labour force to advance with to cope with this variable productive environment within fathomless despondency. He also showed that in capitalist state of affairs there is inertia among the existing classes and each class is trying to exert ones position over the other. Thus, the advancement of society is getting setbacks. As a result of it, socialism paves the way for total development of human being.

Apart from these crises of capitalism there are other problems faced by capitalism, Dr. Goldman, researcher and technocrat, said that to recover the setback of technology in recent years in U.S.A. can only be solved if there are ready markets for the product.

"But scarcity of market is the greatest problem before capitalism in this present world. Thus, United States is gradually rotting with crisis. Capitalism can not surmount this inevitable impediment. But the mode of production and production relations is different in a socialist country. So, the future of production is with socialism. Now, to elevate at the stage

of communism, it requires planned set up of polytechnics to reach people varied techniques to cope with every situation"⁵².

Professor Gurner Mirdal wrote in his famous work, "Asian Drama": "The Communist Countries have placed even greater emphasis on improving conditions of education.... So ideological influences from this sources have only strengthened the esteem in which these objectives are held...⁵¹" He further observed "Another influence was the delayed realization that the Soviet Union had made strenuous efforts to increase educational facilities on all levels, and the inference that her rapid emergence from a state of relative under development was partly attributable to these efforts"⁵³.

This rapid development of economy has also attracted the attention of the bourgeois savants. The common usage on education says: "More you will give, more it will increase". Stress is now on mass-education. But the approach is on profit-making. Shahedullaha said, "It is the latest contribution of capitalism that capitalist economists are now busy in analyzing how much capital can be invested in education to get how much profit from it? This approach is certainly unique and latest in capitalism"⁵⁴. Comment of Garner Myrdal shows: "Economic historians have regularly paid a great deal of attention to education and educational reform when seeking to explain why the rate of economic development has varied in different epochs and different countries ... But none in this tradition has tried to put educational reform into the conceptual straight jacket of a quantity of financial investment, accounted for in capital ratio. This is the only innovation in the economic approach..."⁵⁵

In our on-going discussion we are trying to locate the role of education in the light of Marxism. In the later half we will concentrate on the implementation of Marxist educational idea in different socialist counties. However, by the coinage 'in our time', Marx wanted to explain the state of affairs of the bourgeoisie class in the perspective of his time. "Certainly, the perspective has changed a lot with the course of time. By the word 'present society' does not mean the changed perspective of 'our

world'. Ups and downs are going on among nations as well as in connection with ideology. Despite the debacle of the U.S.S.R. numbers of socialist countries are not meager. Practice of Marxism is going on there. Practical implementation of educational idea of Karl Marx is playing havoc. Let us have a glimpse to such countries, specially, to Vietnam and China.

First Hand Socialist Experience

The combination of three factors, education, Party-organisation and Vietnam revolution has shown spectacular results in educational advancement. An American Journalist of 'News Week' wrote: "It was obvious that PRG was making special efforts in health and education. A common sight was a group of school children wearing badges quoting Ho Chi Min: "Nothing is more precious than Independence and freedom"⁵⁶. It is not their any new endeavour, "To spread education and literacy among peasants and workers to take necessary endeavour and arrangement was ever inseparable part of their struggle. In May 1930 with the revolt led by Communist Party of Indo-China Nakhe Annd and Ja Kinha provinces of central Vietnam witnessed establishment of revolutionary forces into power. From the very inception of this revolutionary government established by working people, which lasted only a year, installed schools in those villages which were under their capitulation. The Party agendas of 1930 (October) laid emphasis on spreading education and culture and to fight against illiteracy and obscurantism. It happened to such a country where more than 95 per cent of people were in utter ignorance under the imperial rule. The direction of the Communist Party was that every commando would make the labours and peasants familiar with alphabets. It was considered that through this work the commandos would govern themselves to proletariat. The wheel of history turned little in France in 1936 by the installation of Popular Front in the Government. It gave the Communist Party in Vietnam an extra impetus to work legally. Party encouraged to

form organizations to popularize Roman words among the working people. Class was taken against illiteracy. These classes led by enthusiastic young people and government employees were spreading in lips and bounds in the towns and cities of Vietnam. They made developed rational and speedy techniques to expedite the education movement. In 1945 after August Revolution, these classes became the basis of 'people' education, movement and organization ... The second world war started in the year 1939. Imperial power ruthlessly suppressed revolutionary movement. In 1941, Ho-Chi-Min formed Vietmin Front ... The basic task of this Front was to organize revolutionary force and to take necessary measures locally to revolt against, so that general revolt might erupt. At the same time, Vietmin Front took the Agenda to fight against illiteracy, to develop the cultural standard of the people, and use of mother-tongue to elevate the standard of national culture and education. In the Party-thesis on the cultural subject in 1943, Party felt urgency for the eradication of illiteracy. In the different Revolutionary Centres and in free areas classes evolved against illiteracy. Near Chinese boarder, there is a 'Pak Bo' cave in Kav Bemg province. This cave became the headquarters of Ho Chi Min after he returned to Vietnam from self-exile. Here Ho was engaged in rendering training to his comrades. Specially, he was imparting the technique to learn Roman Words more easily to his comrades. After August Revolution of 1945, the Vietnamese nascent Republic faced a lot of trouble and problems. More than 20 lakhs people died in lieu of Franko-Japanese Policy. French Power was again trying to return. 95 per cent of people were illiterate. Ho Chi Min united the whole race by three pivotal struggle called Drought-Ignorance and Alien Aggression. These three were closely intermingled. Ignorance was treated as the greatest enemy of the people. "After 6 days of the declaration of 'freedom' on 8th September of 1945, Ho Chi Min by a decree established popular Education Department or Cell..."⁵⁷ Education was the part and parcel of the whole viet cong freedom movement as well as in the guidelines of Ho Chi Min.

IV

Principle and Policy – A Cross-Cultural Perspective: Vietnam has worthy past and tradition in respect of knowledge and education. History of knowledge and education can be stressed back since third century B.C. It is history of continuous development and its written document is also available. But significant development ushered in especially during the 10th Century A.D. to 13th Century A.D. 1890, a French Soldier has written that they found and met such a race those who were very eager to learn and they tendered respect to educated and savants.”⁵⁸

Despite this educational background, it was not sufficient in respect of today’s requirement. The Viet Cong Communist Party realized this point and gave attention to formulate necessary arrangements.

Whatever the educational movements and how did they formulate the educational system out of it? And where did they get the inspiration? They said, “Our country is passing through a national and socialistic revolution. It is emerging from a wearing out of the imperial and colonial rule. At the same time, it is also passing through a grave and significant social economic metamorphosis”⁵⁹. They said that this revolution supplied impetus to develop and change the whole education in Vietnam. “Without this revolution, we cannot surmount the practical and technical impediments”⁶⁰. “We can not give proper shape and character of education without this revolution”⁶¹.

In this movement teachers played a revolutionary role. Even in war ridden environment, when revolution and war disrupted everything, they were marching with educational mission. Although, backlogs were there pressure of various backlash of old-rotten ideas and obscurantism were felt. “Despite courage and patriotism, education was covered by old fossil conceptions of obscurantism”⁶². The basic structure of education was an old one. “Colonial rule and administration set up a model structure of Primary, Higher Primary and Secondary Education. Likewise, that model was also available in the social structure. As if, it was replica of social,

stratification. In return, we began with a general education system of nine years"⁶³.

Apart from it, orientation programmes were taken to bring necessary change in the aptitude of the teachers. "Youth organs and trade unions also took part in the education movement. Reorientation programme was arranged to substantiate those teachers involved in the movement against illiteracy but not having sufficient educational background. Therefore, all means were taken to educate the adults"⁶⁴.

"In 1960, after the Party Congress, the direction of education was taken to guide it towards establishing a socialist society"⁶⁵. As a result of it, in 1965, the roll strength of students increased three-times more than a decade before"⁶⁶.

It was then due to the invasion and aggression of U.S.A. that many schools, college and Hospitals were destroyed. Death of many people and teachers became a reality. The number of students was increasing by 5 lakhs every year. Because, with the beginning of the war, the Communist Party of Vietnam had supplemented a strict direction that whatever the casualty and suffering to bear with every difficulty and advancement of education should be carried out. People of Viet Cong responded well, understanding education as a blessing of the revolution. Thus, with full courage and vigour they were implementing the agenda of education simultaneously with chasing the foreign aggressor. The legendary example of courage and self-immolation the teachers-student combined force combated well with their weapon of education decrying and proving futile the conspiracy of U.S.A.

These problems were numerous and unique. No other socialist country experienced such type of problems before hand. These little problems were not easy to manage. A country invaded by an alien mighty force disrupts the whole situation and makes the problem more critical. Schools could not be held in one place. Secrecy had to be observed. It was very necessary to keep the students and teachers alive as well as to continue the educational tasks. They must be provided with job half a

day. It should be provided for the spread of education. Again education for physical labour, art and creative education should also be arranged. But what type of job would be provided for half a day? It is certainly easy to make arrangements in peaceful condition. But in a war time situation, there was no such scope. These types of problems were intricately prevalent in Vietnam at that time. There were tensions everywhere. But master-revolutionaries of Viet Cong said: "This tension provides inspiration and impetus for work and creativity.

One may be amazed to go through the circulars provided by the revolutionary government to schools. It said every secondary school must possess one laboratory. Necessary apparatus and instruments of laboratories should be produced by the State itself. The remaining laboratory apparatus should be exchanged among schools. And which apparatus and instruments could not be produced in the state should be mended. Another circular of 11th April of 1968 gave direction to lay emphasis on the learning of foreign language. Importance would be given on Russian and Chinese language among socialist countries and English and French among Western liberal countries. It had also stated about other languages. Every secondary student should learn two foreign languages. But one spectacular point is that all these decisions were taken during war-period. All these became possible because the policy and agenda of the spread of education was related with revolution, with war, with daily activities, with industry and agro-production; with the continuing stream of life it had a living connection⁶⁷.

The case of erstwhile U.S.S.R. under the leadership of Lenin is a point in the case. Russia was regarded as the back-yard of the Europe. In 1917, the highest number of illiterates was living in Russia in the whole of Europe. 76 per cent of men and 88 per cent women of Russia were illiterate. The Bolshevik Party 1917 in the 7th Congress took the educational resolution which stated:

1. Introduction of mother-tongue as medium of instruction, use of mother-tongue in private and state offices. State language should be rejected compulsorily.
2. Schools were to be taken away from the influence of Church and to be given a secular shape:
3. Free-education should be arranged by the state for the students' upto age group of 16 years (General and Technical).
4. Free-food, dress and other educational requirement should be provided by the state.

In Soviet Union peoples' education and training was the direct responsibility of the State. Everything was to be provided on education from state-exchequer. The number of scholarships arranged to prepare future scientists and specialists were not available anywhere in the world ... Cuba, Korea all other socialist countries are also free from the curse of illiteracy"⁶⁸.

The example of China as Syed Sahedullah said: "We have also seen attachment of education with production system. It never looks down upon the physical labour to ensure healthy environment in society"⁶⁹.

Lu-Ting-E, famous Chinese educationist, said: "Education should be annexed to labour. We communists differ from the bourgeoisie concept of total development. The basic objective of total development means to us that acquiring knowledge by the students to the highest extent as well as to be eligible to work various works. In the words of Engles "They will acquire such qualities so that they can be taken to any sphere of activity or they can switch off from one branch of production system to the other branch". We understand that workers must be proficient in various forms of Industrial work, the peasants must be proficient with all forms of cultivation and again we understand that industrial workers can be placed in peasants role as well as peasants can be made to work in industrial worker's place. We believe that civilians may need to join in military and retired personnel of the militia might join in civil department help in production. We believe that party-workers must give physical

labour and those among them are in production system must take part in administration. These systems must taken part in administration. These proposals are gradually in the process of implementation. Thus, in a society, there is division of labour along with the scope of interchanging of work place and work, that type of work-culture easily suits with the society. This system is more rational and viable than the model of division of labour available in capitalist society. It will not only enhance the production but it will also provide rational change of working site, employing one force of production to the other sector of production, necessary adaptation and reshuffling can be done. The state can in a simple way take necessary measure rather than a haphazard way to solve the necessary problem of a situation.

At least we have reached to a point of advancement in agriculture and in industrial production. Already we are shifting a section of working force from one branch of production to another branch of production system. The item they were producing, if its rate surmounts the requisite demand of the society or is equal of it, naturally diversification of production calls for. The continuous development of man and society will get a clumsy stumbling if the society lacks the scope of transfer of labour force from one sector of production to other. It will, thus, bring down the level of total social production or Gross National Production. Our education and other systems should create such scope of transfer labour force. Our students can learn and acquire knowledge to the highest extent. But its propensity depends on the particular practical and mental state. Communist society will be one day mature, developed and robust in experiences, different skills can be developed in them at that stage. They will also earn the efficiency to do many other skilful tasks apart from their zone of specialization. This is our aim. We will move forward to achieve that target⁷⁰.

To elevate the society into the Community society, Joseph Stalin said: "I must be assured that a state should created where educated in society may take active role in social development that much of education should be provided to them and they must not be tied in a particular

sector of production for the cause of division of labour, independently they can accept any profession as can get necessary education. So we must ensure that type of society where cultural advancement can be carried out⁷¹.

To differentiate the capitalist production system with socialistic pattern of production Mrinal Das commented: "The capitalism is suffering from its own contradiction. The production relation in a capitalist set up remains standstill. Again contradiction evolves in the development of labour force and its role in its development...⁷². To him, "Free development is only possible in socialist society. The educational entrepreneurship is fast moving in all the socialist countries. It is providing at the same time the freedom to flourish and the scope of proper utilization"⁷³.

According to Syed Sahedullah the advancement shown by China in every sphere of science and technology has put the bourgeoisie savants in awe. In his word: "Since the beginning of the revolution the communist Party of China was inspired by the fundamental principles of Karl Marx. Creation of Insulin in the laboratory, invention of atom and nuclear arsenal, manufacture of computer, creation of intercontinental ballistic missile, the bourgeoisie scholars displayed new news clips. This development cannot be ushered in by the narrow lanes of electoral process. This development had not only ushered prosperity in a country like China, but the practical application of Marxism is taking man in many other egalitarian society with Rocket pace to a higher development, what the bourgeoisie pedantic can not even understand"⁷⁴

A glowing example of the implementation of Marxian philosophy in relating education with economy and production can be found in the records of World Bank Report, "Global economic prospects and the developing countries 1993" stated, "The economy of the Chinese economic areas - China, Taiwan and Hongkong has become a varitable growth machine". At the current pace the World Bank estimated that by

the year 2002, at the standard International Prices, the Chinese economic areas (C.E.A.) gross domestic product should be \$ 9.8 billion (Dollars)⁷⁵.

By then the Japanese G.D.P. at standard International Prices will be \$ 4.7 trillion (Dollars) and the German \$ 3.1 billion (Dollars)⁷⁶. Although World Bank Report stated: If the unrealistic market prices, which grossly understate the G.D.P. of countries like China and India, are taken as the standard it is a different story." "But 'C.E.A. 'S' G.D.P. by 2002 will rank well ahead of that of France, Italy and the U.K. And it will be three to four times the size of India's G.D.P. or that of the former Soviet Union⁷⁷.

The intimate connection of education with the social system which has been emphasised in the foregoing pages is of course, asserted almost too definitely by all Communists. Pinkevitch quotes from Lenin a passage on the schools of Western Capitalist countries: "The more cultural was a bourgeois state, the more subtly it deceived; asserting that the school can remain outside of politics and thus serve society as a whole. In reality the school was wholly an instrument of class domination in the hands of the bourgeoisie; it was throughout permeated with the spirit of caste; and its aim was given to the capitalists obliging serfs and competent workers"⁷⁸.

"In the Communist State, the school is to be quite frankly an instrument of class domination in the hands of the proletariat, and there is to be no moral teaching other than what is useful to the workers in the class struggle. Lenin is quoted again as saying: "We deny any kind of morality which is taken from the non-human and non-class conception and we regard which morality as a fraud and a deception which blocks the minds of workers and peasants in the interest of landowners and capitalists. We say our morality is entirely subservient to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat"⁷⁹.

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