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POLITICAL EDUCATION IN EGYPT

WITH REFERENCE TO ENGLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION

Ahmed K. Mohamed Aly

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

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

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

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

DEDICATION

To Samia, Mohamed and Moustafa.

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ABBREVIATIONS

'A' Level   Advanced level of GCE examination (England).

ASU   Arab Socialist Union. (Egypt).

ASYO   Arab Socialist Youth Organization. (Egypt).

CAPMS   Central Agency for Public Mobilization and
             Statistics. (Egypt).

CND   Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

CPSU   Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

CPUNP   Collective Progressive Unitary National Party.
             (Egypt).

CSE   Certificate of Secondary Education. (England).

DES   Department of Education and Science. (England).

GCE   General Certificate of Education. (England).

HMI   Her Majesty's Inspectorate. (England).

HMSO   Her Majesty's Stationery Office. (England).

ILEA   Inner London Education Authority. (England).

Komsomol   All-Union Communist Youth League.

LE   Egyptian Pound.

'O'Level   Ordinary level of GCE Examination. (England).

NATFHE   National Association of Teachers in Further
             and Higher Education. (England).

NATO   North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

NDP   National Democratic Party. (Egypt).

NUT   National Union of Teachers. (England).

TUC   Trades Union Congress. (England).

UAR   United Arab Republic. (Egypt).

USSR   Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

INTRODUCTION

A Brief Historical Background

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

opponent or supporter".[1]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1). Ministry of Information, Permanent Constitution.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Aims of the Research

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

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

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

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

awaited future".[1]   However, some negative aspects

hindered the progress of the 1952 Revolution and its

aims, in particular the domination of 'Centres of

Power' and their attempts to gain personal interests.

The Revolution of May 1971 began the third stage.

It opened a new way for the development of democratic

life, putting an end to the old centres of power and

introducing a constitution which acknowledged the

supremacy of law. The constitution emphasized that

Egyptian society was based on a democratic socialism

and on the collaboration of the working people. The

essence of Egyptian democratic socialism is, "a

political and an economic system including both political

freedom and social freedom in one comprehensive entity

so that one cannot be separated from the other. This

entity grows and developes in a democratic way".[2]

Due to the failure of the one party system to realize

the hoped democratic life, the political party system

was introduced to secure the democratic practices and

realize the improvement within the society.

This research is an attempt to evaluate the Egyptian

experience in an objective way, through the political

life of the Egyptian society and the development of

democracy and parliamentary life. This attempt will

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

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

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

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

This research will deal with the methods of formal political education within the school and the role which can be played by political parties in bringing up youth politically through political youth organizations. Thirdly: it is argued that "All political systems tend to perpetuate their cultures and structures through time,

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

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

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

as follows:

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

In East Germany, the aim of education was spelled

out thus:

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

These aims are achieved by various means such as

acquainting youth and children with political theory

and its practical application, through school subjects

such as social studies and civic education, by means of

encouraging youth organizations and by making good use

of the mass-media. The political content of school

subjects is evident in the attention paid to the Marxist-

Leninist philosophy and to the socialist way of life.

The basic criteria for socialist morality, the constitutions

of the countries and the system of rule are reflected by

these subjects. Although social studies are basic

subjects and serve an essential purpose for the

realization of political education in a socialist

society, this aim is also present in other subjects.

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

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

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

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

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

they tend to use education as a means of influencing

political attitudes indirectly; they do this to a lesser

degree than do socialist countries. The emphasis on

formal civic education and the inculcation of patriotism

in the United States is greater than in Britain, but

less than in France, and far less that in the Soviet

Union.[1]   It is expected, however, that democratic

countries are more interested in developing the ability

of young people to take an active part in democratic

and political life of their country.

In this research, the researcher is going to study

and analyse the various approaches to political education

which have been carried out by some of the socialist

and capitalist countries. In addition this aspect of

the study will contribute to the understanding and

developing political education in Egypt.

Fourthly: it is necessary for this research to deal

with the theoretical concepts of political education

and political socialization because political education

and political socialization are part of the same frame-

work. The theoretical framework also includes the

development of political concepts in school years and

the formal political education in the school curriculum.

This part will contribute to a study of the different

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

approaches to political education in Egypt and other countries.

Nature of the Research

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

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

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

CHAPTER TWO.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF POLITICAL EDUCATION: DEFINITIONS AND IMPORTANCE.

Political Socialization.

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

1). Robert Welssberg, Political Learning, Political Choice and Democratic Citizenship, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1974, p.12.
2). Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization : A Study in the Psychology of Political Behaviour, The Free Press, New York, 1959; Herbert Hirsch, Poverty and Politicization : Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture, The Free Press, New York, 1971, pp.1-2; A. El-Gohary (ed.), Studies in Political Sociology Science, El-Taleha, Assiut, 1979, p.73 (in Arabic); R. Welssberg, Political Learning, p.12.
(3) H. Hyman, Political Socialization, p.25.

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

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

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

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

Greenstein divides political learning into three sections:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If this perspective of political socialization is
adopted, it could be argued that :
First, political socialization is considered a process
of political learning.
Secondly, all types of political learning and experience
are included in the political socialization process.
Thirdly, political socialization is a continual process
which takes place at every stage of the life cycle of
an individual, through various agencies of his society,
formal and informal, deliberate and non-deliberate.
Fourthly, political socialization not only helps maintain
the existing political system, but also includes
consideration of other views of the particular political
system of an individual's environment.
Fifthly, political socialization should also include
consideration of other political systems and ideologies.

Political Education.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1). John J. Patrick, 'Political Socialization and Political Education in Schools', in Stanley Allen Renshorn (ed.), Handbook of Political Socialization, The Free Press Division of Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1977, p.191.
2). Heitmeyer W. et al., "Curriculum", Schule und Aggressives Konflikthandeln, Opladen,1976. Quoted by W.Langeveld,p.45.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Political Socialization and Political Education.

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

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

J. Patrick specifically spells out that :

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

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

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1). K.Langton, p.4.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

question basic assumptions of their policy and to

consider alternative answers[1]. Judith Gillespie

concurs with Crick. In her view political education

is the development of competencies in thinking about

the acting in the political arenas. Political education

includes values which engender criticism in considering

social and political issues. It also includes activity

through which the individual may make an impact on the

political system.

Langeveld stresses this approach to political

education which aims at understanding and participating

in the political process. He contends that students who

have learned to analyse their positions in the politico-

social field of conflicts will also be able to do this

as adults[2]. Moreover, Patrick sets out specifically

political learning and instruction in political education,

which relate with change in competence as a result of

experiences of the learner's environment to create

effectual changes. Political education in schools

involves fostering the competence "to think critically

and independently, which could lead to rejection of

established political beliefs and practices"[3].

It seems concerning the approach of socio-

political changes of political socialization, the same

approach in the concepts of political education can be

exposed, but through another perspective. Political

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1). Quoted by Tom Brennan, _Political Education and Democracy_, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, p.15.
2). T. Brennan, _Political Education and Democracy_, pp.12-13.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1). J. Patrick, P. 193.

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

perspective will enable the researcher to study the

different approaches to political learning which are

undertaken by the countries concerned with the study

of political education or political socialization. It

seems more useful to consider political socialization

as mainly pertains to political learning which supports

the values of the system and its ideologies.

Knowledge, Skills and Attitudes.

Most educators have generally emphasized that the

main dimensions of instruction and learning about

political education are knowledge, skills and attitudes[1].

Crick, for example, considers these approaches as

"the right and proper holy trinity for all departments

of education"[2]. Patrick argues that these dimensions

can be used to guide appraisals for alternative

curricula and the political learning. For Judith A.

Gillespie, these approaches are important aspects of

political education.

An active citizen in a democratic society needs

to have basic knowledge about his social system and

how it works. Basic knowledge in political education

includes concepts, information and factual judgements

about government and politics. It also includes knowing

the legal duties and the responsibilities of political

and government officials, various patterns of voter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

events of the 1930's in Germany and the rise of Hitler's

Nazi Party show an increase in the level of participation

but this reflected conflict and the decline of social

cohesion. The principles of democracy require sufficient

participation to maintain democracy but not to undermine

cohesion[1]. Tapper resolves these potential problems

of a high level of political participation by holding

that the individual should be trained before becoming

involved in the political process[2]. An individual

cannot involve himself in all issues, but he must feel

he has a potential influence if the occasion arises. A

political participant should be able to advocate his

ideas and respect other views. Appropriate participation

as has been seen needs skills which enable the citizen

to interact smoothly to maintain a group, to achieve a

common goal and to make national decisions.

Political education is a significant factor in

formulating political attitudes or values. This aspect

of political education concerns the feelings of acceptance,

rejection or the avoidance of some attitudes rather than

others. The principle goal of political education "is

weighted heavily with affective concerns such as promoting

interest in politics, tolerance of diversity, feelings

of efficacy, feelings of trust in government, feelings

of patriotism, support for law and order"[3].

Political attitudes take a wide variety of

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

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

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

To realize this approach, political education should

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

have greater influence on the child than intentional[1].

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

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

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

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

Peer groups, also, play an important part in the acquisition of political attitudes. Political attitudes attributed to peers during the adolescent years are more significant than the preadolescent years. Dean Jaros refers to four processes through which peer groups can influence political values[1].

First, in homogeneous cultures, peers transmit and reinforce the prevailing values. Secondly, peers may act to instil particular values in a segment of the population who do not have these values. Thirdly, groups of peers may develop new and distinctive sub-cultures of their own. Fourthly, peer groups may provide a process of indirect political learning. For example, peer groups authority structures influence the political behaviour of their members.

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

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

in the direction of higher class political norms[1].

In general peer groups, through direct or indirect

ways, support prevailing values, create new political

orientations as well as transferring particular values

to their members who do not have these values before.

The combination of knowledge, participation skills

and attitudes is accepted by researchers as being

important. Gardner defines three factors related to

the development of a citizen's role. First, participation

in decision-making in school and the feeling that

individuals have the right to participate in political

processes. Secondly, knowledge of roles, symbols and

institutions in the system. Thirdly, a generalized

sense of trust in other people[2]. B. Crick suggests

political education should be renamed political literacy.

He maintains that political literacy must be compounded

of knowedge, skills and attitudes, to be developed

together, each integrating with the other, knowledge

alone is rejected as the object of political education.

An individual must know how he can use his knowledge

in political participation. At the same time participation

without knowledge of the national institutions of the

country can be self-defeating[3].

Although political knowledge alone is insufficient,

it is no less important than political participation.

Crick argues that in democracies :

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

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

It can be argued that political information about

the system is more important in reformulating a citizen's

political orientation towards the system. However,

political participation to influence and change the

character of the system is an ultimate object of political

education.

In comparison with other factors such as the family

and peer groups, school is an important factor for

transmitting political knowledge to pupils, since school

is more successful in teaching knowledge than attitudes

and behaviour. Lee Ehman, in his research[2], argues

that a systematic and carefully developed curriculum

can result in the successful transmission of political

information in elementary and secondary schools.

Knowledge is the cornerstone of citizenship education,

but the overemphasis of knowledge or lower level knowledge

outcomes may have negative attitudes consequences. A

careful balance must be maintained between basic

knowledge, decision-making, and participation outcomes.

The Importance of Political Education.

The importance of political education has long been

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1). B. Crick, 'The Introducing of Politics', in Derek Heater,
The Teaching of Politics, pp.17-18.
2). Lee H. Ehman, 'Implications for Teaching Citizenship',
pp.594-596.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

inculcate loyalty, patriotism and support for their
political system.

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

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

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

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

1). Quoted by R. Jackson, 'Political Education in the European
    Economic Community - Some Observations', Teaching Politics,
    Vol.2, No.3, September 1973, p.21.
2). David Easton and Robert D. Hess, 'The Child's Political World',
    Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol.vi, No.3, August,1962,
    pp.231-232.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus, the stability of a system is not determined

by one of its components but by the whole of the system.

The whole of the system includes social, political and

economic status and not the government alone. For

example, in his study on economic status, in stable

democracy, Lipset found that various indices of economic

development such as average wealth and degree of

industrialization are much higher for stable democ-

racies[2]. A stable system responds quickly to a change

of opinion or interests in its components and keeps the

balance between action and reaction.

In the light of the above mentioned concepts of

political stability, political education, as a factor,

has its importance in achieving political stability.

Lipset has shown the connections between stable

democracy and several indices of education. He

compared stable democracies of 13 countries with unstable

democracies and dictatorships of 17 countries in Europe

and English-speaking Nations. Lipset found that the

indices of education are much higher for the more

democratic countries[3]. Education is essential for a

stable democracy. In Britain, the extension three years

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

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

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

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

Political stability is due to the relationships

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1). F.W.Garforth, Education and Social Purpose, Oldbourne Book
    Co. Ltd., London, 1962, pp.30-31.
2). N. Paulantzas, Pouvior Politique et Classes Sociales, Vols.
    1 and 2, Pètite Colection Maspero, Paris, 1975, Quoted by
    T.J. la Belle and J. da S. Goncalves, 'Control and Service of
    School : The Community and the State',Compare:A Journal of
    Comparative Education, Vol.10, No. 1, 1980, p.4.
3). T. Belle and J. Goncalves, 'Control and Service of School',
    p.4.

control of the national bourgeoisie[1].

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

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

The Development of Political Concepts in School Years.

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

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

2) Ibid., p.56-57.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

operations are only useful for the child in solving

problems involving concrete objects and events. Although

the child can think logically, he cannot apply his logic

to verbal and hypothetical problems.[1] At the period

of preoperational thought the child is unable to deal

with the viewpoint of others and needs to be told what is

right, but at the period of concrete operation he becomes

aware of the difference between his thinking and others.

In other words his thoughts become social.

Third : the stage of formal operations between the

ages of 12 and approximately 15. Formal thought permits

adolescents to think about their thoughts, to construct

ideals and reason realistically about the future.[2]

During this period, the adolescent's cognitive structures

enable him to think similarly to adults. But at the same

time adolescent thought is not the same as adult thought :

it is only that the adolescent achieves a new potentiality.[3]

During the period of formal operations children can solve

most problems which they cannot solve in the concrete

operations stage. They can apply their logical thought

to complex verbal and hypothetical problems.[4] The main

difference between the formal and concrete operations

stages is that concrete thinking is restricted by tangible

problems of the present and children cannot understand

1). B. Wadsworth, _Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development_, p.90.

2). D. Elkind, _Children and Adolescents_, p.24.

3). B. Wadsworth, _Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development_,p.101.

4). _Ibid._, p.116.

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

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

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

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

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

3). Ibid., p.50.

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

The Development of Political Concepts in Childhood.

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

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

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1). D. Easton and R. Hess, 'The Child's Political World', p.235
2). Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics, Yale University
    Press, New Haven and London, 1965, p.69.
3). Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political
    Attitudes in Children, Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, 1967,p.26.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

American children first become aware of their
political system and authority through a knowledge of
the President. Hess and Easton concluded that American
children between the age of 7 and 13, especially at an
early age, have a high positive image of the President.
The primary school child tends to view even unfamiliar
figures of authority in positive terms.[1] Positive
attitudes towards the President and national symbols
derive from two factors :
First, children see the President on the television screen
as the most important figure in national and international
affairs.

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

Secondly, the President is seen as the foremost authority in the American political system.[1]

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

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

1). Ibid., p.633.

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

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

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

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

1). Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p.27.
2). Ibid., pp.28-30.

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

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

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

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

2). Hess and Torney, p.33.

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

4). Hess and Torney, p.32.

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

government as a social structure. (1)

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

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

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1). S. Gillman and E. Sofer, 'Children, adolescents, and politics',p.81.
2). R. Dawson et al., p.54.
3). Hess and Torney, p.33.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1). Hess and Torney, p.82.

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

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

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

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

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

It is quite clear that the different aspects of

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1). Easton and Hess, 'The Child's Political World', p.245; F.
    Greenstein, Children and Politics, p.7/.

2). F. Greenstein, Children and Politics, p.7/-72.

3). Hess and Torney, p.80.

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

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

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

The Development of Political Concepts in Adolescence.

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

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

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

2).B. Stacey, p.19.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4). B.Stacey, p.31.

about politics continues to grow during adolescence.

Their political thinking becomes more crystallized and

refined than it was previously.[1]

Joseph Adelson and his associates have investigated

the shifts in character of political thought through

interviews with about 450 adolescents, ranging in age from

11 - 18, in the United States, Great Britain, and West

Germany. Their findings indicate that the development

during this period is due primarily to ageing. Although

there were some national differences in political thought

during the period of adolescence, these differences are

by no means as strong as the effects of ageing. "A twelve-

year-old German youngster's ideas of politics are closer

to those of a twelve-year- old American than to those of

his fifteen-year-old brother".[2] There were some

differences in sex, intelligence and social class, but

these differences also do not count as a potent factor

in the growth of political concepts. "Bright adolescents

are capable of abstract thought a bit earlier; members of

the upper middle class are somewhat less authoritarian,

but these differences are on the whole minor. What does

count, and count heavily, is age".[3]

Although the sense of community is primarily due to

ageing, the responses of the American and German adolescents

1). R. Dowson et al., p.5; R. Dowson and J.Hughes, Political Sociology,p.187.

2). J. Adelson, 'The Political Imagination of the Young Adolescent', p.108.

3). J. Adelson, p.107.

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

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

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

2). Ibid., p.136.

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

individual rights and becomes aware that law and social

policy can be changed or amended.

Adelson concluded that the most important change is

the achievement of abstractness in the transition from

the threshold of adolescence to middle adolescence

(ages 14 and 15). This change is illustrated by comparing

the responses to the question : what is the purpose of

laws? The answers for the age of twelve or thirteen were:

"they do it, like in schools, so that people don't get

hurt. If we had no laws, people could go around killing

people. So people don't steal or kill." The answers

for the age fourteen or fifteen were : "to ensure safety

and enforce the government. To limit what people can do."[1]

It is clear that the difference between these two responses

is that the political thinking of adolescents at the

threshold is related to concrete examples, while at the

middle of adolescence, political thinking takes place in

abstract conceptions.

The youngster by mid-adolescence can deal with

abstractions in relating to society or community. At

the threshold of adolescence the youngster gives few

signs of a sense of community. He cannot imagine social

reality in the abstract. He enters adolescence with only

the weakest sense of social institutions : their structure,

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1). J. Adelson, p.108.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1). Ibid., P.305

2). Ibid., p.306

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

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

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

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

2). B. Stacey, p.5.

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

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

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

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1). Easton and Dennis, <u>Children in the Political System</u>,p.128.
2). Easton and Hess, ' The Child's political World', p.240.
3). Hess and Torney, p.26.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Other studies proved that some children are able to

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

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

3). Hess and Torney, p.100.

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

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

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

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1). R. Dowse and J. Hughes, _Political Sociology_, p.187

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

3). O. Stevens, _Children Talking Politics_, p.169.

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

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

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

Formal Political Education in School.

Researchers generally regard school as primarily a

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

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

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

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

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

3). B. Stacey, p.75.

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

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

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

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

2). K. Langton, p.84.

but certain school activities mainly take place in an

informal way. Nevertheless, informal activities and

indirect learning have a significant impact upon the

development of political education. For example,

voluntary activities develop the children's ability to

take a part in, to organize and to make responsible

choices in their activities. "Learning to weigh the

alternative claims of different activities, choosing

between them and then committing oneself to them fully,

is essential to maturity and requires, in itself, a skill

essential to the democratic society".[1] The significance

of these activities lies in the fact that they occur

voluntarily away from school authority and in an interesting

way. Moreover, voluntary activities give children the

opportunity to contact and deal with other institutions,

bodies, and personnel outside the school.

Entwistle argues that school activities outside the

curriculum encourage children in considerable participation,

management and the making of policy. He quotes from

Coleman:

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

1). Entwistle, _Political Education in a Democracy_, p.65.

2). _Ibid._, p.63

The Effect of School on Political Education.

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

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

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

2). K. Langton, p.84

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

School influence on political learning has two

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1). P.A. Beck, 'The Role of Agents in Political Socialization',
   p.131.
2). V.O. Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, p.315.
3). E. Tapper, Political Education and Stability, p.45.

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

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

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

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

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

frequently presented to young children than to older
children.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3). B. Stacey, p.3.

indoctrination is also to be found in some democratic

nations. As has been mentioned schools programmes in

the United States also have political content with a view

of instilling political beliefs and loyalty to the nation.

Jaros concludes from various pieces of research that direct

indoctrination has important political consequences.

American school programmes are designed to buttress the

young against the influence of Communism. In spite of

this approach of political indoctrination, educators stress

the virtues of democracy and encourage participation in the

affairs of government.[1] Political learning in the

United States is not restricted to political indoctrina-

tion. It takes into its consideration the democratic

attitude by giving the opportunity to discuss political

affairs.

It seems that most countries teach their political

values and support their system. Political indoctrination

is related to what the norms and values of a country are

and to what extent it needs to support the specific

political system it embraces. Political indoctrination

depends on how much the values of the society permits it.

It is expected that : first, a new nation feels the

need for political indoctrination more than older nations.

Secondly, while indoctrination in non-democratic countries

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

educational leaders accept political indoctrination as
an important part of education. [1]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2). Crick and Porter, p.33.

of the future.

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

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

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

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

improve the values and system of a society.

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

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

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

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

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

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

   1) is more aware of the impact of government.

   2) is more likely to report that he follows politics and
      pays attention to election campaigns,

   3) has more political information,

   4) is more interested in political subjects and more
      likely to engage in political discussion,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2). Ibid., p.382.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3). J. Patrick, p.199.

of political participation associated with political education.

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

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

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

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1). Ibid., p.200.

2). Hess and Torney, p.111.

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

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

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

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1). B. Stacey, p.75.

2). K. Langton, p.86.

3). Ibid., p.98.

4). Hess and Torney, p.111.

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

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

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

Curriculum.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3). K. Langton, p.90.

4). Hess and Torney, p.110.

and character of the system.

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

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

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

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

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

improve the ability of students to participate in political matters.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1). Ibid., p.97.

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

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

4). K. Langton, p.97.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In spite of the significance of history in teaching

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

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

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

The function of history, however, is not restricted

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

less incomprehensible by putting it in its historical

context."[1]   Batho argues that history in recent time

becomes more politically-minded and a fundamental feature

in preparation for life.[2]   This purpose can be realized

by teaching young people contemporary history and equipping

them with knowledge and skills which enable them to

understand political and social contemporary issues.   The

characteristics of contemporary society which the history

teacher ought to help pupils understand :

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

Furthermore, history provides students with oppor-

tunites to develop certain concepts, attitudes, and

skills which are related to political education.   For

example, history can develop political concepts such as

power, welfare, freedom, socialism, conservatism and

nationalisation.   Attitudes such as tolerance, compromise

and open-mindedness can also be developed by studying

history.   Moreover, history seeks to develop pupils' skills

by evaluating evidence and identifying bias and propaganda.[4]

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

1). Ibid., p.14.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER FOUR.

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

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

The Ottoman Occupation (1517 - 1881).

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

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

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

social life. Nonetheless, the Mamelukes retained a
share in the government of Egypt[1].

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

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

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

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

1). P.M.Holt,'The Pattern of Egyptian Political History from 1517 to
    1798',p.81.
2). Girgis Fauzy, Studies in the Political History of Egypt Since
    Mamelukes Age, El-Dar El-Misria, Cairo, 1958,p.21,22.(In Arabic).
3). Stanford J. Shaw,'Landholding and Land-tax Revenues in Ottoman
    Egypt', in P.M.Holt (ed.),Political and Social Change in Modern
    Egypt,p.94.

sent to Turkey to participate in developing Turkish in-
dustry, whilst high taxes were imposed on Egyptian indus-
try[1]. Moreover the Ottomans did not significantly con-
tribute to the cultural development in Egypt[2].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1). M. Anees and R. Haraz, The Revolution of 23 July, p.30; G. Fauzy, p.30.
2). A. A. El-Gamal, Introduction to Foundations of Political and Social System, First Edition, Dar El-Nahda El-Misria, Cairo, 1957, p.364. (in Arabic).

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

This situation, however, changed dramatically after
1805 when a Turk, Mohammed Ali, became ruler of Egypt.
Mohammed Ali enjoyed the support of both Turkey and the
Egyptians.   He quickly seized on the hatred of the Egyp-
tians for the Mamelukes, whose position had already been
weakened by the French, to drive them from power[1].   Thus
Ali became regarded as a saviour who had put an end to the
rule of the Mamelukes which had lasted for more than five-
hundred years.   Clearly, the support of the Egyptians
for Ali's action reflected their desire to achieve indepen-
dence and a share in their country's government.   Never-
theless, in the absence of effective Egyptian leadership,
Mohammed Ali and his successors were to remain in power
until the July Revolution of 1952.

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

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1).   Anees and Haraz, p.71.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and missions[1].

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

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

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

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

during Said's rule.

TABLE 1

Expenditure and Revenue During Said's Rule.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In spite of these disadvantages the growing mood of
Egyptian patriotism and other factors conspired to encou-
rage the Council to press for a greater measure of democ-
racy.

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

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

During the rule of Ismail the foreign debts rose from

1). T.Badawe, Political Systems, Dar El-Nahda El-Arabeia, Cairo,
1975, pp.260-261. (in Arabic).
2). Saleh Ramadan, Social Life of Egypt in Ismail Age (1963-1879),
Mansheit El-Maharef , Alexanderia, 1977,p.82.(in Arabic).

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

TABLE 2

EXPENDITURE AND REVENUE DURING ISMAIL'S RULE.

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

Source : G.Fauzy, p.62.

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

A committee of five English experts was formed and

1). S. Ramadan, Social Life of Egypt, p.82,116.
2). G. Fauzy, p.66.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The British Occupation (1882-1922).

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

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

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

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

3 - The Cabinet was to be responsible to Parliament.

4 - Parliament must approve the state budget.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Secondly, the political awareness which emerged
during the period was a reaction to the dictatorship of
Mohammed Ali's dynasty represented by Khedives Ismail,
Tawfeek and then Abbas II. This dictatorship, presum-
ably, should have ended with the disappearance of this
group of rulers who were originally non-Egyptians. Never-
theless, Mohammed Ali's successors continued to exercise
considerable political power. It was because of this
possible situation that Orabi had stressed the need to
declare Egypt a republic governed solely by Egyptians.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus, the parliamentary system was a set back along

1). Anees and Haraz, p.49.
2). A.El-Gamal, Introduction, pp.373-374.

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

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

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

When Khedive Abbas II came to power in 1892, the

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

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

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

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

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

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1). Ibid., p.310.

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

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

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

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

Among the minority parties established were the Party

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

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

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

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

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

and eradicating feudalism and capitalism.

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

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

The national movement had its effect on the occupying

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

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

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

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

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

authority passed to the hands of the British occupation.

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

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

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

The declaration terminated the protectorate, declar-
ing the independence and full sovereignty of Egypt. It

1). Al-Ahram, Fifty Years After the Revolution of 1919, Centre of Doc-
uments and Historical Research of Contemporary Egypt, Cairo,1969,
p.172. (in Arabic).
2). M.A.Drowza, Arab Unity, Publications of Commercial Bureau, First
Edition, Beirut, 1957, p.477. (in Arabic).

also established Egypt as a constitutional monarchy[1]. On

the 15 March 1922 Sultan Fuad issued a communiqué ass-

uming for himself the title of His Majesty King of Egypt[2].

The declaration, however, included certain provisos ensur-

ing British transport through Egypt, retaining Britain's

power to defend Egypt against any foreign aggression, and

protecting foreigners' interests. The provisos were enfor-

ced until a later agreement between the Egyptian and British

government[3]. The 1919 Revolution ended with a declara-

tion of superficial independence devoid of content and the

conditions which preserved occupation. However, this Rev-

olution ended the British protectorate and opened the way

to participation in political life through demands for the

introduction of a constitutional state based on the prin-

ciples of democracy.

The 1923 Constitution (1923-1952).

The previous period was characterized by the rise of

the national movement whose aim was to achieve partici-

pation in political life through the setting up of a gover-

ning regime on democratic and constitutional lines. Further-

more, the national movement aimed at achieving independence.

This period ended with renewed demands for the issue of a

constitution and the achievement of complete independence

as a result of the declaration of 28 February 1922. The

following period from 1923 to 1952 was generally character-

ized by developments in democratic and constitutional life

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Assembly every thirty individuals were required to elect

one representative who in turn would elect the members

of the Representatives' Assembly. In the three stage

process every thirty individuals elected one represen-

tative. Every five representatives were required to

elect an envoy who in turn would elect the members of the

Senate.

In contrast, democratic practice normally gives the

right to every individual to elect members of parliament

directly and not through the mediation of another per-

son. It must be mentioned, however, that variations were

made to the electoral system during this period. For

example, election Act 4 of 24 June 1924 cancelled the

multi-stage voting system and asserted direct public

voting. However, this act was discontinued and cancelled

on 8 December 1925 and the multi-stage voting was re-

sumed with further financial restrictions on voters.

As a result of the rejection of this action by the

national movement, the 1924 Act was reintroduced on 22

February 1926[1].

The 1924 direct voting Act asserted an important

principle of democracy by providing the majority of the

people with an opportunity to participate in the politi-

cal system. The purposes of the act were not fulfilled

except in the first year's elections when the majority

party won the right to form the cabinet[2]. When the

act was reintroduced in 1926 the election of members of

1). T.Badawe, Political Systems,pp.260-261; E.El-Dawla, Parlia-
    mentary System,p.158,167.
2). Hassan Yousef, 'Democratic Practice in Egypt (1924-1952)', in
    Al-Ahram, Democracy in Egypt:Quarter Century After the Revol-
    ution of 23 July,Centre of Strategic and Political Studies of
    Al-Ahram, Cairo,1977, p.13. (in Arabic)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1). Y. Rezk, Egyptian Parties Before the Revolution,pp.44-48
2). A. El-Dosoky, Great Landlords and their Role in Egyptian Society,
    pp.218-219.

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

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

In spite of national demands for the full imple-
mentation of the democratic principles of the 1923

1). A. El-Dosoky, Great Landlords, pp.212-219.
2). See part 'The Effect of Educational Development on Political
    Life and the Growth of Political Awareness'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1). Joseph S. Szyliowicz, Education and Modernization in the Middle
    East, Cornell University, London, 1973, p.102.
2). Eventually, Mohammed Ali established the Department of Education
    in 1837.

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

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

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

1). Georgie D.M. Hyde, Education in Modern Egypt:Ideals and Realities, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1978, p.3; H.El-Fiky, Chapter 2.
2). M. Kerr, 'Egypt', pp.170-171.

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

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

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

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

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

the aim of preparing a small elite number for govern-
ment service dominated the provision of state education
for many years. Moreover, the division of the society
between rich and poor reinforced educational differen-
tiation.

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

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

1). A.E. Abdel-Karim, History of Education in Egypt, Vol.1(1848-
    1863), Cairo, p.189, Quoted by H. El-Fiky,p.70.

2). A. El-Fiky, Chapters 3 and 4.

to 4696. Furthermore, there was also an increase in
the number of secondary and higher schools and the finance
allocated to education rose from L.E. 50,000 in 1871 to
L.E. 81,949 in 1881[1]. These developments reflected
the emergence of the national movement and a deepening
political awareness in society during the second half
of the 19th Century.

Nevertheless, educational developments were retarded
by the legacy of Mohammed Ali's educational policy.
Although improvements took place during the latter part
of the 19th Century and the first half of the 20th Cen-
tury, the system did not achieve significant progress in
providing education for social development or enabling
members of society to participate in democratic and
political life. Certainly, there was no conception of
political education during this period. Democratic and
political life cannot be achieved without a style of
education which is sympathetic to the principles of
democracy and allows the individual freedom of opinion,
discussion and criticism. Not only were these require-
ments absent in Egypt but the majority of the people were
deprived of even the rudiments of education.

The defects in the educational system continued
during the period of the British occupation of Egypt (1882-
1922). It is alleged that the aim of the colonial policy
was to maintain the status-quo, in order to maximize econ-
omic benefits and minimize political instability.

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1). Ameen Samy, Education in Egypt, Matbahet El-Maharef, Cairo,
    1917,p.31. (in Arabic).

Consequently, in an attempt to discourage the spread of
the national movement against colonialism, education was
neglected and not given a high priority. Szyliowicz
argues that,

> This was particularly the case in Egypt, where the British,
> explicitly viewing the occupation as a period of tutelage
> during which they should not make basic changes in the local
> society, could therefore sponsor no fundamental reforms in
> Education. Buttressing this philosophical orientation was
> the fear of Lord Cromer (the British agent and consul general
> who actually ruled the country), based on the Indian experi-
> ence, that educational reform and expansion would lead to the
> development of a nationalist, anti-British elite, and his
> belief was not, in any case, a governmental responsibility.
> Hence previous educational expansion not only came to an
> almost complete halt, which was justified in British eyes
> by the need to eliminate the large Egyptian debt and restore
> financial stability to the country, but various steps were
> taken to minimize the politically destabilizing potential of
> the existing educational system. (1)

Lord Cromer's educational policy aimed at reducing
expenditure on education. He sought to make education
self supporting by eliminating fellowships and finally by
cancelling free education. In 1881, 70 per cent of the
students had received some sort of subsidy from the govern-
ment; by 1892, 73 per cent of students were paying all
their own expenses[2]. By 1893 only 1337 students were
receiving free education and in 1904 free education was
abolished completely[3]. In 1900 funds for education only
amounted to 1.03 per cent of the budget[4].

It could be argued that this policy of reducing edu-
cational expenditure was the result of Cromer's over-
riding concern of solving the problem of Egyptian foreign
debts. "But even when the financial crisis had been

1). J. Szyliowicz, Education and Modernization,p.122.
2). Quoted by Ibid., pp.122-123.
3). H.El-Fiky,p.115.
4). Alia Ali Farag, Education in Egypt, Dar El-Mahrefa El-Gamehia,
   Alexanderia, 1979,p.134. (in Arabic).

resolved only limited additional resources were diverted
to the schools...It is therefore, impossible to avoid a
conclusion that extreme parsimony remained the rule in
educational matters, even when change was possible".[1]
The total expenditures on education in 1910 was only 3.33
per cent of the budget[2]. As a result of this policy
the percentage of illiteracy in Egypt decreased only
slightly from 91.7 per cent in 1882 to 91.3 per cent in
1917[3]. Whatever the justification of Cromer educational
policy the result was reflected in a continuing backward
social and cultural society and the inability of the
masses to participate in political life.

Other factors also hindered the development of edu-
cation. There was a rapid growth of population which was
not matched by the growth in the economy.

The population grew from 6,712,000 in 1882 to 18,967,000
in 1947[4]. In the absence of government funds clearly
the growth of population hampered the education movement
and prevented educational reform. An extension of edu-
cation to the majority of the people requires a considerable
number of years. Even after the 1952 Revolution when ser-
ious attempts were made to extend education and make it
compulsory, the population factor presented a difficult
problem in the development of the first stage of education.

After Cromer's departure in 1907 the occupying auth-
orities agreed to the national demands for an extension of
education. Considerable progress was achieved after Egypt

1). J. Szyliowicz, Education and Modernization,p.132.
2). A. Farag, Education in Egypt,p.134.
3). H. El-Fiky, p.113.
4). Central Agency For Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMS),
    Statistical Yearbook (1952-1981), Cairo, 1982,p.6.

had gained partial independence and the new constitution
was issued in 1923. Although there was an increase in
the number of pupils in all stages of education the aim
of universal provision at the first stage was not ach-
ieved. The percentage of illiteracy remained high. It
was 85.6 per cent in 1927 and it had only decreased to
75.7 per cent in 1947[1].

During the period of partial independence, the pro-
portion of the total budget allotted to education rose
to 6.8 per cent in 1925-26 and to over 12 per cent in
1945-46[2]. The number of secondary school pupils in-
creased from 8100 in the year 1925-26 to 38,823 in the
year 1945-46 then to 93,767 in the year 1951[3]. The
increase which took place during the last five years was
roughly double the increase which had taken place during
the first twenty years. However, the desire of the
people for universal secondary education was not met
until 1951 when secondary education became free.

The most important reform introduced by the 1923
Constitution was in the field of the first stage of edu-
cation. Under article 19 of the Constitution, for the
first time, education was made compulsory for every child
from 6 to 12 since it was felt acutely that a healthy
social life could not be achieved unless people were edu-
cated. Education was seen as the royal road to social
reform and to a truly democratic state[4]. Compulsory
education at the first stage was an important step in the

1). Calculated from CAPMS, The different censuses of Egypt.
2). M. Kerr, 'Egypt', p.172.
3). A.H. El-Koussy, 'Egypt', in G.B.Jeffery,The Year Book of Education (1951),
    Evans Brothers, London, 1952, p.454.
4). El-Koussy,'Egypt', p.446.

development of democracy since it provided a means of preparing individuals for citizenship. Furthermore to some extent it enabled the people to understand and share in the country's affairs. Moreover, it provided the basis for the further development of knowledge and skills, and political and social values.

In Egypt there were two kinds of education at the first stage. First, there were fee paying primary schools which were the preserve of the aristocracy and provided access to the next stages of education. Secondly, there were the elementary schools which provided popular education for the children of the poor and peasants. Whilst primary schools were provided with good facilities, modern curricula and trained teachers, the elementary schools were characterized by limited opportunity, traditional curricula and untrained teachers[1]. Although the 1923 Constitution introduced compulsory education for every child, this was restricted to attendance at elementary schools and primary schools were not included in the provision. Thus dualism at the first stage continued.

Under the 1923 Constitution, the Ministry of Education introduced their project for the extension of education. 127 elementary schools were established in which education was free for six years[2]. However, the Ministry did not complete the initial project and instead decided to extend compulsory education by establishing what were called compulsory schools. The Ministry

1). Moustafa Darwish, Some Problems of Primary School, Dar El-Maharef, Cairo, 1974,pp.31-32. (in Arabic).
2). Moneer Solieman, History of Education System in the United Arab Republic, Third Edition,El-Anglo El-Misria, Cairo,1969,p.147. (in Arabic).

established   762 compulsory schools in which education
was free for six years but reduced to five years in 1930[1].
Although pupils received only half-time education, finan-
cial obstacles prevented the Ministry from extending the
provision of compulsory schools.

As a result of the 1923 constitution, the number of
pupils in the first stage of education increased. The
number of elementary and compulsory school pupils rose
from 190,673 in 1925-26 to 862,929 in 1950-51, whilst
the number of primary school pupils rose from 31,053 to
122,144 during the same period[2]. Nevertheless, there
were two and a half million children within the first
age group[3]. Consequently, in effect, only 39.4 per
cent of the age group were receiving some kind of edu-
cation.

In 1951 under law 143 compulsory attendance was
extended to primary schools[4]. The law also stated that
the first stage of education should be renamed primary
education and should be free for six years [5]. Although
the law appeared to introduce unity of provision within
the first stage of education, nevertheless, this gain was
theoretical and legislative only. "In fact both elemen-
tary and primary schools remained as they were."[6].

The primary schools still retained the better facil-
ities with generally better qualified teachers and greater
opportunities for the children. The primary school also
favoured by government funding. Between 1949 and 1951 the

1). H. El-Fiky, p.162,174.
2). A.H. El-Koussy, 'Egypt', p.449.
3). H. El-Fiky, p.175.
4) National Centre of Educational Research, A Report on the Development of
   Education in the Arab Republic of Egypt(1974/75 - 1975/76), Centre of
   Educational Documentation, Cairo,1977,p.2. (in Arabic).
5).Ministry of Education,General Administration,Primary Education in the
   United Arab Republic, Ministry of Education Press,Cairo,1969,p.13.(in Arabi
6).Asmail M.El.Qubain, Studies on Education Organization in Egypt, El-Nahda
   El-Misria, Cairo,1958,p.211. (in Arabic).

amount of money provided by the Ministry of Education rose from 19 to 29 million pounds. The funds allocated to elementary education increased from 7,633,000 to 8,876,000 which represented only an increase of 16 per cent. However, the funds for general education had increased from 5,893,000 to 10,785,000 which amounted to an increase of 83 per cent. Furthermore, half of these funds were allocated to primary shcools[1].

The leaders of the movement for educational reform were very much concerned with the continuing deficiency in educational provision. Taha Hussien argued that education was as necessary to everyone as air and water. He contended that it was not only a means for developing culture but also a means for introducing political education and realizing democracy. In 1938 he wrote that education was "The means by which people know the source of oppression and till they punish those who oppress them and humiliate them...and oblige them to believe in equality and verbally and actually, tell them to realize equality in their conduct not by words which mislead people"[2]. When Taha Hussien became the Minister of Education he used the opportunity to translate his ideas to action. In 1944 he abolished fees in primary schools. In 1951 he abolished fees in secondary schools and created more opportunities for free education in higher education.

Though the extension of general education to different

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1). Ibid., pp.185-186.

2). Taha Hussien, Future of Cultural in Egypt,El-Maharef Press, Cairo,1938, pp.117-118, Quoted by H. El-Fiky, p.88.

classes in society is an important factor for the develop-
ment of democracy, it is not, however, the only factor.
The development of political awareness through political
education is also important to enable people to partici-
pate in political life. Most Egyptians had little know--
ledge of the constitution. Furthermore, their political
awareness was not sufficiently developed to enable them
to participate in electing their political representa-
tives in any meaningful way[1].

Qubain and Taha Hussien argued that the lives of
most people were governed by an unwritten law based on
customs and traditions which obliged them to follow cus-
toms and traditions[2]. This was reflected in the educa-
tional system and no doubt explains the lack of political
awareness among the majority of people. The nature of
the duties and traditions imposed by the authority on
the young hindered freedom of thought and prevented dis-
cussion or criticism on the need for change in society.

In 1935 the Minister of Education criticised the cur-
riculum of secondary education. He argued that it was
overloaded and failed to develop the constructive and
critical faculties of students[3]. This criticism was
reinforced by a study of the Arab League Educational,
Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO)[4]. The
main aim of secondary education remained preparation for
higher education. However, at a time when Egypt was in
need of cultural and social growth, secondary education

1). A. Goldschmidt, 'The Egyptian National Party (1892-1919)',p.332.
2). G.Hyde, Education in Modern Egypt, p.1.
3). El-Koussy, 'Egypt', p.451.
4). Arab League, Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific
    Organization (ALECSO), Meeting of General and Technical Secondary
    School, The Organization, Cairo, 1972, p.115. (in Arabic)

failed to prepare students to meet, appreciate and solve the wider problems of society.

The curriculum of schools continued to be based on indoctrination and memorising knowledge. Teaching methods neglected thinking and consideration of alternative views and attempted in inculcate attitudes of obedience and discipline[1]. Moreover, the curriculum did not deal with national problems, the development of political life and the trials of the national movement in resisting corruption in social and political situations[2].

Undoubtedly, the absence of democracy and the ability to participate in political life to a large extent can be attributed to educational conditions in Egypt. The limited extent of educational provision, the defects within the system and the high level of illiteracy were important factors in preventing the development of democracy and political awareness.

1). J. Szyliowicz, Education and Modernization, p.127.
2). A. Farag, Education in Egypt, p.131; H. El-Fiky, p.176.

CHAPTER FIVE.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL AND DEMOCRATIC LIFE
SINCE THE 1952 REVOLUTION AND THE DEMOCRATIC
SOCIALIST ATTITUDE.

The period which preceded the Revolution was dis-
tinguished by the growth of theoretical concepts of democ-
racy. The existence of a dictatorship, conflict among the
political parties, and the domination of political life
by capitalism and feudalism, however, prevented the imple-
mentation of democratic practices. Furthermore, in addi-
tion to the cultural and social deterioration which had
taken place Egypt was not in a position to achieve its
independence.

As a result of this situation a group of free officers
in the army under the leadership of Gamal Abdel-Nasser
instigated the 1952 Revolution. Thus the 23rd of July
Revolution began within the army as an expression of the
will of the people. Nevertheless partly because of his-
torical factors the response to the Revolution was dis-
organized. Gamal Abdel-Nasser, in his book The Philo-
sophy of the Revolution,describes this in more colourful
terms by saying:

> Prior to that date (July 23rd) I imagined that the whole
> nation was on tip-toes and prepared for action, that it
> awaited the advance of the vanguard and the storming of the

outside walls for it to pour down in a solid phalanx
marching faithfully to the great goal...Endless crowds
showed up, but how different is the reality from the
vision! The multitudes that arrived were dispersed
followers and contrasted remnants...We needed discipline
but found chaos behind our lines. We needed unity but
found dissensions. We needed action but found nothing
but surrender and idleness. It was from this source and
no other the Revolution derived its motto.(1)

The new revolutionary regime was faced with a number
of serious problems including underdevelopment. Further-
more, the new leadership was hindered in the implementa-
tion of its aims by the political inexperience of the
masses.

The 23rd of July Revolution was an expression of
the people to rule themselves and to get rid of economic
and social retardation. In The Philosophy of the Revolution
Nasser comments "...the Revolution of July 23rd was the
realization of a hope that dangled before the eyes of the
people of Egypt since they began, in modern times, to
think of governing themselves and having the final word
on their destiny."(2) The problems of social and poli-
tical life were reflected in the aims of the Revolution
which were embodied in six declared principles:

1. Getting rid of imperialism.

2. Getting rid of feudalism.

3. Getting rid of the domination of capitalism.

4. The establishment of social justice.

5. The establishment of a strong army.

6. The establishment of a sound democratic life.

Although the establishment of a sound democratic life

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1). The motto referred to was "Unity, Discipline and Work", Gamal
Abdel-Nasser, The Philosophy of the Revolution, Dar Matabeh
El-Shahb, Cairo,1966,pp.19-20.

2). Ibid., p.17.

was the last principle in the declared list, this does
not mean that the Revolution regarded it as less import-
ant than the other principles. The principles, however,
reflected the fact that society had suffered socially
and economically leading to a deterioration of democratic
life during the preceding years. Thus, in effect, the six
principles attempted to fuse both political and social
democracy. This philosophy has been crystallized in the
democratic socialist attitude as the ideology of the
society.

The first step in the Revolution was the dismissal of
King Farouk on 26th of July 1952. This was followed on
18th of June 1953 with a declaration introducing a repub-
lican system of government to replace the monarchy[1]. The
Revolution now turned its attention to achieving the
country's independence and on 19th of October 1954 issued
an agreement of evacuation. This involved the evacuation
of British forces from Egypt within 20 months and also
cancelled the 1936 treaty. By 17th of June 1956, the
evacuation of the British forces from Egypt was completed[2].

The Development of Political and Democratic Life.

Since the 1952 Revolution, democratic and political life
in Egypt has passed through many stages. The starting
point was the Liberation Rally which inaugurated a one
political party system, and which ended by the adoption of

1).Y.El.Gamal, Constitutional System in ARE, pp.106-107

2).A. Moustafa, Egyptian British Relationship (1936-1956),p,129,180.

a multi-party system as a means of practising sound democ-
racy. At first the nature of the revolutionary action had
necessitated the adoption of the one party state to achieve
the necessary radical changes in society. Unity and con-
solidation were essential and it was felt that a one
party system was the most practical way of achieving these
objectives.

Although the one party system had disadvantages, never-
theless, it reflected the nature of society and its poli-
tical immaturity. At that time the life-style of Egyptian
society was not conducive to practise democracy through a
multi-party system. The experience of political parties
before the Revolution revealed that participation in poli-
tical life was dominated by a minority of feudalistic and
capitalistic interest. Political parties did not achieve
their political aims and were beset by internal dissension.
The economic structure was also dominated by capitalist and
feudalist interest and large areas of the fertile land were
held by a small number of individuals. The government had
failed to develop natural resources and industry, and
social and economic problems had been neglected. More-
over, due to the low cultural level of the majority of
Egyptians at the beginning of the Revolution it was not
possible to introduce a system of democracy based on a
multiplicity of political parties. Consequently a deci-
sion was taken to adopt a one party system during the first
years of the Revolution.

The Liberation Rally and The National Union.

The first year following the Revolution witnessed the abolition of existing political parties. On the 18th of January 1953, the Revolutionary Command Council issued an edict dissolving the previous political parties. Articles 2 and 6 of the edict prevented the members of the dissolved political parties from participation in any political activity and from forming new political parties. The political parties were replaced by the Liberation Rally which was formed on 23rd of January 1953 and which continued until the 2nd of December 1957. The aim of the Liberation Rally, as stated in its charter, was to realize the essential interests of the people and the fundamental political and social freedoms for citizens[1].

Essentially, the Liberation Rally was the only political organization permitted. It was considered the first expression of the shift from the revolutionary action inside the army to popular participation in political life. Although the Liberation Rally adopted the motto, "We are all members in the Liberation Rally"[2], the nature of its political procedures, the abolishing of the political parties and the invoking of the emergency laws, however, prevented many sections of the population from participating in political activity.

Although it can be argued that the nature of the tasks facing the revolutionary government required state domination, nevertheless this affected political life.

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1). Documents of Political and Parliamentary Life in Egypt(1952-1976), in Al-Ahram, Democracy in Egypt:Quarter Century,p.92-Hereafter referred to as 'Documents(1952-1976)'.

2). El-Said Yassen, The Revolution and Social Change:Quarter Century After July 23rd,1952,Centre of Strategic and Political Studies of Al-Ahram, Cairo, 1977, p.51 (in Arabic).

The abolishing of political parties was followed by a
limited period of three years of transformation which
began from 13th January 1953. A constitutional declara-
tion was issued on 10th of February 1953 which explained
the system of rule which would be adopted during the period
of transformation.[1] Under this system, the authority
of the state was concentrated in the hands of the Revolu-
tionary Command Council and a Minister's Council. The
Minister's Council was responsible for the legislative
and executive authorities and the Revolutionary Command
Council was concerned with overall policy and implement-
ing rules to protect the Revolution.

The purpose of this period of transformation was to
create conditions which would facilitate the introduction
of a democratic society. The constitutional declaration
had justified the system on the grounds that it was neces-
sary "to realize settlement and production and to be able
to set up a democratic constitutional rule".[2] More-
over, articles 1 and 3 of the declaration asserted that
the people was the source of all authority and protected
freedom of opinion and other personal freedoms.

It is clear that this declaration was imposed
through the needs to secure a settlement between con-
flicting economic, social and political interest. Al-
though the purpose of the settlement was to prepare for
the establishment of a sound democracy, it resulted in
limited participation in political life. The limitations

1).'Documents (1952-1976)', pp.91-92

2).'Documents (1952-1976)',p.91

on participation in political life were perhaps accept-
able during the period of transformation. However, it was
expected that the political system would be adopted to
realizing democratic aspiration, and providing the oppor-
tunities for participation in political life. Unfortu-
nately, the Revolution was not able to establish a sound
democracy for more than twenty-five years when a system
of political parties was adopted.

At the end of the period of transformation, the Con-
stitution of 1956 was issued which replaced the Libera-
tion Rally by the National Union. Article 192 of the
Constitution stated that the citizens should form a
National Union to work to realize the aims for which the
Revolution arose and to urge efforts to build the nation
in a right way politically, socially and economically.
The National Union will undertake the process of nomina-
tion to the National Assembly (Parliament). The way of
forming the National Union will be determined by a
decision of the President. [1]

By law the National Union included all people. [2].
The purposes of the National Union were to realize a
democratic socialist society through improving political,
social and economic life and planning the overall policy
of the country. Furthermore, the National Union was
required to assess wrong practices and to request their
correction, to determine good practices and seek their
implementation, and to establish procedures for the

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1). 'Documents (1952-1976)',p.93.

2). 'Documents (1952-1976)',p.95.

introduction of a sound democratic life.

In spite of the fact that the National Union was
working to achieve the aims of the Revolution and to
initiate a sound democratic system, however, the Union's
policy had defects. Although it was the only political
party, the effectiveness of the National Union was limited
by the executive authority of the President, and the
legislative authority of Parliament was limited by the
National Union. The President was the head of the execu-
tive authority and he determined the form of the National
Union. Although the National Assembly (the Parliament)
was an elected body, the proposals for nomination for
the National Assembly had to be approved by the National
Union. Thus, whilst to some extent there was an inbuilt
system of checks and balances, overall executive author-
ity rested with the President, and the National Union
exercised restrictive powers over the National Assembly.

Whilst the purpose of the National Union's domination
over the National Assembly was to exclude anti-Revolu-
tionary elements, reactionaries, feudalism and capital-
ism, in fact these elements tainted both the National
Union and the National Assembly. Furthermore, from the
start the National Union was also hindered by the nature
of the revolution which did not represent varying view-
points. Clearly, the one political party system could
be justified by the circumstances, but it was incapable
of encompassing all attitudes. Consequently it became

increasingly apparent that a multi-party system was neces-
sary.

In 1959 Nasser attributed the reasons which hindered
the National Union from achieving its aims, to two fac-
tors.[1] First, the Revolution, faced with the necessity
of social change, was unable to establish guidelines and
a programme for revolutionary action which had the support
of different interests. Secondly, the Revolutionary
thinking which looked forward to national unity mistakenly
believed that the feudalist and capitalist classes would
accept national unity based on populist powers.

During 1961 and 1962[2] Nasser declared in his for-
mal communiques that reactionaries had infiltrated into
the National Union and dominated the principal offices
resulting in the corruption of the National Union.
Accordingly, it was necessary to reform the National
Union to be a revolutionary instrument for the patriotic
masses only. Nasser also announced the formation of a new
political organization with a membership restricted to
workers[3], farmers, educated people, traders, owners
whose properties had not been freed from exploitation, and
military personnel. The new political organization which
replaced the National Union was called the Arab Socialist
Union (ASU.). It was based on broad representation and
it gave the people practising control over the affairs of
the state.

1).Gamal Abdel-Nasser, Democracy, Dar El.Kawomia, Cairo, n.d.,pp.97-98.
2).P.J.Vatikiotis, 'Some Political Consequences of the 1952 Revol-
    ution in Egypt', in P.M.Holt (ed.) Political and Social Change in
    Modern Egypt, p.376; G.Nasser, Democracy,p.62; E.El.Dawla,
    Parliamentary System, p.187
3).Not just labourers but anyone who works for his living.

The Arab Socialist Union (ASU.).

The Arab Socialist Union became the only political party permitted. The features and aims of the ASU were defined by a law issued on 18th December,1962. According to this law and the Constitution of 1964, the ASU became the highest authority in the state and represented all working people. The authority of the ASU was based on the effective control of national programmes to promulgate democratic socialist attitudes.

The law instituting the ASU states that it was established "to be the socialist pioneer which leads the people, to express their will, and to direct national work and perform the effective observation on its action on sound lines". The ASU also worked for "the realization of the sound democracy...and social revolution which is considered the revolution of the working people".[1] Moreover, the law defined the participatory membership of the ASU in such a way as to include all the different classes of people except the exploiting class of capitalists and feudalists.

The structure of the ASU was based on the local unit in the village, factory or city.[2] The conference of each local unit which included all the membership of the ASU then elected an executive committee. Then at the regional level there was a governorate conference which consisted of the members of the executive committees elected from basic units. The governorate's conference

1). 'Documents(1952-1976)', pp.97-98.

2). G.Nasser, Democracy, pp.100-101.

also elected an executive committee. The members of the
executive committees of the governorates were then eligible
for election to the higher executive committee of the ASU
by the general conference which consisted of all the
executive committees.

Figure (3)

The Structure of the ASU.

The Higher Executive Committee

General Conference
(Executive Committees
of Governorates.)

Governorate Conference
(Executive Committees of Units)

Unit Conference
(Local Units)
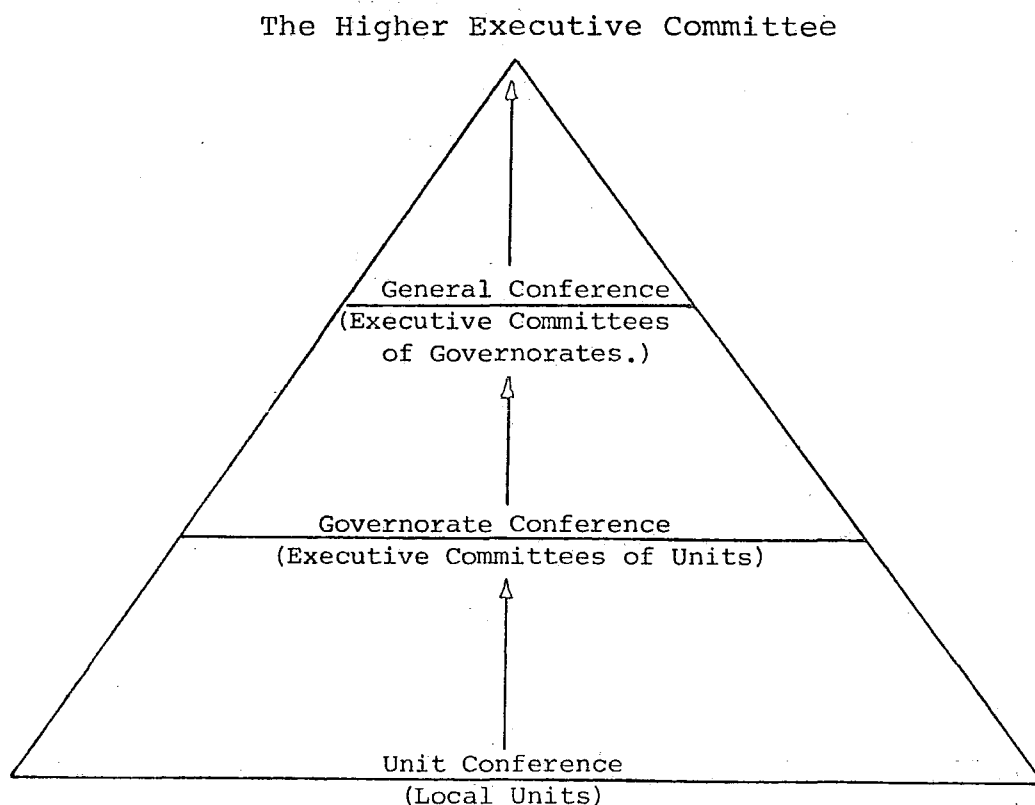
The Constitution of 1964 made the ASU the highest
authority in the State. The ASU observed and directed
all the authorities of the State. Article 3 of the 1964
Constitution stated that "Working people...make up the
ASU, as the power representative of the people, driver

of the Revolution's potentialities, and protector of sound
democratic values"[1]   In the light of this article, the
ASU posssessed, as power driver of the Revolution's poten-
tial, the right to direct authorities and to urge them to
realize the aims of the Revolution. Moreover, the ASU, as
the protector of sound democratic values, had the right
to reprimand any authority when it deviated from demo-
cratic attitudes.

   Article 12 of the Constitution of 1964 reinforced the
authority of the ASU, as a representative of the people,
in its direction of the different institutions of the State.
This article asserted that "The people control all means
of production...to increase the wealth and continuously to
raise the standard of living".[2]   Similarly, Article
13 confirmed the power of the ASU over the responsible
sectors of development inside the society, whether the
public sector or the private sector.

   The functions of the ASU were not only limited to
the direction and monitoring of all authorities and
institutions inside the state. The ASU also had an impor-
tant relationship to legislative authority and the pro-
fessional organisations. These organisations were
required to carry out the policy of the ASU. The law
stated, "The ASU, which is the popular authority, per-
forms the leading and orientating action drawn from the
people, while the National Assembly and professional
syndicates carry out the policy drawn up by the ASU".[3]

1).U.A.R., Ministry of Culture and National Guidance, The Constitution,
    March 25,1964, Information Department, Cairo.

2).Ibid.

3).'Documents (1952-1976)',p.98.

Clearly,popular support was assured for the A.S.U. As the only political organisation, it absorbed the popular and professional organizations which adhered to its policy.

Although the A.S.U. represented the authority of people, its functions could conflict with those of the National Assembly which also represented the authority of people. Whilst the A.S.U. had no rights to legislate, the National Assembly was required to carry out the policy of the A.S.U. This situation restricted the freedom of National Assembly in legislation. Although the membership of the A.S.U. was a necessary precondition of membership of the National Assembly, it was still possible for disagreement to arise between the A.S.U. and the National Assembly. Furthermore, the requirement for professional syndicates to follow the A.S.U. policies led to a conflict of interest within the syndicates.

The A.S.U., in this way, was similar to the National Union in being the only political party which was allowed to determine democratic socialist attitudes and orientate national work. The A.S.U. differed from the National Union in that the former represented the people in a broad way often excluding the exploiting classes. Whilst the A.S.U. limited the percentage of workers and farmers to 50% in all its units,[1] this limiting percentage was not present in the National Union. Moreover, the A.S.U. had assured, in large measure, the domination of the people and their monitoring of the state's authority, while the

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1).P.Vatikiotis, 'Some Political Consequences', p.377.

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power of the National Union was confined to tracing errors
and trying to remedy them.

In general, the A.S.U. represented the will of the
people and took active steps to monitor and orientate
the authority of the state. This was one of the most
important aspects in the changing practice of political
life conferring the right of sovereignty on the people.
Political participation of the people was guaranteed by
the supplementary laws of the 1971 Constitution. Law 74
stated that "the ASU...gives the widest range for free
discussion inside its formations..."[1]. However, the
law could not be completely effective except through a
multiplicity of political parties which provided oppor-
tunities for the emergence of opposing points of view and
constructive discussion.

The result of this situation was that a number of
people were deprived of the opportunity of participating
in effective political discussion for three reasons:
First, because the ASU was the only political party it
became the apparatus of authority inside the state and
controlled state policy. Thus, the ASU became the policy
making body of the state rather than fulfilling its
brief of guiding authority and observing its actions.
The ASU also became intolerant of opposition and of the
other points of view. Moustafa Khalil, one of the poli-
tical leaders, argued that "the ASU did not permit the
expression of opposition inside it. Moreover its internal

1). 'The Permanent Constitution and Basic Laws', p.104.

elections were of a undemocratic form and their results were an expression of the interests of the leaders of the ASU."[1] Secondly the ineffectiveness of the opposition within the ASU to its authority meant that many of its decisions represented the desire of the leadership rather than the desire of the people. Eventually this led to the appearance of the Centres of Powers within the ASU which attempted to control policy. Thus, there was a gap between the leaders of the ASU and its membership. Thirdly, in political life, in spite of the fact that the membership of the ASU was theoretically voluntary in reality it was obligatory. Any citizen who had the desire to participate in political and social activity had to be a member of the ASU and adhere to its policy. For example, a law issued by the National Assembly in 1963 stated that only persons who were members of the ASU and whose membership had been approved for at least one year had the right to be nominated to the membership of the National Assembly. Similarly, a precondition of taking a leading role in professional syndicates was membership of the ASU. Furthermore, law 59 of 1964 required that anyone who was appointed a sheriff or Sheikh had to be a member of the ASU.[2]

Clearly, these defects limited real participation in political life. Such participation is distinguished by the effectiveness and the ability to involve the largest number of citizens. Participation necessitates the

1).Moustafa Khalil, 'ASU and Political Parties' in Al-Ahram, Democracy in Egypt: Quarter Century, p.61.

2).Gamal El.Hetafy, 'ASU a Political Power' Quoted by E.El-Dawla, Parliamentary System, pp.198-199.

existence of continual contact between the people and their leaders. People should be able to participate in decision-making and directing the policy of the state. The decision-making process must also include opportunities for the expression of the opposing views and the acceptance of criticism. This was not to be found in the ASU.

Quantitatively,to a large extent, the idea of participation was present in political life. During the period between 1964 to 1971 the ASU included about one-seventh of the Egyptian people. The membership was more than four and a half million as compared with a population of 31 and a half million in 1968. The membership also included a great percentage of young people within the 18-21 age range.[1] These numbers reflected the fact that the people had the desire to participate in political life and apparently the ASU had realized its aim in including a great percentage of the people regardless of these points of view.

However, not all of these members were active within the ASU. Thus, the effectiveness of the ASU, as a means of securing participation in political life, was much less than indicated by the figures. No doubt, the passivity of some of the members was due to the intolerance of the opposition within the ASU. However, it is clear that many citizens joined the ASU to exercise their rights of participating in political life in a positive way.

1). Yassen, The Revolution and Social Change, p.52;CAPMS, Statistical Yearbook, p.8.

The extent of participation in political life is also reflected in the number of people voting in elections. The number of people who had the right to vote were approximately five and a half millions in 1957. By 1976 this had increased to approximately nine and a half million citizens. However, only approximately four million citizens or 40 per cent of those eligible to vote took part in elections.[1] This indicates a low level of political participation and an absence of political awareness on the part of many people.

A further indication of the low level of political participation is seen in the numbers nominated for National Assembly. In 1957, 2508 citizens were nominated decreasing to 1698 in 1964 and then to 870 in 1969. This can be explained by the fact that there were certain restrictions which made some people ineligible for nomination to membership of the National Assembly. Following the issue of the Constitution of 1971 which abolished these restrictions the number of nominations for the National Assembly increased from 1522 citizens in 1971 to 1660 in 1976.[2] The latter figures was also clearly influenced by the abolishing of the membership condition which was issued in 1975.[3]

In spite of the weakness of the ASU, the one party political system represented an important stage in the development of political life in Egypt. It became clear, however, that the extension of democracy and the one

1). Yassen, The Revolution and Social Change,p.56.

2). Ibid.,p.56

3). E.El-Dawla, Parliamentary System, p.226.

political party system were incompatible. Consequently, attempts were made to replace the ASU by a multiplicity of political parties.

The Emergence of Political Parties.

Political parties represent the most important aspect of democracy in the machinery of government. The function of political parties in a democratic nation is to orientate and organize the struggle for the wielding of the authority. Political parties are the means through which the populace can exercise choice and participate in democratic process.

The democratic significance of political parties is that a party cannot achieve power unless it secures the support of the largest number of voters in an election in comparison with other parties. Moreover, by regulating the conflict which arises from the competition for authority, political parties embody the democratic atmosphere. In multi-party régimes the electorate chooses between several candidates, each of whom is nominated by a party. A party can be considered as organised opinion and as such, it clarifies issues for, and canalizes the views of, the electors. Where there is a number of parties, opposing views can be expressed and represented, the opposition constraining to some extent the actions of the majority party and helping to ensure that the government pursues policies consistent with the welfare of the people.

The political party system plays an important part
in the political life of nations such as Britain and U.S.
The democratic function of these parties is to enable
citizens to become involved in the political activity of
the society. Political parties represent different in-
sights into the problems of society and attempt to influ-
ence the solutions proposed by government. Consequently,
opposition parties in a democratic system provide a means
for the expression of different attitudes to political
life. They bring the other points of view within society
to the attention of the government. In contrast, a one
political party system can lead to the neglect of other
view points within a society. Furthermore, the function
of the party may be merely confined to endorsing the
authority and policies of the party leaders. This could
result in political apathy.

These negative aspects of the one party system
appeared in the ASU which failed to promote democracy and
participation in political life. Consequently, the state
began to look towards the introduction of a multi-party
system. At first a "Multiplicity of Forums" was estab-
lished which later became the basis of the subsequent poli-
tical parties. In August, 1974, a paper was issued on
the future development of the ASU. The paper outlined
proposals to provide opportunities for the expression
of different opinions within the ASU. On the 23rd of
July,1975 the general conference of the ASU established

three forums inside the ASU namely:-

1 - Egypt's Arab Socialist Organization, which
    represented the Centre.

2 - The Liberal Socialist Organization, which
    represented the Right.

3 - The Collective Progressive Unitery National
    Organization which represented the Left.

Each organization has the right to express its opin-

ion, within the framework of the ASU and in compliance

with the three basic principles: the necessity of the

socialist solution, social peace, and national unity.

Whilst this development was an initial step towards the

formation of political parties and the termination of

ASU it could hardly be described as a multi-party system.

In 1976 the People's Assembly (Parliament) decided

to transform the three forums into political parties and

to abolish the ASU. Furthermore, the parties were to

have the right to direct their activities in accordance

with the constitution and within the necessity of the

socialist solution, social peace and national unity.[1]

In the same year the law of political parties was issued

which enshrined this new attitude to democracy by giving

Egyptians the right to form political parties and to affil-

iate to any political party.[2] This law allowed the

parties to participate in government and to put forward

programmes for the development of society. However, the

political parties were required by the law to adhere to

principals of national unity, social peace, and the

1). 'Corrective Revolution After Nine Years', Al-Ahram,Cairo,May 13,
    1980.

2). 'Documents (1952-1976)',p.106; Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of
    Information, Public Information Department, Political System
    in the Arab Republic of Egypt, Cairo, 1984, p.35 (in Arabic)

furthering of democratic socialist attitudes.

Accordingly, Article 5 of the Constitution of 1971 was amended to comply with the termination of the ASU and the establishment of political parties. Article 5 stated : "The political system of the Arab Republic of Egypt is a multi-party one, within the framework of the basic elements and principles of the Egyptian society as stipulated in the Constitution".[1] The most important principles of the constitution required the maintenance of the democratic socialist state with the aims of realizing justice and narrowing the gap between the classes. Consequently, the political parties in Egypt were required to function within the state policy and its aims of realizing a democratic socialist society. This did not prevent, however, the emergence of the varying opinions within the parties on how a democratic socialist society might be achieved.

Four parties were established. First, the National Democratic Party which represented the Centre and was initially called the Egyptian Arab Socialist Party. Secondly, there was the Collective Progressive Unitary National Party which represented the Left. Thirdly, there was the Liberal Socialist Party which represented the Right. Fourthly, there was the Labour Party.

The intention of the state was to work towards the establishment of the democratic socialist attitude through the involvement of both the private and public sectors in

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1). Ministry of Information, Permanent Constitution.

the field of social and economic development. The public

sector was completely owned and supervised by the state.

However, the private sector depended on the provision of

capital from private individuals under the supervision

of the state in order to prevent exploitation. The left

party advocated greater state intention in the field of

economic and social development. The right wanted more

encouragement to individuals and private capital. The

middle party argued for a balance between the two sectors,

the private and the public. Nevertheless, all of the

parties were committed to achieving a democratic social-

ist society.

Whilst the establishment of the political parties

in Egypt was a significant step in the direction of demo-

cracy, nevertheless, there were limitations and restric-

tions on the activities of parties and their participation

in political life.[1] The law of parties imposed res-

trictions on the freedom to form parties. Moreover,

traditionally the executive authority had always exer-

cised a strong power and this tended to diminish the

effectiveness of opposing parties in criticising and

influencing government policies. Furthermore, ministerial

responsibility in the People's Assembly was divided into

two divisions; one was subject to the principle of res-

ponsibility whilst the other was not. Consequently, it

was difficult to define the responsibility of the ministry

and this hindered the opposition in fulfilling the function

1).Al-Ahram, Cairo, July 18,1983; Tarek El-Beshry, 'The Revolution
   of 1952' in Al-Ahram, Democracy in Egypt:Quarter Century,p.22;
   Ali El-Deen Helall, 'The Problem of Democracy in Egypt',in
   Al-Ahram, Democracy in Egypt, p.67-68.

of monitoring government policy.

Recently, two other parties were in the process of being established during 1983 and will clearly have an impact on democratic life in Egypt. In particular the re-constituted Wafd Party (originally set up before 1952) is likely to provide a more effective opposition to the ruling National Democratic Party. Historically the former Wafd Party had strong association with achieving the independence of Egypt and the movement towards a secure democratic state. Its current policies[1] are securing the narrowing gap of classes; encouraging development of national capitalism; opposing exhaustive intervention of the state in the economic development; and encouraging the development of democratic practices.

Thus, the Wafd Party appears to support both the socialist democratic attitude and the important contribution that can be made by the private sector and individual initiative. If the Wafd party can enlist successfully the support of other opposite parties it is likely to compete successfully with the National Democratic Party. Consequently, the National Party will feel the need to take into account wider political viewpoints when it realizes that it could be defeated in an election.

It is also likely that the other new party, the Aumma Party, will have popular appeal. Fundamentally, the party supports the principles of the 1952 Revolution and these principles are popular with a large section of

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1). El-Akhbar, Cairo, 28 January, 1984.

the population especially among the farmers and workers who have limited incomes.

In recent years the inadequacies of the one party system have become increasingly clear. Further, social and economic and political development requires a multi-political party system with each party putting forward clear policies. As Ali Helall stated "What is reasonable in a democratic life is to continue for a time dealing with mottos and broad principles but the time will come when the people asks every party to say what it has done about the problems of the society. In short, what is needed is to have plans, policies, and programmes and offer them to the people".[1]

Although the historical background of political parties began before the Revolution of 1952 the actual experience of political parties in operation is a new one. Given the social and economic problems it is hardly surprising that there have been some negative aspects to the new experience. Nevertheless, it represents growing maturity in the development of democratic life in Egypt. Furthermore, the adoption of the multi-party system is likely to contribute to the realization of political, social and economic progress although this takes some time.

Constitutional Life.

The emergence of political parties in Egypt was one

1). Ali El-Deen Helall, 'The Future of Parties in Egypt', Ros El-Yousef, December 5th, 1983, pp.44-45. (in Arabic.)

of the important aspects in the development of political
and democratic life. Moreover, the introduction of the
constitutional system was also another significant devel-
opment. From the beginning of the Revolution the aim of
constitutional reform was to provide a framework for
achieving democratic life. Initially the constitutional
system failed to achieve this objective due to the con-
tradiction of the one political party state and the nature
of democratic life.

The first constitution following the Revolution was
issued in January 1956 and set out many democratic
principles which were later subsumed im the Constitution
of 1964. A revised constitution was issued in 1971 and,
apart from the abolishing of the ASU and the establish-
ment of political parties has remained in force today.
The constitutions have been mainly concerned with empha-
sizing democratic principles . Both the Constitutions of
1956 and 1964 allocated legislative authority and over-
sight of the action of executive authority to the National
Assembly.[1] The significant feature of the 1956 and
1971 Constitutions was that they were referred to the
people for approval.

The 1956 Constitution declared Egypt to be a demo-
cratic country and sovereignty vested in the people. The
state guaranteed freedom, security, and equal opportunity
for all citizens. The national economy was to be organized
according to plans which ensured social justice and raising

1).'Documents (1952-1976)' , p.93; A. El-Amri, Foundations of
   Comparative Political Systems, p.309.

the standard of living.[1]   The Constitution of 1964

expanded the concept of freedom of opinion and expression.

The article 35 stated that "Freedom of opinion and scien-

tific research is guaranteed. Every individual has the

right to express his opinion and to publicise it verbally

or in writing or by photography."[2]

The Constitutions of 1964 and 1971 extended the

right of participation in political life to farmers and

workers in legislative assemblies. The article 49 in the

1964 Constitution stated that "at least one half of the

members of the Assembly must be workers and farmers".[3]

This was reaffirmed in the article 87 of the 1971 Constit-

ution.[4]   The 50 per cent allocation to the farmers and

workers in the legislative authority was considered a

compensation for being previously denied the right of

representation in parliamentary life. Undoubtedly, this

encouraged some farmers and workers to become more in-

volved in politics and to develop political skills and

understanding. Nevertheless, there is a need to raise

the general cultural and social standard of these classes

to enable them to participate fully in the political

process.

General election and the use of referenda are impor-

tant aspects of Egyptian democracy and have been empha-

sized in the constitutions. For example, the 1956 Con-

stitution stated that whilst the function of the National

Assembly was to nominate the President of the Republic

1).S.H. El-Nassage, Egypt and Phenomenon of Revolution, Dar El-
    Nahda El-Haditha, Cairo, 1969,p.207. (in Arabic).
2).UAR, The Constitution, March 25, 1964.
3).Ibid.
4).Ministry of Information, Permanent Constitution, p.28.

the nomination had to be referred to the people for a

plebiscite. It also stated that the President, after

consulting Parliament, could also call a referendum of

the people on important matters affecting the supreme

interest of the country.[1] In addition to confirming

these practices the Constitution of 1971 required that

any modification to the constitution must be referred

to the people for a plebiscite (article 189). A parallel

development took place in the extension of franchise.

All citizens who reach the age of 18 have a right and

duty to vote. This includes women and the armed forces.

Democratic safeguards are also provided in other

charters. For example, the National Charter also stated

that :

> The freedom of an individual to shape his destiny, to define
> his position in society, to express his opinion, and by means
> of his thought and experience and hopes to take an active
> part in leading and directing the evolution of his society
> as an inalienable human right which must be protected by law.[2]

In spite of the changes in the nature of Egyptian

Constitutions the aim of establishing a democratic soc-

iety was not fully realized. Political freedom, freedom

of opinion, meeting, publication or criticism were not

practised. The ruling leadership exploited their author-

ity in suppressing the freedom of opinion and opposition.

Furthermore, they adopted the practices of imprisonment,

internment and confiscation of property against those who

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1). Y. El.Gamal, Contemporary Political Systems,p.141.

2). G.Nasser, National Charter, p.54,90

criticized and opposed the policies of the leadership.[1]

The October Paper of 1974 stated that:

> Whereas the Revolution has accomplished so much in the field
> of social freedom, we must honestly concede that political
> freedom has not run the course people wanted. Centres of
> power and other bodies rather imposed their custody on masses
> and several restrictions and measures ensued.[2]

These negative aspects prevented people from parti-
cipating in political life, in spite of the democratic
principles which were included in the constitutions.

Whilst the subsequent constitutions included many
democratic principles the one party system often prevented
them being put into practice. It seemed that the ASU
often failed to observe the democratic principles in the
constitutions and the ASU itself became the source and
expression of the authority in the state. Eventually,
this resulted in the emergence of the Centres of Power
within the ASU which tried to exploit the authority by
trying to restrict the freedom of citizens and by imposing
their will on the people. This position led to the rise
of the Corrective Revolution in 1971.

The Corrective Revolution paved the way for the
democratic principles of the 1952 Revolution to be re-
asserted. The most important steps taken by the Correc-
tive Revolution were the adoption of the system of poli-
tical parties and the abolition of the one party state.
The Corrective Revolution began with the eradication of
the Centres of Power and interment.[3]   Furthermore, it
issued Egypt's permanent Constitution in 1971 which included

1).Universities Higher Council, Democratic Socialism, General
   Egyptian Unit for Books,Cairo, 1977,p.58. (in Arabic)

2).M.Sadat, The October Paper, pp.25-26.

3).Ministry of Information, 15th May:Correction of the Path of the
   Revolutionary Trend, Public Information Department,Cairo,1974,
   p.14.   (in Arabic).

many democratic principles.

The most important principles included in the 1971 Constitution was the sovereignity of law which is considered the basis for setting up the democratic state. Article 64 stated that "Sovereignty of law shall be the basis of the rule in the State". In addition article 65 stated that "The State shall be subject to law". As the practice of personal freedom and freedom of opinion were some of the most important guarantees for democratic practices, article 66 emphasized that "There shall be no crime or penalty except by virtue of the law. No penalty shall be inflicted except by a judicial sentence..."[1] Moreover the constitution protected the freedom of individuals and assured that every citizen, even the most impecunious, had the right to defend himself and to refer matters to judicature (articles 68 and 69).

Individual freedoms, freedom of opinion, and freedom of the press were assured by many of the articles of the Constitution. These stated that all citizens were equal before the law and that they all had equal civic rights regardless of race, ethnic origin, language, religion or creed. Freedom of expression of beliefs and opinion were also guaranteed. Moreover, the Constitution emphasized the right to peaceable and unarmed private assembly and the right to form societies and syndicates. (articles 40, 46, 67, 54 - 56).

The democratic principles enshrined in the 1971

1).Ministry of Information, Permanent Constitution.

Constitution provided the basis of participation in political life without the feeling of fear or threat. As President Hosny Mubarak commented in a speech to the Egyptian Parliament in November 1983,

> "...democracy is the essential characteristic which influences the national work and political participation. Guaranteeing freedoms are important matters of general interest, and no restriction on ideas or prevention of point of view or any distinction between opponent or supporter can be permitted".(1)

It would seem that the emphasis on democratic principles contained in the Constitution was contrary to the existence of the one party state represented in the ASU. However, the abolition of internment and the assurance of the sovereignity of law represented a significant step in minimizing the authority of the ASU. The next step was the gradual establishment of the political parties. In 1975 the state set up three forums to provide the opportunities for political groups and people to express their opinion. This was followed in 1976 by setting up the political parties. The adoption of the political parties, in effect, provided the means for the implementation of the democratic principles set out in 1971 Constitution.

In general, it seems clear that since the beginning of the Revolution of 1952, Egypt had tried to create a democratic state. However, the one party system had hindered democratic development and participation in political life. The period of the end of seventies is considered the beginning of a new approach towards democracy through the political parties and the democratic

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

principles of the 1971 Constitution.

Undoubtedly, the experiences through which Egypt

has gone has given it the ability to judge appropriate

democratic practices and to try to avoid practices which

hindered the development of democracy. In addition to the

need to create a political awareness and to develop the

ability to participate in political life, this is one of

the most important factors in the emergence of a demo-

cratic state.

The Democratic Socialist Attitude.

From the very beginning the Revolution of 1952

sought to establish a democratic socialist state. The

purposes of the Revolution were:-

> First, to overthrow imperialism, feudalism and the
> domination of capitalism over the system of govern-
> ment.

> Secondly, to establish social justice, a strong army
> and a sound democracy.

The movement to social democracy was reinforced by con-

stitutions   issued in 1956, 1964 and 1971 and in formal

charters such as the National Charter issued in May 1962.

The Constitution of 1956 attempted to lay down the foun-

dation for the development of social and political demo-

cracy.[1] Social democracy was to be achieved through

social justice and promoting of the standard of living

of the majority through state control of the means of

production. The National Charter also stated that "Demo-

cracy is political freedom while socialism is social

freedom. The two cannot be separated."[2]

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1).Y. El.Gamal, Constitutional System in ARE, p.110.

2).G. Nasser, National Charter, p.40.

For the first time the 1964 Constitution used the
expression of "Democratic socialist" as a basis for the
nation's philosophy. The first article of that constitu-
tion stated that "The United Arab Republic is a democratic
socialist State based on the alliance of the working
powers of the people".[3] Similarly, the first article of
the 1971 Constitution stated that "The Arab Republic of
Egypt is a democratic socialist state..."[2]

It has already been argued that the development of
the democratic life had been hindered due to the adoption
of the one political party. Experience of the one party
system suggested that true democracy could only be reali-
zed through the existance of several political parties.
Consequently the one party system was abolished and re-
placed by a multi-party system.

On the other hand, however, a great deal of interest
was shown in the first years of the revolution in encour-
aging socialist attitudes. This was due to the revolution's
attempts to dominate the means of production through the
process of nationalization which was implemented after the
issue of the socialist laws of July 1961. It was believed
that the aims of developing democratic practice and socia-
list attitudes through social justice and state control of
economic development were not at variance. In fact, how-
ever, state control through one party system proved detri-
mental to the development of democratic practice and
socialist attitudes. The adoption of the multi-party

1). U.A.R. The Constitution, March 25, 1964.

2). Ministry of Information, Permanent Constitution.

system now provides Egypt with the opportunity to realize the democratic socialist state. Political parties have resulted in the minimizing of the concentration of power and the domination of the state over the means of production, thus offering opportunities for private capital investments to contribute to the development of the society.

Since the end of 1960's several factors have slowed the rate of economic development which had been achieved during the early years of the revolution. These included the newness of the socialist experience together with some negative aspects of the style of planning and administration, the wars with Israel, and the population explosion. All this led to a re-evaluation of the democratic socialist experience. The state now attempted to encourage the private sector to contribute to economic development. At the same time Egypt also had found a solution to the hostilities with Israel through a peace treaty and the re-possession of Egyptian territories.

Before 1952 one of the foremost factors which hindered the development of the democratic life was economic and social deterioration. Feudalists and capitalists dominated the economic resources while the majority of the society had a low economic and social standard. Egyptian society was divided into three classes: [1]

First; there was a limited number of great landlords and capitalists. This class dominated social, economic and political life. Secondly; there was a middle class which

1). Refhat El-Mahgoub, Socialist System in the United Arab Republic First Edition, Dar El-Taleha, Beirut, 1967,p.17 (in Arabic).

was   limited in number and was unable to realize social
mobility. However, some members of the class contri-
buted to social reform. The third class consisted of a
large number of poor farmers and simple workers who had
limited income. This class was characterised by a low
social standard.

This social system reflected the injustice in the
distributing of wealth and income and the exploitation by
the class of landlords and capitalists of farmers and
workers. Indeed, there tended to be a widening in the gap
between social classes. This is shown by the fact that
the annual average income of 1.3 million poor families in
1950 was about L.E.26 whilst the annual average income of
the family of great landlords, from the rents of their land
only, was about L.E.15 thousand.[1]

Statistics issued in Almossawar magazine in February
1952[2], in an article entitled "Half the population of
Egypt live the life of animals", indicated that four mil-
lion Egyptians had a per capita income which did not
exceed one pound per month and a further, five millions
received no more than two pounds per month. Though there
was an increase in the average income in some years, gen-
erally the average income decreased from L.E. 14.2[3] in
year 1913 to L.E. 7.6 in year 1952, taking into account
the purchase values of the Egyptian pound.

Further evidence of the poor economic and social con-
dition of the majority and the increasing gap between the

1). Yassen, The Revolution and Social Change, pp.29-30.

2). Quoted by Ibid., pp.22-23; M.Metwaly, Historical Foundations of
    Egyptian Capitalism and its development, General Egyptian Unit for
    Books, Cairo, 1974, p.256 (in Arabic).

3). £1 = L.E. 1.56 according to the price on 9th April, 1985

classes is found in the distribution of agricultural land
at a time when the Egyptian economy depended on agricul-
ture. In 1952 the statistics indicated that about 35 per
cent of the total area of agricultural land was owned by
more than 2,600,000 with an average ownership of 0.8
feddan [1]. In the meantime 20 per cent of the total area
of agricultural land was owned by only 2,000 individuals
with an average ownership of 551 feddan. [2]

The significance of the maldistribution of the cul-
tivated land becomes clearer when it is considered that
more than 70 per cent of the population depended on agri-
culture. Moreover, the agricultural production constituted
the greater part of the national income. Between 1937
and 1949 the average value of the agricultural income
was 48 per cent of the national income as compared with
8 per cent produced by industry. [3]

This meant that most farm workers had either a very
limited ownership or worked as farm employees. Without
doubt this was an uneconomic method of production in the
most important field of development. Moreover, the domin-
ation of the feudal system and the absence of a minimum
wage for agricultural workers provide a disincentive for
agricultural workers to improve their productivity.

The agricultural production was also inadequate in
meeting the needs of the increasing population. Popu-
lation increased by 64.5 per cent from the beginning of
the 20th century to 1937 whilst in the same time the growth

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1). Feddan = 4200.8 sq.metres = 1.05 acres.

2). Mahammed Roshdy, Economic Development in Egypt, Vol.2, Dar El-
     Maharef, Cairo, 1972, p.181 (in Arabic).

3). S.El-Nassage, Egypt, pp.160-161.

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of land in the cultivation only increased by 3.8 per

cent. Similarly in the year 1947 the population increase

was 99.5 per cent whilst the increase in cultivated area

was only 13.3 per cent.[1]

The industrial sector also failed to expand ade-

quately and thus contributed to social and economic deteri-

oration. In Egypt industrial growth was not planned and

tended to respond to special circumstances such as the

first and second world wars. One of the studies[2] has in-

dicated that in spite of the increase in industrial pro-

duction between 1938 and 1952, this failed to meet the

demands for employment and increasing consumption. A

major problem facing the industrial sector was clearly a

lack of experience at all levels. All industries were

based on simple production techniques and did not meet

the demands for increased productivity and the changing

requirements of the market.

Statistics show that in 1950 the industrial income

represented less than 10 per cent of the national in-

come.[3]. In 1952 the industrial sector employed less

than 10 per cent of the work force. Moreover, the income

of 33 per cent of the total number of about 19527 in-

dustrial institutions did not exceed L.E.500 annually and

the production of 60 per cent of them did not exceed L.E.

1000 annually. Furthermore, 75 per cent of these insti-

tutions did not employ more than ten workers. The

Egyptian industry Union addmitted that the period from

1).M.Roshdy, Economic Development in Egypt, p.280.
2).Ibid., p.194, 301 -302.
3).Rached El-Barrawy, Economics of Arab World., Second Edition,
   Maktabet El-Nahda El; Misria, Cairo, 1968, p.289. (in Arabic).

1950 to 1952 was a period of crisis.[1]

This economic and social position reflected the
fact that Egyptian society was distinguished by its low
standard of living for the majority of the people, the
gap having widened socially and economically between the
class of landowners and capitalists and the majority of the
people. This was due to the bad distribution of land-
ownership and the inability of the industrial and agri-
cultural sectors to meet the increasing needs of the popu-
lation.

On the other hand, social and economic conditions
were related to the democratic and political life. The
class of feudalists dominated political life wielding
authority, while the majority of people were deprived of
participation in political life. The feudalists and
capitalists exploited their own social and economic posi-
tion whilst restricting the political freedom of the poorer
classes. During the time in which the majority of the
people were distinguished by their poor social and economic
position the rich class could deceive these poor classes
in the elections, attaining authority and realizing their
own interests. This was intensified, as has been seen
from the previous chapter, by the inability of the educa-
tional system to educate the poor classes, and to develop
political awareness and participation in political life.
This prevented the development of democratic practices.

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1).M. Metwaly, Historical Foundations, pp.253-255

Consequently, Egyptian society before 1952 was charac-
terized by two main aspects. First, economic and social
deterioration and undemocratic political life. Secondly,
a strong connection between economic and social life from
the one side, and the political life from the other side.
The philosophy of the state was affected by its economic
and social problems, and it became clear that poli-
tical democracy could not be realized given the state of
the economy and the wide gaps between classes in society.
This meant that the introducing of democratic practices
depended on raising social and economic standards, liber-
ating society from exploitation and domination by capita-
lists and feudalists.

A way forward could only be found by the elements
of Egyptian society joining together to solve the country's
economic, social and political problems. This neces-
sitated the adoption of the democratic socialist atti-
tude with the aim of solving economic and social problems
and realizing the social freedom to guarantee the safety
of the democratic practices - in other words fusing social
democracy and political democracy. The National Charter
expressed this philosophy by saying:

> Political democracy cannot be separated from social democracy.
> No citizen can be regarded as free to vote unless he is given
> the following three guarantees:
> 1 - He should be free from exploitation in all its forms.
> 2 - He should enjoy an equal opportunity to have a fair share
>   of the national wealth.
> 3 - His mind should be free from all anxiety to undermine
>   the security of his life in the future. (1)

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1). G. Nasser, National Charter, p.50.

Clearly, the democratic socialist attitude has emerged
in Egypt as a result of social and economic needs on the
one hand and the impact of these needs on democratic
life on the other hand.

Furthermore, the adoption of the democratic social-
ist attitudes referred to the belief that the traditional
democracy which assures economic freedom could not apply
in a society like Egypt where the majority of its people
were characterized by social and economic backwardness.
This was due to the fact that the principle of economic
freedom depends on the freedom of ownership, work, in-
dustry and commerce. The functions of the state are
limited to its defence from outside attack and keeping
peace inside and promoting justice among individuals
without interference in their economic activity except in
ways which would help these functions.[1] However, the
principles of economic freedom cannot be applied in a
society like Egypt if they merely maintain position of
the poor class whilst benefiting the minority class of
feudalists and capitalists because they own the means of
production.

However, the principle of economic freedom has a
positive effect in the capitalist system since the majo-
rity of such societies are distinguished by their high
social and economic standards. These systems have realized
great progress in the field of industry and means of pro-
duction. The capitalist system becomes more effective

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1). T.Badawe, Foundations of Political Thought, Dar El-Nahda El-
   Arabeia, Cairo, 1976, pp.177-178. (in Arabic.)

if the state contributes to the treatment of economic

and social problems and offers protection for workers from

exploitation and trying to raise the standard of limited

income.

Comparing this situation with a developing country

such as Egypt it seems clear that economic progress can-

not be achieved through capitalism alone. Western capi-

talism emerged from the industrial revolution and the

appearance of modern inventions and industries. More-

over, the western countries had their own means of pro-

duction and scientific renaissance. These factors led

to the appearance of capitalism and the development of

industrial economies. This condition was not present

in Egypt. Egyptian capitalism had a negligible effect on

economic and industrial development. This was because

of the lack of capital to establish effective industrial

projects or to face the competition of western capitalism.

In the light of these considerations the adoption of

a capitalist system did not correspond with Egyptian cir-

cumstances in realizing economic development. In the

meanwhile the economic problems had increased. Moreover,

dependence on capitalism would have meant the continua-

tion of its domination over political life and the widen-

ing of social differences. Thus it was necessary to pro-

mote social improvement through state intervention in

economic development to achieve social justice and a

narrowing of the gap between classes.

To realize these ends, from its first years the revolution tried to establish state control over the means of production and a re-distribution of wealth to the working classes. It is remarkable that there is a relation between socialism and economic development, that is to say that the distribution of national wealth on the right bases requires economic progress in order to realize the aim of socialism in raising the standard of living for the working classes.

In realizing the socialist attitude in the light of the problems of the society, the state drew up the following means: [1]

1. Fixing a maximum for land ownership and re-distributing the surplus among poor farmers.

2. Creating a public sector to bear the responsibility in the development plan and nationalizing the important projects.

3. Achieving state control on the special sector in order to support the domination of the people on the means of production.

4. The re-organization of the relations between work and capital by limiting the hours of work, fixing a minimum for payments, offering the workers a share in the profits and the administration of their companies.

5. The re-distribution of the national income on behalf of the classes with limited income by imposing graduated taxation and the expansion of free services.

Accordingly, the state issued the first land reform law in September 1952 which limited land ownership to 200 feddans as a maximum. The second land reform law was issued in 1962 which reduced the maximum of land

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1) R. El-Mahgoub, Socialist System in UAR, pp.28-29

ownership to 100 feddans, to be further reduced to 50 feddans after a few years. The lands taken were re-distributed among the poor farmers. Moreover, the laws of land reform established the co-operative agricultural societies which provided the farmers with the needs of agriculture.

The laws of land reform resulted in an increase in the number of landowners from 2,801,000 before the 1952 law to 3,211,000 in 1965. The percentage of holdings which were less than 5 feddans rose from 35.4 per cent to 46.6 per cent immediately after the issue of the first law and then to 58.1 per cent in 1965. At the same time the holdings which were more than 200 feddans decreased from 19.7 per cent in 1952 to 5.9 per cent after the issuing of the first law and were terminated after iss-uing the second law. Moreover, the number of land-holdings of 50 feddans was reduced from 34.2 per cent in 1952 to 12.6 per cent in 1965.[1]

The state aimed to increase the area of agricultural land by reclaiming about 102,000 feddan in the period between 1952-1960. This can be compared with the figure of only approximately 50,000 feddan reclaimed between 1931 and 1952.[2] Laws of land reform were important steps taken to phase out feudalism and to minimise its social and political domination. Moreover, these laws led to a re-distribution of wealth to the poorer classes and narrowed the gaps between classes in society. The laws

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1). S. El-Nassage, Egypt, pp.234-235; CAPMS, Statistical Yearbook, pp.69-71.

2). Quoted by M.Roshdy, Economic Development in Egypt, p.294.

also led to a rise in the value and efficiency of agri-
cultural production through the establishment of co-operative
societies which provided farmers with modern means of
cultivation.

The Socialist Laws of July 1961 were a further means
of promoting socialist attitudes. These laws gave the
public sector a greater part to play in the development
process and over the means of production. At the same
time, the laws also aimed at reducing the domination of
capitalists over the means of production by abolishing
the special ownership of banks, and big industrial and
commercial institutions. In general, these laws contri-
buted to a change in the structure and functioning of the
economy with the state now controlling the greatest part
of the means of production.

For example, the law 117 in 1961 nationalized the
banking and 149 companies from different sectors of in-
dustry and electricity. Law 118 gave 50 per cent of the
ownership of 91 companies to the public sector. Other
laws were issued in 1962 and 1963 extending the power of
the public sector to supervise completely the policies
of companies.[1] Moreover, the Socialist Laws included
legislation intended to extend the rights of workers and
to raise their social and economic standard. A minimum
and a maximum for salaries was introduced which reduced
the great differences in income. Workers were given a
share in the administration and profits of companies in
which they worked.[2] Furthermore, working hours were

1).M.Roshdy, Economic Development in Egypt,p.306
2).M.Metwaly, Historical Foundations, pp.300-301

fixed by statute and workers were protected from dismissal or exploitation.

To encourage economic and social development the public sector assumed the major responsibility in the five year plan (1960-1965). During the years 1963 and 1964 the public sector contributed 79.8 per cent of the total industrial production. The aim of the plan was to increase the national income by 40 per cent at the end of a five year period and to invest L.E.1576.9 million in the economy. The plan achieved 95.9 per cent of the investment and the increase in national income at the end of the plan amounted to 37.1 per cent at an annual rate of 7.4 per cent. The growth of the national income was more than the rate of increase in population, which was 2.8 per cent during the years of plan. This led to the increase in the average income of the individual from L.E.52 in 1959-60 to L.E.59.8 in 1965-65.[1]

In respect of industrial production an increase of 23 per cent in the contribution of industrial income to the national income was achieved as compared with the aim of 30 per cent. The agricultural income of the national income increased to 18 per cent as compared with an expected 26 per cent increase. The production of food increased by a percentage more than than of the population.[2] Whilst the plan did not achieve all that had been hoped for, the rise in the contribution of industrial production to 23 per cent marked a significant

1) R. El-Mahgoub, Socialist System in UAR, pp.58-59,65,85.

2) Ali El-Geretly, Twenty Five Years:An Analytic Study on Economic Policies in Egypt (1952-1972), General Egyptian Unit for Books,Cairo, 1977,p.19   (in Arabic).

change from the 10 per cent in 1950.

The success of the plan was not confined to economic development but also included social aspects, whilst wages increased from L.E.546.6 million in the base year (1959-60) to L.E.878.9 million by the end of the plan which represented an increase of 60.8 per cent. The size of the workforce increased from 6,006,000 in 1959-60 to 7,333,400 in 1964-65 which represented a 22.1 per cent increase. Moreover, the percentage increase in the individual labourer's wages rose to 46.7 per cent for agricultural workers and 22.8 per cent for the industrial workers. Furthermore, the state expanded the free service such as education and health with an increased expenditure of L.E.54 million over the base year.[1]

Unfortunately, the relative success of the first five year plan was not maintained after 1965 until the middle of the seventies. The subsequent seven year plan aimed to invest L.E.3200 million with an annual rate of L.E.457 million according to the current prices. The plan failed to achieve this aim due to the economic obstacles which Egypt encountered after 1966. Annual planning replaced long term planning and investment did not increase noticeably between 1966 and 1974. It was not until 1975 that investment reached 75 per cent of the planned figures. In 1976 the investment aimed at was L.E. 1075 million of which L.E.850 million was achieved.[2]

Clearly, from the rise of the Revolution until the

1). Quoted by R.El-Mahgoub, Socialist System in UAR,pp.52-53; P. Vatikiotis, 'Some Political Consequences', p.376.

2). A. El-Geretly, Twenty Five Years, p.20,pp.22-23,253.

middle sixties Egypt enjoyed some measure of success
and progress in moving towards establishing socialist
attitudes. This was followed by a period during which
the development was hindered until the middle of the
seventies when renewed attempts emerged to push forward
economic development. The progress which was achieved in
the first years can be explained by the enthusiasm of
the state in new found socialist attitudes and the nation-
alization of the main means of production. The subse-
quent years until 1976, however, were beset with diffi-
culties arising from a rapid increase in the population,
the wars with Israel, and the style of national planning.

Statistics indicate that the population in Egypt in
1897 was 9,669,000. The population increased to about
19 million in 1947 rising to more than 38 million in
1976[1]. Thus the population had doubled during the first
50 years of the twentieth century and doubled again during
the subsequent 29 years. Recent statistics indicate that
the population in 1983 was 45 million who occupy 4 per
cent of the total area of Egypt. The present rate of
population growth amounts to 2.8 per cent annually and it
is expected that the population will be 70 million in the
year 2000[2]. Therefore any planning for social and
economic development must take into consideration the
annual increase of population.

For example, this increase in population caused an
increase in consumption by rates which were more than

1).CAPMS, Statistical Yearbook, p.6,8.

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

expected. It rose by 46.9 per cent in the first five year plan, while the expected figure was 24.5 per cent only.[1] In spite of the successes achieved by the plan, the unexpected increase in consumption adversely affected the increase in national income. The increase in consumption was due to the fact that the plan assumed the rate of population growth of 2.4 per cent, but in fact the rate was 2.8 per cent annually during the years of the plan.

Moreover, between 1952 and 1976 the area of agricultural land increased by 10 per cent while the population increased from 21,437,000 to 38,198,000. The increase in population represented 78.2 per cent. This resulted in a reduction of the size of the average land ownership and the value of agricultural production compared with the size of the population. While Egypt succeeded in increasing the production of food to a higher percentage than the increase in population during the years 1960 to 1965, the latter was outstripped by the production of food in the following ten years.[2] This led to an increase in grain imports which placed the balance of payments under pressure.

The rapid increase in population was not the only factor which hindered the plans of development. The wars with Israel during the years 1967 to 1973 also had a significant effect. Priority in expenditure was given to defence and re-constitution of areas which were damaged

1). R. El-Mahgoub, Socialist System in UAR, p.55.

2). A. El-Geretly, Twenty Five Years, pp.92-93; CAPMS, Statistical Yearbook, p.8.

during the wars. El.Essawy and Nassar[1] argued that between 1960 and 1962 5.5 per cent of the total national income was spend on defence. This increased to 10 per cent after the 1967 war then to 20 per cent in 1973. From these figures it can be concluded that without the 1967 war, the Egyptian economy could have progressed with the same success of the first five year plan and the losses of war will extend to 1985. Apart from losses in military equipment and weapons and the economic value of losses in men, the rate of losses in the Egyptian economy after the 1967 war was between LE.20 and 24 million according to 1973 prices. These losses were equal to between 4 and 5 times the national income in 1975.

Mistakes also inevitably arose from the new experience of national planning which retarded economic development. For example,[2] there was no strategy in whose light the five yearly and annual plans can be prepared. There was little movement towards the achieving economies of scale through the specialization of production. Furthermore, the apparatus for observing and supervising of economic development lacked technical and administrative experience. In spite of the successes that had been realized during the sixties, these problems, together with the lack of financial resources diminished the effectiveness of the planning apparatus. In view of the decline in available resources, a formal report indicated that the existing aims of plans were no longer relevant.

1).E.El-Essawy and M.Nassar,'Egyptian Economy and War' in Ismail Sabry Abd_ Alla (ed.),Egyptian Economy in Quarter Century (1952-1977),General Egyptian Unit for Books,Cairo, 1978, pp.127-156. (in Arabic.)

2).A. El-Geretly, Twenty Five Years, pp.196-201.

For instance, the aims of the crossing plan, drawn up in 1975,were no longer attainable.

Although the public sector was accorded the greatest share of resources in the development processes, it failed to achieve the anticipated successes and can be compared to the experience of other nations such as the Soviet Union and Italy.[1] This was due to political and social problems and the domination of the one party system. In Egypt the apparatus of the one party system responsible for the application of socialism proved a bad example with a large number of people seeking to exploit socialist principles in their own interest[2]. Propaganda was used to support state policies even where they were wrong. Freedom of expression and opposition were limited although these were considered to be important elements in the development of Egyptian society.

Investigations into the losses of the public sector began with a study conducted by the People's Assembly on ten loss-making companies in 1971-72. The study attributed the causes of loss to the newness of the public sector experiment although some of the causes were attributed to mistakes of planners and ministers. A report of the Central Agency for Accountancy in 1968-69 revealed that 240 companies in the public sector realized total profits of L.E.125 million while 79 companies did not realize any profits. Though the public sector in 1973 had achieved profits equal to 11 per cent more than the

1).Ibid., pp.204-206.

2).Universities Higher Council, Democratic Socialism, p.59.

previous year, however, some units lost L.E.42 million[1].

Moreover, the private sector failed to support the public sector in the development process., Although national-ization had enabled the public sector to realize many of its responsibilities, this resulted in a decline in the private sector and in individual initiative thus weaken-ing its ability to contribute to the processes of develop-ment. Furthermore, the economic policies did not utilize foreign capital and the international economy. In the second half of the seventies this tended to lead to the adoption of a more open economic policy with the world and encouraging the private sector. However, the one party system was terminated. These changes indicate that the state was attempting to inter-relate socialism, democracy and economic freedom.

The adoption of an open economic policy was due to the failure of the Egyptian economy to raise the rates of savings and utilize foreign experiences. Although the first years of the Revolution and the period of the first five year plan had realized a considerable success in the growth of the Egyptian economy, it was the most closed period to the world. Moreover, one of the most important criticisms of the performances of the Egyptian economy was failure to raise the domestic savings ratio of economy.[2] In 1959-60 the ratio of gross domestic savings was 12.8 per cent of the cross domestic product and it decreased to 11.6 per cent in 1962-63 then to

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1).A. El-Geretly, Twenty Five Years, pp.206-207.

2).Robert Mabro, The Egyptian Economy (1952-1972), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1974, p.181.

argued that the Egyptian economy will develop along the lines of western capitalism and increasing differences between the income of individuals as a result of the growth of private capital in the hands of a few. Moreover, national production will be replaced by foreign imports and ownership of firms.

In response, however, it can be argued that every policy has positive and negative aspects. Although the policy of the public sector was successful especially in the first five years plan, defects appeared in the form of the neglect of the private sector and individual initiative. The adoption of the open policy and the encouragement of the private sector were attempts to overcome the defects in the public sector. An attempt has been made to balance the development of both the public and the private sector and the open economic policy.

The criticism of the open policy can be met, for example, by the restrictions on foreign exploitation. Furthermore, foreign competition is likely to be a strong incentive to improve local production. This would seem important at a time when Egypt needs to invest government capital in the principal sector of production leaving the production of consumption goods to individual efforts. The fear of an increasing gap of an individual income can be overcome by an incomes policy. The advantages in the long run of the open economic policy are likely to be an increase in employment and a rise in the standard of living.

Under the new policies, Egypt has already experienced economic improvements. For example, in 1977 the private sector contributed about 46 per cent of the total national income as compared with between 25 and 30 per cent in 1974[1]. The most recent five year plan, which began in July 1982, aims to increase production and achieve rates of development greater than the rates of population increase. In the first year of the plan prodution increased by 98.9 per cent of the expected figure. Furthermore, this created 347,000 new jobs. [2]

It can be argued that during the first years of the democratic socialist experience in Egypt an appropriate relationship between democratic and economic development was not realized. Although the socialist attitude developed from the fifties to the middle of the sixties, the development of democratic attitudes proceeded more slowly due to the one party system. It was argued that by giving the control of production to the people this would lead to the development of social justice.

In the non-democratic society dominated by the one party system the aim of social justice, to liberate the individual socially and economically to practice his political rights, was not secured. In the absence of democracy, state domination over the means of production did not necessarily guarantee the will of the people over the means of production or the realization of social justice. This absence of democratic practices led to the appearance

1). A.El-Ceretly, Twenty Five Years, p.256.

2). Ministry of Information, Public Information Department, Prime Minister's Address at the First Conference of Egyptians in Abroad, Cairo, 1983, pp.7-9. (in Arabic)

of negative aspects of socialism such as the exploita-
tion of socialist principles to serve the interests of a
few individuals in power and inefficient administration
and planning.

Since the introduction of a multi-party system moves
have been made towards a democratic system of planning
and administration. A re-evaluation of the democratic
socialist attitude has begun in the light of a new approach
to the private sector and individual initiatives through
the adoption of the open economic policy. In spite of
the defects which may emerge from open economic policy,
it has necessitated a review of the relationship between
democratic socialism and the principle of economic free-
dom.

The democratic socialist experience in Egypt is new
and inevitably has been accompanied with difficulties.
Nevertheless, it can be argued that the state is attemp-
ting to overcome the perceived problems. It has become
clear that the most difficult problem has been achieving
a correct balance between socialism, democratic prac-
tices, and individual initiative and freedom.

CHAPTER SIX.

OFFICIAL ATTITUDES TO POLITICAL EDUCATION.

It is, perhaps, important first to draw attention to the fact that there is a lack of studies on political education in Egypt. As recently as 1984 Abou El-Magd, who was responsible for the activities of youth in the ASU, noted that this area of study had been neglected in Egypt.[1] The study of political education is inevitably subject to the values of the political system and this was probably the main factor in preventing the study of political education in Egypt. Nevertheless, this study draws on a large number of available references, mainly primary resources such as constitutions, official documents, addresses of political leaders, and the publications of the Egyptian Ministry of Education.

During the period preceding the 1952 Revolution, the educational system in Egypt was affected by the short-comings of the political and social situation. In spite of attempts to expand and reform education for the masses, the education system failed to meet the political and social desires of the reformers. From the very beginning,

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1). A.K. Abou El-Magd, 'Youth Organization in Egypt', Al-Ahram, Cairo, 14 October 1984.

the revolution recognised the significance of education in accomplishing the desired changes within society. Therefore an aim of the revolution was to extend and develop education. The state's concern over education was reflected in its constitutions, official documents, and the laws of education.

The Constitution of 1923 stated that elementary education was to be compulsory and free. Under the Constitution of 1956 free education was extended to all stages. This constitution stated that education was a right of all citizens to be guaranteed by state through the establishment and gradual expansion of different types of school. The constitution also reasserted the principle of compulsory education at the primary stage. The Constitution of 1964 re-emphasized the importance of state supervision of education [1]. Moreover, the permanent Constitution of 1971 asserted the significance of education to meet the needs of society and promised the extension of compulsory education to include other stages of education. Article 18 of the 1971 Constitution stated :

> Education is a right guaranteed by the State. It is
> obligatory in the primary stage and the State shall work
> to extend the obligation to other stages. The State shall
> supervise all branches of education..., with a view to linking
> all this with the requirements of society and production. (2)

1). M.M. Moursy, Administration of Education, Alaam El-Kouteb, Cairo, 1974, p.35. (in Arabic.)

2). Ministry of Information, Permanent Constitution, p.7.

Furthermore, the National Charter issued in 1962 emphasized the principle of equal opportunities for all citizens as an essential aspect of democracy. The Charter stated :

> Equality of opportunity as the expression of social freedom can be defined in basic rights for every citizen. Efforts can be devoted for their realization...Every citizen has the right to receive education which suits his abilities and talents. Education is the means of consolidating and honouring human freedom; it is also the energy which can rejuvenate national action and daily adds new ideas to it, bringing leading and serious elements in its various fields.(1)

It would seem from these documents that the main purposes and features of educational provision were :
First, to establish an educational ladder open to all citizens and to abolish the dualism and categorization in the first stage of education.
Secondly, to implement compulsory education for all children between the ages of 6 to 12 and subsequently to raise progressively the school leaving age.
Thirdly, to make the provision of education at all stages free.
Fourthly, to establish the principle of equality of opportunity based on pupils' abilities and talents regardless of their social and economic position.
Fifthly, to secure state supervision over education.

As a first step towards achieving these purposes, the revolution stressed the importance of primary education as an essential requirement in educating the mass and to face

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1). G. Nasser, National Charter, p.87.

the needs of society within the framework of the revolu-
tionary aims. Although the revolution was successful in
securing unity of provision within the first stage of
education and substantially extending primary provision
to accommodate most of children, this was at the expense
of the quality of education. Furthermore the objective
of compulsory education was not completely achieved.

At first there were difficulties to the introduction
of unity within the primary stage. As it has already been
seen the educational law of 1951 abolished the dualism at
the first stage of education and introduced primary
education as the only kind of education for the first
stage. However, in practice this law was not fully
implemented. Subsequently, in 1953 Law 210 re-emphasized
unity of provision during the six years of the first
stage of education, but the law permitted pupils to
join the next stage of preparatory schools after completing
only four years of study in the primary schools[1].
This created a new kind of dualism since many children
left their schools after four years of study due either to
the desire of their parents or to the lack of preparatory
schools in some areas. To remedy this defect the Ministry
of Education issued Law 213 in 1956 which stated that
"Primary education should be one complete unit of six
years study during which education is considered compulsory

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1). M. Darwish, Some Problems of Primary School, p.34.

and for all children starting at the age of six."[1]

Law 68 issued in 1968 set out the obligation of both the state and parents in respect to the provision of education. The law stated "Primary education is the right of all Egyptian children...It is the State's responsibility and it is considered at the same time the indispensable responsibility of the child's father or his guardian".[2] Thus, the state was charged with the duty of providing sufficient schools for the children. Furthermore, parents or guardians were required to ensure that their children received education.

It became clear, from experience, that the six years of compulsory education was insufficient in preparing children for citizenship and in realizing social and economic development within the society. Furthermore the six years' compulsory education was the only education received by many children and some citizens who had only completed the primary stage remained illiterate and unable to participate socially and politically. Modern societies have attempted to solve these problems by raising the school leaving age. For example, in England compulsory education was extended to a total of 11 years and in the Soviet Union to 10 years.

A significant development in the extension of schooling was implemented by Law 139 in 1981. This law expanded

1). 'Law 213' in Ministry of Education, <u>Ministerial Laws,</u> Dar El-Tebeha, Cairo, 1960 (in Arabic).

2). Ministry of Education, <u>The 1968 Education Act,</u> Ministry Press, Cairo, 1968, Article 36. (in Arabic).

compulsory education to nine years and included the
primary and preparatory stages which were now categorized
as the basic stage of education. Article 15 stated that
"The basic education is the right of all Egyptian
children who are at the age of six...and for nine years." [1]
The Ministry of Education reported that the application
of this law was accomplished gradually and was fully
implemented in 1984/85 [2]. This extension of the compulsory
period of education was a response to the needs of society.
It was intended to provide citizens with the necessary
knowledge, values and skills, and prepare them to
participate effectively in social and political activities
within the society. However the implementations of the
Law 139 in 1981 aggravated many existing problems which
affect adversely the quality of education for example,
overcrowding in the classroom and the lack of provision
and qualified teachers. Moreover, the nature of some
areas in the countryside prevented many children from
receiving compulsory education because of the shortage
of preparatory schools in these areas. In a report, [3]
the Ministry of Education noted the lack of school
buildings and the provisions of education, the imbalance
between education in the cities and countryside, and
criticised the methods of teaching and examinations.

1). Ministry of Education, The 1981 Education Act, August 1981,
    TS. (in Arabic).

2). Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of Education, Basic Education
    Guide, Ministry Press, Cairo, 1984, p.8. (in Arabic).

3). Ministry of Education, Working Paper on the Development and
    Modernization of Education in Egypt, The Minister's Office,
    Cairo, 1979. (in Arabic).

Between the period 1953/54 to 1964/65 the number of children in the first stage of education increased from 1,392,471 to 3,294,832 and the rate of increase was 236 per cent. During the same period the finance allocated to primary education rose from L.E. 11,812,000 to L.E. 30,250,000.[1] Subsequently, from 1970/71 to 1975/76 the number of primary school pupils increased from 3,740,590 to 4,120,936 [2]. Consequently, there was also an increase in the number of pupils in all stages of education. Table (4) shows the increase of pupils from 1976/77 to 1983/84. The considerable increase which took place in preparatory education between 1980/81 and 1983/84 was due to the extension of compulsory education to include preparatory education.

TABLE 4

The Development of Education in Egypt (1976/77-1983/84)

Years	Primary Education	Preparatory Education	Secondary Education
1976/77	4,151,956	1,435,529	796,411
1977/78	4,211,345	1,518,478	848,317
1978/79	4,287,124	1,547,304	928,244
1979/80	4,434,557	1,556,462	1,010,762
1980/81	4,548,058	1,574,233	1,107,233
1983/84	5,349,575	1,884,419	1,301,893

Source: CAPMS, Statistical Yearbook,pp.171-176; Some figures collected from Education Museum, Ministry of Education, Cairo, 1984. (in Arabic).

1). M. Harby, Education Development (1920-1970),The National Division of UNESCO, Cairo, 1970, p.104.(in Arabic); H. El-Fiky, pp.244-245.

2). Ministry of Education, A Report on the Development of Education (1970/71), Centre of Educational Documentation, Cairo, 1971; National Centre of Educational Research, A Report on the Development of Education (1974/75 - 1975/76). (in Arabic).

These figures indicate the level of success and progress
of the movement towards compulsory education. Compared
with the total number of children within the primary
education age group, however, the figures also show that
not all Egyptian children were provided with compulsory
education. The Ministry of Education had planned to
introduce compulsory education for all children during
the period from 1960/61 to 1969/70. However, it was only
successful in securing compulsory education for 76 per
cent of the children in the relevant age group[1]. To a
large extent this was due to the unexpectedly rapid growth
of population. The Ministry had assumed an annual growth
rate of children within the compulsory education period of
2.1 per cent, but the actual growth rate was 2.7 per cent.
Additionally, economic factors and circumstances of the
wars led to a decrease in the budget for education. For
example, in 1968/69 the total budget allocated to education
decreased by 43 per cent.[2]

In 1982 the Ministry was only able to provide 85.2
per cent of children with primary education,[3] but by
1984 this had risen to 91.5 per cent. According to the
present Five years Plan (1982/83-1986/87) it is expected
that 96 per cent of children will receive primary education
and by the end of the 1980's all children will receive
primary education. Gradually, the revolution was able to

1).M. Darwish, Some Problems of Primary School, p.38.

2). Ministry of Education, Report of Arab Republic of Egypt on the
    Working Plan of the fourth Conference of the Arab Ministers of
    Education, Ministry Press, Cairo, n.d., p.48. (in Arabic).

3). Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of Information, Education in the
    Arab Republic of Egypt, Cairo, n.d., p.16. (in Arabic.)

progress towards the provision of universal education and equality of opportunity for children in the various stages of education. From 1952 to 1984 the number of pupils in all education increased from 2.1 millions to 9 millions. [1]

It is clear that the promotion and expansion of education in most countries serves social and political objectives. The differences in educational aims lies in the ideology of the different countries. As Lawton pointed out, "Whether you want to change society in a particular way or leave it as it is this is a political stance; whether you want to educate all people or only some of them is a reflection of social and political values." [2] The purpose of mass education depended on the official pronouncements of leaders, state documents, goals and policies of education, the nature of knowledge and its significance.

In Egypt the policies of education and equality of opportunity had mainly a political and social significance. The starting point of the inevitable connection between education and the state was due to the fact that education was a human right. This right obliged the government to provide education for every citizen. However, as Thompson remarked :

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

2). Denis Lawton, Education and Social Justice, Sage, London, 1977, p.171.

In developing countries it has long been recognised that education is a fundamental lever for social change, that investment in education is an essential feature of national development, and that where resources are scarce the nature of that investment must be carefully planned together with other aspects of national development (1)

In this situation, the policies and aims of education will be subject to the political and social concerns of the state.

Since the Egyptian Revolution of 1952, considerable attention has been paid to political education and to the relationship of education to state ideology. The political aims of education were expressed frankly in most of the official statements issued by political leaders and the Ministry of Education. In the first year of the Revolution, Nasser considered education and educators the essential means of realizing the aims of Revolution. In his book "The Philosophy of Revolution", Nasser argued that educators had the principal care for students who were to be the force in building the new society. [2] In 1960 Nasser created a Committee of National Education whose task was to form a new generation of youth with an understanding of the stage through which their nation was at present passing. [3]

In most of his addresses Nasser focused attention on youth in realizing the aims of revolution. He wanted to create a new generation which believed in socialist concepts

1). A.R. Thompson, Education and Development in Africa, The Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1981, pp.47-48.

2). G. Nasser, The Philosophy of the Revolution, p.22.

3). Derek Hopwood, Egypt : Politics and Society 1945-1981, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1982, p.137.

as a basis for achieving justice, equality, and freedom.
At the Primary Education Conference held in August 1954,
Nasser said :

"If we want to keep pride, dignity and strength, we have to
look to the future...with a new and sensible policy starting
from the rising generation. By this a strong and dignified
country can be built up, in which everyone enjoys justice
and freedom, pride and equality". (1)

Nasser recommended teachers to look to their
responsibilities in achieving these aims, and the
Conference resolved to develop the curriculum for schools
consistent with the aims of the revolution.

Political aims in education were not restricted to
Egypt. The Soviet Union also completely exploited its
educational system to serve the ideological and political
aims of communism. To a large extent, however, the
situation was different in England. State intervention in
education was regarded with suspicion. In a multi-party
democracy, educators refused to leave educational policies
to frequent change according to the party in power. They
consider education a human right to develop the talents
of the individual enabling him to participate freely
within a free society. (2) In spite of this belief
usually the party in power had an effective influence in
shaping educational policies. However, other interest
groups were also involved in policy making.

1). Primary Education Union, The Leading Teacher, The fourth year,
   No.1, September 1954, p.16.

2). A Thompson, Education and Development in Africa, p.44.

All education in the Soviet Union is public and free for all citizens. Nurseries and kindergartens are voluntary for children between the ages of 2 and 6, but are under state supervision. The authorities were able to raise the compulsory education from seven years in 1949 to ten years in 1975.[1] Compulsory education now covers the ages between 7 and 17 and consisted of three levels; elementary school for 3 years (grades 1-3); incomplete secondary school for 5 years (grades 4-8); and complete secondary school for 2 years (grades 9-10). Moreover, great official efforts have been made to eliminate illiteracy. In 1939 the Soviet campaign against illiteracy was able to raise the percentage of literacy to 95 per cent for men and 83 per cent for women. [2] Soviet literacy rate during the period from 1955 to 1965 was the highest rate (98.5 per cent) among the countries of Western Europe, Africa, Asia and North and South America. [3] The great attention which was paid to expanding education was mainly political. Communist leaders saw education as the most significant means to realize the communist ideology.

Lenin defined the necessity of abolishing illiteracy in political terms. "An illiterate person" Lenin remarked, "stands outside; he must first be taught the ABC. Without this there can be no politics; without this

1). Joseph I. Zajda, Education in the USSR, First Edition, Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1980, p.39.

2). J.J. Tomiak, The Soviet Union, David and Charles, Newton Abbot , 1972, p.14.

3). Wasyl Shimoniak, Communist Education, Rand McNally, & Company, Chicago, 1970, pp.68-70.

there are only rumours, gossip, tales, prejudices, but not

politics".[1] Moreover Lenin spelled out the main task

of education as to rear youth in the spirit of communism.

"The whole task of the upbringing" Lenin said, "education

and teaching contemporary youth should be the rearing of

communist morality."[2]

This explicit political role of education was reinforced

by the Communist Party and its leaders from the very

beginning of the October Revolution. For example in 1919

the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party stated:

> In the field of education the RCP aims to complete the task
> that began after the October Revolution of 1917, transforming
> the school from the weapon of the ruling class of bourgeosie
> into the weapon of total obliteration of the class division
> within the society, into the weapon of a communist metamorphosis
> of the society..., the school not only must be a leader of
> communist principles in general but also a guide of ideological,
> organizational and educational influence of the proletariat on
> semi-proletarian and non-proletarian strata of the working class,
> aiming at training the generation capable of establishing
> communism completely. (3)

This task of education was also reaffirmed by the

Eighth Congress of the Communist Party. The Party stated:

> To fulfill the original purpose of the October Revolution of
> converting schools from aristocratic and bourgeois - dominated
> selective to complete destruction of the divison of society
> into classes. (4)

Lenin also asserted the political function of education

to support the class struggle of the proletariat and the

idea of communism.

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1). Nigel Grant, Soviet Education, Fourth Edition, Penguin Books,
    England, 1979, pp.32-33.

2). Lenin's speech, Zadachi Soyuzov Molodiozhi, 2 Oct. 1920, in
    Khrestomatiya po Pedegogike, Moscow, 1976, p.72, Quoted by
    J. Zajda, Education in the USSR, p.109.

3). KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh..., Vol.2, Moscow, 1970, p.48. Quoted by
    Zajda, Education in the USSR, p.11.

4). KPSS v regoliutsiiakh i resheniiakh s'iezdov, Vol.1, p.420; Boldyrev,
    Direktivi VKP(b) i sovetskogo pravit el' stva po narodnom obrazovanii,
    (vypusk 1), p.120. Quoted by W. Schimoniak, Communist Education, p.72.

He wrote in 1920:

> All educational work in the Soviet Republic of workers and
> peasants, in the field of political education in general and
> in the field of art in particular, should be imbued with the
> spirit of the class struggle being waged by the proletariat
> for the successful achievement of the aims of its dictatorship,
> i.e., the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of
> classes, and the elimination of all forms of exploitation of
> man by man . (1)

In Egypt, the official attitudes which formulated the
approaches to political education were supportive of the
new system and its political ideology. To some extent
these approaches are still prevalent, however changes
have been introduced due to the state's attempt to develop
democracy and the adoption of the multi-party system.

From 1952 to 1970 the concepts of the revolution and
Arab unity were the prominent political ideology. The
successful achievements by socialism and the movement of
Arab nationalism, however, in the absence of democracy,
had its effect on political education. During this period
Nasser's announcements and the Ministry of Education
official statements were to support the revolution and
the new political system in spite of the many state
documents which assured the principles of democracy.
Whilst Sadat was in power between 1970 and 1981, political
socialization was emphasized. In spite of the serious
attempts to develop democracy, official attitudes to
political education were not significantly reshaped on
the principles of democracy. Since 1981 a considerable

1). V.I.Lenin, 'On Proletarian Culture', Collected Works, Vol.31,
    1966, P.316, Quoted by David Lane, Politics and Society in the
    USSR,Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1970, p.490.

number of changes have occurred in official statements

emphasizing loyalty to the country and participation in

a democratic society.

In his address to the Egyptian Parliament in 1965,

Nasser emphasized the necessity of preparing a new

generation capable of leading the revolution and re-

constructing the society politically and socially. Nasser

said :

> "The main task that must be taken into our consideration
> during the forthcoming stage is to pave the way in front of
> the new generation so as to lead the revolution in all its
> political and economical fields. We cannot say that our
> generation has already fulfilled these duties unless it was
> able to keep the progress going on...The continuity in
> progress will be maintained, when we have, at any time,
> a new generation capable of carrying its duty towards the
> progress. " (1)

The Egyptian ideology in supporting the idea of an

"Arab Nationalism" had a significant interest in rearing

the rising generation not only to be faithful to their

country but also to all of the Arab world. In 1959

Nasser asserted :

> "The new generation must be made aware that their country
> will be built up from all aspects and all the Arab countries
> must be alike in all aspects of life; and what affects any
> part of it must influence the other parts." (2)

The 1967 war between Israel and Egypt had a significant

impact in reinforcing the movement of Arab nationalism and

the co-operation between the Arab countries. At the

conference of the General Arab Students Union held in 1968

1). Arab Socialist Youth Organization (ASYO), Abdel-Nasser, the
    Organization, Cairo, 1972, p.97.

2). ASYO, Abdel-Nasser, p.99.

Nasser declared that the events which the Arab countries had experienced demanded that the insight of educated youth and their responsibilities to the Arab world must be transferred to the new generation. [1]

Clearly, the official attitudes to political education in Egypt was related to the ideology of revolution. The aim of the revolution was to reform the society politically and socially by transforming a society of dictatorship, dominated by feudalism and capitalism, into a society of sufficiency and justice : a democratic society of the working people. Furthermore, past educational experiences had also a significant impact on the development of political education. As has already been argued political and social deterioration before 1952 had an adverse effect on educational development. Egyptian youth were deprived of practising their right of participation in political life because the education provided failed to develop their political and social awareness. The National Charter issued in 1962 noted this failure :

> Successive generations of Egyptian youth were taught that their country was neither fit for nor capable of industrialization. In their textbooks, they read their national history in a distorted version. Their national heroes were described as lost in a mist of doubt and uncertainty while those who betrayed the nation's cause were glorified and venerated.

> Successive generations of Egyptian youth attended schools and universities, whose educational programmes aimed at nothing more than to turn out civil servants to work for the existing system under their laws and regulations which disregarded the interests of people, completely unaware of the need to destroy them or change them radically. (2).

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1). ASYO, Abdel-Nasser, p.99.

2). G. Nasser, National Charter, p.49.

It seems from the very beginning that the revolution
attempted to realize these aims. This necessitated
changing the prevalent political and social concepts which
existed before 1952, and supporting the new political and
social concepts of the revolution. The state paid
considerable attention to education as an essential
instrument to establish and support the new political system
by inculcating loyalty to system and country in the new
generation.

The trend to political socialization was not restricted
to the official statements of the revolution. The Ministry
of Education also formulated policies to foster rising
generations capable of building a democratic socialist
society and adhering to the revolution and its leaders.
Many official documents were issued by the Ministry of
Education setting out this policy. For example, in 1960
the Minister of Education said:

> "We have been reconsidering the educational and cultural
> affairs, ever since the revolution....We are serious in
> getting a straight forward, principled, stable policy,
> derived from the essence of revolution and in conformity
> with its objectives. A policy that is aiming to demolish
> all traces of educational and cultural imperialism. A
> policy that builds up generations' belief in God, Country
> and the principles of Arab Nationalism. Generations
> enjoying freedom in their country, generations living in
> a co-operative, democratic, socialist society which possesses
> justice and prosperity". (1)

On Teacher's Day in 1961, the Minister of Education
re-affirmed the significance of education to support the

1). Ministry of Education, Education Policy in the United Arab
    Republic, Government Press, Cairo, 1960, p.2. (in Arabic).

development of a democratic socialist society and he

declared the commitment of education to Nasser's struggle

for developing society. The Minister stated :

> "During the current-period of our life our efforts, duties and
> responsibilities have been duplicating. The revolutionary
> mobilization is in need of instructors, directors and
> leaders to enlighten the mass with what has been achieved in
> victory and gains to clarify to their citizens the socialistic
> and democratic principles on which their society is based,...
> and to make each citizen a revolutionary power working very
> hard to achieve the values set out by our revival leaders
> and the resurrector of our glories, Gamal Abdel- Nasser." (1)

Indeed Nasser was very faithful to his country and

secured many successful developments in Egyptian society.

However, there were negative aspects to the developments

which took place in political and social life. In respect

of education attempts to inculcate support for the system

and its leaders prevented an open approach to political

education and hindered the development of society.

The Ministry of Education drew up educational goals

consistent with the objectives of the new system and the

pronouncements of its leaders. Educational aims were

intended to support the ideology of the new system based

on the principles of democratic socialist attitudes.

Primary education aimed at rearing children in the belief

of the democratic socialist system and in a feeling of

pride towards their homeland and the Arab countries.[2]

These aims were reinforced in preparatory and secondary

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1). Ministry of Education, Teacher's Day, Minstry Press, Cairo,
    1961, pp.13-14. (in Arabic).

2). Ministry of Education, Education Goals in the United Arab-Republic:
    Primary Education Aims, Government Press, Cairo, 1961, pp.34-42
    (in Arabic).

education in such a way as was consistent with the growth

of the pupils. The aim of preparatory education was:

> Enlightening the pupils as to the foundations of the Arab
> nation,...to be acquainted with the Arab national development,
> their leaders and the role of President Gamal Abdel-Nasser
> in the propagation of Arab national ideas and the expansion in
> studying the history of the Arab world, their glories and
> partriotism...Establishing the basis of democracy...Giving
> the pupils at this stage the opportunity to realize the
> aspects of social justice,...and to enlighten the pupils
> of the ideas of the ASU, its goals and organizations. (1)
> Similarly, the aims of secondary education were:
> To plant the principles of revolution in our pupils mind,...
> studying the contemporary Arab problems with more understanding
> and precision in order to know the reasons which lay behind
> them...Enlightening the pupils of the philosophy of our new
> society as a co-operative, socialistic, democratic one and
> the origins of this philosophy and its relation to our
> history and development. (2)

Since secondary stage pupils had the ability to think

and discuss critically, the aims of this stage sought to

provide opportunities for pupils to practise democracy

through school activities. However, this aim could not

be achieved whilst schools attempted to instill in the

children the acceptance and loyalty to the system and its

leaders.

Sadat (1970-1981) attempted to remedy the negative

social and political aspects of society which arose from

the adoption of the one party system. He tried to bring to

society a democratic approach not rigidly based on a

socialist ideology. However, official statements on

political education have continued to endorse most of the

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1). Ministry of Education, Aims of Preparatory Education, Ministry
     Press, Cairo, 1964, pp.16-18. (in Arabic).

2). Ministry of Education, Aims of General Secondary Education,
     Second Edition, Ministry Press, Cairo, 1964, pp.21-23. (in Arabic)

previous attitudes to political socialization.

The state documents and the Constitution of 1971 frequently mentioned "Democracy", "Freedom of Opinion", and "Individual Freedom". The October Paper (1974) stated also "It is the right of every citizen to feel safe and secure, as to his freedom of opinion, his job and legitimate livelihood...political freedom...is the prerogative of every man."[1] However, loyalty to the Revolution and the system was the main approach of political education. In his address to the Youth Conference held in 1973, Sadat said to the youth "At the present you are the majority and the future is completely your own. You have to make efforts consistent with the principles of your Revolution."[2] In 1976, Sadat also said to the Egyptian youth in their General National Conference :

> "Today I say to you with an open mind, responsible freedom
> and the true democracy that you are always trustworthy and
> loyal to the thought of Revolution so as to renew its
> youth. " (3)

Moreover, the President, in most of his addresses[4] re-emphasized the significance of education as an essential instrument in supporting loyalty to the country and its system by teaching pupils national history, especially the victories of the October War. He argued that history

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1). M. Sadat, The October Paper, p.31.

2). M. Sadat, Address Before the Youth Conference in July 1973, Ministry of Information, State Information Service, Cairo, 1973. (in Arabic)

3). Arab Socialist Union , Arab Socialist Youth Organization , Official Documents of the General National Conference of Youth (30 March - 2 April 1976) Cairo, p.21. (in Arabic.)

4). Ministry of Information, State Information Service, Sadat's Addresses (1 July-31 December 1974), Vol.9, Cairo. (in Arabic.) ; National Council for Youth and Sport, Features and Lights on Building up the Youth, Dar El-Taawen, July 1979, Cairo, p.49. (in Arabic.)

was an important vehicle to promote national awareness

and loyalty to Egypt. In his address in 1979 before the

staff of the universities, Sadat recommended educators to

teach their students from early ages national courses in

order to inculcate in them the love of Egypt and protect

them from alien attitudes. [1] This address was made

following demonstrations by some students in several

universities against certain state policies. In effect,

the aim of state policy in teaching national courses was

not only to support loyalty to Egypt but also an attempt

to support the political system.

Loyalty to the political system and the motherland

was also emphasized in the 1971 Constitution and in other

state documents. The constitution stated :

> The Defence of the motherland is a sacred duty...Safeguarding,
> Consolidating and preserving the socialist gains is a national
> duty...Protecting national unity and keeping State secrets is
> a duty of every citizen. (2)

Moreover, the constitution created a new post, the

Socialist Public Prosecutor, to secure and safeguard

society and its political regime. The constitution

declared that :

> The Socialist Public Prosecutor shall be responsible for
> taking procedures which secure the peoples' rights, the safety
> of society and its political system, the preservation of the
> socialist achievements, and commitment to socialist behaviour.(3)

Similarly, in 1980 the Law for the Protection of Values

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1). Arab Republic of Egypt, State Information Service, Dialogue Between
   President Sadat and Assiut and Menia Universities Staff,(14 April 1979),
   State Information Service Press, Cairo, pp.21-22. (in Arabic.)

2). Ministry of Information, Permanent Constitution, Articles 58-60.

3). Ibid., Article 179.

was issued to safeguard the political and social values
within society. This law stipulated that "The protection
of the basic values of society is the duty of all citizens
and the violation of these values will be regarded as a
defect in political responsibility...All state institutions
are requested to protect and support these values."[1]
Moreover, the law asserted that any body trying to encourage
the younger generation to violate or be disloyal to the
country would be subject to political investigation.

It seems that official attitudes during the seventies
continued to adopt the approach of political socialization.
Although many official statements stated the desire of
developing democracy, political education tended to
preserve the political system, the ideology of the revolution,
and loyalty to country. This constituted a contradiction
between the goals of political education in a democratic
society and the attitudes towards supporting the system.
The aim of political education in a democracy is to under-
stand and develop the values of the system and provide
opportunities to participate in political life.

Until approximately the end of the 1970s there was a
similarity between the approaches of political education in
Egypt and the Soviet Union with both countries attempting
to inculcate in their children the ideology of the state
and loyalty to the system and country. According to
communist ideology and the declaration of its political

1). 'The Permanent Constitution and Basic Laws', pp.177-178;
   Al-Ahram, Cairo, 20 April 1980.

leaders. Soviet education had the leading role in achieving the political aims of the system. The Soviet education system was required to socialize a new generation capable of building the communist society. In this respect education therefore was completely shaped by communist ideology and under the control of the state officials.

Although "Karl Marx wrote virtually nothing about education...." Williamson argues, "The broad outlines of Marxist theory of education are, however, clear enough, and follow from the Marxist theory of class society, the state and of ideology."[1] Soviet society was defined as a socialist society moving towards communism. This society needed qualified citizens to realize the task of social transformation to communism. Accordingly, education had a political function : providing the younger generation with knowledge, skills and values which could induce them and enable them to create a communism society. This idea was expressed clearly by Khrushchov at the Twenty-first Congress of the Communisty Party. He said "to arrive at communism, that most fair and perfect society....we must start right now educating the man of the future".[2]

In line with this idea education was seen as a dictatorial political institution to eliminate the preceding influence of thought and attachments and to secure

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1). Bill Williamson, Education, Social Structure and Development : A Comparative Analysis, The Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1979, p.90.

2). N. Grant, Soviet Education, p.26.

the Communist state. This was expressed by a leading

educator from the very beginning of the Revolution in 1918:

> We must exempt children from the pernicious influence of
> the family. We have to take account of every child, we
> candidly say that we must nationalize them. From the
> first days of their life they will be under the beneficial
> of communistic kindergartens and schools. Here they shall
> assume the ABC of Communism. Here they shall grow up as real
> communists. Our practical problem is to compel mothers to
> hand over their children to the Soviet Government. (1)

Similarly, in 1963 an official Soviet pronouncement

stated :

> Today we should pay special attention to rearing the rising
> generation in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and devotion
> to the cause of communism...The success of upbringing is
> decided precisely in the early years, when the character of
> a person, his attitude toward people and to life, is being
> formed. (2)

To achieve their objectives the Soviet authorities

exploited education to impose totalitarian political aims

over all citizens from an early age and attempted to

carry on many of the essential functions of non-governmental

institutions such as the family.

Consequently, educational aims were drawn up by the

highest authority of the Communist Party. For example in

1958, during one of the most important educational reforms,

the Central Committee of the Communist Party defined the

purpose of education in the following statement :

> Upbringing must inculcate in the schoolchildren a love of
> knowledge and work, and respect for people who work; it
> must shape the communist world outlook of the pupils and
> rear them in the spirit of communist morality and of boundless

1). Quoted by James Bowen, Soviet Education : Anton Makarenko and the
Years of Experiment, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison,
Wisconsin, Second Printing, 1965, p.36.

2). Komsomolskaya Pravda, 10 July 1963, trans. in The Current Digest
of Soviet Press, 15, (14 August 1963), Quoted by Fred I. Greenstein,
Children and Politics, p.4.

loyalty to the country and the people, and in the spirit
of proletarian internationalism. (1)

Moreover, in April 1971, the 24th CPSU Congress issued
a decree for the Five-Year National Economy (1971-1975)
which defined the role of national education as :

> To carry out the further comprehensive development of public
> education and socialist culture...to raise the quality of
> training of future specialists and to improve their ideological
> and political upbringing. (2)

Educational law completely adhered to the policies
of the Communist Party and declared frankly that education
was the most important agent of political socialization
in the Soviet Union. The fundamental law of 1973 on
education emphasized that "The task of moulding a new man -
a builder of communism - is being carried out under the
guidance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union". (3)
The implementation of the unity and harmony of communist
instruction, according to this law, requested all society's
organization to work with the state in building the communist
society. Article 4 stated that the principles of public
education in the USSR were "...Unity of instruction and
communist upbringing : the co-operation of school, family
and society in the upbringing of children and youth.
Connection of instruction and upbringing of the rising
generation with life, with particular communist instruction" (4)

1). Strengthening the Ties of the School with Life, Thesis of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the USSR
Council of Ministers, November 1958, Section 20, Quoted by N.Grant,
Soviet Education, p.25.

2). Pravda and Izuestia, 10 April 1971, Quoted by Seymour M. Rosen,
Education in U.S.S.R. : Recent Legislation and Statistics, U.S.
Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington D.C., 1975,p.13.

3). Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics on Public
Education, Moscow : Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1975, p.4,
Quoted by M. Irish and E. Frank, Introduction to Comparative Politics,
pp.154-155.

4). Uchitel' skaia gaseta, July 12, 1973, Quoted by S.Rosen, Education in
the USSR, p.20.

However, the Communist Party retained the right to make decisions and formulate all educational policies. Moreover, as it has already seen, the Soviet authorities did not trust non-governmental institutions in upbringing children. Due to the importance of the family and the early years of childhood in formulating children's attitudes, the Soviet authority tended, under its supervision to expand nursery and kindergarten schools. This belief was recognized by early communist leaders such as Lenin who called nursery schools and kindergartens "the green schools of communism."[1]

The purposes of education, according to the 1973 Fundamental Law on Education, indicated that the main source of Soviet education was the Marxism-Leninism ideology. This law stated :

> The goal of public education in the U.S.S.R. is preparation
> of highly educated, well rounded, physically healthy and
> active builders of communist society, brought up on the
> ideas of Marxism-Leninism and in the spirit of respect
> for Soviet laws and socialist legality, capable of working
> successfully in various areas of socio-economic cultural
> construction, actively participating in social and state
> activity, and ready to defend selflessly the socialist
> homeland...(2).

Similarly, according to article 19 of this law the chief tasks of elementary and secondary general education were "...formation in the young generation of a Marxist-Leninist world view, educating them in socialist

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1). M. Irish and E. Frank, Introduction to Comparative Politics, p.155 (in footnote).

2). Osnovy zakonodatel' stva SSR i soiuznykh respublik o narodnom obrazovanii. (Basic Law of 19 July 1973, text in Uchitel' skaya gazeta, 5 April 1973.), Quoted by N. Grant, Soviet Education,p.25.

internationalism, Soviet patriotism,and readiness to
defend the socialist homeland..." [1]

Pronouncements issued by authorities continued to
reinforce the political function of education in supporting
communist ideology. The trend to political socialization
has been carried further in recent years. The 25th Party
Congress in 1976 paid great attention to ideological
education and preparing the new capable Soviet man of
building communism. In his report, Brezhnev stated :

> Comrades! The strength of our order lies in the consciousness
> of the masses. And the party considers the inculcation of
> communist consciousness, the readiness, will and knowledge
> needed to build communism to be its constant concern. In
> the period on which I am reporting (the previous five years),
> questions of ideological education, and the problems of the
> formation of the new man, a worthy builder of communism, have
> occupied a big place in all our work. (2)

Brezhnev's emphasis on ideological education was
conceived earlier by Lenin to promote communism. Lenin
said "It is our task to overcome all kinds of capitalist
resistance, not only military and political...but also
ideological, which is the most profound and powerful of
all." [3]

Although the Soviet Union achieved much through its
policy of political socialization, Morison observed that
Brezhnev warned against complacency even though all school-
children were now learning the fundamentals of political

1). Uchitel' skaia gaseta, July 12, 1973, Quoted by R. Rosen, Education in the USSR, p.20.

2). L.I. Brezhnev, 'Otchet tsentral' nogo komiteta KPSS i ocherednye zadachi partii v oblasti vntrennei i vneshmei politiki', Materialy XXV s'ezda KPSS (Izdatel' stvo politicheshoi literatury, Moscow, 1976), pp.71-81, Quoted by J. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR' in J.J. Tomiak (ed.), Soviet Education in the 1980s, Croom Helm, London, 1983.

3). Lenin, Sochinenia,(III ed.), Vol.15, Moscow, 1931, p.45, Quoted by Z. Katz,'Party Political Education in Soviet Russia,' School of Economics, London, 1957/58, Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis, p.5.

knowledge and "the mass study of Marxism-Leninism is the most important distinguishing feature of the development of social consciousness at the contemporary stage", [1] Brezhnev, at the 25th Party Congress, demanded greater effectiveness in this work. The Congress reaffirmed its concern to implant deeply the feeling of soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. Brezhnev also stated :

> The great cause of building of communism cannot move forward without the all-round development of man. Communism is impossible without a high level of culture, education, (and) social awareness. (2).

In accordance with Brezhnev's emphasis, a Central Committee decree published on 26 April 1979 drew attention to ideological and political education to support the struggle for communism. The decree entitled "On the further improvement of ideological and political-educational work", declared :

> The path of economic, socio-political and cultural development of the country, the full realisation of the possibilities of developed socialism, the realization of the Leninist foreign policy course of the Soviet Union and the strengthening of its international position depend all the more on the success of ideological and political educational work. (3).

At the 26th Party Congress on 23 February 1981, Brezhnev referred to this decree. As J. Morison remarked, Brezhnev asserted that political education and agitation had to be conducted in lively language and to be firmly connected to real issues of everyday life. (4). However,

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1). J. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR' p.145.

2). M. Kashin, 'Concerning the result of the Soviet school's adoption of new curriculum', Soviet Education, May 1977, Vol.XIX, No.7,p.7.

3). O Dal' neishem uluchshenii ideologicheskoi,..., pp.3-15. Quoted by J. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR', p.145.

4). J. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR', pp.146.

real issues of everyday life must be seen in the terms of communist ideology.

As previously stated above, recent official emphasis on political socialization has also had its effect on the practice of political education. For example,[1] the response of the Ministry of Education to the decisions of Congress was to instruct all Soviet teachers to introduce studies for their pupils presenting ideological communism in an interesting way with concrete links to life and to contemporary reality. The Minister of education asserted the significance of education to instil in the school children not just ideas, but also communist convictions and communist morals.

Clearly, the main task of political education in the Soviet was to build a communist society based on the beliefs of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The Communist Party and Soviet authorities paid a great deal of attention to the function of education as a means to indoctrinate the children with a love of knowledge and values of communism, respect for work, sharing of the communist world outlook, the spirit of communist morality, loyalty to their country, and defence of the socialist homeland. Moreover, education was an essential instrument to realise the future aim of communism in supporting proletarian internationalism and socialist internationalism. Thus it was clearly stated that the aim of political socialization in the Soviet Union was to support an extreme

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1). Quoted by J. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR', pp.146-147.

political system and its leaders in securing the

subservience of all citizens to its orders and values.

The birth of the multi-party system in Egypt was

a significant step towards introduction of political

education in Egypt. In spite of the political significance

of the attempts to develop education, achieving democracy

was the most important aim of education. In his Teacher

Day address in 1984 President Mubarak said:

> "The augmentation and expansion of the right of education
> includes as well as social, political, and economic
> dimensions. Moreover, the expansion of education on a
> large scale plays an essential part in establishing the
> principles of democracy and making them deeply rooted." (1)

Loyalty to the country was the main task of political

education. In his address to the Parliament in 1983,

Mubarak declared :

> "School plays a leading role in the citizen's life and
> thoughts since his childhool by forming his concepts and
> crystalizing his values and principles so as to be a
> useful element in his country... Thus the educational process
> is of great importance to planning for the coming generations
> and decisive to the determination of the future of this
> country". (2)

> (He also asked teachers) to spare no effort so that
> education may become more effective in realizing its aims
> and in contributing to the development of life on our dear
> land and in arousing the feeling of belonging and loyalty
> to the country". (3)

In contrast to the old official attitudes, emphasis

on loyalty to the leaders has not been found in recent

statements Mubarak asserted :

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1). Al-Ahram, Cairo, 4 March 1984.

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

3). Al-Ahram, Cairo, 4 March 1984.

> "There is neither loyalty to a person nor holiness to an
> individual. All-embracing loyalty is to our country and
> all-comprehensive glory is to Egypt...In order to achieve
> loyalty, each individual-whatever his position- must
> consider the interest of the country more important than
> his own interest, see things objectively and judge his
> deeds according to their fruitful use to his society".(1)

Patriotism and loyalty to the country are not

necessarily the same as loyalty to the political system and

its leaders. Loyalty of citizens can effect the perpetua-

tion of the political system. However in the absence of

democracy the system may collapse. Loyalty and patriotism

should be mainly regarded directed to the country even if

this contradicts the political system and necessitates the

criticism of its policies.

The Ministry of Education has also been affected

by the recent development of democracy. The formal

emphasis on political socialization has not been apparent in

recent official attitudes of the Ministry. In a speech to

the staff of the universities in May 1984, the Minister of

Education argued that democracy mainly meant the right of

every citizen to receive education and in turn the educated

people would be able to practise and develop democracy. The

Minister said :

> "The concept of education in democracy is not confined merely
> to giving the right of education to Egyptians but its primary
> aim is to inculcate democracy in young people's minds,
> because democracy is meaningless in a society predominated
> by ignorance. If democracy positively reflects its shadow
> on education in turn firmly establishes the content and
> significance of democracy."(2)

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1). Arab Youth, Cairo, 25 July, 1983.

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

Corresponding to this development the current educational law, issued in 1981, did not refer to support of the state political system. However, the law asserted the role of education was to inculcate in school children loyalty to the country and to prepare them to participate in society's affairs. The law stated :

> Pre-university education aims at preparing the Egyptian citizen who believes in God, his country, values of good, right and humanity. It is also providing him sufficiently with knowledge, attitudes, and skills...to achieve the development. welfare and progress of the society.... Preparing the pupils (in secondary schools) to participate in public life and emphasizing the inculcation of religious and patriotic values. (1)

It seems clear that at the beginning of the Revolution, State official attitudes towards political education were to use education to support the new political system, acceptance of its ideology, and loyalty to the revolutionary leaders. Moreover, political education officially represented a significant vehicle in strengthening not merely loyalty to the motherland but also to Arab nationalism. From the beginning of the seventies most of these approaches were carried further and attempts to perpetuate the system were significant features in the most important official documents, though these documents contained many democratic principles. From the beginning of the eighties political education began to be re-shaped to reflect the moves towards more democratic society. However, loyalty to the country remained the most important role of political education in Egypt.

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1). Ministry of Education, The 1981 Education Act, Articles 1,17,22.

In spite of the great differences between the political ideologies in Egypt and the Soviet Union, there was a similarity in the political aims of the educational system. In both Egypt and the Soviet Union the official attitude towards the educational system was that education should support the political system and loyalty to the country. Whilst the political ideology of the Soviet Union implied the continuing attention of communist doctrines, however in Egypt the political aims of the educational system were to support a new political system which could be eventually developed according to the principles of democracy.

Although the educational system in England has enjoyed greater freedom from political direction and influence than in Egypt and in the Soviet Union, official reports and pronouncements have had a significant effect on the content of education. Some observers have argued that political education in England has tended to be neglected in schools.[1] However, official attitudes revealed the need for political education and contributed to its development in a democratic society.

By the late nineteenth century, political education was concerned with loyalty to the country, conveying the prevalent attitudes, the glories of the empire, and the responsibilities of citizenship. No significant change was expressed in official attitudes throughout the greater part

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1). Crick and Porter, p.1.

of the first three quarters of the twentieth century.

Official statements towards political education have been

"cautious, vague and occasionally downright hostile. The

climate began to change in the 1960s, but it was not until

1975 that we get a really positive assertion that political

education is a right to be expected and provided for in a

democratic society."[1]

The earlier reports discouraged the introduction

of political education into school curriculum. The Spens

Report (1938) asserted that "...since with pupils under 16

the theoretical dicussion of economic questions is imprac-

ticable, and objections to direct discussion of current

political questions are considerable, recent political and

economic history is the best introduction to the study of

politics". The report suggested that teachers "by precept

or still more by breadth of their own sympathies...can best

educate pupils to become citizens of a modern democratic

country". [2]

Although the Norwood Report (1943) expressed the

idea of education for citizenship, it was limited in concept.

Education for citizenship was mainly the study of the social

and political institutions within the society and, incidentally,

to support desirable attitudes. The report stated :

> We wish to consider one of the many topics which have been
> brought to our attention for inclusion in the curriculum,
> namely education for citizenship...British men and women
> should have clearer conceptions for the institutions of
> their country,..., and that they should realise their
> duties and responsibilities....Teaching of the kind desired

1). Tom Brennan,'Political Education and the Curriculum', Documents of the
    Political Education Research Unit, Department of Education,
    University of York, Spring 1982, TS., p.1.

2). Board of Education, Report of the Consultative Committee on
    Secondary Education, H.M.S.O., London 1938, p.174.

can best be given incidentally, by appropriate illustration
and comment and digression, through the ordinary school
subjects, particularly History, Geography, English and
foreign languages and literatures. (1)

This incidental approach to political education

was not effective. Political education had its specific

requirements to develop children's understanding of

necessary political matters and this was difficult to

realize in an incidental way. Even so an incidental

approach to political socialization is not enough to

support the system and in this situation the system may

resort to the violence to support the necessary demands

of the system. Entwistle expressed well the objection of

the incidental approach to political education:

> The problem of teaching anything incidentally is that
> appropriately illustrative incidents may occur too
> rarely for necessary conceptual development to be
> fostered systematically and adequately. Proper
> understanding and mastery of facts, concepts and
> principles require that these be encountered
> repeatedly at intervals and in different sorts of
> context...For in an educational context, 'incidental'
> has a habit of meaning 'haphazard' and there is no more
> reason why a child's political education should be left
> to chance than should his mathematical education. (2)

Section 43 of the 1944 Education Act encouraged

the teaching of political education for young people

over 16. Section 43 required local authorities to

establish County Colleges for young persons "to enable

them to develop their various aptitides and capacities"

and to "prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship. [3]

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1). Board of Education, Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools.
p.58.

2). H. Entwistle, Political Education in a Democracy, p.108.

3). George Taylor and John B. Saunders, The Law of Education, Eighth
Edition, Butterworths, London, 1976, pp.136-137.

It seems that the discouragement of the introduction of political education into schools was based on the belief that children under 16 were too young to receive direct discussion of political affairs. It is not surprising, therefore, that the 1944 Act recommended the introduction of civic education for young people over 16. In the event, however, County Colleges were not established[1] and section 43 remained a dead letter.

The intentions in a succeeding official statement, issued in 1947, were to develop community, citizenship and responsibility within society. However, the implementations of these intentions were concentrated on political knowledge of the country. The New Secondary School pamphlet stated:

> The individual pupil needs to develop as a member of a community and he must learn to live with other people. The secondary school can make deliberate efforts to include a leading feature of its syllabuses and training a study of what has come to be known as 'Citizenship', or 'Civics", that is, the basic information about local and national government, rates and taxes, the judicial system, and so on. It can lead the pupil to wider conception of his status and responsibilities as a citizen of this country and of the relation between this country and the British Commonwealth and the United Nations. (2)

The Ministry of Education pamphlet Citizens Growing Up, issued in 1949, also emphasizes the need for civic education by preparing an active citizen and preserving the system of society. The pamphlet recognized :

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1). J.P.Parry, The Provision of Education in England and Wales, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1971, pp.29-30

2). Ministry of Education, The New Secondary Education, Pamphlet No.9, H.M.S.O. London 1947, p.15.

> ...In a democratic community we must all take a share in
> preparing our young people for the responsibilities of active
> citizenship...It would be as unreasonable as it would be unwise
> to exclude today from the school curriculum, information about
> these institutions, local and national, through which we govern
> ourselves, earn our living and manage our affairs. And so we
> find that secondary schools today very generally recognise a
> need for introducing at least their older pupils to the
> political, social and economic life of our times.(1)

It seems clear then that the official attitudes
mentioned above, saw the need for political education in
terms of citizenship and duties and maintaining the
traditions of society. Moreover, official attitudes were
still cautious to the introduction of political education
for young children. As T. Brennan argued, education for
citizenship in effect was never implemented and official
publications were largely descriptive and informational.[2]

In the late fifties and sixties official pronouncement
became more sophisticated and tended to encourage the
development of political education. Whilst strong
objections to introducing politics to all children
remained, the Crowther Report (1959) argued that :

> What is true of ethics and philosophy is true also of politics.
> The fact that politics are controversial - that honest men
> disagree - makes preparation for citizenship a difficult
> matter but it ought to be tackled, and not least for the
> ordinary boys and girls who now leave school at 15 and
> often do not find it easy to see any argument except in
> personal terms. (3)

The Newsom Report (1963) also asserted the necessity
for political education through teaching history and social

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1). Ministry of Education, <u>Citizens Growing Up,</u> Pamphlet No.16.
    H.M.S.O., London, 1949, p.2, 21.

2). T. Brennan, 'Political Education and the Curriculum', p.3.

3). Ministry of Education, <u>15 to 18 : A Report of Central Advisory</u>
    <u>Council for Education,</u> England, Vol.1, H.M.S.O., London,1959.
    p.114 (Para.175).

studies and warned :

> The importance of history and geography, or social studies in
> which are sometimes merged, seems obvious. A man who is
> ignorant of the society in which he lives, who knows nothing of
> its place in the world and who has not thought about his place
> in it, is not a free man even though he has a vote. He is
> easy game for the hidden persuaders. (1)

The School Council's working paper No.2, written in
response to proposals to raise the school leaving age to
16, also expressed concern over education for citizenship
particularly in terms of the humanities and of responsibil-
ities and rights. The document emphasized :

> Members of a civilized society have to grasp - the rule of
> law, a sense of justice, a willingness to accept responsibility,
> an honourable carrying out of undertakings, freely entered into,
> a sense of debt to the past and responsibility towards the
> future, government by consent, respect for minority views,
> freedom of speech and action and readiness to recognise that
> such freedom depends on trust, friendship and individual
> responsibility for the manner in which they are exercised.(2).

Whilst the Crowther and Newsom Reports were more
positive than earlier official reports, however, they did
not contain a full discussion of political education and
its role in curriculum. Heater observed that "The Newsom
Report... has more to say, but the thought behind the
scattered comments is very superficial"[3] Moreover,
traditional subjects remained the most desirable medium to
implant patriotic feeling and to teach political and
social norms. This attitude was reinforced by the two
ministry pamphlets, namely Teaching History (1952) and

1). Ministry of Education, Half Our Future : A Report of Central
    Advisory Council for Education, England, Vol.1, H.M.S.O., London,
    1959, p.163 (para.499).

2). Schools Council, Raising the School Leaving Age, Working Paper,
    No. 2, H.M.S.O., London, 1965, p.16 (para.68.)

3). D. Heater, 'A Burgeoning of Interest', p.327.

Towards World History (1967). The attention of these
pamphlets, inevitably, was on "the relationship that can
be built into a history syllabus between the traditional
aspects of the subject and political education".[1] The
pamphlet Towards World History emphasized the significance
of history as an appropriate vehicle for teaching political
education. The pamphlet stated :

> It will be as well to give (the next generation) as good a
> political education as may be, which means giving it an
> education in history....Most history teachers tend to stress
> the preliminary training which the subject provides in
> responsible citizenship. (2)

The criticisms of official attitudes to political
education in England reveal that political education has
been neglected and there is a need for further development.
This neglect can be attributed to several factors. First
of all was the belief that England, unlike Egypt and the
Soviet Union, had a more stable and mature democratic
system. Therefore, it was believed that there was no
need to socialize the new generation into the norms of the
system. However, civic education for the masses, in
contrast to emphasis in Public Schools on preparing
political leadership for government, "successfully
produced the type of citizen that ensured stability"[3]
and "remained virtually confined to the annual flag-waving
ritual of Empire Day"[4]. However, in democratic societies

1). B. Crick and D. Heater, Essays on Political Education, p.29.

2). DES, Towards World History, p.2.

3). Clive Harber, 'Politics and Political Education in 1984',
Educational Review, Vol.36, No.2, 1984, p.114.

4). D. Heater, 'A Burgeoning of Interest', p.226.

it could be argued that massive political education is required in order to promote a citizen's ability to practise democracy and to participate in political life.

Until the late 1960s and the advent of 1970s, the school leaving age in England was 15 and the voting age was 21. Perhaps this gap of six years appeared to diminish the responsibility of schools in providing political education. Nevertheless, this factor was eliminated by lowering the voting age to 18 in 1970 and raising the school leaving age to 16 in 1972.[1] Consequently, it was expected that this new situation would promote a significant interest in political education. Many observers recognised that "if education for citizenship was to become a reality it must be undertaken during the last year or two at school otherwise it was unlikely to be undertaken at all."[2] In Egypt, in spite of the lowering of the voting age from 21 to 18 in the early 1970s and the raising of the school leaving age from 12 to 15 in the early 1980s there was no significant change in official attitudes towards political education during the 1970s. It was hoped that school curriculum provided young people with sufficient political education to enable them to practise their civic rights at a time when Egypt was implementing further developments in democracy.

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1). C. Harber, 'Politics and Political Education in 1984', pp.114-115.

2). T. Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, p.48.

The British system of parliamentary democracy has always been seen as representative democracy and it has been thought that this sytem required only very limited political skills on the part of citizens. [1] This argument is only true if there is an evidence that the actions of the representatives are always sound. In a representative system citizens should participate in the political orientation of their country's affairs.

Other factors which contributed to the neglect of political education in England included the "lack of teachers professionally committed to this field of work; a belief that the study of politics can only be an adult activity, and the fear of indoctrination". [2] Whilst these factors are significant, however, the lack of qualified teachers can be tackled and indoctrination can be avoided to a large extent in the school curriculum. It has been seen from the theoretical framework that political education can be introduced to secondary school pupils and Crick and Porter argue that these factors should not hinder the introduction of political education into schools. They state:

> ...there is no need to fear what is one of the greatest parts
> of our cultural heritage...because of fears of bias or indoc-
> trination - of that in a moment. But it can be done better
> than it often is. There is sometimes a need for greater
> professionalism...There is a need for a small core of political
> education to be part of teacher education at every level. (3)

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1). C. Harber,'Politics and Political Education in 1984',p.114.

2). D. Heater, 'A Burgeoning of Interest', p.229.

3). Crick and Porter, p.5.

Since the late 1960s and early 1970s a significant interest in political education has emerged through the activities of the Politics Association in company with the Hansard Society of Parliamentary Government, attempts by responsible bodies to reform the school curriculum, popular interest of the major political parties, and other official activities.

The Politics Association was established in 1969, to promote and improve political education. Prominent supporters of the work of the Association have included Reginald Prentice and Sir Keith Joseph. [1] Moreover, the Politics Association was established at an opportune time since politics have become a more widely accepted discipline in universities and polytechnics thus providing a potential source of teachers in schools. The main function of the new Association were to handle matters relating to political education by holding an annual conference, publishing a professional journal on Teaching Politics, and evaluating school curricula.

In January 1973, a row broke out over the arrangements of Sixth Form Conferences by the Conservative Party. The Conservative Party was accused by a Labour Party spokesman of trying to indoctrinate pupils. The situation was resolved by Crick, the acting President of the Politics Association, who drafted a series of ground rules for Sixth-Form Conferences which were accepted by all three major parties. [2]

1). T. Brennan, _Political Education and Democracy_, pp.46-47.
2). D. Heater, 'A Burgeoning of Interest', p.333.

The ground rules emphasized the educational criteria
and the need for maintaining political balance in such
matters. The rules recommended:

> That politicians talking to pupils on controversial matters in
> school time should only do so in circumstances where they
> fit into a systematic programme organized by the school or
> group of schools and when there has been preparation by the
> teachers. Isolated visits tend....to be a waste of everyone's
> time, and schools should not think that their responsibilities
> for civic education are met simply by talks from the parties;
> they must be prepared for and followed up afterwards by the
> schools. (1).

Prominent work by the Politics Association was under-
taken together with the Hansard Society in 1978 to develop
the introduction of political education to secondary
schools. The main aim of the programme was to enhance
political literacy. The Working Party identified three
possible objectives of political education which were
seen as political alternatives. These objectives were
drawn from three theories : the conserving approach of
knowing the existing system of government and its beliefs;
the liberal or participatory approach of development of
knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary for active
participation; and the approach to possible change of
direction of government. The three doctrines had their
considerations in any programme of political education.
"All three objectives must find their place in a curriculum
together and not be in insolation or to the exclusion of
the others. (2).

The Politics Association and the Hansard Society

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1). 'The Conduct of Political Sixth-Form Conferences (Appendix)'
in Ibid., p.342.

2). Crick and Porter, p.12.

accepted the three approaches of conservation, partici-
pation and change. This approach would seem to be justified
since not all aspects of existing systems or status-quo
need changing or supporting. Therefore it is to be
preferred in order to enhance political literacy through
which a citizen "would be somebody who can appreciate
plausibility of, give some good account of the nature and
implications of, each of these three doctrines."[1]

Political literacy combines knowledge, attitudes, and
the skills needed to make the vast majority of young
people informed about politics. It draws from the
politics of everyday life to enable them to participate
effectively in political life. A politically literate
person requires to know what the main political disputes
are and how these affect him and others and to try to do
something to affect them. Political literacy gives a
person the knowledge and concepts of political issues
which enable him to express and defend his view and
recognise that other people's viewpoints can be different
from his own view. [2]

Although the Working Party did not assert the
assumption that political literacy was best gained by
teaching about political literacy directly, it was posited
that political literacy would "be advanced through other
subjects, for instance, History, Geography, Social

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1). Crick and Porter, p.13.

2) Crick and Porter, p.33.

Studies, Sociology and Economics [1]. Nevertheless, the findings noted that there were difficulties in teaching political literacy indirectly through conventional history and A-level courses in British Government. The report of the working party stated that :

> Despite obvious advantages, History and British Government
> as vehicles for political literacy showed some signs of,
> at the worst, crushing the hitch-hiker beyond recognition or,
> at the best, of simply taking him somewhere else, certainly
> compared to even a few hours' journey in a vehicle, however
> small, deliberately set aside for courses designed to enhance
> political literacy. Yet realistically the only opportunity
> for political education in many schools may be its infusion
> through the cognate established subjects of curriculum. [2]

Whilst the teaching of occasional political issues or issues that arose incidentally in lessons was less successful, the report emphasized that a more successful approach to political education courses was to concentrate on one or two issues and to explore them in depth. This approach would encourage the development of political literacy through creating "a disposition and a skill that is readily transferable to other issues by the pupil himself, than any attempt to cover in a short time the main issues of modern British politics".[3] The purpose of political education was not to study specific issues but to develop the ability of pupils to evaluate, understand and handle any issue. Therefore, it was suggested that political literacy was most successful

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1). Crick and Porter, p.2.

2). Crick and Porter, p.24.

3). Crick and Porter p.25.

through courses "which have been constructed with exclusive political literacy objectives". However, the programme expressed the "need to explore the possibility of political literacy objectives being successfully infused or integrated into courses designed to meet other objectives. [1]

It seems clear that the programmes of the Politics Association and Hansard Society were more interested in political literacy and in asserting that the school curriculum should pay more attention to political education either through exclusive courses or other school subjects. Nevertheless, exclusive courses were more positive than indirect approaches through other subjects. The report was more efficient than earlier official reports and encouraged the involvement of the three concepts of conservation, participation and change in political education. However, the programme emphasized the study and understanding of relevant issues to politics derived from every day life to develop skills of active participation. In this way it seems that political literacy was closer to the liberal concepts of a democratic society than to the approaches of a conservative state or to radical change.

The Schools Council issued a working paper in 1975 which outlined the problems facing teachers and set out principles for the content of the curriculum. The report drew attention to the significance of participation and

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1). Crick and Porter, p.27.

criticism in a democratic society. It also argued that
political education should not advocate the policy of
any political party. The report stated:

> Pupils may reasonably expect to receive a political education
> appropriate to participation in the life of democratic
> society. The school should not advance on its authority
> the standpoint of any political party or the personal views
> of its staff. All political opinions should be subject
> to impartial and critical scrutiny. Schools should help
> pupils understand our society as it stands and equip them
> to criticise social policy and to contribute to the improvement
> of society. (1).

Subsequently, in a report issued in 1981, the Schools
Council reasserted the need for political education and
the aim of promoting the understanding of the political
system and society values. The objectives of education
were the same for all children "to acquire understanding
of the social, economic and political order, and a
reasoned set of attitudes, values and beliefs; and to
prepare for their adult lives".[2]

The increasing interest in political education was
reflected in official statements issued by H.M.I. and
the D.E.S. H.M.I. Working Paper (1977) on the curriculum
11-16 examined the introducing of political education
during the period of compulsory schooling. It was
recognized that the social and political area should be
one of the essential areas of experience introduced in
the school curriculum. Furthermore, it was of equal
importance as other areas of experiences. The working
paper stated :

1). Schools Council, The Whole Curriculum 13-16, Working Paper No.53,
Evans/Methuen Educational, London, 1975, p.25.

2). Schools Council, The Practical Curriculum : a Report from the
Schools Council, Working Paper No. 70, Methuen Educational,
London, 1981, p.15.

...many young people will find that they are expected to play a responsible part in their local communities, and at the age of 18, to cast their votes...They will need to understand different viewpoints, appreciate conflicting motives, resist tendentious influences, and appraise critically... They will therefore, require not only a basic knowledge of how society is run and how resources are distributed but also an introduction to citizenship involving not so much a study of institutions but of issues...(1)

In contrast to some of old official statements, this report encouraged the introduction of political education during the early stages of secondary and it emphasized that the purpose of political education was to promote the study of political issues rather than political institutions. The report stated that "it is not the responsibility of education in this country to give direct ideological support to every aspect of the existing political system, in the sense that would be required in a totalitarian state". The report, however, recognized that "in any curriculum the selection of subjects and skills that are taught and of the attitudes and activities that are encouraged implies certain political and social assumptions and values, however unconscious".[2] Thus, it seems that H.M.I. did not deny the possibilities of support for the existing system in an incidental way.

In line with this approach the D.E.S. advocated the idea of creating a national consensus in their document "A Framework for the School Curriculum (1980)". This document suggested a core curriculum for all pupils

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1). Department of Education and Science, Curriculum 11-16 : Working Paper by H.M. Inspectorate, H.M.S.O., London, 1977, pp.11-12.

2). Ibid., p.10.

according to their ability. "Such a core, it is hoped,
would ensure that all pupils, whatever else they do,
at least get a sufficient grounding in knowledge and
skills which by common consent should form part of the
equipment of the educated adult."[1] Furthermore,
other publications of the School Council and the D.E.S.[2]
support the idea of creating the coherence within the
British Society.

Concern for the development of political education
has also been expressed in various pamphlets issued by
the D.E.S. For example, in Aspects of Secondary Education
(1979) H.M.I. observed from a survey on secondary school
in England that :

> Teachers generally acknowledge the need for more personal
> education in the curriculum for all pupils, by including
> careers education, health education and political
> education , and by stimulating awareness of economic
> realities and social obligations. (3)

In a report issued in 1983 on the development of
secondary school curriculum, the D.E.S. reasserted the
need for political education to develop the pupils' ability
to participate socially and politically in a democratic
society. The report stated :

> Pupils have common needs to develop, with maximum enjoyment,
> skills and attitudes necessary for their individual autonomy
> now and in the future and for work and political and social
> participation in the democratic society to which they belong.(4)

1). Department of Education and Science, A Framework for the School
    Curriculum, (The Department), London, January, 1980, p.5.

2). Schools Council, The Practical Curriculum, p.13; Department of
    Education and Science, Curriculum 11-15 : Towards a Statement of
    Entitlement, H.M.S.O., London, 1983, p.25.

3). Department of Education and Science, Aspects of Secondary
    Education in England : A Survey by H.M. Inspectors of Schools,
    H.M.S.O., London, December 1979, p.42.

4). D.E.S., Curriculum 11-16 : Towards A Statement of Entitlement,
    p.25.

The need for political education has also received
support from government, ministers of education and
political parties. Reginald Prentice, a former Secretary
of State for education and Science argued that there was
no difference between introducing political education
into schools and any other subject and the fear that
teachers might impose their views on their pupils should
not be a reason to exclude political studies from
schools.[1] Introducing political education required a
teacher to encourage his pupils to express themselves
freely without fear from the teacher's viewpoints. In a
speech to the Fifth Annual Conference of Politics
Association at Bingley College of Education in September,
1974. Prentice emphasized the significance of political
education in supporting democracy. Whilst he did not
support the belief that school could solve society's
problems, however, he believed that schools could help.
Prentice said:

> "The second general election of 1974 is bound to be a tough
> struggle in which politicians of all parties will fight hard
> to win. Nobody has any right to complain about that. But
> we might reflect for a moment on how we shall conduct that
> struggle. On the eve of this election we should ask why so
> many of our fellow citizens are saying : 'A plague on all
> your houses'. Why is there so much cynicism and disbelief?"[2]

To reconcile political conflict and improve society
Prentice argued that politicians, teachers and citizens
needed to be stimulated to sustain the principles of
democracy.

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1). Reginald Prentice, 'Civic Education', reported in Teaching
   Politics, Vol.4., No.1., January 1975, p.5.

2). Ibid., p.6.

In his article entitled "Now is the time for all good
men....", Norman St.John-Stevas mentioned that the
"Prime Minister has regretted the political alienation
of youth". [1]   In the government Green Paper "Education
in Schools" issued in 1977, the then Secretary of State
for Education, Shirley Williams, also expressed her
support for political education. She asserted the
necessity of creating a greater awareness of community and
the importance of getting a basic understanding of how
the British system works to develop the ability of the
individual to participate in a democratic society. She
said :

> Likewise within schools there should be a greater awareness
> of community at large; the needs of the nation as a whole;
> the working of a modern industrial society; and the role of
> the individual participating in a democracy.....Young people
> need to be equipped with a basic understanding of the
> functioning of our democratic political system, of the mixed
> economy and the industrial activities, especially manufacturing,
> which create our national wealth. [2].

More recently Sir Keith Joseph the present Secretary
for State for Education, in his talk to the Historical
Association Conference held in 1984 [3], explained the
importance of history in introducing political education
into schools. He emphasized that national history should
be an essential component in the curriculum for all
pupils up to 16. "For the child brought up in this
country", Joseph said "British history has something to

1). Norman St.John-Stevas , 'Now is the time for all good men...'
    The Times Educational Supplement, 25 November 1977

2). Department of Education and Science, Education in Schools :
    A Consultative Document Presented to Parliament by the Secretary
    of State for Education and Science, H.M.S.O., London, July,1977,
    p.37, 41.

3). Keith Joseph, 'Why Teach History in School', The Historian,
    No. 2, Spring 1984.

convey which cannot, however expert the teaching, be conveyed through Roman history or American history or Caribbean history." The Minister was more enthusiastic for teaching British history. The main aim of studying other nations history was to understand the British society. Joseph said "History is indispensable to understanding the society we live in : to an awareness by pupils of the place of themselves, their families or communities in the developing story of the nation, a story which itself involves other nations and peoples."

This approach to the teaching of history could lead to indoctrination in certain values of British society. Consequently, Sir Keith defined the aim of teaching history to "understand the development of shared values which are a distinctive feature of British society and culture and which continue to shape private attitudes and public policy." He recognised "that values are shared only in a broad sense : we disagree among ourselves about much, and that is as it should be in an open society". Sir Keith emphasized the idea that the purpose of teaching history was to understand the shared values rather than accept them.

Other educational, religious, and industrial organizations began to take an increasing interest in political education. During the great Debate in March 1977 several organizations commented on the provision of political education.[1] For example, the National Association of

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1). Crick and Porter, pp.7-8.

Teachers in Further and Higher Education said "If we are to develop greater participation in political, social and industrial life,... it is necessary for the schools to equip young people to play their part. This involves a curriculum wide enough to give young people the basis for such participation". The Council of Local Education Authorities defined the aim of a core curriculum to develop "...an understanding of simple scientific facts...a knowledge of social, historical,geographical and political bases of the world in which (pupils) live." The T.U.C. stated "If there is a core curriculum which all young people should share equally...all young people must be helped to become politically and economically literate." Moreover, the Church of England Board of Education posed the question "How far is the educational system, not only 'fitting' children for life in our society, but enabling them constructively to criticise and reshape it?" Commonly, these organisations expressed the need for political education to develop pupils' understanding of the political and social values of society and to participate effectively in a democratic society.

It seems clear that since the beginning of the 1970s there has been a growing interest in political education in England. Whilst earlier official attitudes were cautious and, to some extent, tended to support the concepts of political socialization, recent developments have emphasized the need for more open political education in a democratic society through the developing of an understanding of the political system and society values and an ability to criticize and participate effectively in

the political life. However, the possibilities for supporting the system of existing values and creating national consciousness and coherence within the society continue to be found in some official reports.

Generally, in the past official attitudes towards political education in Egypt were shaped by its political ideology in order to support the new system. Central control of education meant that political education tended to take an authoritarian form of political socialization. To a large extent such an approach still remains characteristic of the Soviet Union although changes are being made in Egypt.

However, since the adoption of the multi-party system at the beginning of the 1980s official statements in Egypt have tended to support an approach to political education more appropriate to a democratic system. Recent developments suggest that there are similarities between Egypt and England although official attitudes towards political education in England developed much earlier than in Egypt. Furthermore, the decentralized system of education in England enabled several bodies and organizations to take part in the development of political education.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PROVISION OF POLITICAL EDUCATION
IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM.

As with other school curricula in Egypt, the aims,
content and time devoted to the teaching of the subjects
related to political education are specified for all
schools by the Ministry of Education. Moreover, all
stated courses in the different grades are compulsory
for all students. This feature of the provision of
political education in Egypt reflects two main factors.
First, there is a uniformity in the provision of political
education in all Egyptian schools. Secondly, in spite
of the opportunity for the development of political
education, in fact the development derives from the
state's desire for schooling to be consistent with the
country's ideological developments.

Whilst some of the formal responsibilities of the
Ministry of Education have been delegated to local
educational directorates, the Ministry still retains
control over the most important policy matters such as
drawing up the aims and policies of education, the
content of school curricula, and the methods of teaching.
In such matters local educational directorates are
required to implement the Ministry's decisions and policies.
In respect of political education, the significance of
this system lies in the assumption that the policies of

the Ministry of Education should be relevant to state
policies and national objectives. Moreover, the Ministry
of Education is responsible for securing and evaluating
the implementation of education policies at the national
level.[1]

The centralised system of education in Egypt is
based on the belief that the provision of education for
all citizens is a state responsibility. This is similar
to the experience of many other new countries which
resort to central control over education as an important
means of creating solidarity and national community
spirit in line with state policies and goals. Consequently,
the aims and content of school curricula will be mainly
shaped by the prevailing political attitudes and values
system.

Although the central system of education in Egypt has
its justifications, the system hinders developments in
political education, since it discourages the development
of an individual personality and prevents other groups
from participating in educational policy-making. However,
it could be argued that in non-democratic countries highly
centralised systems of control have an even greater
adverse effect in preventing the development of political
education than in democratic countries. In Egypt education
policies and school curricula have been mainly introduced
to support the system and gain the acceptance of its

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1). M.M. Moursy, Administration of Public Education,p.24,87.

political leaders. Aboud argues;

> ... because the school curriculum was relevant to politics
> the preceding generation was unable to criticize political
> posts. Parasites wielded authority and its most important
> posts and they mainly gave priority to their own interests
> at the expense of the country's interests. History courses
> became an introduction to support the ruler ... Loyalty to
> country was understood as hallowing the governor ... Civic
> courses were merely slogans aimed at exalting authority.(1)

It is expected, however, that the adoption of the
policy of a multi-party system will influence the
development of political education in Egypt. This
expectation assumes that a more democratic atmosphere
will be positively felt in the formulation and the
realizing of policies and goals of education in accordance
with the principles of democracy.

Since the beginning of the Revolution (1952) social
studies and civic education have been the main channels
for teaching political education. While in the third and
fourth grades of primary education social studies have
been taught as an integrated subject, in the fifth and
sixth grades history, geography and civic education have
been taught as separate subjects. Whilst this situation
still, to some extent obtains, some changes have been
introduced in the time allocated to the teaching of these
subjects and in grade 6 history and civic education are
taught as an integrated subject.

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1). Abd El-Khany Aboud et al., Philosophy of Primary Education,
   First Edition, Dar El-Fekr El-Araby, Cairo, 1982, p.293.
   (In Arabic).

TABLE 5

Changes in the Periods[1] Allocated to the Teaching
of Social Studies and Civics in Primary Education
Between 1963 and 1970. (per week).

Years	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6
1963	−	−	1	2	5	5
1970	−	−	1	2	4	4

Source: Ministry of Education, Unified Curriculum for the
Primary Stage, Dar El-Kawomia Le-El-Tebaha, Cairo,
1963, p.5. (in Arabic); R. Mankarious, School
Administration, Vol.3, El-Anglo , Cairo, 1970,
p.17. (in Arabic)

Table (5) shows that more time was allocated to the
teaching of social studies and civic education in grades
5 and 6 during the 1960s. Although the allocated time
does not give an indication of the content and approaches
to political education, it does seem to indicate that the
1960s witnessed considerable concern in implanting the
values of the new system, loyalty to the country, and
concepts of Arab nationalism.

TABLE 6

Periods Devoted to Teaching Social Studies and Civic
Education in Primary Education 1984. (per week).

Subjects	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6
History	−	−			1	1
Geography	−	−	} 3	} 3	1	1
Civic Educ.	−	−			1	1

Source: Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of Education, Basic
Education Guide, p.12.

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1). Usually the period consists of 45 minutes.

In comparison with the previous table, table (6) reveals a significant increase in the time allocated to teaching social studies in grades 3 and 4. Perhaps this increase reflects the significance given to early ages in the acquisition of loyalty feelings towards the country and system.

Similarly, social studies and civic education are the main subjects in which political education are taught in preparatory schools (grades 7 to 9). Table (7) shows during the 1960s the total time allocated to teaching these subjects decreased from four to three periods by on average a period to each subject.

TABLE 7

The Development of Allocated Periods[1] to Teaching Social Studies and Civic Education in Preparatory Schools (per week).

Subjects	1958			1970-1984		
	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9
History	}	}	}	1	1	1
Geography	} 4	} 4	} 4	1	1	1
Civic Educ.	}	}	}	1	1	1

Source: Ministry of Education, The 845 Ministerial Decree on a Curriculum Plan for Preparatory Schools, [The Ministry], Cairo, 1958. (in Arabic); Ministry of Education, Modified Curriculum for the Preparatory Stage, Government Press, Cairo, 1970. (in Arabic); Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of Education, Basic Education Guide, p.13.

1). Usually the period consists of 50 minutes.

Perhaps, it could be argued that the extra time devoted to the teaching of these subjects during the 1960s resulted from the introduction of new supplementary sections to history and civic courses. The main aim of these supplementary sections was to reinforce loyalty to Arab nationalism, pride towards the then established unity between Egypt and Syria, and the movements of liberation in Arab countries. Since 1970, most of these sections have been abolished due to the failure to achieve the Unity between Egypt and Syria. Moreover, Egypt became less committed to supporting other Arab countries and had more concern with improving internal conditions. Thus, the content of political education was modified to match internal ideological developments.

For example, when unity with Syria was obtained, in grade 7 there were equal sections included in the history course on the civilization of the Nile Valley and Ancient Syria. In grade 9 the modern history course included equal sections on the revolutions in Arab countries and Egypt, together with an emphasis on the development of the United Arab Republic (Egypt and Syria), and the struggle of the Arab countries to realize their independence. In 1970, however, the section on Ancient Syria was abolished from Grade 7 and in grade 9 the history of the Arab world was replaced by the history of the United Arab Republic[1].

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1). In spite of the breakdown in unity between Egypt and Syria in 1961 the official name of Egypt remained the United Arab Republic. Now the official name of Egypt is The Arab Republic of Egypt. The change occurred in 1971.

Since 1970 more than two-thirds of the history course
has focused on the history of modern Egypt with special
emphasis being given to the Revolution and the movement
of patriotic awareness before the revolution. Furthermore,
in the civic education in grade 8 the section which
included the duties of citizens towards Arab nationalism
was replaced by a study of the rights and duties of citizens
towards the Egyptian society. No significant change took
place in the geography courses since these were less
relevant to the teaching of political education. [1]

In secondary school (grades 10 to 12), there has
been a considerable decrease in the time devoted to the
teaching of civic education. Furthermore, the majority
of pupils take the science option and only take courses in
history and geography in grade 10. Before 1975 the subject
"Arab Society" was taught in all grades for one period a
week, but since 1975 Arab Society was replaced by civic
education and only taught for one period per week in
grade 11 [2]. Table (8) illustrates the time allotted
to the teaching of history, geography and civic education.
It should be mentioned that, in comparison with the total
number of secondary school pupils, pupils in art
departments represent only a small number. Moreover,
history and geography in art departments are taught as

1). Ministry of Education, Unified Curriculum for the General Preparatory
    Stage(1963-64), Ministry Press, Cairo, 1963. (in Arabic); Ministry of
    Education, Modified Curriculum for the Preparatory Stage.

2). Ministry of Education, Unified Curriculum for the Secondary Stage
    (1961-62), Ministry Press, Cairo, 1961, p.99 (in Arabic); Ministry
    of Education, Modified Curriculum for the General Secondary Stage,
    Government Press, Cairo, 1970. (in Arabic); Y. El-Safty, Assessment
    and Examinations, National Centre of Educational Research, Cairo,
    1980, p.121. (in Arabic).

specialised subjects rather than as a medium for teaching
political education..

TABLE 8

Periods[1] Allocated to Teaching Social Studies
and Civic Education in Secondary Schools.(per week).

Subjects	Grade 10	Grade 11		Grade 12	
		Sci.Dept.	Art Dept.	Sci.Dept.	Art Dept.
History	2	-	3	-	3
Geography	2	-	3	-	3
Civic Educ.	-	1	1	-	-

Source: Official Textbooks.

Whilst civic education and social studies are the main
sources of formal political education in schools, in
general, civic education can be regarded as the most important
means for the introduction of political education.
Comparatively civic education for grade 5 is more relevant
to teaching political education than history and geography.
In this grade civic education aims at "enlightening the
pupils of the political, economic and social conditions
of their society".[2]   In comparison the history course
centres on the Islamic History of Egypt. Similarly, less
than a fifth of the geography course is devoted to teaching
pupils some information about the local community[3]. Perhaps
history and civic education[4] have an equal significance
in the teaching of political education in grade 6 since they

1). Usually the period consists of 50 minutes.

2). Ministry of Education, Civic Education for the Fifth Grade of
    Primary Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books
    and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1983, p.4. (in Arabic).

3). Ministry of Education, Geography of Egypt for the Fifth Grade of
    Primary Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books
    and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1982. (in Arabic).

4). Ministry of Education, Modern History of Egypt for the Sixth
    Grade of Primary Schools, Central Agency for University and
    School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo,1981. (in Arabic).

form an integrated subject dealing with the modern and contemporary history of Egypt.

Perhaps preparatory stage (grades 7-8) provides the most important stage in the provision of political education. Within civic education pupils are taught political and social concepts such as : Arab nationalism, aggression, capitalism, constitution, democracy, democratic socialism, dictatorship, executive authority, government, imperialism, legislative authority, Marxism-socialism, national planning, nationalism, nationalization, non-alignment, political party, positive neutrality, private sector, public sector, republican system, revolution, social justice, socialism and sovereignty. Furthermore, the history course includes such political concepts as : agreement, convention, democracy, government, imperialism, integration, law, monopoly, nationalization, occupation, revolution, solidarity, treaty and war.[1]

The examination of the main topics of civic courses for preparatory education shows that they are more relevant to political education than the history courses. For example, the history course in grade 9 concentrates on the modern and contemporary history of Egypt from the Ottoman occupation until the Revolution of 1952, whilst the civic course in grade 8 deals with the current political

1). Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social Studies for the First Grade of Preparatory School, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1983, pp.44-50, 96-100. (in Arabic); Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social Studies for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1981. (in Arabic).

system and values. This civic course is entitled "The System of Government in the Arab Republic of Egypt", and focuses mainly on the Revolution of 1952, the Corrective Revolution of 1971, features of democratic socialism, aspects of democratic and socialist application, State constitution and law, and political institutions at the national level[1]. Nevertheless, it is clear that the history courses do make a complementary contribution to the civic courses in political education.

The civic course in grade 7 provides pupils with information about social and political institutions and problems at local level. While the course in grade 8 concentrates on political institutions at the national level, in grade 9 the course focuses on the study of some political institutions and attitudes particularly at the Arab world level and more generally at the international level[2]. The history courses provide basic backgrounds in the creation of loyalty to the country. For example, whilst the history course in grade 7 provides pupils with a knowledge of ancient Egyptian Civilisation, in grade 8 Islamic history and aspects of Arab civilization

1). Ministry of Education, Modern and Contemporary History of Egypt for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1984, (in Arabic); Ministry of Education, The System of Government in the Arab Republic of Egypt for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1982.

2). Ministry of Education, The Pupil in his local Environment for the First Grade of Preparatory Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo,1983, (in Arabic); Ministry of Education, Arab Republic of Egypt and the Contemporary World for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1982, (in Arabic).

are taught[1].

In comparison with civic education and history syllabuses, the geography syllabuses contain less reference to political education. Perhaps the most relevant course is in grade 9 where pupils learn the geography of Egypt and the Arab world. In spite of the relevance of some geography courses in formulating pupils' political attitudes, this study will concentrate on civic education and history courses in order to explore the different approaches to political education in Egyptian schools.

With respect to secondary education, the examination of the main topics of the two textbooks that are used for history and civic courses in secondary schools reveals that the civic course in grade 11 provides pupils with further details about political, social and economic values of society. These values are illustrated through a study of the characteristics of contemporary society and the attempts of the state to achieve them. The main topics in the course are as follows:

1 - Scientific and technological development as a main source in the realization of the social and economic development of the contemporary state.

2 - The investment of society's resources in accordance

1). Ministry of Education, Ancient Egyptian Civilization and Arab World Civilization for the First Grade of Preparatory Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1982. (in Arabic); Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social Studies for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1982. (in Arabic).

with scientific progress in order to realize the develop-

ment and increase the national income.

3 - Welfare and social justice.

4 - Democracy and the sovereignty of law.

5 - The belief in moral and social values such as

religious values, freedom, justice, equality and peace.

6 - Peace and international co-operation.[1].

In grade 10, the history course, "The Foundation of

the Modern World", includes the European renaissance, the

development of national movements in Europe, European

imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,

and the movement of African and Asian nations for freedom

and independence in the twentieth century.[2] Although

the course does not focus on teaching the contemporary

history of Egypt, certain political attitudes in the

historical context of other countries are taught. From

the course it is expected that pupils will develop an

ability to understand the international political

attitudes and problems. Moreover, the course also gives

pupils a further perspective in understanding their own

country's political and social values by a comparison

with political and social values of other world countries.

It seems, therefore, both civic education and history

courses in secondary schools have a significant role in the

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1). Ministry of Education, Civic Education : Contemporary State for the Second Grade of Secondary Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1985, (in Arabic.)

2). Ministry of Education, The Foundations of Modern World for the First Grade of Secondary Schools, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1984, (in Arabic).

provision of political education.

Given the central system of education in Egypt, the
Ministry of Education has specifically determined the
educational policy and the content of the school
curriculum in accordance with the state's ideology and
national interests. This resulted in a compulsory and
uniform provision of political education for all pupils
throughout the country. The adverse effect of central
system has been in inhibiting the free development of
political education. It is expected, however, that
with the development of a more democratic system of
government, educators and administrators can share in the
development of political education and try to apply the
democratic principles in the school curriculum. During
the first years of the Revolution, it is clear that the
shift in the time devoted to teaching political education
was not only related to the content and aim of political
education but also to ideological developments in the
system.

Of all the stages of education, preparatory stage
(grade 7 to 9) is regarded as the most important stage
at which school children should receive a considerable
amount of political education. Civic education and history
are the most important means of teaching political education,
although civic education occupies the most prominent
role in formulating political attitudes and in informing
pupils of the political concepts and values of the
country. The role of history in most cases is complementary
to the teaching of civic education. In comparison with
civic education and history, geography courses have been

less relevant to the development of political education.

Political education in the Soviet Union mainly
reflects state ideology and the policies of the Communist
Party. Although the administration of the educational
system and the implementation of plans are in the hands
of an all-Union Ministry and Republican Ministers of
Education, "the real control, from the high-level
formulation of basic policy down to the individual schools,
is in the hands of the Communist Party"[1] Educational
policies, the planning of schools, the determination of
curriculum content, and teaching methods do not come from
administrators but from special committees of the Party.
W. Shimoniak argues that :

> The party's recommendations have a decisive significance
> on the structure of educational apparatus and educational
> decisions. The primary unit of school administration is a
> branch of the Communist Party which exists in all schools...
> From the beginning, the party thought its duty was to
> interfere in educational matters by "suggesting" or directly
> issuing decrees and laws binding on all schools of the Soviet
> Union. They also stated that only the Communist Party has the
> right and the responsibility for educating a new generation
> indoctrinated in the spirit of communist ideas and the
> communist morality. (2)

These features of Soviet philosophy of administration
reflect the belief that only the Communist Party is able
to administrate and define the policies and content of
the school curriculum. This belief is based on the assumption
that the school curriculum is the most important instrument

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1). N. Grant, Society, Schools and Process in Eastern Europe,
    p.65; N. Grant, Soviet Education, p.33.

2). W. Shimoniak, Communist Educator, p.120.

to realize the Communist ideology, and to rear the new generations in the spirit of Communism. Certainly the Communist Party seeks to include the Soviet political principles and ideologies in most aspects of the school curriculum.

In 1958, for example, the Central Committee of the Communist Party supplemented the Soviet secondary school course on the USSR constitution with information on civics, labour, the collective form, the family and criminal law. The aim of these modifications was to develop the ability of students for an "active participation in the social and political life of the country".[1] Similarly, in 1960 an overt ideological course was introduced to provide students with an overview of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and to explore the "increasing significance of the activity of the party in building of communism."[2] Furthermore, one of the most obvious consequences of this system of administration is not only uniformity in the provision of political education over all Soviet schools but also uniformity in teaching methods. There are central guidelines for teaching methods and the work of teachers are carefully inspected by school directors and Ministry officials.[3]

In comparison with Egypt, it seems that there are

1). Voprosy ideologicheskoi reboty (Problems of Ideological Work), Moscow, 1961, pp.198-199, Quoted by F.C.Barghoon, Politics in the USSR, p.103.

2). Ibid., P.103.

3). B. Williamson, Education, Social Structure and Development, p.106.

similarities in respect of determination and uniformity
in the provision of school curricula. In both the Soviet
Union and Egypt the Ministry of Education is responsible
for drawing up educational policies and designing the
content of the school curriculum and its political content
in accordance with state needs and policies. Whilst in
both countries the party in power controls educational
policies, in the Soviet Union this,in effect,means that
control over educational matters including political
education is vested solely in the Communist Party. In
contrast, in Egypt educational administrators exercise
an influence on educational matters and content of political
education and this influence has increased with the
development of democratic parties.

In the Soviet Union, school curriculum represents
one of the most important agencies of political socialization.
The basic task of school is"to inculcate in the young
generation a Marxist-Leninist world view"[1]. In fact, the
Marxist-Leninist view and communist outlook penetrate
all school subjects. In the view of Soviet educators
all school disciplines should contribute to moral educa-
tion and political indoctrination. History and social
studies play the most prominent role in bringing up
young people in the spirit of Communist ideology.

1). Quoted by C.D. Cary, 'Patterns of Emphasis Upon Marxist-
   Leninist Ideology', Comparative Education Review, Vol.20, No.1,
   February, 1976, p.12.

Furthermore, other subjects such as literature, the
sciences, fine arts and even physical education also
play a significant role in the teaching of communist
belief system. [1]

It has always been recognised that history is the
most significant instrument for the indoctrination of
young people in the Soviet Union. History is studied
as a separate subject from grade 4 to the final year of
secondary schools. [2]

TABLE 9

Periods Per Week Devoted to the Subjects Most
Responsible for Teaching Political Education.

Subjects	Grades										Total
	1	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	
Soviet State & Law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Social Studies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Geography	-	-	-	-	2	3	2	2	2	-	11
History	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	3	4	3	18

Source: Byulleten' normativnykh aktov Ministerstva prosveshcheniya
SSSR, 1980, No.12, pp.27-30 Quoted by J. Morison, 'The
Political Content of Education in the USSR', p.172.

Table (9) shows that comparison with other subjects
associated with political learning, the periods devoted
to history exceed other subjects. History courses include
Russian and Soviet history, and world history with a
focus on political and economic events from the perspective

1). J. Zajda, Education in the USSR, p.131; N.Grant, Soviet Education,
pp.27-28.

2). M. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR', p.158.

of Marxist-Leninist ideology and historical materialism.[1]

Moreover, history courses aim to provide young people with

an exposition of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, basic

documents of the Communist Party and Soviet State, and

latterly of Brezhnev.[2] History is considered important

because :

> The formation of an idea about the historical process, that
> is, about the natural movement of a society toward the highest-
> economic structure, and the development of a deep conviction
> in the victory of communism in the entire world can be
> accomplished by means of the study not of individual historical
> periods but of the whole course of history from ancient times
> to the present. The content of history education in the school
> is arranged accordingly. (3)

It is believed that history instruction, in accordance

with historical materialism, convinces schoolchildren

that their society will be transformed from a socialist

society into a communist one. Cary argues that this

transformation "is possible but not automatic according to

Marxism-Leninism".[4] School educators, therefore, "link

the realization of a communist society in the Soviet Union

to the labours of future full-fledged citizens...Instruc-

tion in history attempts to show schoolchildren that

communism, even though possible according to Marxism-

Leninism, must still be built, and it attempts to imbue

them with a ... dedication to the task of the building

of communism".[5] Clearly, Marxist-Leninist ideology

1). Cary, 'Patterns of Emphasis', p.12.

2). J. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR', p.158.

3). E.I. Monoszon, ed., _Formirovanie mirovozzreiia vos' miletnei shkoly v protsesse obucheniia i truda_, (Moscow : Izdatel' stvo 'Prosveshchenie', 1966), pp.187-188, Quoted by Cary, 'Patterns of Emphasis', pp.12-13.

4). Cary, 'Patterns of Emphasis', p.27.

5). _Ibid._, p.13.

and the movement towards a Communist society are the main motives behind the significance of teaching history. The possibility of the realization of a communist society according to communist ideology and historical materialism can not be accomplished automatically but by creating the devotion to Marxist-Leninist belief system. This can be mainly achieved through teaching history. Consequently, history is seen as the most important subject in the school curriculum in the realization of the communist society.

Evidence from political leaders, the Communist Party, and the Soviet educators indicate that the history curriculum has been extensively used to indoctrinate young people in the spirit of Communism and to prepare them to participate in and defend the Communist society. For example, the Party considers itself the guarantor of the correct interpretation of history. "It is for this reason that no one may teach history in the Soviet Union unless he is an accredited member of the Communist Party".[1] According to Marx"the distinguishing element in the education of the human being is the socio-productive activity of mankind, which alters the environment. The process proceeds historically...".[2] Marxist criteria of good education must essentially lead to revolutionary activity and conscious participation in the historical process. Further

1). Edmund J. King, Communist Education, Methuen & Co.Ltd., London, 1963, pp.13-14.

2). Quoted Ibid., p.12.

emphasis has been paid by N. Khrushchev who observed

that "Historians are dangerous people. They are capable

of upsetting everything. They must be directed."[1]

The twenty fifth Congress of theCommunist Party

emphasized that the main role of the Soviet school is to

develop in school children the Marxist-Leninist world

view and to imbue them with the devotion to ideas of

Communism and love for active labour and society. "The

documents of the twenty-fifth Congress of the CPSU are

of inestimable value in raising the level of all education

upbringing work in the school and in increasing the

effectiveness of history teaching."[2] Moreover,

A.Epishev, a leader in the Soviet Army and Navy, asserts

that "history is a greater teacher, and it teaches many

things. Its experience has convincingly shown that there

is no force in the world that can destroy socialism or

halt the development of socialist society."[3]

Furthermore, Soviet educators also stress the

significance of history in the all school curriculum.

The authors of new history textbooks, which were intro-

duced at the end of the 1970s, state that :

> More than any other subject, history reveals concretely the
> most important principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the
> people as the creator of history and illuminates the role
> of the people in the development of production, the class
> struggle and the revolutionary movement,...History teaches

1). Quoted by John Cannon, Teaching History at University, The
Historical Association, London 1984, p.6.

2). A. Koloskov and P. Leibengrub, 'Increase the Effectiveness of
History Teaching', Soviet Education, Vol.XIX, No.7, May,1977, p.71.

3). A.A. Epishev, 'Bringing up Patriots who are Committed to the
Defence of the Fatherland', Soviet Education, Vol.XVIII, No.3,
Jan.1976, p.25.

the sharpness of class analysis of social processes; history
helps to develop scientific ways for understanding the world.(1).

Other subjects are also significant in the provision

of political education. The course entitled "The

Fundamental Principles of the Soviet State and Law" is

studied in grade 8 for one period per week. The purpose

of this course is to emphasize the significant difference

between the law and constitution of the Soviet Union and

those of bourgeois systems. Pupils learn that whilst

the purpose of law in bourgeois societies is to protect

the property and the interest of the ruling classes, the

purpose of Soviet law is to protect the common good and

guarantee basic human rights. Furthermore, this course

aims to create law-abiding habits among Soviet youth.[2]

The social studies course, which was introduced

into the school curriculum in 1962, is taught only in

the final year of secondary school (grade 10). Two periods

per week are devoted to this course. The course emphasizes

and expands the various aspects of political concepts

gained from the history course. It also gives deeper

understanding to the work of the Communist Party.[3] In

contrast to the history, geography and literature courses,

social studies explicitly examines philosophical and

theoretical questions of the communist ideology. The

main aims of the course are to "...arm students with the

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1). M. Kashin, 'Concerning the result of the Soviet school's adoption
of the new curriculum', p.39.

2). J. Morison, 'The Political Content of Education in the USSR',
p.161.

3). Ibid., p.162.

knowledge of the basic laws of the development of nature
and society, to teach them to link theory with practice
of communist construction, and instill the fundamentals
of dialectical thinking, and to inculcate firm convictions,
will, and other qualities".[1]   It seems that in the final
years of the secondary school, the social study course
attempts to promote and intensify the understanding and
the conviction of communist ideological beliefs.

Geography courses are studied as a separate discipline
from a child's fifth year at school, right through to his
ninth year. The aim of the geography course is "to
convince schoolchildren that the building of communism is
both desirable and possible and that they should commit
themselves to the effort"[2]   In spite of the fact that
history, geography and social studies all attempt to
inculcate the Marxist-Leninist belief system in young
people, an emphasis upon Marxist-Leninist ideology is
more prominent in history than in geography text-books.
In comparison with geography, history has at its core a
central tenet of Marxist-Leninist ideology and historical
materialism. Although there is an emphasis upon Marxist-
Leninist ideology in both history and social studies, the
latter appears to be a more overtly indoctrinating
subject since it is based on a philosophical and theoretical
treatment of the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

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1). Obshchestvovedeni : Posobie dlia uchitelei (Social
    Science : Guide for teacher) (Moscow : Izdatel' stvo
    'Prosveshchenie' , 1971), p.5. Quoted by Cary,
    'Patterns of Emphasis', pp.13-14.

2). Cary, 'Patterns of Emphasis', p.13.

Nevertheless, history plays the key role in the process of indoctrination during the years of primary and secondary schooling. In comparison with history, the geography courses do not include clear ideological principles.

Although history, geography, social studies and the course on Soviet State and Law are the main means for introducing communist ideology into the school curriculum, other aspects of the school curriculum also contain a considerable amount of political indoctrination. "In an obvious way (for example) this is reflected in the heavy emphasis which Soviet schools place on science and technology with particular pride of place given to the study of mathematics"[2]. For instance biology and natural science are exploited to destroy in the mind religious beliefs and to convince schoolchildren that man can dominate nature and his environment in terms of materialism.[3] According to the Communist view, these courses are essential in the realization of a communist outlook. Williamson argues that "science education is, like so much else in the Soviet Union, consistent with their view of what it is to construct socialism. But the same penetration is equally evident in the study of literature."[4]

A considerable amount of time is given to a study of

1). Ibid., p.15, 23.

2). B. Williamson, Education, Social Structure and Development, p.105.

3). J. Morison,'The Political Content of Education in the USSR,' p.157.

4). B, Williamson, Education, Social Structure and Development, p.105.

Communist ideology in the literature courses in secondary
school. For example, 30 per cent of the literature
lessons in grade 4 are devoted to the Civil War, the
Great Patriotic War, the October Revolution, and Lenin.[1]
The aim of literature in secondary schools is to develop
pupil's awareness of the Motherland and Communist Party.
In grades 8 to 10 the main approach to literature is
through communist ideals. [2] Similarly, the teaching
of reading in primary schools "contributes to the
ideological and political, the moral and aesthetic
education of children. Reading articles and stories about
the Motherland, about nature and people helps educate
pupils in the spirit of collectivism, of love of their
Mother-country and of friendship between the workers of
all lands".[3] Furthermore, foreign language courses
are also used to convince pupils of the sovereignty of the
socialist system over the capitalist system.

There are some similarities between Egypt and the
Soviet Union in the provision of political education. In
both countries humanities are extensively used to initiate
children in political ideology and the values system of their
country. Although there are important variations in the
contribution made by each subject, all these subjects
play an integrated role in the imparting of political

1). Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No.3, 1976, pp.26-27, Quoted by J. Zajda,
   Education in the USSR, p.139.

2). Kurdiumova, T., 'Zadachi prepodavaniya literatury', Narodnoe
   Obrazovanie, No.9, 1973, p.50, Quoted by J. Zajda, Education in
   the USSR, p.140.

3). Programma vos' miletney shkoly, nachal' nye klassy, 1971, p.5,
   Quoted by F.A. O'Dell, Socialization through children's Literature,
   The Soviet Example, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1978, p.76.

ideology and the values system. For example, while in
Egypt history courses in many cases are used to facilitate
an understanding of which are taught in civic courses,
social study courses in the Soviet Union emphasize and
elucidate the ideological concepts derived from the
teaching of history courses. Among other courses,
however, civic education in Egypt and history in the
Soviet Union are the most prominent subjects in teaching
political education. It seems clear that courses such
as "Soviet State and Law" for grade 8 of Soviet schools
and the civic course entitled "The System of Government
in the Arab Republic of Egypt" for grade 8 of Egyptian
schools have similar purposes. Both courses attempt to
create respect and obedience for the laws and constitution
of the respective countries. In both countries the
content of geography courses has less significance for
political education.

In contrast to Egypt, the teaching of history in the
Soviet Union is underpinned by essential ideological
principles since it is based on the Marxist-Leninist view
of historical materialism and the realization of a
communist world. While Soviet schools use all other
aspects of the school curriculum to explore and inculcate
the communist ideology in schoolchildren, there is little
evidence to suggest that few subjects such as literature
are utilized as a means for political learning in
Egyptian schools. In neither Egypt nor the Soviet Union
is there a   subject specifically designed for teaching
political education as there is in England.

With respect to curricular policies in England,

although it "is desirable that objectives for subjects
should be nationally agreed, it is also desirable to
leave schools freedom to vary the stage at which pupils
are introduced to or offered particular subjects...
Schools' policies are affected by the wishes of pupils
and their parents...What school can offer, will depend
partly on LEA's curricular policy".[1]   In contrast to
Egypt and the Soviet Union, the more decentralized system
of education in England provides opportunities not only
to various bodies but also to pupils and parents to share
the responsibility in formulating educational aims and
curricular policies. Consequently, there are greater
opportunities for the development of political education
in English than in Egyptian and Soviet Union schools. To
a large extent the decentralization of the educational
system, especially in more democratic countries,
minimizes and resists any governmental attempts or
pressures to seek to propagate and support specific
policies and attitudes.

By the late 1960s it seems that little overt political
content had been introduced into the school curriculum in
England. In the sixties a survey was undertaken by the
National Committee for England and Wales to specify the
extent of political instruction related to civic education
in the school curriculum. The findings revealed that
history and economic history syllabuses made the dominant

1). Department of Education and Science, The Organisation and
    Content the 5-16 Curriculum : A Note by the Department of
    Education and Science and Welsh Office, September, 1984, pp.3-4.

contribution to civic education for fourteen-year-olds
to eighteen-year-old pupils. However, the Committee
concluded that "civic education is a 'by-product' of
formal education rather than a major component".[1]
These findings are confirmed by other research. For
example, Tapper argues that direct political education
in British schools is limited; however, various subjects
have a strong political indication[2]. Moreover,
Heater found while British constitution and civics
were common subjects in the CSE and GCE, history is used
for the teaching of political education.[3]

On the basis of these findings it could be argued
that political education in England was limited in
provision and taught through traditional subjects such
as history and social studies. Nevertheless, perhaps
its impact on shaping the political orientation of future
citizens should not be underestimated. For example,
Gardner states "the view that British schools are not at
all directly concerned with political education seems
superficial; conscious programmes for the development of
citizens are not present, of course, but considerable
knowledge about politics is dispensed".[4] In response
to recent developments, from the middle of the 1970s,
some English schools have taken an active and conscious

1). Goldsmith College Curriculum Laboratory, 'Report of the National
    Committee for England and Wales', Mimeographed, March 1967,
    Quoted by W. Gardner, 'Political Socialization', p.41.

2). E.R.Tapper, Political Education and Stability, p.49.

3). D. Heater, 'Political Studies in the School : Some Problems', in
    B.Crick and D.Heater, Essays on Political Education, p.21.

4). W. Gardner, 'Political Socialization', p.41.

interest in providing their pupils with some sort of

political education either directly through specifically

designed courses or indirectly through the traditional

subjects.

In 1977, the Department of Education and Science

issued a Circular[1] to LEA's to collect information

about "their policies and practices in curricular matters".

The DES asked "What steps have the authority taken to

help schools promote the development in their pupils

of a basic understanding of contemporary economic, social

and political life?". The summary of responses revealed

that many LEA's had taken an active interest in the field

of political education. Three-fifths of the LEA's said

that the issues underlying the question "could largely be

incorporated into more or less traditional subjects (such

as history, geography and social studies) of the secondary

curriculum". A quarter of the LEA's were encouraging

the introduction of political education through specially

designed courses to cover most aspects of the question.

However, several authorities "made particular mention of

political education, usually expressing an awareness of

the need for caution in introducing this as a separate

subject". Less than one-tenth of the LEA's revealed that

they had appointed an advisor with specific responsibility

for all or part of the area included in the question.

Over a quarter of the LEA's had prepared discussion papers

1). Department of Education and Science, Local Authority Arrangements
    for the School Curriculum : Report on the Circular 41/77 Review,
    HMSO, London, 1979, pp.160-162.

on contemporary issues in politics and economics.

Furthermore, a quarter of the authorities encouraged

schools to invite people from industry and the unions

to talk with pupils about contemporary issues.

It is quite clear that this survey suggests that

there is a variety of the provision of political education

in the school curriculum. Whilst in some instances

political education is introduced directly through specific

courses, it would seem that the traditional subjects still

play a significant part in teaching political education.

Parallel findings were made by the Curriculum Review Unit

in a survey conducted in 1981. The survey was based on

information collected from a random sample 10 per cent of

all maintained secondary school in each LEA in England

and Wales.

The survey's findings, indicate that English schools

are generally introducing political education within the

formal curriculum in three distinct ways : [1]

First, 22 per cent of the schools provided courses

exclusively concerned with the aims of political education

(Exclusive Provision). Some exclusive courses for sixth

forms focused on current affairs, while the provision for

fourth and fifth years of secondary school mainly dealt

with "civics". Some of the courses were entitled 'political

education', and 'community politics'. The survey analysed

three non-examined exclusive courses and found that they

were mainly concerned with the transmission of political

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1). R. Stradling and M. Noctor, 'The Provision of Political Education
      in Schools : A National Survey', Curriculum Review Unit, 1981, TS.

knowledge. However, one of the three courses which was offered for fourth and fifth year pupils was mainly based on the working paper of the Hansard Society's programme for political education. The aim of this course was "the development of the pupils' political literacy". Although there was little evidence that the course attempted to develop skills in political participation, the course was concerned with the development of the pupils' awareness of political issues and an understanding of politics. In general, however, the survey seems to indicate that the exclusive courses are attempting to make use of the new approaches to political education. Secondly, 30 per cent of the schools provided self-contained units or modules solely concerned with political education within a programme which had a broader educational aim and content (Modular Provision). In general, the main aim of the modular courses was to provide an introduction to the study of national institution. Courses for fourth and fifth year pupils concentrated on party politics, current political issues, and the work of pressure groups. In both exclusive and modular courses, there was little evidence that such topics as civic rights and obligations were covered. Thirdly, 71 per cent of the schools made 'Indirect Provision' with political education integrated with the existing aims and content of other subjects. [1]

1). It should be noted that the total of schools exceed 100 per cent because some schools offered more than one type of provision.

However, the findings indicated that 21 per cent of the schools made no provision for political education. A number of head teachers said that the lack of provision was temporary and that they would introduce political education within the curriculum in the near future. Nevertheless, a significant indication of the survey is that since 1977 the number of schools offering exclusively political courses have doubled. [1] According to these findings the most common provision for political education is through the existing subjects of history and social studies (71 per cent), while more than half of the schools now provide political education directly either through exclusive courses (22 per cent) or modules (30 per cent).

The survey reveals that Historians and History Departments are the most prominent in teaching and providing schools with political education. In relation to exclusive courses History Departments introduce 40 per cent of the courses, with only 13 per cent and 20 per cent being introduced by Departments of Humanities, and Economics and Politics respectively. Where an indirect provision obtains several subjects such as history, social studies, geography, humanities, English and personal and social development are usually involved. Nevertheless, once again history is the most frequent subject used in the indirect provision of political education. It is only in modular courses that the

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1). R. Stradling and M. Noctor, 'The Provision of Political
   Education in Schools', p.6,10.

provision made by social studies (20 per cent) and humanities (19 per cent) exceeds the provision made by history. Even so, History Departments still provided 15 per cent of modular courses with Economics and Politics Departments providing 13 per cent. [1]

These findings indicate that political education could be provided through a variety of related subjects. Despite the belief that political education should be developed through exclusive specific courses, history and other subjects still play a significant part in providing political education. It could be argued, therefore, that the direct teaching of political education either through exclusive or module courses is not the only way to successfully promote the teaching of political education.

It would seem that there is some evidence to support this contention. The national survey in England indicated that all approaches to teaching political education have their advantages and disadvantages. In respect of the exclusive provision the survey revealed that although there was an increasing trend towards compulsory courses, most of the courses tended to be optional because of the over-crowded school timetables[2]. The ILEA said "Political education does not imply that a new subject area has to be introduced into an already crowded secondary school curriculum". [3] Moreover, exclusive

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1). Ibid., pp.9-18.

2). Ibid., p.13.

3). ILEA, History and Social Sciences at Secondary Level : History,p.68.

courses seem to be boring and unreal, "without the historical context it can be seen as an analytical subject divorced from reality of time and place".[1] However, exclusive courses do provide more opportunities to deal with basic concepts and ideas, realities of modern politics, and political affairs.

Most of the problems facing the exclusive provision are not to be found in an indirect provision of political education. Over three-fifths of teachers' responses recorded their preference for the indirect provision in educational terms and 38 per cent preferred this approach because it placed politics into a socio-historical context.[2] However, the indirect approach is often inadequate to develop the new approaches to political education.

It seems clear that all the above approaches to teaching political education have their advantages and defects. As it has already been noted, the Hansard Society and Politics Association (1978) pay considerable attention to the approaches of political literacy in the school curriculum either through direct (exclusive) courses or other subjects, although they believe that exclusive courses are more effective. However, the national survey suggests that considerable defects have resulted from teaching exclusive courses and the survey reveals some of the advantages in teaching political education in a socio-historical context.

1). Stradling and Noctor, P.12-13.

2). Ibid., P.21.

It is not surprising, therefore, in a subsequent
statement on the best place for political education in
the school curriculum, the Politics Association states:

> A substantial body of opinion both within and outside the
> Politics Association takes the view that, on balance,
> political education should form part of a broader approach
> to the study of man in society and is best located within the
> traditions and framework of the humanities and Social
> Sciences. It recognises that social, economic and political
> concepts are inter-related and that there are considerable
> advantages in the development of teaching strategies which
> will enable each of these fields of study to inform and
> enliven the other. It is equally important, however, that
> political education is not merged into a wider programme
> of inter-disciplinary or integrated' study to the extent
> that it loses its identity. (1)

This approach of teaching political education within

the framework of social sciences has been supported by

Harber and Brennan[2]. Whilst opposed to the introduction

of political education as a separate subject, the ILEA

argues that the existing courses on history and social

sciences neglect the discussion of issues which are

significant to pupils. Therefore, ILEA advocates that

substantial foundations for political education should

be provided in teaching history and social sciences

through secondary schools' pupils. This would include

developing an understanding of real issues, a knowledge

of the actions of groups involved in political decision-

making, and an understanding of the role and influence of

local and central government within society.[3]

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

2). Clive Harber, 'Political Education and Social Studies in the 14-16
    Core Curriculum', Teaching Politics, Vol.10, No.2, 1981, pp.123 -
    129; T. Brennan, 'Politics in Schools : From Socialization to
    Education', in Barry Dufour (ed.), New Movements in the Social
    Sciences and Humanities, Maurice Temple Smith, London, 1982, p.142.

3). ILEA, History and Social Sciences, p.68.

Essentially, these foundations would develop the ability of pupils to take an active part in and influence political life.

There are significant variations in the time devoted to political education in schools in England. The national survey, for example, revealed a substantial variation in the hours per week devoted to political education. Some of non-examined exclusive courses last for less than one year and others are taught over two years. 29 per cent of non-examined exclusive courses are timetabled for less than two hours per week and 22 per cent of courses for "A" level are timetabled for five or more hours. In general, the average time spent per week on exclusive courses is 2.86 hours[1]. Similarly, in modular courses there is also a variation in time allocated to the teaching of political education. Whilst the average length of these courses is 12 weeks, in some schools they last no more than 3 to 4 weeks. Furthermore, only 36 per cent of the schools devote more than two hours per week to such courses and the average of hours is 1.93 per week.[2]. In respect of indirect provision there is also a large variation in the time allocated to teaching of the humanities such as history, geography and other courses. [3]

1). Stradling and Noctor, p.11.

2). Ibid., p.13.

3). Department of Education and Science, Curriculum 11-16 : A Review of Progress, HMSO, London, 1981, p.44.

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The national survey also revealed that two-thirds

of exclusive courses could be taken either as optional

or examined courses. However, since 1977 there has been

a gradual increase in the provision of compulsory courses.

Moreover, teachers of non-examined compulsory courses

said if these courses were examined "students are motivated

to learn about politics"[1] Over three-quarters of

modular courses are non-examined and 43 per cent are

compulsory. Between 1977 and 1980 there has been an

increase in the number of schools providing non-examined

modular courses on a compulsory basis. [2] Most of

the indirect courses are examined [3] and there was a

considerable interest that they should be made compulsory.

Recently the Department of Education and Science has

shown a great interest in the teaching of humanities

which makes indirect provision for an integrated approach

to political education. In 1984 the DES recommended :

> It is government policy that the 11-16 curriculum for all
> pupils...should contain...a worthwhile offering of
> humanities...Some pupils are bound to devote less time
> to the humanities (giving that term a broad meaning) than
> others. During the five secondary years, every pupil
> should study, on a worthwhile scale, history, geography
> and, under whatever guise (which may in some cases be
> history or geography) the principles underlying a free
> society and some basic economic awareness. (4)

It seems, then, that there is a tendency for modular

courses to be non-examinable, whilst exclusive and

1). Stradling and Noctor, pp.8-13.

2). Ibid., p.14.

3). Ibid., p.20.

4). Department of Education and Science, The Organisation and Content
of the 5-16 Curriculum, p. 6,9.

indirect courses are usually examined. However, there
is a significant trend toward making all types of course
compulsory.

All three countries are aware of the importance of
political education and its relationships to political
values held by their societies. There are, however,
differences in time allocated to teaching political
education between the countries. The available
information suggests that while there are variations in
the time devoted to the teaching of political education
in English schools, there is a great uniformity in the
time devoted to teaching the subjects related to political
education for all pupils in Egypt and the Soviet Union.
The uniformity in compulsory subjects and the time
devoted to them in Egypt and the Soviet Union reflect the
deliberate attempts to ensure all pupils receive the
same programme of political education.

In England there has been a remarkable increase in
time allocated to the teaching of political education
mainly through direct provision. There would also seem
to be a growing interest in making political education a
part of compulsory provision of education whether through
direct or indirect provision. Consequently, it would
seem that in England a similar significance is being
given to political education as has been the case in Egypt
and the Soviet Union. However, the approach to teaching
political education in England has been tentative and
influenced by recent thinking of political and the
democratic values held in the country.

In Egypt, civic education and social studies are used

as the main approach for the introduction of political

education in the school curriculum. In comparison to

history and geography, civic education occupies a prominent

role in teaching pupils political knowledge and the

relevant political and social attitudes. Apart from

the established approaches to political learning which

support the relevant attitudes of the system, there is

some evidence to suggest that civic education has become

more consistent with the approaches of political education.

In other words civic education is becoming more concerned

with the development of schoolchildren's ability to

handle social and political issues and to participate in

political life. Whilst geography courses have lesser

importance in the teaching of political education, history

courses make a significant contribution to the acquisition

of political knowledge and attitudes in historical

context. Thus they have complemented civic courses in

in providing justifications for adopted political

attitudes and have facilitated an understanding of the

present conditions.

It could be argued that the teaching of political

education in Egyptian schools through history and civic

is consistent with recently advocated views on the best

approach to the teaching of political education. It

would seem that, from recent experience from England,

that political education should not be isolated from

the broad meaning of social studies. However, political

education should include the development of children's

understanding of political knowledge and institutions,

their political attitudes, their skills in political

participation, and their ability to handle political

issues which arise from every day life.

In all three countries the traditional school

subjects play an important role in teaching about

politics and civics. However, there are significant

differences in purposes and the political and educational

connotations given to subjects between the Soviet Union

on the one hand and Egypt and England on the other.

In the Soviet Union, history is seen in ideological terms

and the significance of history in inculcating political

concepts has been reinforced by the belief that historical

materialism is the main factor behind the transformation

to a communist society. Consequently, history represents

the most important subject in the teaching of political

education and the realization of Communist ideology. In

England and Egypt, however, the use of teaching history

and other social studies as means of teaching political

education is based on education criteria.

APPROACHES TO POLITICAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOL
CURRICULUM

Political Socialization.

From the beginning of the 1952 Revolution until the

adoption of the multi-party system, the approaches to

political education in Egypt have been governed by the

state policy. These approaches have mainly focused on

supporting the new political regime and loyalty to the

country and its leaders. In other words, political

education has tended to be consistent with the concepts of

political socialization. With recent developments in

democracy and the adoption of the multi-party system, there

is evidence to suggest that political education is

becoming distinct from the concept of political

socialization. Nevertheless, loyalty to the country and

support for the ideology of the system remain prominent

features of political education at the present.

During the first years of the Revolution, syllabuses

of all educational stages focused on inculcating feelings

of loyalty to the country and to the policy of the new

system. An analysis of the aims of courses in social

studies and civics [1] indicates that political indoctrination
was a prime objective of these courses. These courses
attempted to inculcate in pupils three aspects of loyalty:-
First : loyalty to the country and the ideology of the
new political system based on socialist principles,
concepts of social justice, and equality of opportunities.
Furthermore, loyalty entailed an acceptance that the
policies of the state and its political structure were
just and right.
Secondly: loyalty to the Arab nationalism and the assertion
that it was necessary to secure Arab unity.
Thirdly: hostility towards imperialism, capitalism,
Zionism and all kinds of exploitation.

As regards the first aspect, the aims of social
studies in primary education were to develop the spirit
of dignity and loyalty to the country. On the issue of
the National Charter in 1962, which mainly emphasized the
socialist attitudes of the State, the syllabuses were
modified in line with the principles of the National
Charter. Schools concentrated on developing a feeling of
loyalty, since young children readily acquire feelings of
loyalty towards their leaders. As has been observed
children were receiving a certain amount of political
indoctrination.

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1). For Example, Ministry of Education, Unified Curriculum for the
Primary Stage; Ministry of Education, Aims of Preparatory
Education; Ministry of Education, Modified Curriculum for the
Preparatory Stage; Ministry of Education,Unified Curriculum for
the Secondary Stage (1961-62); Ministry of Education, Modified
Curriculum for the General Secondary Stage.

Usually when entering the classroom, the teacher asked the
students to stand. Rising to their feet they would shout
"Nasser" or "freedom" or perhaps "independence", and when
asked to sit down they again would shout , usually a word
symbolizing some aspect of the regime's ideology....
The children would repeat rhythmically at morning assembly,Nasser,
Nasser, or shout out G-A-M-A-L Gamal!A song popular among
elementary students was "Nasser,all of us love you, we will
remain by your side, Nasser, leader of all, oh Nasser".(1)

In preparatory and secondary education, social studies

and civic education concentrated on the development of the

national spirit through bringing out the economic and

social achievements of the Revolution. As in primary

education, social studies and civics in preparatory and

secondary education tried to develop the beliefs of young

people in the concept of social justice and the principles

on which the co-operative socialist society was based.

Moreover, these subjects were concerned with teaching

the concepts of the ASU; its organization and role in the

process of constructing a democratic socialist society.

Furthermore, they were concerned with imparting the

principles of the National Charter in respect of the

adopted socialist attitude.

It could be argued that loyalty to the country was

mainly intended to support the political ideology of

the new system and loyalty to its leaders. The school

curriculum attempted to instruct pupils in the main

principles of socialism and social justice, and convince

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1). D. Hopwood, Egypt:Politics and Society 1945-1981, p.137.

them of the correctness of the socialist application

and the policy of the government and to glorify the one

party system. Although it seems that some attention was

devoted to the development of democratic attitudes, never-

theless the belief in the one party system, the acceptance

of the government policies, and the concentration on the

socialist attitudes resulted in a failure of syllabuses to

develop the pupils' ability to discuss and practise

democracy.

For example, the 'Arab Society"[1] course, which was

introduced into secondary schools, concentrated on the

inculcation of socialist principles in the students to

convince them of the necessity of the socialist solution.

The course focused on teaching the values of the one party

system, glorifying the state policy, and emphasizing its

achievements. The course, however, included very little

discussion of social and political problems. Whilst the

present curriculum still places an emphasis on loyalty

to the country, there are some differences in approaches

due to development in democratic practices and the adoption

of the multi-party system.

The term loyalty was not confined merely to Egypt

and its political system, but extended to cover loyalty

to the whole Arab community. The aim was to support the

idea of Arab nationalism and to achieve Arab unity as

well as to support the movement for liberation in Arab countries.

1). Ministry of Education, Modified Curriculum for the General
    Secondary Stage.

This was due to the fact that Egypt was enthusiastic to sustain Arab countries and the idea of the Arab unity particularly after establishing unity with Syria. For instance, syllabuses in the preparatory stage aimed to enlighten the pupils with the ingredients of Arab nationalism and the role of President Nasser in propagating this concept in the Arab world.[1] Similarly social studies at the secondary stage attempted to inculcate in pupils commitment to unity between Egypt and Syria and to develop the students' pride in their Arab nationalism and the past glories of the Arab world.[2]

Moreover, the school curriculum sought to concentrate only on the successful aspects of Arab history and, therefore, it was historical propaganda. For example, in regard to the course entitled Arab Society "when asked why the historical chapters entirely ignored four centuries of Ottoman rule in the Arab East, the co-author of one of the texts disarmingly explained that the Ottoman Age was a dark period in Arab history and that he and his colleagues decided to treat only the brighter periods"[3].

The third aspect of loyalty is associated with the two previous concepts. When the Revolution broke out it aimed to abolish capitalism, achieve independence, and resist imperialism. Furthermore, in 1948 the first of a

1). Ministry of Education, Aims of Preparatory Education,pp.16-17.

2). Ministry of Education, Unified Curriculum for the Secondary Stage (1961-62), p.97.

3). M. Kerr, 'Egypt', in J.S. Coleman (ed.), Education and Political Development, p.182.

series of wars with Israel had begun. Therefore, courses in social studies and civics at all stages of education tended to instil students with hostility towards feudalism, capitalism, imperialism, and Zionism.

An examination of the contents of the present textbooks used in civic and social studies courses seems to indicate that there is a considerable emphasis given to loyalty to country, its political system, and the loyalty to Arab nationalism.

In the third grade of primary schools, a child acquires certain political attitudes and loyalty to the country and its political system in an indirect way. Moreover, the inculcation of feelings of loyalty start in most cases with non-political experiences which have laten political consequences. In social studies a child acquires feelings of loyalty towards his family and school by learning simple phrases indicating that the family and school exist to serve him and therefore he must like them and co-operate with them. Love and obedience to the family and school are based on social and ethical justifications. For example, the child loves his parents since they are looking after him and trying to secure his happiness. The child learns "I love and respect my mother because she loves me and co-operates with my father in making me happy". Similarly, as a justification for obedience and respect for the teacher a child learns "I respect and obey my teacher because he teaches me and goes with us on trips and visits with us to the fields, farms and factories"[1]. A child acquires a spirit of

1). Ministry of Education, Social Studies for the Third Grade of Primary Education, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1982, (in Arabic.)

co-operation through being encouraged to take part in decorating the classroom, keeping the school tidy, and participating in school activities.

Social studies in grade three are not merely confined to the development of the loyalty to the family and school. Many phrases are also learnt by the child in order to develop his loyalty to the government. The government is represented as a major institution which provides services for the child's family and school. Furthermore, a child also acquires positive attitudes towards the Revolution and its achievements. For example, a child learns that the government of the revolution encouraged citizens to build healthy houses by giving them money. Children also learn to obey the orders of policemen and the instructions of traffic lights. Thus, the social studies course in the third grade focuses on imparting a general predisposition towards the concept of loyalty and acquaints children with the duties of obedience and co-operation towards their immediate environment.

In the fourth grade attitudes towards loyalty and duty to local government are acquired.[1] In this grade the children learn about the social and political institutions of local government and their role in society.

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1). Ministry of Education, Social Studies for the Fourth Grade of Primary Education, Central Agency for University and School Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1982, (in Arabic).

It seems, therefore, that political learning is more
direct than in the previous grade. In the fifth
grade the civics course attempts to acquaint children
with some of the social and political values of their
society.[1] The main aim of this course is to create
solidarity and loyalty to the country and its values as
set out in state documents. For example, a child learns
that "national unity" means that both Moslems and
Christians took part in the revolution of 1919 and that
they both supported claims for Egyptian independence.
Both also participated in the October War in 1973.
Furthermore, children learn that "social peace" means
that the family and individuals live in peace, the father
will not be dismissed from his work without reason, and
every individual has the right to express freely his
views. The civic course also emphasizes that the
economic policy of the state is based on counterbalancing
both the private and public sectors, and encouraging an
open economic policy. It seems clear that the intentions
of this course are to inculcate children with many of
the social and political values of the system, to create
solidarity within society, and to foster loyalty to the
country and its political regime.

History and civic education in the sixth grade[2],

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1). Ministry of Education, Civic Education for the Fifth Grade of
Primary Schools

2). Ministry of Education, Modern History of Egypt for the Sixth
Grade of Primary Schools.

consolidate and re-emphasize the concept of loyalty to the country and its political system. In this grade children study the modern history of Egypt from the Ottoman invasion until the present time with a focus on government's achievements in overcoming social and economic problems. Moreover, the efforts of the corrective Revolution in 1971, the victories of the October War in 1973, and the state's efforts to achieve peace are emphasized. Although children discuss some of society's failures, this is used as a mean to develop loyalty to the existing regime and to present its achievements. For example, children learn that the reason for the failure of the Orabi revolution in 1882 was the system of dictatorship which ruled Egypt before the Revolution of 1952.

At the end of each chapter of the textbook there is a summary of the most important points under the heading of "remember". The aim of the summaries is to impress on children the historical patriotism of the Egyptian people, government's achievements, and the social and political values of the system. For example, the summaries include such phrases as "remember that your grandfather revolted against the oppression of the Ottomans amd Mamelukes.... remember my son that your Egyptian grandfathers had revolted against the French occupation and they killed many of the French....remember that your grandfathers were able to stop the British invasion from Alexandria, hence, Britain tried to invade Egypt from the area of the Suez canal". Similarly, in regard to the existing political system the summaries include "remember my son that the government

of revolution managed to make political organization
based on the alliance of the working forces of the people.
It has recently allowed political parties to begin their
work and to gather the people in order to represent
them politically under the principles of social peace
and national unity, and democratic socialism".[1]

Thus, it would seem that in effect much of the
political education in primary schools is political
socialization. The courses in social studies and civics
attempt to indoctrinate children in feelings of loyalty
towards the country and its political regime. It is
also clear that these courses attempt to shape children's
attitudes in relation to the accepted duties of respect,
and obedience to authority and social values in society.

The aim of inculcating loyalty to the country is
not only restricted to social studies but it is also
present in the teaching of some other subjects. For
example, children learn many poems and stories of
patriotism in the October War in the Arabic and reading
textbooks. In the fourth grade children learn "Egypt is
my country...I live in it, I love it and I like to live
in a happy country...the Arab world is big and its land
is my land...My Arab grandfathers were courageous, they
had a great history and glorious past known to all the
world".[2]

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1). Ibid.

2). Ministry of Education, Reading and Songs for the Fourth Grade
   of Primary Education, Central Agency for University and School
   Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1983, p.36, 162, (in
   Arabic).

In children's textbooks many of the political figures
are symbolized to develop patriotic feelings towards the
country by showing children, for example, pictures of
the October War and the battlefield, the Egyptian flag,
and of the Egyptian and Arab leaders.

The process of political socialization continues
in the preparatory school where the courses include in
depth knowledge about the political institutions on both
the nationl and the international level. Despite the
fact that pupils are provided with some opportunities
to practise the democratic life and to become acquainted
with some of society's problems, the focus of the school
curriculum continues to emphasize loyalty to the country
and the policies and achievements of the political regime.

In the first year of the preparatory school (grade
7) the civics course[1] includes some problems of society
such as, population control, the high cost of housing,
consumption, cleaning, traffic congestion in the means
of transportations, and illiteracy. However, the course
focuses on the duties of individuals and the efforts of
the government in resolving these problems, and especially
on the relationship between rights and duties. In .
presenting the theoretical side of a problem, students
are required to learn some of the texts of the constitution
so as to acquire a knowledge of the political and economic

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1). Ministry of Education, The Pupil in his Local Environment.

concepts of the state and a predisposition to obey its
regulations. For example, when pupils examine the
factors that have led to improvements in society they
are also required to learn the section of the constitution
which states that : "Payment of taxes and public imposts
is a duty, in accordance with the law...Public ownership
shall have its sanctity, and its protection and consoli-
dation is the duty of every citizen in accordance with
the law, as it is considered the mainstay of the strength
of the homeland, a basis for the socialist system and a
source of prosperity of the people".[1]

Moreover, pupils learn that it is essential that
they should fulfil their duties in order to secure and
maintain the democratic socialist ideology, "citizens
in the Arab Republic of Egypt must realize that the
democratic socialist society will not be able to revive
and continue unless each individual in it performs his
duty".[2] Pupils also learn that the moral values of
the family, i.e. love, loyalty, pride in affiliation
and sacrifice should be applied to their relationship
with the state.

Political education in preparatory schools covers a
study of local, national and international political
institutions. In the seventh grade, pupils learn about
some of the political institutions which exist in the
local environment

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1). Ibid., pp.53-54
2). Ibid., p.47.

and in the civics course in the following year they learn about the system of national government[1]. The civics course in the eighth grade deals with the revolutions of 1952 and 1971, the democratic socialist attitude, the state constitution, the political institutions, and the various authorities of the state. By examining the content of this course which focuses on justifications that led to the adoption of democratic socialism, it is clear that the main aim is to develop in pupils loyalty to the country and a favourable political attitude towards democratic socialism. Moreover, the course presents the knowledge about the constitution and political institutions and how they work in a descriptive rather than an analytical way. The course also concentrates on the achievements of the government and emphasizes the duties and rights of individuals. However, democratic practices, sovereignty of law, the freedoms of individuals, and the establishment of political parties are also emphasized. The textbook also includes quotations from the constitution which emphasize these principles.

The civics course for the ninth grade[2] concentrates on the study of some political institutions both in the Arab World (for example the Arab League) and at the world level (for example the United Nations). The main

1). Ministry of Education, The System of Government in the Arab Republic of Egypt.

2). Ministry of Education, Arab Republic of Egypt and the Contemporary World.

purpose of the course is to develop loyalty to Egypt
and to the Arab world. For instance pupils learn the
concept of Arab nationalism and its ingredients, aspects
of Arab unity, the Arab League and its role in strength-
ening the ties between the Arab people and supporting
the movements of liberation in the Arab countries, and
the efforts of Egypt in supporting peace. However,
there is little discussion of the problems which have
been encountered in trying to secure Arab unity, for
example objections to peace treaty which was signed by
Egypt and Israel and the transference of the Arab League
from Cairo to Tunisia (March,1979).

Similarly, the history course in preparatory
education also reinforces loyalty towards the country
and its political regime. This is seen through the
various courses which cover a continuum of Egyptian
history starting with the ancient history of Egypt and
ending with the modern period. These courses concentrate
on the cultural, political and social aspects of the
Egyptian society. In grade nine the history course[1]
attempts to promote loyalty to the country through
pride in the leaders of the national movement in Egypt
and an appreciation of their efforts in trying to improve
the social and political life of the country. The
course also engenders negative attitudes towards imperialism.

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1). Ministry of Education, Modern and Contemporary History of Egypt.

Moreover, the course focuses on the successful achievements of the Revolution of 1952 in order to constitute a hostile attitude towards dictatorship and a positive attitude towards the Revolution and democracy.

The main approach to political education in the preparatory stage (grades 7-9) is to promote loyalty to the country and the prevalent political attitudes. Nevertheless, to some extent, opportunites are provided for the development of the democratic attitudes and the ability of pupils to participate in social and political life. In the secondary school perhaps the history course for the first year (grade 10) is the main course in which loyalty to the country predominates. However, the course is not merely confined to supporting loyalty to the system and Arab nationalism or providing pupils with political knowledge and attitudes towards the system. The course also includes the development of political and social attitudes in other countries of the world. This policy is consistent with the idea that loyalty to a country and system are established during the early years of schooling while the secondary school pupils need to develop their understanding and knowledge of other countries of the world.

Approximately 50 per cent of the content of the grade 10 history course deals with the national revolutions to secure liberation and independence from dictatorships, for example, the English Revolution in 1688, the French Revolution in 1789, and the development of the nationalist movement in Europe and some other countries. Only 8 per cent of the total content of the

course is devoted to the revolutions in Arab countries
and Egypt.[1] Moreover, this part of the course
represents the only political content in grade 10 since
no course in civics is provided.

Furthermore, the course tends to approach the
concept of loyalty to the country in a more objective
way. Pupils are still expected to develop a spirit
of pride in the Arab culture and hostility towards
imperialism. Nevertheless, they also learn that the
Arab world entered the modern ages in a state of
stagnation and underdevelopment because of the political
disagreements among its rulers and the effects of the
Ottoman occupation which attempted to isolate the Arab
countries. Moreover, pupils learn about the factors
which have led to the development of modern societies
in both the East and West.[2]

One of the purposes of the strong emphasis on
inculcating feelings of patriotism is to develop in
children a predisposition to defend their motherland
and to accept national service in the army. This is
due to the historical experiences of Egypt against
foreign occupation and the former wars between Egypt
and Israel rather than support for the system and
political ideologies. In other words schools attempt to

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1). Ministry of Education, The Foundations of the Modern World.

2). Ibid., p.13, 19.

promote students' attitudes and prepare them for their national duty in the army to defend the motherland from enemy attacks.

In October 1956 a combined French, Israeli and British force attacked Egypt. Immediately a Military Education course was introduced which occupied two periods a week in all grades of secondary schools.[1] The main aim of the course was to provide pupils with a considerable amount of military training to enable them to defend their country and to participate in the battle alongside the army if required. Perhaps, as a result of an increase in the power of the Egyptian army and the recent agreed peace treaty between Egypt and Israel the need for military training for young people has decreased. Since 1970 the military training element has decreased[2] and students are now receiving some knowledge of military tactics and fighting skills. Moreover, a specific course entitled "Bright Aspects from the Military and Patriotic History of Egypt"[3] is taught to promote pride in its heroes and clarify the necessity of the army to defend the country and keep the peace. For example, students learn that the October victory in 1973 war led to the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.

1). Ministry of Education, The 211 Education Act in 1953 and Supplementary Laws, Dar El-Tebaha, Cairo, n.d. p.67. (in Arabic).

2). Ministry of Education, Modified Curriculum for the General Secondary Stage, p.293.

3). Ministry of Education, Bright Aspects from the Military and Patriotic History of Egypt for the Secondary Education, Central Agency for University and Schools Books and Instructional Media, Cairo, 1984, (in Arabic).

Primary school children acquire strong feelings towards the protection of their country. For example, by the age of 11 the civics course provides children with information about the armed forces and their structure with an emphasis on the defensive role of the army. Moreover, the course attempts to develop in children a spirit of nationalism and a desire to defend the motherland. For instance, children learn "All of us love our country, protect and defend it against our enemy. Defending the country is a duty of all Egyptians. Armed forces are always on alert at the time of peace to protect our land and our country. At the time of war armed forces stand up in the battlefield to defend our land, our freedom, our independence and our dignity." The textbook stimulates children and encourages them to join the army when they become adults. "By the efforts you spend in study and by your success you will be able to join the Naval College in order to become an officer in the Navy Forces".[1] Similar encouragements are repeated in respect of other military colleges. Children also acquire responsible attitudes towards keeping military secrets.

Thus the school curriculum emphasizes the duty of young people to defend their motherland in times of war. However, the school curriculum at all stages also emphasizes the necessity of living in peace at both

1). Ministry of Education, Civic Education for the Fifth Grade of Primary Schools, p.17.30.

national and international levels. It also attempts to

promote in students the love of peace and to convince them

of the importance of the peace treaty between Egypt and

Israel. For example, the aim of social studies in

preparatory education is "to develop the love of justice,

the desire of peace, and the right of all nations in

freedom, independence and progress".[1] Many lessons

of history and civics[2] explain in some detail the efforts

exerted to achieve peace and cover the October War

(1973), the peace initiatives (1977), the Camp David

agreement (1978),and the peace treaty (1979). Moreover,

the school curriculum informs pupils that the previous

wars between Egypt and Israel had resulted in the loss

of many men and women and hindered the development of

society. Furthermore, the United Nations efforts to keep

world peace, to secure disarmament, and to promote human

rights are emphasized.

Since the beginning of the 1952 Revolution in Egypt

loyalty to the country, acceptance of the new political

regime and support for its leaders have been emphasized

in the school curriculum. Moreover, to a large extent,

the school curriculum attempted to inculcate in school

children positive feelings towards Arab countries

1). Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social Studies for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools, p.15.

2). Ministry of Education, Modern History of Egypt for the Sixth Grade of Primary Schools, pp.161-166; Ministry of Education, The System of Government in the Arab Republic of Egypt for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools, pp.29-30; Ministry of Education, Civic Education:Contemporary State for the Second Grade of Secondary Schools, pp.127-144.

and the concepts of unity and Arab nationalism. Recent developments in the political ideology which have attempted to develop democracy further through the establishment of political parties has positively affected the nature of political education in the school curriculum. However, the school curriculum still emphasizes the concept of political socialization in order to support loyalty to the country and its political system.

The primary stage provides children with a considerable amount of political socialization directly and indirectly. Children not only acquire positive feelings towards the country and its political system but they also learn to obey the orders of authorities and the norms of society. There is clear evidence to suggest that children are expected to acquire some of society's values such as national unity and social peace with the aim of creating solidarity within society. Furthermore, children are provided with political knowledge about local government.

In the preparatory stage although there are some indications that pupils discuss some of society's problems, the school curriculum continues to indoctrinate pupils in the political values of the system and its achievements, focusing on the acquisition of political knowledge about the constitution and political institutions at national level. In comparison with other stages, it seems that the most common approach to political education in preparatory schools is the concentration on political knowledge. In spite of the significance of this approach

to develop the ability of political participation, by
focusing on this approach it can lead merely to loyalty
to the system. As in primary schools the concept of
nationalism and loyalty to the country is expanded to
include the loyalty to the Arab world and Arab nationalism.
As pupils progress from middle grades to higher grades
the emphasis on loyalty to the country and the political
ideology of the system obviously decreases. It would
seem, however, that the secondary schools curriculum only
includes a minimum amount of political socialization.

In comparison with the Soviet Union, it would seem
that there are certain similarities between Egypt and
the Soviet Union. The similarities are more marked
during the period preceeding the adoption of political
parties. However, recent developments in democracy in
Egypt suggest that while the school curriculum in Egypt
could move from a rigid concept of political socialization
to the more open approach of political education, the
school curriculum in the Soviet Union continues to
support an extreme concept of political socialization.

In the Soviet Union political socialization takes
place at all stages including the kindergarten. In
kindergartens there is no specific political learning
but the essential basis of the state political ideology
is symbolized in concrete figures. Pictures of Lenin are
displayed in every classroom, the children are told
stories about "Our Lenin" or "Uncle Lenin" and they
learn to live as Lenin lived. The children are also
introduced to the lives of military and historical heroes.[1]

1). R.W.Clawson, 'Political Socialization of Children in the U.S.S.R.'
Political Science Quarterly, Vol.88, No.4, December 1973, p.705.

In primary schools explicit political learning is
introduced through more abstract concepts such as the
party and communism. Children learn that the Communist
Party was established by Lenin who led the Soviet people
to a happy life. They read:

> The communist Party is called the Leninist party because
> it was organized by Lenin. Vladamir Il'ich devoted all
> his strength to a struggle for the happiness of the
> people. The Communist Party is continuing the work of
> the great Lenin. It is leading out people to a bright
> happy life, to communism. (1).

In primary schools an intensive effort is made to
establish in children's minds a full belief in the love
of the country and the acceptance of the political
regime and its leaders. Children are taught the concepts
of patriotism and loyalty which include a love of the
motherland and a belief in communist ideology. On the
assumption that it is easy to establish a positive
attitude in the early years towards the country and
its political figures, from an early time, Soviet
educators emphasize that "children progress most easily
to the feeling of love for their motherland...and their
state through a feeling of love for the leaders of the
Soviet people - Lenin and Stalin",...and that "they
quickly began to perceive that under the leadership of
the Party of Lenin and Stalin we both build and defend
our Soviet State, our fatherland"[2]

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1). M.S.Vasil'eva, 'O kommunisticheskoi partii na wrokakh chteniya',
   Nachal' naya shkola,1981, no.4, pp.23-24, Quoted by J.Marison,
   'The Political Content of Education in the U.S.S.R.', p.155.

2). G.S.Counts, I want to be like Stalin (New York, J.Day, 1947),
   p.54, Quoted by J.R.Azrael, 'Soviet Union', in J.S.Coleman
   (ed.), Education and Political Development, p.239.

Collectivism and love of work are essential elements in Soviet moral education. Thus, these elements are emphasized in children's textbooks in such a way as to create love for the motherland. Through stories and school activities children learn that the purpose of the collective is to help in achieving the general good. Devotion to the collective and love of work have their significance in developing love of the motherland, since children develop the limited concepts of collectivism and a love of work in their school area which is then related to the bigger collective of the state or motherland. It is argued that "patriotism in the Soviet moral theory is treated as the ultimate form of collectivism rather than a simple love for one's native heath".[1] In their textbooks children learn "...be brave and skilful and above all else on earth, love your Soviet Motherland."[2] The textbooks also emphasize to children that collectivism and love of work is to the great glory of the motherland:

    Live, study and be proud, my son,
    That you are a Soviet citizen,
    And having chosen your path in life,
    Everywhere: in battle and labour,
    Always : in happiness and sorrow,
    Be true to your Fatherland. (3)

The Soviet view of loyalty is not restricted to the love of the motherland but also includes the important

1). F.A. O'Dell, Socialization through Children's Literature, p.36.
2). Flagzhok,(Little Flage), Moscow, 1971, p.24, Quoted by O'Dell,p.79.
3). Nasha rodina (Our Motherland), Moscow, 1971, p.120, Quoted by O'Dell, p.79.

dimension of belief in communist ideology and "stresses
the legitimacy of the Communist Party's role as the only
possible guiding force capable of leading society to
the attainment of its goals".[1]   Children are taught
information about the party and political system in such
a way as to develop their love of the motherland.
Children learn that the motherland is a big family of
co-operative peoples seeking to build a bright new life.
In this the people are led by the Party, "the leading
attachment of the working class". In one poem, Octobrists
are asked "What is the PARTY?", "It is a hero, a good
friend, a scout, and itself a family headed by dear
Lenin."[2]   Moreover, primary school teachers are trained
to undertake their responsibilities in political
indoctrination since no less than ten per cent of their
preparatory course is devoted to a study of political
ideology; history of the Communist Party, Marxism-
Leninism, Political Economy, and Scientific Communism.[3]

Thus, the Soviet morality of collectivism and love
of work are directed to developing children's loyalty
towards their motherland. Moreover children are expected
to link their love of the motherland with loyalty to the
system and an extreme love and acceptance of the leaders
of the Communist Party.

1). O'Dell, p.37.

2). Nasha rodina (Our Motherland), Moscow, 1971, p.4, pp.14-17,
    Quoted by O'Dell, pp.80-81.

3). T.Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, p.5.

The same approach to political socialization used
in primary schools pervade the secondary school
curriculum. However, as children progress from lower
to upper grades there is an increasing emphasis upon
Marxist-Leninist ideology. In his research Cary notes
that the higher the grade, the more emphasis there is
upon Marxism-Leninism. In history and geography, the
emphasis upon ideology is greater in senior grades
(8-10) than middle ones (4-7). Between the middle and
senior grades there is an increasing emphasis within
the school curriculum to inculcate a Marxist-Leninist
belief system. Senior grade students are expected to
acquire a more sophisticated knowledge of the philosophical
basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology in order to become
builders of Communism.[1] In general Cary concludes
that:

> As Soviet children progress through school, they are
> expected to develop an increasingly sophisticated Marxist-
> Leninist belief system. In comparison with schoolchildren
> in the fourth or fifth through seventh grades who are only
> expected to become acquainted with rudimentary tenets and
> logic of the ideology, those in the eighth grade and above
> are expected to acquire convictions and durable political
> orientations and predispositions towards political behaviour.
> [2]

The introduction of the political ideologies of the
Soviet system during the upper grades of the secondary
school is consistent with the ability of students of this

1). C.Cary, 'Patterns of Emphasis', p.16,29.

2). Ibid., p.28.

age to acquire abstract concepts. Whilst students of
this age also develop the ability to think in a
critical way, Soviet political education is more concerned
with the inculcation of the particular ideology.
Consequently, it is expected that the process of
political socialization in creating a conviction to
Marxist-Leninist ideology will be incomplete since
opportunities are not provided to examine, criticize and
compare Marxism-Leninism with other ideologies.

As has already been seen, in effect most political
education in Soviet schools takes the form of political
socialization which permeates the whole school curriculum.
Recent developments in the school curriculum indicate
that there is an increasing emphasis on political
socialization. Ivanov, an official in the U.S.S.R.
Ministry of Education, asserted in 1980 that the school
curriculum should be more closely linked with the
tasks of constructing communism and formulating
political orientation.[1] Moreover, a great emphasis is
also placed on the need for politically competent
teachers to develop the ideological convictions of the
pupils and to evaluate social and political life from
a party position. In response to this requirement many
pedagogical institutions have introduced special courses
such as "The Formation of the Communist World View in
School Pupils", "Inculcating in Pupils an Activist Stance
in Life", and "The Education of School Youth on the Basis

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1). Quoted by J.Marison, 'Political Content of Education in the
U S S R ', p.153.

of the Life and Activity of V.I.Lenin".[1]

Political indoctrination not only includes the inculcation of a love for the motherland based on the communist ideology but also attempts to promote an acceptance of the socio-political system and defend its ideology. For example, the secondary school curriculum sets out to convince students of the superiority of the social-economic political order of the Soviet system in accomplishing present undertakings and the future plans of communist transformation. For instance, young people in the seventh and eighth grades are expected to have an understanding of "Communism as the highest form for the organization of social life".[2] Moreover, the ideological and political opponents of the Soviet Union are emphasized since in the view of communist ideology the opposing bourgeois forces threaten the communist transformation and the Soviet motherland. Thus students in grades seven and eight are expected to "display intolerance toward bourgeois views".[3] These features of political indoctrination are also the basis for the provision of military training for young people.

A further aim of the school curriculum is to promote

1). Ibid., pp.153-154.

2). Akademiia pedagogicheskikh nauk SSSR, Nauchno-issledovatel' skii institut obshchikh problem vospitaniia, Primernoe soderzhanie vospitaniia shkol' nikov (Moscow, Pedagogika, 1971), Quoted by C.D.Cary, 'The Goals of Citizenship Training in American and Soviet Schools', Studies in Comparative Communism, Vol.10, No.3, Autumn 1977, p.293.

3). C. Cary, 'The Goals of Citizenship Training in American and Soviet Schools', p.293.

international understanding. However, the concept of
international understanding is mainly based on the
communist world outlook. Soviet schools attempt to
promote the concept of proletarian internationalism by
supporting the struggle of the proletariat in all parts
of the world in order to achieve the ultimate victory
of socialism and communism. A Soviet report states
that the school teaches students about "the inevitability
of the end of capitalism and victory of socialism and
communism...History and society study are important
means of bringing the pupils up in a spirit of selfless
love for, and devotion to, their socialist motherland,
in a spirit of peace and friendship among the nations,
in the spirit of proletarian internationalism".[1]

International understanding of the world is
considered as an extension of Soviet loyalty to the
motherland and includes instilling positive feelings
and friendship towards other socialist systems in the
world. Soviet training in internationalism prepares
young people : first, to work unceasingly on strength-
ening economic, political and military might, and the
friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the Soviet
nation; secondly, to strengthen the world socialist
system by friendly collaboration and brotherly aid;

1). International Conference on Public Education, Session 27,
    General 1964, Public Education in the Soviet Union, Moscow,
    1964, p.54, Quoted by D.Lane, Politics and Society in the
    USSR, p.499.

thirdly, to strengthen the bonds of brotherly ties with the working class of capitalist nations and to support their fight against imperialist oppression; fourthly, to fight for the implementation of the world communist and the workers' movement[1]. Thus, students are required to interpret their understanding of the world and political events in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Essentially, international understanding means support for the builders of communism in other countries of the world.

Military training is another of the important aspects of the Soviet school curriculum. The Soviet military leader A.Epishev defines the main task of military education as to prepare young people to be able to defend the communist ideology and fatherland. This task is mainly realized by schools. He states:

> Today's schoolchildren and students are tomorrow's builders
> and defenders of communism. It is specifically in school
> that the citizen, patriot, and serviceman begins to
> develop...It is the lofty duty and mission of Soviet
> teachers to rear our youth in a spirit of civic duty and
> personal responsibility for the fate of the fatherland,
> a spirit of socialist collectivism and comradeship; to
> rear a generation of patriots and internationalists who
> are committed to the defence of their fatherland and who
> are ready to perform military and labour feats.[2]

The school curriculum issued in 1976 asserted similar aims for military education and emphasized the

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1). V.P. Moshniaga, Moldse pokolenie internationistor (Moscow,1972) pp.7-8, Quoted by C.Cary, 'Education for International Understanding in Soviet Schools', Slavic and European Education Review, Vol.2, 1979,p.12.

2). A. Epishev, 'Bringing up Patriots who are Committed to the Defence of the Fatherland', p.39.

friendship between schools and armed forces.[1]

Military education is included in the school
curriculum at all stages of education. In primary
school (grades 1-3) literature lessons children learn
stores about the motherland, the Soviet army, war
heroes, the Civil War, the Great Patriotic War, and
the heroic deeds of children. The slogan "I love you
Russia, my Soviet land!"[2] reflects the main reason
behind the introduction of military education. Soviet
education attempts to convince schoolchildren that the
Soviet people is a peace-loving nation. For example
in their textbook "Little Star" children learn anti-
war songs such as "We are the children of a free and
peaceful country. Our great people does not want war".[3]
Moreover, they learn to write by copying down that peace
is necessary and war is hated:

> Distinct in the morning light,
> Each letter is clear.
> Soviet children are writing.
> "Peace to all people on earth.
> We need no War!"...(4)

However, many sections such as the Soviet Army Protect
the Motherland, The Motherland must be Protected, and in the
Defence of the Motherland are included in the childrens
textbooks. The main aim of these sections is to emphasize
the defensive role of the army inprotecting the
Motherland.[5]   Children, therefore, must be convinced

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1). Vospitani Sckolnikov, No.6, 1975, pp.57-60,Quoted by J.Zajda,
     Education in the USSR, p.209.
2). J.Zajda, Education in the USSR, p.210.
3). Flazhok (Little Star), Moscow,1971, p.176, Quoted by O'Dell,p.82.
4). Nasha rodine (our Motherland.), Moscow,1971,p.360,Quoted by
     O'Dell, p.84.
5). O'Dell, p.82.

that the existence of the army is necessary to protect the Soviet borders against attackers. Soviet soldiers and war are described in such a way as to create pride in the Soviet army and readiness to fight in time of war.

Military training is introduced in the secondary schools. The aim of secondary schools is "to instill in students a lofty sense of Soviet patriotism - a love for the Motherland, their own people, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and readiness for the defence of the socialist Fatherland.[1] The defensive role of military training is clearly associated with the social-economic-political system of communist ideology. The new secondary school curriculum issued in December 1977 emphasized Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, civic and military duties.[2]

The importance of military training is increasingly stressed as pupils progress through the secondary school. Whilst in the first grades (4-8) young people are expected to understand the necessity for the defence of the motherland and to develop a desire to be prepared to defend the motherland, in the ninth and tenth grades, however, they are actually expected to be ready to join the Soviet army's ranks and activities in the name of the motherland.[3]

1). Quoted by C.D.Cary, 'Martial-Patriotic Themes in Soviet School Textbooks', Soviet Union/Union Sovietique, Vol.6, Part 1,1979,p.82.
2). Uchitelskaya gazeta, 29.Dec.1966,p.1, Quoted by J.Zajda, Education in the USSR, p.206.
3). C.Cary, 'Martial-Patriotic Themes in Soviet School Textbooks', p.85.

Thus, the two perspectives of peace and war are represented in the school curriculum. Military education reveals to primary schoolchildren that peace is a prerequisite to build the society and secure its life. However, war is necessary also to defend the motherland and communist ideology from enemies. Peace is recognized "but not to the extent of tolerating hostile action by any country potentially antagonistic to the Soviet Union."[1] The responsibility of secondary school extends not only to creating a strong desire to defend the motherland and the communist ideology but also to preparing attitudes for an actual role in military service. The purpose of military education, then, is to realize the communist ideology through the creation of active fighters and defenders of communism.

In comparison, military education in Egypt arises from the historical experiences of the country, whilst the emphasis on military training in the Soviet Union is mainly related to the ideological beliefs of communism. However, in both countries the school curriculum emphasizes the two aspects of peace and war. The two-sided issues of peace are recognised in the debate about peace education in England. However, as will be seen, it has been argued that the introduction of peace education must be consistent with the approaches of

1). O'Dell, p.88.

political education.

Obviously, the approach to political learning which creates loyalty to a country and its value system with the idea of creating coherence, community, and national consensus is an essential requirement for most societies even the more democratic one. From this perspective there is a similarity between the Soviet Union, Egypt and England. However, there are great differences in approach to political learning in the three countries mainly due to the political ideology. Political ideology and a society's need for stability basically determines the extent to which the school curriculum includes political learning which supports loyalty to the country and the system. In the Soviet Union political learning in the school curriculum is completely based on the approach of political socialization so as to create a solid community, coherence, and compliance to the political system and ideology. The existence of these aims are more apparent in the Egyptian school curriculum than in English schools. Comparatively, political education in England provides pupils with a great opportunity than in Egypt for participation and questioning the values of society and the system. However, in both England and Egypt there is a similar desire to create a national community and consensus.

It has been recognized that the school curriculum in England should take into consideration national needs and provide similar experiences for all pupils to secure a national community and consensus. In accordance with their responsibilities to promote the education of the

people of England and Wales, the Secretaries of State

must involve themselves in "an overall view of the

content and quality of education seen from the stand-

point of national policies and needs....The Secretaries

of State consider that the diversity of practice that

has emerged in recent years..., makes it timely to

prepare guidance on the place which certain key elements

of the curriculum should have in the experience of

every pupil during the compulsory period of education".[1]

The need to provide common experiences for all pupils

has been recognized by the Politics Association which

argues that political and social awareness are essential

elements of this common experience.[2]

The belief that creating coherence within society

is a substantial responsibility of the school curriculum,

was also emphasized by the Schools Council in 1981:

> In whatever part of the country they live, and whether
> they are girls or boys, children have the same rights,
> and should enjoy the same opportunities for education.
> If children share similar experiences and knowledge, we
> believe there will be greater cohesion between different
> social groups and between generations. (3)

The Department of Education and Science (1983)

maintains that the secondary school curriculum should

not only enhance the understanding of British society

and creating coherence and national community but should

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1). D.E.S., A Framework for the School Curriculum, p.1,5.

2). T. Brennan, 'Political Education and 'A Framework of the School
    Curriculum' ', p.2.

3). Schools Council, The Practical Curriculum, p.31.

also promote international understanding:

> (Pupils) face the common experience of living in a world
> which is increasingly international, multi-ethnic and
> interdependent both economically and politically; their
> curricula should be based on a framework which provides
> coherence, and, while taking account of individual needs
> and abilities, still ensures the provision of a broadly based
> common experience. (1)

The previous approach to developing national loyalty

and world understanding was confirmed through the means

of teaching history. Slater argues:

> We shall say that we would be very unhappy if young people
> left school at the age of 16 not having done any British
> history or any local history and that we should also feel
> unhappy if the content of their syllabus had not reminded
> them that there is a world elsewhere, outside these islands
> of Europe. (2)

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Department

of Education and Science recommends all schools to

establish a common or core curriculum for all pupils in

the compulsory years of secondary education[3]. The

main goal of a common curriculum is to provide pupils

with similar experiences based on national needs and

creating coherence and national consensus. The suggested

core curriculum should include eight areas of experience

which are defined as "the aesthetic and creative, the

ethical, the linguistic, the mathematical, the physical,

the scientific, the social and political and the

spiritual"[4]. Moreover, a subsequent document of the

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1). D.E.S., Curriculum 11-16:Towards a Statement of Entitlement,p.25.

2). J.Slater, 'The Case for History in School', p.14.

3). D.E.S., Curriculum 11-16: Working Paper by H.M.Inspectorate,p.6.

4). Ibid., p.6.

D.E.S. stated that "it was proposed that the curriculum should offer properly thought out and progressive experience in eight areas to which equal importance was attached."[1] It could be argued that social and political aspects are an essential part of a common curriculum to achieve a national community and coherence within the British society.

Similarly, the Department of Education and Science stresses that the primary school curriculum should provide children with an understanding of not only the British culture but also international understanding. The D.E.S. argues that:

> Children should be encouraged, in the context of the multi-cultural aspects of Britain today and of our membership of the European Communities, to develop an understanding of the world, of their own place in it and of how people live and work. (2)

Similarly, in Better Schools, it is argued that:

> There is wide agreement that the content of the primary curriculum should, in substance, make it possible for the primary phase to lay the foundation of understanding in religious education, history, geography and the nature of British society. (3)

As has already been seen the school curriculum in the Soviet Union has been exploited to develop the concept of nationalism based on the link between the love of the motherland and communist values. Moreover, the perspective of internationalism has been based on the

1). D.E.S. Curriculum 11-16: A Review of Progress, p.3.

2). Department of Education and Science, The School Curriculum, H.M.S.O., London, March 1981, p.10.

3). Department of Education and Science, Better Schools, H.M.S.O. London, March 1985, p.20.

concept of supporting proletarian or socialist inter-
nationalism in order to realize the communist world.
Internationalism, therefore, is seen as an integrated
part of nationalism based on the specific ideology of
communism. In Egypt evidence clearly suggests that the
school curriculum is used to create not only a spirit of
nationalism towards the country and acceptance of the
values of the system but also to create positive
feelings towards Arab nationalism. In contrast to the
Soviet Union, however, due to recent democratic develop-
ments in Egypt opportunities are provided for the
development of international understanding. In England,
it would seem that moves are being made towards promoting
national loyalty and consensus through the school
curriculum. However, international understanding of
other world aspects are also emphasized.

The realization of national loyalty and the creating
of community within society is objected to as bias and
political socialization. Although England has enjoyed
a more stable system, during the period preceding the
recent development of political education nevertheless
there is evidence to suggest that English schools have
inevitably been involved in political socialization.
Gardner argues that "English schools are important
factors in political socialization".[1]   Ian Lister

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1). W. Gardner, 'Political Socialization', p.45.

found a significant bias towards British values. He

observed from different research that:

> Students are most ignorant about political-economic concepts,
> and about countries other then their own. Indeed other
> countries and social systems are usually cited to say how
> much worse they are than Britain-Russia has no freedom;
> Germany is authoritarian, the United States has violence;
> and third world countries have mass poverty and
> starvation.... (1)

Moreover, in spite of an increasing concern for

the teaching of history to include a wider outlook and

international aspect, Tapper has noted that :

> Many schools continue to teach an elitist interpretation of
> history; it is the story of kings and queens, dukes, earls
> and barons, and more recently prime ministers and their
> immediate entourage. It is still common practice for
> teachers to subdivide history into distinct periods with
> the boundaries defined by the births and deaths of
> monarchs. (2).

Furthermore, it has been noted that hidden values

within the school curriculum tend to promote an accep-

tance of the political status-quo:

> the 'hidden' curriculum has played a perhaps even more
> important part through the unspoken transmission of norms
> and values which encouraged minimal expectations of
> political participation and assumed essentially conformist
> political roles for the mass of the citizenry. (3)

Nevertheless, the evidence would seem to suggest

less political socialization takes place in schools in

England than in schools in Egypt and the Soviet Union.

Moreover, Coleman observes in comparison with American

schools little of political socialization has been

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1). Ian Lister, Aims and Methods of Political Education in Schools,
    A Report Presented to A Conference on the Development of Democratic
    Institutions in Europe, Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly,
    Strasbourg, 21-23 April, 1976, p.9.

2). E.R.Tapper, Political Education and Stability, p.50.

3). T. Brennan, 'Politics in Schools:From Socialization to Education',
    p.135.

introduced into English schools.[1] The civics courses in secondary schools in the United States have strongly been orientated towards preserving the status-quo[2]. Similarly, Harber argues that political indoctrination is very rare in Britain.[3] Although there are preferences and predispositions towards certain political values and attitudes, alternative viewpoints are also available.

Furthermore, the recent national survey on the provision of political education in English schools indicates that the political education movement in England departs from the concept of political socialization.[4] The survey reveals that there are no significant differences between the schools which have a very high proportion of immigrant pupils and the schools which have a sizeable minority of immigrant children. However, the more enthusiastic advocates of political education still believe that "schools should move from their current role in partisan political socialization to a more open form of political education."[5]

It seems clear that the period from the first years of the 1952 Revolution until the emergence of political parties the school curriculum in Egypt attempted to indoctrinate in pupils loyalty to the country and support

1). J.S.Coleman, 'Introduction:Education and Political Development', in J.S. Coleman (ed.), Education and Political Development, p.23.
2). D. Armstrong, Social Studies in Secondary Education, p.376.
3). C.Harber, 'Politics and Political Education in 1984' p.117.
4). Stradling and Noctor, p.25.
5). C.Harber, 'Politics and Political Education in 1984', p.113.

for the new system and its political leader. The
purpose of promoting feelings of loyalty towards the
country was considered necessary in shaping attitudes
towards the adopted socialist principles and the
political leaders. Moreover, the school curriculum
also linked loyalty to the country with the idea of
supporting Arab nationalism.

It is expected that recent developments in demo-
cratic practices in Egypt should promote a movement from
the concept of political socialization towards the
approach of political education. At present the
curriculum is characterized by two features. First, in
the primary stage there is a great emphasis on developing
loyalty to the country and informing children about the
social and political attitudes of the system. Gradually
with the transference of children to the preparatory
stage (grades 7-9) and then to the secondary stage
(grades 10-12) the emphasis on loyalty to the country
and its system is diminished. The preparatory stage
covers in depth the predominant political values and
concepts and provides students with a considerable
amount of knowledge about national institutions and the
state constitution. Secondly, it seems that the
departure from the concept of political socialization
aims to develop the ability of students to take part in
political and social life by giving them the opportunity
to understand and discuss some of the social and political
problems of their society.

The emphasis within political education, however,
is still placed on the inculcation of the political

ideology of the system and an acceptance of successful

achievements and policies of the state. The main aim

of political socialization is to support the system

and create solidarity and the spirit of nationalism

towards the country and its defence. The concept of

nationalism is not restricted to love of the country

but also includes loyalty to the Arab countries and

the concept of Arab nationalism. In general, it is

obvious that one of the main features of political

education is to emphasize the concept of political

socialization.

There is a similarity between Egypt and the Soviet

Union in respect of the emphasis on the concept of

political socialization. The similarity was closer

during the first years of the 1952 Revolution. At

that time it was believed that the new system in Egypt

needed stability and support through the means of

political socialization. Whilst the school curriculum

in Egypt is being affected by the recent movement

towards democracy, in the Soviet Union political

socialization and compliance to communist ideology has

always existed and continues to be the predominant

motive of political learning. In the Soviet Union from

the early years of kindergarten until the final year

of secondary school, young people are provided with a

considerable amount of political socialization.

In kindergarten in the Soviet Union plitical concepts

are symbolized in concrete figures in order to create

love for the political leaders and the Communist Party

and its role in leading the Soviet people. As pupils

grow up they receive explicit political indoctrination in communist ideology and political concepts in a more abstract manner. In the senior grades of secondary schools there is an increasing emphasis upon the theories of Marxist-Leninist ideology. In general, the school curriculum is seen as an important means for creating loyalty to the Soviet motherland with the associated objectives of obedience and allegiance to the communist ideology. The concept of loyalty is not only based on the acquisition of predispositions towards the superiority of the Soviet over the bourgeois system but also on the preparation of young people to defend their ideology against the bourgeois system and to support proletarian internationalism.

In England there is evidence to suggest that political socialization has been present in the school curriculum. However, the political socialization in England was much less than in Egypt and the Soviet Union. With recent developments in political education it could be argued that there is a movement within the school curriculum towards the approaches of political education. However, in all three countries national loyalty and the creation of coherence within the society are considered desirable objectives to be included in the school curriculum. Nevertheless, the concept of nationalism is basically dependent on the ideology of the country and the extent to which the country practises democracy. Whilst in England the school curriculum gives a greater opportunity than in Egypt for pupils to develop inter-national understanding, Soviet schools interpret

international understanding in terms of communist
ideology with its support for proletarian internationalism
and the socialist countries.

Political Education

In spite of the fact that instruction in political
education in Egypt attempts to inculcate in school-
children loyalty to the country and its political
ideologies, there is some evidence to indicate that the
school curriculum, particularly in the senior grades,
has also included approaches which could develop the
ability of young people to practise democracy and
participate in social and political life. Thus, the
approach to political learning does not only emphasize
the concept of political socialization but also moved
toward the approach of political education. The interest
in developing political education is largely due to the
recent democratic developments in state ideology which
provided a great opportunity to practise democracy.

In the civic education course for the second year
of the secondary school (grade 11) students are
expected to discuss with their teachers the stated
democratic principles of the constitution. For example,
under the title "Egypt: the state of law and democracy"
pupils discuss the statement that "All citizens are
equal before the law. They have equal public rights
and duties without discrimination between them due to
rare, ethnic origin, language, religion or creed...
Freedom of opinion is guaranteed. Every individual
has the right to express his opinion and to publicise it

verbally or in writing or by photography or by other
means...self-criticism and constructive criticism is
the guarantee for the safety of the national structure".[1]
Moreover, young people are required to write a comparative
essay on the systems of democracy and dictatorship.
The teacher is not only advised to give his pupils the
opportunity to express their own viewpoints in classroom
discussion but is also required to avoid imposing his
particular views on students. Consequently, it is
expected that the ability of students to discuss and
handle issues will be developed and that they will
acquire predispositions towards political participation.

In a similar way, the methods of teaching the
civics course for grade 9[2] involve a teacher discussing
with his pupils the current affairs relevant to the
content of the course such as Arab League and the United
Nations. A teacher is also required to encourage his
pupils to express their viewpoints freely in handling
relevant issues to the course. Although political
instruction in the course entitled "The System of
Government in The Arab Republic of Egypt" for grade 8[3]
is mainly introduced in a descriptive rather than in
an analytical way, teachers are recommended to teach
their pupils electoral behaviour and democratic practices

1). Ministry of Education, Civic Education:Contemporary State for
the Second Grade of Secondary Schools.

2). Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social
Studies for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools, pp.111-113

3). Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social
Studies for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools, pp.119-123.

through establishing classroom councils and school activity groups.

In contrast to the emphasis upon the achievements of government, a study of the failures of a society and its political and social problems can have a great impact on the development of pupils' ability to think critically and to take an active part in political life. The civics course for grade 11[1] emphasizes that not all of the values of society are appropriate and practicable since some of them need to be changed. Moreover, pupils are informed that the Revolution of 1952 failed to introduce democratic life. However, the course does not develop the ability of pupils to analyse and criticise current political and social problems. For example, the section on "the state of development and progress" informs pupils of aspects of underdevelopment such as the low level of national income, high increase in population, unemployment, state inability to realize political and social improvement. However, the section concentrates on state efforts to achieve economic and social development rather than dealing with state failures and social and political problems.

The aim of the civic course in grade 8 is to improve the pupils' understanding not only of the problems which their society has faced but also recent problems.[2] An

1). Ministry of Education, Civic Education:Contemporary State.

2). Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social Studies for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools,p.118

examination of the contents of the textbook that is

used for this course[1], however, reveals that there is

little discussion of the social and political problems

which have taken place since the 1952 Revolution such

as the failure of the one party system (ASU) in

achieving democratic life and improving society. The

textbook concentrates on the political and social

problems of society during the period preceding the

Revolution such as the dictatorship and the deterioration

of political and social life. Moreover, whilst the

course focuses on the achievements of the 1952 and

1971 revolutions, the problem of implementing democratic

socialist attitudes, for example difficulties in the

socialist transformation and the negative aspects of

the open economic policy are neglected.

In the sixth grade of primary education the history

course[2] instructs children that the reasons for the

defeat in the 1967 war were the control by "the centres

of power" over the government, the absence of democratic

practices, and the failure of the military leadership

in adopting recent developments in warfare. Moreover,

the civic course for grade 5 provides children with the

opportunity to discuss some of society's problems such

as population growth and illiteracy[3]. Nevertheless,

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1). Ministry of Education, The System of Government in the Arab
Republic of Egypt for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools.

2). Ministry of Education, Modern History of Egypt for the Sixth
Grade of Primary Schools, p.231.

3). Ministery of Education, Civic Education for the Fifth Grade of
Primary Schools.

these courses emphasize the efforts of the government in facing such problems.

It could be argued that some attempts are being made to develop pupil's understanding of the political and social problems of society and society's failure. However, most of the explanations given to the pupils deal with the failures of society and the social and political problems of the past and there is a lack of an analytical approach to present problems and issues. Consequently, whilst the ability of young people to understand and criticise political and social affairs is developed, however their ability to criticise the specific current affairs is neglected.

The development of political education is not restricted to promoting pupils' understanding of the ideology of their country. Understanding of other countries in the world also helps pupils to understand their own country and its place among other nations. There is some evidence to indicate that the school curriculum tries to provide pupils with an understanding of political values and attitudes in other countries and to develop their awareness of some of the broader world problems. For example, the history course for grade 10 promotes the pupils awareness of the development of political ideologies and concepts in some other world countries such as the development and struggle for democracy, the socialist concepts and Marxist ideas, the policy of non-alignment, and positive neutrality. [1]

1). Ministry of Education, The Foundations of Modern World for the First Grade of Secondary Schools.

Moreover, the course provides young people with an introduction to the leaders of democratic thought such as John-Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire and their beliefs in democracy and freedom.

Furthermore, the civic course in grade 9 aims to develop the pupils' awareness of world problems such as food production, pollution, ethnic discrimination, and unemployment.[1] These problems are approached through the work of the United Nations and its specialized organizations such as the Food and Agricultural Organization, the International Labour Organization, the World Health Organization, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. These courses provide pupils with further insights into their own society's ideology and problems through a comparison with other countries and by encouraging them to discuss world affairs.

An understanding of political parties and their ideologies helps to develop pupils' political awareness and participation skills. There is evidence to suggest that pupils are acquiring some knowledge of the recent established political parties which coincide to some extent with the developmental stage of the children. An examination of the contents of the textbooks that

1). Ministry of Education, Arab Republic of Egypt and the Contemporary World for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools.

are used for political education in primary education

show that in grade 6 pupils start to learn simple

ideas about the development of political parties. The

section "Achievements of the Revolution in Realizing

Democracy" gives some indications that the ASU was based

on the alliance of the working forces of the people and then

the Revolution established political parties under the

principles of social peace, national unity and democratic

socialism. However, the aims, programmes and even

names of political parties are not taught to children

at this age. [1]

Similar information about political parties is

included in the civics education course for grade 8. [2]

Names of political parties and their ideologies are still

not yet covered in this course. However, on the assumption

that pupils at this age are able to understand the

ideologies of political parties, pupils are required,

with their teacher, to visit the local offices of the

political parties in order to discuss their programmes

and ideologies. Although such visits help pupils to

distinguish between the different ideologies of the

political parties and discuss their views on specific

issues, some political parties do not have local branches

in many of the preparatory school areas. Furthermore,

1). Ministry of Education, Modern History of Egypt for the Sixth
   Grade of Primary Schools.

2). Ministry of Education, The System of Government in the Arab
   Republic of Egypt for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools,
   p.27, 36, 52.

the range of party visited is often determined by the
teacher interest and attachment to political parties.
Only in grade 9 are the names of the political parties
introduced and brief ideas about their programmes
included in the history course.[1]

In comparison with other stages, in the secondary
stage a considerable emphasis is placed on matters
relating to political parties. In grade 11 pupils
discuss the fact that democratic systems permit the
establishment of political parties with the aim of
expressing different viewpoints and ideologies towards
political and social issues. Pupils also learn that
the political parties share responsibilities in political
life and in wielding authority. Differences in
political parties in democratic and in non-democratic
systems are analysed and the disadvantages of the one
party system in Egypt, for example the hindrance to the
development of democracy are considered.[2] The
required visits to political parties are more effective
in this stage than in the preparatory stage because
political parties have branches in most secondary school
districts. It seems that the teaching of political
party matters in this grade is likely to be more
effective in developing the political awareness of

1). Ministry of Education, Modern and Contemporary History of
    Egypt for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools, p.112.

2). Ministry of Education, Civic Education:Contemporary State
    for the Second Grade of Secondary Schools, p.97.

pupils and giving them an ability to discuss current political affairs and issues. However, there are some shortcomings in the course which might counteract this development. For example, most of the stated information about political parties is theoretical and there is little analysis of the ideological differences between the established political parties and their views towards current problems and issues in the society. Moreover, the teacher's choice of visits to political parties might restrict the knowledge and discussion of pupils to one or more selected political parties.

As has been noted civic education courses, usually, have little impact on the development of the ability of students to participate in political life. This is due to the fact that the civic education courses provide pupils mainly with theoretical rather than practical experiences. In response to this defect most of the civic courses in Egyptian schools attempt to combine both theoretical and practical components. For example, the philosophy of the civic course in grade 7 is based on the idea that the practical study and the interest of pupils is the best approach to clarifying the theoretical study.[1] During this course pupils are required to visit some of the local institutions to study the way in which they work, the problems facing local society, and to discuss alternative solutions. There is no

1). Ministry of Education, The Pupil in his Local Environment for the First Grade of Preparatory Schools.

doubt that through this form of participation pupils

are encouraged to think critically, to form concrete

concepts, and to formulate attitudes towards social

and political institutuions. It also develops an

awareness in pupils of their responsibilities towards

the problems of the environment in which they live.

The grade 8 civic education course includes many

practical exercises aimed at linking the theoretical

material to real experiences in the local environment.

For instance, pupils and their teachers visit political,

social and economic institutions related to the course

and discuss with responsible people in these institutions

the electoral system and the membership, organization,

duties, and problems of the institution.[1] Similarly,

pupils in grade 9 are required to visit some of the

national divisions of the international institutions in

Cairo. Moreover, opportunities are provided for pupils

to discuss societal problems through classroom dis-

cussion, and school activities.[2]

It could be argued that such practical elements

effectively contribute to the development of the

political and social awareness of pupils of current

affairs and problems and encourage pupils to express

their own viewpoints. However, the lack of qualified

1). Ministry of Education, The System of Government in the Arab
    Republic of Egypt for the Second Grade of Preparatory Schools,
    p.20, 60.

2). Ministry of Education, A Guide for Teachers in Teaching Social
    Studies for the Third Grade of Preparatory Schools, pp.111-117.

teachers capable of linking theory and practice , and
the shortcomings of school facilities are detrimental
to the effectiveness of this approach to teaching
political education. For example, in a study of the
political awareness of student teachers undertaken in
1978 it was found that they were not able to define
the concepts of the political ideologies of their country
and they had little information about political parties.
Moreover, the study indicated that the student teachers
had few ideas about how they might organize the activities
of pupils in relation to political education. [1]

A significant difference between the Soviet Union
on the one hand and England and Egypt on the other is to
be found in the development of approaches to political
education. It could be argued that whilst the approach
of political education is basically open and related to
democratic systems, the Soviet Union approach is clearly
closed and politically dictatorial. As previously noted
Soviet schools attempt to inculcate in young people certain
prescribed ways of thinking and acting. Consequently,
it is expected that intellectual participation skills
and critical thinking are not developed in Soviet young
people. This does not mean, however, that the process
of political socialization and indoctrination in the
Soviet Union guarantees the successful achievement of
compelling all young people to accept Soviet political
policies or securing their commitment to the Marxist-

1). E.F.Hana, _Political Education and Politial Awareness of Students in Faculties of Education_, EL-Anglo, Cairo, 1978, p.74.(in Arabic)

Leninist system.

In 1974 a Soviet survey was undertaken to find out
the effectiveness of political socialization in the
upper grades of the secondary schools.[1] The finding
indicated that more than two-thirds of the sample
reported that they were not given the opportunity to
discuss and analyse political current affairs. Similarly,
Mouly notes that there is a lack of interest in politics
and ideology among the present generation.[2] Other
findings indicate that, except for a very small number,
Soviet students dare not criticize or dissent from the
Soviet system. The findings also reveal that only 5
per cent of students belong to the 'Democratic Movement"
which consists of a group of Soviet citizens who are
critical of various aspects of the system.[3] One of
the reasons for the reluctance of students to criticize
the system is the severe punishment given to students who
violate the rules and values of the system. Soviet
students realize that any attempt to express a viewpoint
against the system and its authority could result in
"expulsion and that this would endanger their whole
future careers".[4]

Despite the fact that any organized political

1). Vospitanie Shklnikov, No.2, 1974, pp.34-36, Quoted by J.Zajda,
Education in the USSR, pp.121-122.

2). R. Mouly, 'Values and Aspirations of Soviet Youth', in P.Cocks
et al. (eds.), The Dynamics of Soviet Politics, Harvard
University Press, 1976, p.233.

3). P. Reddaway,Uncensored Russia, (New York:American Heritage, 1972),
p.32, Quoted by R.Mouly, 'Values and Aspirations of Soviet Youth,
p.234.

4). Ibid., p.234.

opposition is absolutely taboo, nevertheless discussion, questioning of the Party officials, some freedom of inquiry, and even of verbal dissent can be observed in Soviet education. Furthermore, "there are still many aspects of the system that are deeply resented. Students want to be left alone in their personal lives...Many youth do not feel that the Party gives them the truth, and believe it often keeps important information from them altogether."[1] It could be argued on the basis of these feelings that political socialization in the Soviet Union to a large extent hinders the development of participation skills of pupils in criticizing and influencing the values of the system. However, the political socialization process in the Soviet schools does not guarantee that all young people are indoctrinated to the values of the system and the authorities.

Moreover, some studies not only reveal little influence by the school curriculum in developing a Marxist-Leninist belief system but also suggest that Soviet schoolchildren have a lower level of intellectual thinking. Cary concludes that whilst instruction in history, geography and social studies develop pupil's understanding of Marxism-Leninism ideology, evidently it is not effective in helping them to develop a personal belief in the system.[2] Similarly, Grant

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1). Ibid., p.235.

2). Cary, 'Patterns of Emphasis', p.28.

argues that a high level of commitment among Soviet

young people is due more to patriotic pride rather than

the to doctrinal conviction.[1] Moreover, Bronfenbrenner

concludes whilst Soviet children appear to be much

better than children in the West in respect to propriety

such as being clean and orderly, they "gave less weight

than the subjects from the other countries (England,

Switzerland and the United States) to telling the truth

and seeking intellectual understanding".[2] Williamson

argues that such findings indicate that "ideological

claims of the state are not yet fully rooted in the

beliefs and sentiments of its citizens".[3]

It seems that the main factor behind the relative

ineffectiveness of ideological training in Soviet schools

is the nature of the political socialization process.

Since political indoctrination is confined to the

predetermined political ideology of Marxism-Leninism,

it is not easy for the secondary school student to accept

a prescribed ideology since the student has developed

an ability to think critically and has a desire to find

out about the world and other ideologies. Mouly found

that most Soviet students have a keen desire to read

about Western societies. Soviet students "greatly envy

Western students who can read whatever they wish. Russian

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1). N. Grant, Soviet Education, p.32.

2). U. Bronfenbrenner, Two Worlds of Childhood. U.S. and U.S.S.R.,
    Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1970, p.81.

3). B. Williamson, Education, Social Structure and Development, p.107.

students listen frequently and with much interest to Western radio broadcasts...They consider these broadcasts valuable resources of information either omitted or distorted in the Soviet Media."[1]   Moreover, perhaps the Marxist-Leninist ideology is too abstract and that prevents students in the first years of the secondary schools understanding the concepts of communist ideology.

Furthermore, participation in social and political life is confined within the concepts of communist ideology and based on the desired policies of the Communist Party and Soviet government.   While in democratic countries young people are expected to develop an open-mindedness and an ability to serve both their personal and society interests, in the Soviet Union considerable attention is paid to preparing students for "useful labour" to serve the group as a whole and less attention is given to individual development.   Although young people are expected to be aware of the political affairs of their country and other countries, this is seen "with respect to the political issues and problems that bear on the building of communism". Young people "are expected to become aware of the problems that are subject to resolution through the political process".[2]

It seems clear that the development of participation

1).R. Mouly, 'Values and Aspirations of Soviet Youth', p.236.

2).C. Cary, 'The Goals of Citizenship Training in American and Soviet Schools' p.295.

skills is seen only as a means to build the communist

ideology and permitted discussion has to be consistent

with the policies of the Communist Party and political

system. In contrast to the Soviet Union, opportunity is

given to Egyptian young people to criticize and participate

in political life and to express alternative viewpoints.

In England political education in schools provides greater

opportunities for the development of the intellectual and

critical thinking of pupils to enable them to participate

in political life and criticize governmental policies

than is the practice in Egypt.

Preceding recent developments the approach to

political education in England was traditional and

concentrated on descriptive political knowledge rather

than critical analysis of real issues in political life.

For example, the approach to teaching civics and the British

Constitution was descriptive and avoided discussion of

controversial issues. Ian Lister has argued that political

education in schools was "passionless, quietist-political

issues were seen as nuisances which interfered with the smooth

working of government - and put people off participation".[1]

Mercer attributed the low level of participation by British

young people to the concentration of political knowledge

in political education courses. The emphasis in political

education was on "the recall of political information rather

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1). I. Lister, Aims and Methods of Political Education in Schools, p.8.

than elaboration directly of political values (and which)

will inhibit teachers from devoting valuable time to....

the discussion of political norms and values".[1]

Stradling observed that the traditional civic courses

in political education for GCE 'O' Level mainly focused on

the acquisition of political knowledge about the institutions

and political machinery of central and local government.[2]

Moreover, Harber argued that the traditional approach of

teaching British Constitution and civics was conservative,

focused on the formal institutions of central government

and emphasized consensus rather than the examination of

conflict and real issues in political life. He argues

that the idea of focusing on the political system and its

real behaviour, actual conflict in politics, the discussion

of political matters, and stimulating a more active form

of participation are necessary developments in the teaching

of political education. [3]

In a survey of GCE Syllabuses during 1971-72, Brennan

found that all the syllabuses at 'O' Level and more than

half at 'A' Level followed the traditional constitutional

approach. Five of the eight boards offered 'O' Level

papers under the title of British Constitution, two

offered Economics and Public Affairs, and one offered

Economics and Public Affairs with an alternative paper on

1). G.Mercer, 'Political Education and Socialization to Democratic Norms'
    Survey Research Centre, University of Strathclyde, Occasional Paper
    No.11, 1973, pp.29-30, Quoted by C.Hakim, 'Political Socialization
    in Venezuelan Secondary Schools', Essex, 1974, Unpublished Ph.D.
    Thesis, p.159.

2). R. Stradling, 'Political Education in the 11 to 16 Curriculum',
    Cambridge Journal of Education, Vol.8., Nos.2 & 3, 1978, p.102.

3). C.Harber, Politics and Political Education in 1984', p.116.

the Structure and Working of the British Government.[1]

Brennan also found that the teaching of the British Con-
stitution was descriptive rather than analytical. Whilst
the emphasis was on the acquisition of political knowledge
of institutions and procedures, little concern was given
to developing political awareness of the realities of the
political system, controversial issues, and political
parties matters. He concluded that :

> The general criticism of the existing papers at 'O' Level is
> that they are much too formal and encourage an approach which,
> because of the detailed knowledge demanded, either inhibits
> or prevents a study of political life which could be made
> challenging, realistic and revealing. Above all, they fail
> in the essential educational purpose of developing a fuller
> understanding of basic concepts as the key to increasing
> intellectual awareness. (2)

The teaching of British Constitution to young people
in both GCE 'O' and 'A' levels has also been criticized
by Crick on the grounds that the constitutional approach
to teaching political education is not relevant to the
real life of political affairs. Crick advocated the idea
of introducing Current Affairs instead of descriptive
knowledge about the Constitution and political institutions.[3]

Perhaps the above-mentioned argument confirms the
idea that political education in England has not been able
to avoid the concept of political socialization. It seems
that the approach to political education before recent

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1). J. Brennan, Political Studies : A Handbook for Teachers, Longman,
London, 1974, pp.14-15.

2). Ibid., p.19.

3). B. Crick, 'The Introducing of Politics', in D.Heater (ed.),
The Teaching of Politics, p.3.

developments was to concentrate on the acquisition of
political knowledge about the constitution and local and
central government. Courses in political education dis-
couraged the discussion of real issues and problems related
to political current affairs. Consequently, instruction
in political education was descriptive and conservative
and in accordance with the prevailing political norms of
society.

In spite of the fact that political knowledge has
importance in promoting the ability of a student to
participate in political life, the development of
participation skills and critical thinking are also
important in the process of political participation. The
recent developments in political education in England since
the mid 1970's have obviously influenced moves in political
education to promote the ability of pupils to understand
issues, criticize political matters, and to participate
effectively in political life.

In recent years there have been improvements in the
content of political education in schools, especially in
the GCE syllabuses. Although improvements in general are
slow, GCE subjects reveal a continuing "move away from the
traditional British Constitution syllabuses towards courses
of study which encourage a much greater degree of political
awareness and political realism".[1] Moreover, developments

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1). T. Brennan, 'Politics in Schools:From Socialization to Education',
p.142.

in political education in line with the approaches of political literacy are more apparent at the GCE 'A' Level than at the GCE 'O' Level and CSE levels. In general, however, there is a marked development "in the direction of a more conceptual treatment which encourage a realistic appraisal of current issues and problems, a realisation of the complexities and limitations of government".[1]

For example, in 1974 the Northern Universities Joint Matriculation Board introduced a new 'A' Level course in British Government and Politics. The main approach of this course is to concentrate on voting behaviour, the nature of party conflict, and matters of current controversy. Similarly, The Associated Examining Board 'A' Level syllabus in Government and Politics which replaced the British Constitution course in 1974 provided students with a compulsory paper under the title of Political Behaviour - Britain. This paper included knowledge about the concept of political culture and its applications; a study of voting behaviour, pressure groups, political power, and the nature of political and social change.[2] Furthermore, the London 'A' Level GCE examination, which was introduced from 1978, placed a considerable emphasis on political values and decision-making.[3]

Political education courses for 'A' Level are not

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1). Ibid., p.143.

2). T.Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, p.65.

3). L. Cohen, 'Political Literacy and the Primary School : A Dutch Experiment', Teaching Politics, Vol.10, No.3, 1981, p.259.

restricted to a particular political system but also
include other political systems. For example, Paper
Three in the Associated Examining Board 'A' Level course
has three options, the study of political institutions in
Britain, the USA, and the USSR.[1] The course under the
title of The Impact of Marxist Ideas on the World, which
is designed by Holland Park School (London) for sixth form
students includes basic Marxist ideas, industrial and
economic features, the effect and spread of Marxism in other
countries, and finally Marxism in England.[2]

The national survey (1981) generally reveals that
courses in political education, which are commonly intro-
duced to senior grades in secondary schools, focus on the
development of political literacy through current political
issues and affairs, party politics, and the work of
pressure groups. Moreover, some of these courses develop
participation skills by encouraging pupils to take part
in discussion and debate, and being able to empathise
with another persons' point of view.[3] The survey's
findings also indicate that the introduction of political
education into senior grades especially 'A' Level is
consistent with the assumption that at the later ages in
secondary school students are more able to understand and
handle political matters and issues. (Table 10) shows that

1). T.Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, pp.65-66.

2).R. Pask, The Impact of Marxist Ideas on the World', Documents of
the Political Education Research Unit, Department of Education,
University of York, Spring 1982, TS.

3). Stradling and Noctor, p.12.

exclusive and modular provisions are more popular in senior grades and 'A' Level than in the first years of secondary school.

TABLE 10

TARGET GROUPS FOR EXCLUSIVE AND MODULAR PROVISIONS

IN ENGLISH SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Students' Age Range	Exclusive Provision%	Modular Provision %
1st-3rd year	2	7
4th-5th year	28	66
6th form	70	25

Source: Stradling and Noctor, p.8, 14.

In general, there has been less progress in introducing and improving GCE 'O' Level syllabuses. Since 1974, however, some courses on Government, Politics and Economics have been introduced for 'O' Level students.[1] Some of these courses are designed to encourage a study of both the institutions and processes of the modern political system, government action in economic and social affairs, and the behaviour of individuals in the context of society and its political system.[2] Much less improvement has been introduced to first years of the secondary schools. Some syllabuses, however, concentrate

1). T.Brennan, 'Politics in Schools : From Socialization to Education', p.143.

2). T.Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, p.64.

on central and local government and there is a lack of
material which develops the conceptual approach or which
deals with current issues. "The sad truth is that there
is a desperate need to develop teaching materials of all
kinds which will support the teacher in his task of
stimulating interest in the everyday world of politics.[1]

A recent document issued in 1983 by the Department
of Education and Science indicates that teachers are
becoming more concerned with the development of their
pupils' participation skills. The document states that
"Active participation of pupils in carrying out enquiries,
in collecting and interpreting information and in
exchanging ideas with each other in class and group
discussions became a more obvious part of lessons than
previously".[2] More recently in February 1986 the
Secretary of State for Education and Science, Sir Keith
Joseph, has taken an interest in the teaching of politically
controversial issues in schools. Joseph advocates the
necessity of discussing controversial issues on the grounds
that they could arise spontaneously in many aspects of
the school curriculum. An understanding of these issues
necessitates the development of students' participation
skills and critical thinking appropriate to a free and
open society. Teachers, therefore, should "encourage

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1). T. Brennan, 'Politics in Schools: From Socialization to Education',
    pp.143-144.

2). DES., Curriculum 11-16:Towards a Statement of Entitlement, p.17.

pupils and students to form their own conclusions on the basis of evidence and reflection and of discussion with others".[1]

The introduction of a course in the elements of economics into the school curriculum is a possible approach to helping students understand the affairs and problems of their society. An understanding of basic economic concepts and knowledge about the national economy could positively affect their ability not only to participate in economic and political affairs, but also to develop their understanding of the relations between economics and politics. The Department of Education and Science asserts that in democracy all citizens should be aware of the main economic and political issues. The DES., therefore, emphasizes the introduction of economics into the secondary school curriculum and asserts that "If it is a purpose of the curriculum to add to young people's social and political competence, then economic knowledge is a necessary condition of educational value".[2] Schools should introduce pupils to the main issues of economics which affect their life.

Moreover, the Economics Association in its report (1977)[3] stresses that the secondary school curriculum

1). Department of Education and Science, How to Approach Politically Controversial Issues when Teaching, a press release, 4 February,1986.

2). DES, Curriculum 11-16: Working Paper by H.M.Inspectorate, p.54.

3). Economics Association (1977), The Contribution of Economics to General Education:Report by an Ad Hoc Committee, p.4,6, Quoted by T.Brennan, Political Education and Democracy, p.78.

should provide pupils with some economic facts of life

and it suggests three essential objectives in teaching

economics. First, to provide pupils with economic know-

ledge, skills and concepts necessary for understanding

the world in which they live. Secondly, to develop an

understanding of the more important economic institutions.

Thirdly to develop the ability of pupils to participate

in the decision-making process of modern industrial

democracy. Furthermore, in 1984 the DES underlined the

necessity of providing secondary school pupils with

knowledge about national economics and some basic economic

awareness.[1]

A feature of the recent movement in political

education in England has been the introduction of elements

of political education in primary schools. Although the

tradition in most primary schools is to avoid the

introduction of overt political education into the

school curriculum, attempts have been made to modify this

tradition.[2] For example, the Schools Council in their

document "Social Studies 8-13" recommended that "social

studies is not only concerned with knowledge but also

with attitudes and values...and there is a need for

schools to play some part as early as possible in

encouraging children's awareness of the existence of

evidence, as well as encouraging such attitudes as respect

1). DES, The Organization and Content the 5-16 Curriculum, pp.8-9.

2). A. Ross, 'Developing Political Concepts and Skills in the Primary School', Educational Review, Vol.36, No.2, 1984, pp.132-133.

for evidence, (and) readiness to revise opinions in the light of evidence".[1]

In 1977 the Schools Council curriculum project produced teachers' books to explain the development of critical thinking skills and to assert the necessity to develop core concepts such as values and beliefs, conflict and consensus, similarity and difference, causes and consequence, and power.[2] More recently the Inner London Education Authority's project for teaching social studies in primary school stresses that social studies in primary schools is concerned to develop children awareness and understanding of their society.[3] The acquisition of knowledge and attitudes about society, and the development of other people's views are the prominent aims of social studies in a primary schools. According to the project's materials, it is expected that children will learn directly some political and social concepts such as power, authority, conflict, interdependence, co-operation, and social change.

A parallel to military education in the Soviet Union and Egypt, is the introduction of peace education in England. Whatever the form of the adopted subject, it seems that in all three countries the main issues behind the teaching of the subject is related to the defence of

1). Schools Council, Social Studies 8-13: Working Paper No.39, Evans/ Methuen Educational, London, 1971, pp.11-12.

2). W.A.L. Blyth et.al., (1977), History, Geography and Social Sciences 8-13: A Guide to Curriculum Planning, Collins/ESL, London, Quoted by Ross, 'Developing Political Concepts in the Primary School', p.133.

3). ILEA, Social Studies in the Primary School, ILEA, London,1980.

the country. However, the emphasis on preparing Soviet young people to defend their motherland is based on ideological beliefs. The move to introduce peace studies in England, however, is in some respect more consistent with the approach to political education than in Egypt and the Soviet Union.

Perhaps the first organized institution for promoting peace in England came in 1959 with the establishment of the Lancaster Peace Research Centre. Subsequently, in 1973 the School of Peace Studies was established at Bradford University. Many institutions of higher education have now introduced courses in peace studies. Moreover, the subject is not restricted to higher education. Many local education authorities, especially Labour controlled ones, and teachers have introduced peace education to schoolchildren in secondary and primary education.[1] According to a survey undertaken by the University of Lancaster, two out of three local education authorities in England and Wales have peace studies in their schools.[2] Whilst some schools introduce peace education as a separate subject, others introduce it as a part of other aspects of curriculum such as English, Religious Education, and General Studies.[3]

1). D. Regan, 'The Threat of Peace Studies', Gong, January, 1985.
2). The Sunday Times, 4 March 1984.
3). B. Cox, 'Peace Studies:How they Cheat our Children', Reader's Digest, Vol.126, 1985, p.34.

The international Atlantic College, which prepares students for the International Baccalaureate, has been one of the most enthusiastic proponents of peace studies. The Atlantic College's Peace Studies Project aims to develop a student's ability "to confront and combat violence in all its forms and especially the threat of war...and co-operative skills in the creation of more peaceful relationships".[1] The project concentrates on the concepts of peace and violence, the phenomenon of human aggression, conflicts within society, non-violence in theory and practice, the superpower conflict, and international organizations.[2] Although the course encourages young people to partici- pate in the creation of a more peaceful society, it also gives opportunities to make their own decisions.[3]

Many local education authorities have established guidelines for teachers to promote peace education in their schools. For example, in 1981, the Education Committee of Nottinghamshire County Council produced guidelines on peace education for schools. The main objectives were to ensure that pupils were provided with a balanced view of any issues and that they "should know the facts,hear the arguments from all points of view and ultimately be able to form their own views".(4)

1). C.Reid and S. Duczek, 'Constructing a Peace Education Programme', Documents of the Political Education Research Unit, Department of Education, University of York, Spring 1982, TS., p.2.

2). The Times, 6 January, 1984; The Times, 20 February 1984.

3). C.Reid and S.Duczek, 'Constructing a Peace Education Programme'. p.2,6.

4).. Report to the Education Committee of the Working Party on the Development of a Curriculum for Peace Education, The Central Reprographic Unit, Nottinghamshire County Council, June 1982, pp.3-4.

It seems that the guidelines are consistent with the aim

of political education since they attempted to avoid the

indoctrination of any specific view towards the issues of

peace. However, the guidelines seem to be more concerned

to foster peace through non-violent solutions. For

example, the aim of peace education was "to understand

the meaning and implication of peace and to foster the

ability to strive for peace in relationships between

individual, groups and nations".[1] This aim could be

realized by a study of institutions dedicated to striving

for peace and resolving conflict such as the CND

European Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, World Dia-

armament Campaign, and the World Council of Churches.

In 1981, Newcastle-upon-Tyne Education Committee

established a Working Group on the Nuclear Issue to

produce a teaching guide for the Newcastle area schools.

The guide recognizes that pupils should be aware of

aspects of the nuclear issue such as nuclear weapons

and the arms race, deterrence and disarmament, the

effects of nuclear explosion, and the search for peace.[2]

The guide emphasizes the need to develop the ability of

pupils to strive for peace and to dislike war. It also

attempts to provide pupils with a "scope for the

development of intellectual skills".[3] In 1982 the

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1). Ibid., p.5.

2). The Nuclear Issue in Education:A Teaching Guide for Newcastle
    Schools (Part One), Working Group on the Nuclear Issue, Newcastle-
    upon-Tyne Education Committee, 1981.

3). Ibid., p.3.

Avon project on peace education for secondary and primary

schools was introduced. The project attempted to

promote peaceful attitudes and behaviour among school-

children and to teach them to reject nuclear weapons

and the use of violence in solving conflict. The purpose

of the project was to "encourage attitudes that lead

to a preference for constructive and non-violent

resolution of conflict and to help pupils develop the

personal and social skills necessary to live in harmony

with others."[1]

It seems that the general approach of these projects

is to maintain peace by developing a student's awareness

of conflict and violence, their ability to participate

in solving conflict peacefully and to strive for peace

and non-violent solutions. In this respect peace

education is to support the unilateralist view of

maintaining peace since it neglects the other aspects

of peace which necessitates the existence of force to

realize national defence. However, in some cases, for

example the Nottinghamshire's guidelines and the

Atlantic College's project, there are attempts to provide

students with opportunities to formulate their own

views and make their own decisions. The movement for

teaching peace education in the school curriculum has

raised an essential argument in the teaching of the

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1). G.F.Crump, Peace Education : Guidelines for Primary and
   Secondary Schools, Education Department, Avon County Council
   1983, p.1.

subject to schoolchildren. On the one hand some people advocate the idea of peace education so as to resolve conflict among people and nations peacefully. On the other hand, other people advocate the idea that peace education should deal with the concept of peace from a two-sided discussion of disarmament providing students with the opportunity to formulate their particular view towards the issues of peace and war.

At their conference held in 1981, the NUT expressed their support to promote peace education as a means to combat nuclear weapons and conflict among nations. The NUT's document stated that:

> International tensions, the continuing expansion of nuclear and conventional armaments, and the negative response of the developed nations to the needs of the Third World...all demonstrate the relevance and indeed urgent importance of peace education as part of an overall strategy for the elimination of conflict and the reallocation of resources.(1)

The large number of teachers affiliated to the CND draws attention to the role that education can play in working for a peaceful world. At the NUT conference, held in 1982, more than 100,000 teachers voted in favour of affiliation to the CND and considered themselves as the educational wing of the CND. Many teachers now support the CND and indoctrinate children in its unilateralist view. For example at a south London comprehensive school, a talk to pupils on nuclear weapons and the 1945 bombing of Hiroshima was followed by a

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1). NUT/NATFHE, Education for Peace, Quoted by D.Heater, Peace through Education, The Falmer Press, London, 1984, p.29.

teacher's assertion that the CND produces the best
means of avoiding nuclear war.[1]

Moreover, Neil Kinnock, the Leader of the Opposition,
has advocated the introduction of peace education. He
argues that every school should have a teacher respon-
sible for teaching peace education.[2] McCrum, a former
Headmaster of Eton who is now Master of Corpus Christi ,
Cambridge, also argues that peace education contributes
in maintaining peace. He says "those who urge that
such issues should not be seriously studied in schools
do positive harm to the cause of peace. Is it not
likely that this cause will be furthered if the young
have a clearer and broader understanding of them than
they have today?"[3]

On the other hand, the introduction of peace
education into the school curriculum has been criticized.
It would be argued that peace education should not be
restricted to the unilateralist view of peace, since any
attempt to introduce the issues of peace should take into
account the needs of national defence. Moreover,
educational criteria are an essential factor in the
teaching of peace education. It is necessary that
peace education should avoid any attempts to indoctrinate
a specific view towards the issues of peace.

Professor B. Cox, of Manchester, co-editor of the
Black Papers on Education, in a study of peace education,

1). B.Cox, 'Peace Studies', p.34.

2). Quoted by D.Heater, Peace Through Education, p.18.

3). The Times, 6 January, 1984.

argues that there is an overriding bias towards the
unilateralist view of nuclear deterrence. Moreover,
among 300 documents less than 10 per cent have an
impartial view.[1] E.Leigh argues that the domination
of the unilateralist view in peace education excludes
any realistic study of the nature of the Soviet system.
He also asserts that schools should protect their pupils
from any attempts of political indoctrination. As in
the case of religious education under the 1944 Education
Act, parents should have the right to withdraw their
children from any course which attempts to indoctrinate
children in specific views towards controversial political
issues. [2]

Similarly, Cox condemns the attempts of teachers
to impart a one-sided view on nuclear weapons and hostility
to NATO. Cox argues "By far the most serious aspect of
peace studies is the way in which they create at atmos-
phere of intellectual coercion and intimidation in our
schools".[3] She also criticizes peace education on the
grounds that the enthusiastic supporters of peace studies
see the issue of peace in narrow application. At
Atlantic College, for example, there is a conspicuous
absence of systematic teaching about the realities of
life in the USSR and Eastern Europe.[4] Moreover Dr.Rhodes

1). B. Cox, 'Peace Studies', p.34.
2). The Times, 20 January 1984
3). B. Cox, 'Peace Studies' p. 37.
4). The Times, 9 January 1984.

Boyson, a former Junior Education Minister, criticized

the unilateralist view of peace which denounced nuclear

weapons. He argued that peace education should be aware

of the repressive Soviet policies towards Afghanistan

and against the genuine peace protesters in Moscow.

Boyson also condemned teachers who supported peace

education and displayed the CND logo. He says:

> "I am appalled to see teachers in schools wearing unilateral
> disarmament badges. As a parent, I would take up with
> the Head and governors of the school the wearing by staff
> of such badges which betray the neutrality of classroom
> and school. Children go to school to be taught and not
> politically infiltrated". (1)

Furthermore, at a conference on peace education,

organized by the National Council for Women on 3 March

1984, the Education Secretary Sir Keith Joseph accused

some of the local education authorities of attempts to

indoctrinate pupils through the teaching of peace

education. The Minister disagreed with the teaching of

peace studies as set out in the guidelines prepared by

some of the local authorities. He said:

> "In the course of preparing such guidance, opinions are
> expressed and propagated by councillors and others do
> great educational harm. I deplore such attempts to
> trivialise the substance of the issue of peace and war,
> to cloud it with inappropriate appeals to emotion, and to
> present it so one-sidedly that if the teacher actually
> adopted the guidance he would be guilty of indoctrination". (2)

The Education Secretary re-emphasized the right of

parents to complain even to him if they believed that their

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1). The Times Educational Supplement, 24 December 1982.

2). Department of Education and Science, Speech by Education
    Secretary Sir Keith Joseph to the National Council of Women of
    Britain, London, 3 March 1984, p.5.

children were being indoctrinated.

It seems clear that one of the main arguments for introducing peace education has been support among teachers for a unilateralist view of nuclear issues and disarmament. Peace education, however, should provide students with the opportunity to understand and assess all the facts behind nuclear weapons and their effect not only in time of war but also as the main factor in keeping peace and the balance between the West and East. In other words pupils should be aware of the two-sided nature of peace and war in a balanced way. For example, disarmament discussion should examine the claim that "there is no way to preserve peace in Europe without matching the armaments and blocking the expansionist policies of the Soviet Union.[1] A parallel discussion is that the Soviet policies should also be examined. Such an approach to peace education would help students to weigh all evidence and eventually enable them to come to a rational judgement.

In spite of the apparent attempts with peace education to indoctrinate children with unilateralist views, there is also concern to avoid indoctrination. Providing students with opportunity to express and formulate their own views is an essential claim in the development

1). The Times, 11 January 1984.

of peace education.   In this respect the introduction
of peace education in England is consistent with the
approaches of political education.   Any attempts to
influence the pupil's mind discourage the development of
his intellectual and critical thinking towards the
issue of peace.

In spite of the fact that schools in the Soviet
Union attempt to prepare pupils for peace and war,
pupils are discouraged from forming their own views on
the issue.   In other words pupils are required to follow
state policies on peace and war.   Whilst in some English
schools the concept of peace education does not mean a
unilateralist view, Egyptian schools also emphasize a
pupil's duty towards peace and defence of the country
against attackers.   Perhaps, in both England and the
Soviet Union the emphasis on a balanced view of peace
and national defence is mainly related to   political
strategies and conflict between the West and East.
Military training, however, in the Soviet Union is
related to ideological beliefs.   In contrast to England
and the Soviet Union, in Egypt the role of education in
promoting attitudes favourable to defence stems from the
country's experience to imperialism and wars between
Egypt and Israel.

It is clear that the former approach to political
education in the school curriculum in England was con-
cerned with the acquisition of knowledge about political
institutions through the teaching of civics and the
British Constitution.   The conceptual and analytical
approaches, which associate understanding and discussion

of real issues derived from current political affairs, were neglected. However, recently there has been a change toward the development of pupil's political awareness and participation skills. Thus, in general, courses in political education are now mainly concerned with stimulating a more active form of political participation.

This change has been more marked in courses for older pupils in secondary schools than at lower ages. Perhaps, this reflects the fact that pupils in the senior grades of secondary schools are more able to think in an abstract and critical manner than younger pupils. As has been seen, however, the ability of children in understanding political matters in abstracts could be also developed in the early days of secondary schools and even, to some extent, in the primary school. There is some evidences to suggest that political education has been introduced to these age groups. In some primary schools social studies are used to introduce children to political knowledge and values of the society and to develop their ability to understand some political concepts. In secondary schools 'O' Level and courses for younger pupils concentrate on the acquisition of political knowledge about institutions. However, there is an interest in developing the pupil's participation skills through the study of economic and social affairs, the interrelation between individuals and the social political system, and by encouraging classroom discussions.

There have been more significant changes in GCE 'A' Level courses in line with current developments than in

GCE 'O' Level courses. The approaches to political
education in 'A' Level courses have moved from an
emphasis on the traditional approach of teaching
British Constitution and the acquisition of knowledge
about national and local political institutions to an
emphasis on the development of political participation
skills and an understanding of political matters.
Syllabuses reveal a preference for content which
encourages young people to take an active part in
political life. The content concentrates on the conceptual
treatment of understanding current issues and problems,
political party matters and conflict, politics and
economics, the relationship between political concepts
and the actual behaviour of the political system and
institutions, and the study of alternative political
systems and values. It seems, therefore, that
political education in secondary schools consists of
first, institutional political knowledge about the
system and secondly, the development of political
participation skills and understanding real issues of
political life. Whilst the former is more common in
'O' Level courses and the preceding ages, the latter
is more prominent in the senior grades of secondary
schools.

Although improvements in political education in
Egypt have been less than in England, in Egypt as well
as in England it is in the senior grades that most
changes have taken place. Whilst there is some evidence
to suggest that the courses in political education in the
primary schools and early years of secondary schools in

England are consistent with the approaches of political education, there has been little progress towards encouraging participation skills and critical thinking in primary and preparatory schools in Egypt. Furthermore, whilst there is an emphasis on the concept of political education in English schools, in the Egyptian schools both political socialization and political education are emphasized in all stages of education. However, there is a great emphasis upon the concept of political socialization at the primary stage. At this stage children acquire the feelings of loyalty towards the country and its political system through knowledge of the prevalent political attitudes and an emphasis on the government's achievements. Moreover, children acquire respect for the authorities and the norms of society. Perhaps, political learning in primary schools is based on the assumption that the early years are the most important in acquiring predispositions towards the country and the system.

Whilst the preparatory stage in Egypt is the most prominent stage in providing pupils with a large amount of political knowledge about the system which leads to loyalty to the system, there is a decreasing emphasis on such matters on secondary schools. In general, the school curriculum attempts to develop the participation skills of pupils and encourage them to take a more active part in the political life of their country. It seems that the approaches adopted in developing political education are : first, giving pupils the opportunity to practise democratic principles and

express their views through discussion of the democratic principles of the constitution; secondly, giving pupils the chance to understand and discuss some of the current social and political problems; thirdly, providing pupils with knowledge of the political system and attitudes in other countries with a focus on the democratic movement; fourthly, in developing pupils' understanding of political party matters and the role of the parties in developing social and political life in the society; fifthly, attempting to combine between the theoretical and practical experiences of pupils.

Although the school curriculum attempts to develop the above features, there are still many shortcomings which can hinder the movement towards the approaches of political education and consequently the ability of pupils to participate and to criticize political matters and issues. These shortcomings are attributable to : first, the school curriculum attempts to concentrate on the acquisition of political knowledge and attitudes about the system with the aim of promoting loyalty to the country and its system; secondly, there is a great emphasis on the successful achievements and policies of the government. The critical element of the courses are directed to past events and there is a failure to develop adequately the ability of pupils to criticize and discuss current political matters and issues. Thirdly, there is a lack of discussion of the realities of party political matters and their ideologies. Fourthly, despite the fact that the school curriculum attempts, through the school's activities, to relate the theoretical and practical

elements, the lack of school facilities and qualified teachers minimise the effectiveness of this approach.

It could be argued, therefore, that the emphasis on political socialization within the school curriculum in Egypt has an adverse effect on the development of political education which mainly aims to promote the ability of pupils to participate effectively in political life. In the Soviet school curriculum the adverse effect of political socialization is even more significant since there are no opportunities provided for the development of the pupils' participation skills or their ability to think critically about political issues. Participation in social and political life is only exercised and permitted in accordance with the perspectives of communist ideology and within the desired policy and resolutions of the Soviet government. Even so the emphasis on the process of political socialization in the Soviet schools does not necessarily guarantee the commitment and conviction to the Soviet ideology in young people.

CHAPTER NINE

THE ARAB SOCIALIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION AND
THE RECENT POLITICAL PARTIES.

The Arab Socialist Youth Organization.

During the period in which there was a one party
system in Egypt, the Arab Socialist Youth Organization
(ASYO.) was established as a deliberate formal means to
reinforce the role of the formal educational system in
inculcating the political ideology in young people and
support for the system. Whilst in the Soviet Union youth
organizations are closely linked with all stages of
education and perform the same function of political
indoctrination, in Egypt the ASYO covered only the senior
grades of schooling. Moreover, although the ASYO performed
a similar role to political socialization in the school
curriculum, it was separated from the educational system.
This emphasizes the fact that the Soviet Union is more
concerned than Egypt to secure co-operation and integration
between the educational system and youth organizations in
order to consolidate commitment to the ruling ideology,
in this case Soviet communism.

The idea of establishing the ASYO as an independent
organization for youth in Egypt emerged during the first
years of the ASU (1962) but was not implemented until

July 1966. The organization was co-ordinated by and took directives from the ASU which was the only political party. It seems that there were two main factors behind the need for establishing the ASYO. First, the former political organizations (the Liberation Rally and the National Union) did not possess youth organizations that could arouse enthusiasm among young people and guarantee their support for the new system. Therefore, it was believed that the ASYO was necessary to support the ASU and increasing its membership from young people. The ASYO also aimed to prepared a new generation capable of providing leaderships in the ASU and securing the principles of socialism. In 1962 Nasser declared that the revolutionary work and support for socialism required leaderships from young people.[1] It his address to the Egyptian youth in 1965 Nasser also said:

> "First,our main work is to set up the Arab Socialist Union.
> The second operation which worries us, is bringing up the
> youth - the youth is considered the backbone in the Arab
> Socialist Union...I believe that we have aware youth, its
> thinking may not be fully clear but by means of organizing
> and explaining, we can create a great power that can protect
> the society and preserve the principles of the Charter." (2)

Secondly, there was a feeling that the radical revolutionary changes needed to be defended by those who believe in them and were capable of guaranteeing their continuity.

From the early sixties until the middle of the seventies[3] the policy of the ASU and state political

1). G.Nasser, Democracy, p.117.

2). Arab Socialist Youth Organization, Abdel-Nasser,p.97.

3). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organisation, Cairo,
   21 July 1966, pp.11-14.(in Arabic); Arab Socialist Youth Organ-
   ization, El-Taleha Newspaper, Cairo, November 1970. (in Arabic)
   Arab Socialist Union, 'Socialist Youth Organization in Brief' Cairo,
   n.d. TS. (in Arabic); A.K.Abou El-Magd, 'Youth Organisation in
   Egypt ', Al-Ahram, Cairo, 18 October 1984; Arab Socialist Union,
   Central Committee, Youth Secretariat, Documents of the Public
   Conference on the Declaration of the Youth Organization (24 July 1973),
   Dar El-Shaab, Cairo, 1973, pp.18-21, (in Arabic).

developments affected the work style and activities of
the ASYO. Of all the other age groups of citizens young
people were most affected by the 1967 defeat. They lost
confidence in many of the country's leaders and they took
part in the demonstrations of the students in February
and November 1968 against some of the state's actions.
The apparatus of security and intelligence became suspicious of young people in general and particularly the
ASYO. The reactions of the state authorities had an
adverse effect on the development of the ASYO, recruitment
decreased and the ASYO confined its activities mainly to
training the leaders. Moreover, as a result of the
Movement of Correction in May 1971, a crisis in confidence
arose between the ASYO and the President of the State
who arrested most of the political leaders of the ASYO.
In July 1973 a new regulation was issued to give the
ASYO, to some extent, its independence from the ASU and
to enlarge its membership. This regulation aimed to
promote not only political training but also the social
and cultural developments of youth and to channel their
energies to the liberation of the occupied land of Egypt.

The ASYO continued to be affected by political
development in the country which included the movement
towards the acceptance of democratic principles. In line
with the state's intentions to adopt a multi-party system,
in September 1975 a new regulation was issued which
introduced the principle of election and voting for all
the ASYO officers. Moreover, the new regulation secured
the right of the ASYO's members to express their points of
view, and to discuss and propose policies at all levels of

of the ASYO (article 9). However, the ASYO still remained attached to the ASU. Article one of the regulation stated that the aim of the ASYO was "to work in accordance with the political plans of the Arab Socialist Union".[1] The termination of the ASU in 1976 inevitably put an end to the ASYO.

The main task of the ASYO had been to support the ideology of the new system and its political party, and to stimulate youth in taking an active part in developing their society. According to its regulations issued in 1966 the aims of the ASYO were:[2]

First, to prepare a new generation of youth which believed in the principles of the Revolution, and was obedient to its leadership and struggle for achieving a socialist society.

Secondly, to protect the Revolution and its achievements and secure its continuity.

Thirdly, to organize the youth efforts to achieve the aims of the development plans and to participate in the process of increasing production.

Fourthly, to provide the Party (ASU) with new members who believed in its ideology and were capable of providing leadership for the progress of society.

These aims remained the main core of all the subsequent

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1). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization, Guide on the Reconstruction of the Youth Organization by Election, Dar El-Shaab, Cairo, December 1975, (in Arabic).

2). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization.

regulations relating to the ASYO. However, the regulations

issued in 1975 asserted that the aim of the ASYO was to

train young people mainly in socialist behaviour,

democracy and freedom, and constructive criticism and

holding responsibility.

The ASYO members' duties and rights reveal that

the organization sought to secure not only the commitment

of the youth to the principles of the Revolution and the

policy of the one party system but also to protect the

system from the attitudes and values of its opponents.

For example, all Egyptian young people between the ages

of 15 and 25 years old had the right to be members of

the ASYO. However, they were obliged to accept the

principles of the Revolution, its leadership and the

setting up of a socialist society. Moreover, a member

of the ASYO had to be committed to the political line of

the ASU and the instructions and decisions of the ASU

leadership. It was also stated that any young person

who accepted the rules and regulations of the ASYO had

the right to be a member of the ASYO. [1]

Although the regulations of the ASYO emphasized

that its members had the right to practise many demo-

cratic principles such as discussion, freedom of

expression and criticism at all levels of the ASYO,

1). Arab Socialist Youth Organization, Youth Secretariat, Socialist Youth, No.6, First year, Cairo, 1 June 1966, pp.17-18.

their duties prevented them from practising these rights.
Moreover, the duties of members required them to ensure
that non-members also accepted the ideology of the
system. In effect the members were required to be
guards of the Revolution and to detect any hostile
attitudes towards the system and its leaders and inform
authorities about them. A member of the ASYO was also
required to discover supporters of the Revolution and
stimulate them to join the ASYO. Undoubtedly, these
duties made the ASYO like an intelligence apparatus to
analyse opinion and detect opposition.

There was a significant change in the regulations
issued in July 1973[1]. Whilst the regulations
included most of the former duties, members of the ASYO
were no longer required to detect opposition to the
system. Furthermore, the membership was expanded to
include young people between the ages of fourteen and
thirty. The subsequent regulations issued in 1975
included[2] a further democratic development with the
members of the ASYO were no longer obliged to obey the
instructions and decisions of the higher levels within
the structure of the ASYO. Moreover, they were given
the right to take an active part in formulating and
discussing policies and activities of the ASYO. Never-
theless, the members were still committed to the ideology

1). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization, The
Fundamental Regulation of the Arab Socialist Youth Organization,
El-Akhbar Press, Cairo, July 1973. (in Arabic).

2). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization, 'The
Decree 30 in 1975 of the President of the Arab Socialist Union
on the Reformation of the Arab Socialist Youth Organization',
Cairo, July 1975, TS. (in Arabic).

of the system and the policies of the party.

The organizational structure of the ASYO was similar to and closely linked to the ASU. As in the ASU, the structure of the ASYO resembled a pyramid in which each level was directed and supervised by the one immediately above. The basic units included the members within schools, universities, factories and so on. Above them there were the district and governorate committees which were selected by the Central Committee of the ASYO. The highest level was the General Conference which elected the Central Committee.[1] Although the General Conferance selected the Central Committee of the ASYO, the Committee's membership was subject to the approval of the Higher Executive Committee of the ASU. Furthermore, whilst the Central Committee of the ASYO was responsible for the activities of the organization and the selection of its ranks, all these tasks were mainly under the supervision of the ASU and its policies.

Thus, it seems that : First, the ASU attempted to impose its political ideology on the ASYO since young people were requred to follow the principles and policies of the ASU and to be prepared to take over the responsibility of leading the political work in the ASU. Secondly, the ASU attempted to link the organizational structure of the ASYO and the structure of the ASU in order to facilitate the indoctrination of youth in accordance with the system ideology and the desired policies of its party. The ASU's control prevented the ASYO from meeting the needs of young people and to developing their ability to participate freely in political life.

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1). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization.

Although the regulations issued in 1973 attempted
to make the ASYO more independent, the change was only
superficial since the ASYO was still committed to the
policy of the ASU. Article 4 of the 1973 regulations
stated that : "The Arab Socialist Youth Organisation is
the wing of the Arab Socialist Union. It has its
independent regulations and responsibilities which are,
(however), parallel to the regulations of the Arab-
Socialist Union and work in complete co-ordination with
it."[1] The most significant change was that the
formulation of the Central Committee of the ASYO was
accomplished without interference from the Higher
Executive committee of the ASU.

The ASYO programmes of political education derived
mainly from the principles of the revolutions of 1952
and 1971, and the state ideology declared in its
documents. The ASYO prepared three programmes.[2] First,
a programme for the youth who were non-members which
aimed at developing their political awareness by providing
them with knowledge about the importance of the ASYO,
its aims and regulations. This programme included the
principles of the 1952 Revolution, its necessity, and
the government's achievements. It seems that the main
aim of this programme was to convince the youth to join
the ASYO and inculcate in them the ideologies of the new
system.

1). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization, The
Fundamental Regulation of the Arab Socialist Youth Organization.

2). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization,Official
Documents of the General National Conference of Youth (30 March-
2 April 1976), pp.64-68; Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist
Youth Organisation, A Report on the Achievements of the Arab
Socialist Youth Organization, Cairo, March 1976,pp.17-19. (in
Arabic).

Secondly, a programme was offered to the members
of the ASYO,which included the modern history of Egypt
which focused on the political and social life in Egypt
before the Revolution, the struggle of Egypt for
independence and progress, the political economy, the
factors of underdevelopment, Arab nationalism and Arab
unity. It seems that this programme concentrated on
ideology of the system and that little attempt was made
providing knowledge and an understanding of other world
ideologies and issues.

Thirdly, a programme was introduced to leaders who
were responsible for members' training and activities.
This programme was designed at three levels. The first
level was provided for the secretaries of the units and
the committees of different levels. The programme
included five lectures on the documents of the Revolution,
and the methods of work which enabled the leaders to
practise their responsibilities. The second level of
the programme was designed for preparing and training
those who were responsible for different activities.
At this level the programme concentrated on the appropriate
approaches for implementing activities. At the third
level the programme was to qualify political directors
who were responsible for training the ASYO's members.
Political directors received in depth most of the
materials that were taught in the previous levels. More-
over, they were provided with a specific course to enable
them to work with youth such as the role of youth organizations,
the psychological needs of youth and the methods of work
with them.

The ASYO's activities were not restricted to political
training and indoctrinating youth in the ideology of
the system. The ASYO also attempted to promote and
organize the social and economic activities of youth
in order to utilize their efforts in developing the
country. For example, young people participated in
illiteracy campaigns, raising the standard of backward
and weak pupils, raising the awareness of the youth in
health and culture and taking part in solving their
problems. Moreover, the ASYO took an active part in
establishing productive projects by making use of the
local possibilities, digging canals and fighting the
agricultural pests. The ASYO also organized holiday
camps, and art and sporting festivals. During the
period from 1972 to 1975, the ASYO established 555
classes for the weak pupils, 114 classes for abolishing
illiteracy, 81 local work camps which took part in
cleaning work and filling up the pools, 19 canal re-
construction camps in the towns, 138 holiday journeys,
97 sporting parties and 44 sporting festivals.[1]
Furthermore, the youth of the ASYO could form voluntary
detachments to occupy the frontiers of Israel. They
formed groups to share in civil defence and blood
donations. For example, in 1973, 233,000 youth took

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1) .Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization,
   A Report on the Achievements of the Arab Socialist Youth
   Organization, pp.21-25.

part in the battle against Israel and civil defence, 122,000
donated blood, and 19,000 took part in public service
activities.[1]

Clearly, the ASYO represented a political organization
for the new generation aimed at supporting the Revolution
and the ideology of the new system and creating solidarity
among young people in achieving the progress of society.
In spite of the defects in the activities of the ASYO,
Abou El-Magd argued that the ASYO realized among its
members a strong feeling of loyalty towards the country
and its progress which still exists up to now. [2] This
suggests that the ASYO succeeded in strengthening the
feelings of loyalty towards the country based on young
people's desire to achieve the progress of their society.
Moreover, the ASYO effectively contributed towards
creating political awareness and developing the ability
of youth to criticise political life. Although this
awareness could be partly attributed to the social and
political programmes of the ASYO, it mainly resulted
from the desire of youth to take an active part in the
social and political life in accordance with the declared
democratic principles of the 1952 Revolution. Furthermore,
the negative aspects of the organisational structure of
the ASYO and the dominating role of the ASU over it,

1). G. Hyde, Education in Modern Egypt, p.166.

2). A.K.Abou El-Magd, 'Youth Organization in Egypt', Al-Ahram,
    Cairo, 14 October, 1984.

unconsciously created political awareness in the youth
which took the form of objections to some of the state's
policies. Many of the leaders of the current political
parties were once members of the ASYO.

There were many negative features of the ASYO
which stemmed from its organizational structure and
style of work, attempts at political indoctrination, and
the shortcoming in training facilities. The structure
of the ASYO was characterised by a highly centralized
system, with its Central Committee required to carry
out the policy and decrees of the Higher Executive
Committee of the ASU. This prevented members from
participating in planning the activities of the ASYO
and expressing their opinions. Moreover, the duty of
the lower levels to follow and obey the decisions of
higher levels was exploited by some of the ASYO's
leaders who tried to impose their own views over the
youth. For example, some of the leaders of the ASYO tried
to polarize the view of its members in order to create
a power to support their own political position.[1]

Because of the domination by the ASU, the ASYO
failed to represent the view of the youth and to transmit
their claims to the ruling authority. The youth had no
means except through demonstrations and objections against
authority to express their claims and participate in
political life. For example, the Egyptian youth were
affected by the defeat of 1967, the inability of the state
to guard its land and the absence of democratic practices.
Therefore, in February 1968 the youth demonstrated against

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1). Ibid.

authority and the light sentences given to military
leaders who were responsible for the defeat of the army.
The youth claims were : First, the retrial of the
leaders of the army who were responsible for the defeat
of 1967. Second, the freedom of the press, the introduction
of democratic practices, and elections free from the
interference of the ASU. Thirdly, the election of a
student union without the interference of the the state
and abolishing of detectives in the university[1].
Although the authority put an end to the youth demon-
strations by force and violence, the youth demonstrated
again in November in the same year. This evidence
suggests that the attempts of political indoctrination
by ASYO did not guarantee loyalty to the system.

In addition to the failure of the attempts at
political indoctrination by the ASYO, it was also
unsuccessful in its training programmes. Because of the
rapid increase in its membership, the ASYO was not able
to provide an adequate number of trained leaders or to
provide appropriate political training for its members.
The members regardless of their ages and thinking
abilities only received ten days training at the
socialist institutions. This merely consisted of some
lectures concentrated mainly on the principles of the

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1). A.A.Badre El-Deen, 'The Phenomenon of Political Stability in
    Egypt (1952-1970)', Faculty of Economic and Political Sciences,
    Cairo University, Cairo, 1981, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis.

Revolution, the democratic socialist attitude, and the concept of Arab nationalist.[1] The attempts at indoctrination, the short period of training, and the age differences in abilities of understanding and thinking among members hindered the development of the ability of the members to participate in political life.

A report issued by the ASYO in 1976[2] noted that a lack of materials and qualified staff for training prevented it from fully implementing its programmes. Due to the small number of socialist institutions, it became necessary for these institutions to concentrate mainly on providing political training for the leaders of the ASYO. Moreover, the report indicates that many members in the basic units did not receive any programme of political training and the responsibility for their training was undertaken by unqualified staff.

Apart from the political ideology, there is great similarity between Egypt and the Soviet Union in respect of the purpose of youth organizations. Both countries established youth organizations to support the existing one party system and the ideology of the country. The process of political socialization in the Soviet Union takes place not only by means of the

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1). Arab Socialist Union, Assiut Governorate, Socialist Institution, 'Cultural and Social Programme (second regiment)', Assiut, n.d., TS. (in Arabic).

2). Arab Socialist Union, Arab Socialist Youth Organization, A Report on the Achievements of the Arab Socialist Youth Organization, p.19.

school curriculum but also through the Soviet youth

organizations. These organizations are seen as

essential instruments to reinforce the role of the school

in the political indoctrination of the Soviet ideology.

Youth organizations in the Soviet Union perform

their tasks with young people from early ages of

schooling at three levels; the Octobrists for the young

child between the ages of seven to nine; the Pioneers

for those between ten and fourteen; and the Komsomol

(The All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League) for

young people from approximately fourteen to the age of

twenty-eight.[1] The activities of the Youth Organizations

are described as social activities, but in fact are

mainly based on the ideological beliefs of communism

and devotion to the Communist Party. The main purposes

of youth organizations are to rear young people in the

spirit of communism, anti-religion and love for labour

and the motherland. They also promote respect and obey

the orders of the communist authorities and their

leaders.[2]

The Octobrist groups are based on five rules which

mainly reinforce the role of political and social up-

bringing of children and stimulate young children to

become members of the Pioneers. These rules include :

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1). F.C.Barghoorn, Politics in the USSR, p.105; N.Grant, Society, Schools and Process in Eastern Europe, p.70; U. Bronfenbrenner, Two Worlds of Childhood in U.S. and U.S.S.R., p.36; I.N.Thut and D.Adams, Educational Pattern in Contemporary Societies, McGraw-Hill, Inc., U.S.A., 1964, p.199.

2). W.Shimoniak, Communist Education, p.443.

First, Octobrists are future Pioneers. Secondly, Octobrists
are diligent children, study well, like school, and
respect grown-ups. Thirdly, only those who like work
are called Octobrists. Fourthly Octobrists are honest
and truthful children. Fifthly, Octobrists are good
friends and read, draw, and live happily.[1] The
Octobrist groups promote in young children feelings of
loyalty towards the country and the political figures
of the communist ideology. For example, Octobrists sing
patriotic songs, learn about the life of Lenin, wear a
badge with a little red star and a baby picture of Lenin,
organize the flag ceremony and participate in the
celebration of national events and holidays. Moreover,
young Octobrists acquire some knowledge about local
politics and also become acquainted with the norms of
life within the collective[2]. Thus, the main task of
the Octobrist groups is to secure the objectives of the
communist ideology in an appropriate and attractive way
for the very young child.

In May 1922 a Komsomol conference, held in Moscow,
decided to establish the Pioneer organization[3]. The
purpose of the Pioneer organization is to supply the
Komsomol with qualified members from young people and
to reinforce the role of the Soviet youth organizations

1). I.A.Kirov (ed.), Pedagogicheskii slovar (Pedagogical Dictionary),
2 vols, Moscow: Izdatelstvo Akademii Pedagogicheskikh Nauk,(1960),
38, Quoted by U. Bronfenbrenner, Two Worlds of Childhood in U.S.
and U.S.S.R., p.37.

2). J. Zajda, Education in the U.S.S.R., pp.149-154.

3). K. Weaver, Russian's Future : The Communist Education of
Soviet Youth, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1981, pp.32-33.

in political training in the norms of communist ideology.
In the Teacher's Gazette in 1927 Krupskaya (Lenin's wife)
argued that "the school and the young Pioneer movement
pursue one and the same aim : to bring children up as
fighters for and builders of a new system. The goal of
the young Pioneer movement is to bring up a new youth
which will achieve socialist, communist construction".[1]
More recently on the 18th May 1976 at the All-Union
Congress of the Pioneer leaders Brezhnev expressed the
important role of the Pioneers in political and ideological
training. He said :

> " Youth in our country is closely related to the Pioneer
> organization, which carries the name Vladimir Illich Lenin.
> In the Pioneer detachments and regiments millions of
> children undergo ideological, political, labour and moral
> upbringing; they learn to live, work and fight as the
> great Lenin bequeathed...Working with the Pioneers is a
> complex affair...requiring a high pedagogical mastery,
> profound knowledge, and a big soul and heart. Insist on
> studying Marxist-Leninist theory...Remember : Today they
> are children but tomorrow they are active builders of
> communism. (2).

The rules of the Pioneer indicate that the foremost
role of the organization is to create in children love
for the motherland, devotion to the communist authority,
and love of work and the collective. For example, the
rules state : First, A Pioneer loves his motherland and
the Communist Party. Secondly, A Pioneer prepares himself
to enter the Komsomol organization. Thirdly, A Pioneer

1). Krupskaya, N.K., 'The Young Pioneer Movement as a Pedagogical
    Problem', in Uchitel' skaya Gazeta, No.15, April 8, 1927,
    Quoted by J. Bowen, Soviet Education : Anton Makarenko and the
    Years of Experiment, p.140.

2). Brezhnev, L., Pravda, 18 May 1976, p.1., Quoted by J.Zajda,
    Education in the U.S.S.R., pp.154-155.

learns well and is polite and well disciplined. Fourthly,
A Pioneer loves labour and is careful of public property.[1]
Clearly, both Octobrist and Pioneer organizations are
established as an important means in fostering the
communist ideology. They mainly aim to create a new
generation which accepts the communist authority and
is capable of building the communist society and promote
collectivism and love of work.

Whilst the ASYO in Egypt covered only the secondary
school years, the youth organizations in the Soviet
Union cover all primary and secondary school years.
Moreover, the Soviet youth organizations are closely
tied with the work and aims of the educational system.
Furthermore, all the Soviet organizations are inter-
woven and the membership of each one leads to the above
organizations. The Komsomol, which represents the final
level of youth organizations, is the most relevant to
the Communist Party. These features of the youth
organizations in the Soviet Union are important since
the youth organizations are designed to help and support
the role of the educational system in political indoc-
trination under the control of the Communist Party.

Each classroom in the Soviet Union is a unit of the
Octobrist youth organization. At the level of the
Pioneer and Komsomol organizations each classroom has
one or more links consisting of from five to twelve
members according to the level of the organization.

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1). N.Grant, Soviet Education, p.77.

Links are combined to form a detachment that includes
all the children in a single school grade and then the
several detachments of the school are combined to
form the all-school brigade. A brigade selects a
council consisting of between three to fifteen members[1].
The Octobrists are supervised and helped by the Pioneers
which in turn are organized under the supervision of
the Komsomol.[2] Whilst Octobrists prepare children
for membership of the Pioneers, members of the Pioneers
are prepared to be members in the Komsomol. Moreover,
the Soviet youth organizations are seen as an integral
part of the educational system and they are used to help
in the implementation of school upbringing and activities.[3]

In Egypt the only political youth organization was
the ASYO which existed for young people of the same age
group as the Komsomol in the Soviet Union. Because
the ASYO was established during the period in which Egypt
adopted a one party system and it was also more close to
the socialist system, it might be expected that there are
similarities between the ASYO in Egypt and the Komsomol
in the Soviet Union.

The All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League
(Komsomol) was established in 1918 on Lenin's initiative
to accomplish the task of communist education for the

1). A Kassof, The Soviet Youth Program, Harvard University Press,
    1965, pp.67-69.

2). C.D.Cary, 'Education for International Understanding in Soviet
    Schools', p.20.

3). B.Williamson, Education, Social Structure and Development, p.105;
    C.D.Cary, 'Political Socialization of the Soviet Youth and the
    Building of Communism' in G.K.Bertsch and T.W.Ganschow (eds.),
    Comparative Communism, Freeman and Company, San Francisco, 1976,
    p.292.

Soviet Youth. As in Lenin's address before the third

Congress of the Komsomol in October 1920, the Komsomol

must be organized by Communists to "learn Communism".[1]

In July 1923 Lenin's wife (Krupskaya) defined the main

aim of the Komsomol to improve in young people "communist

consciousness by helping them to realize that they are

members of the working class which is fighting for

mankind's happiness, members of the huge army of the

international proletariat."[2] The basic aim of

establishing the Komsomol, to support the communist

ideology and its party, has been emphasized by recent

Soviet political leaders. For example, Brezhnev in

his speech at the Komsomol's Congress in 1974 said:

> "Today the Komsomol numbers 34 million persons (young people)
> in its ranks. Youth enter the ranks of the Komsomol to
> express their love of loyalty to the Leninist Communist
> Party to devote themselves to the service of its ideals
> and to the building of cummunism. Soviet youth is following
> the road outlined for them by the great Lenin." (3)

Among the other youth organizations the Komsomol

is seen as a most impressive agent for political indoc-

trination. The Komsomol inculcates in young people

the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the heroic traditions of

the revolutionary struggle, examples of the selfless labour

of workers, and the collective farmers. Moreover, it

aims to prepare young people for the defence of their

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1). K. Weaver, Russian's Future, pp.30-31.

2). Krupskaya, N.K., speech entitled 'International Children's Week'
    reportee in Pravda, July 24-30, Quoted by J.Bowen, Soviet
    Education : Anton Makarenko and the Years of Experiment, p.140.

3). 'Comrade L.I.Brezhnev's Speech at the Seventeenth Congress of
    the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League on April 23,
    1974' Soviet Education, Vol.XVII,No.4., February 1975,p.11.

socialist homeland. The Komsomol's rules are mainly to secure the communist objectives. These rules, for example, require[1] : First, loyalty to the cause of communism and love of the socialist motherland and of socialist countries. Secondly, conscientious labour for the good of society. Thirdly, a high feeling of awareness of social duty and intolerance of violation of society's interests. Fourthly, collectivism and comradely mutual aid : all for one and one for all. Fifthly, friendshop and brotherhood among all peoples of the USSR and intolerance of ethnic and racial hatred.

There is a similarity between the ASYO in Egypt, and the Komsomol of the Soviet Union in respect of their relationship with the political party. The Komsomol in the Soviet Union is officially described as " an autonomous organization of Soviet Youth".[2] The Komsomol, however, derives its support from the authority of the Communist Party in order to counteract and forestall the influence of the youth movements in democratic and burgeois societies. The earlier Komsomol rules which were issued in 1954 emphasized that "the (Komsomol) is joined to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union... The (Komsomol) demands from its members a persistent and ceaseless struggle for the realization of the decisions

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1). 'Rules and Regulations of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, Soviet Education, Vo. XVII, No.4, February,1975, pp.93-94.

2). Kassof, The Soviet Youth Program, p.49.

of the Communist Party and of the Soviet government".[1]
Althouth subsequent Komsomol rules issued in 1962
attempted to make the Komsomol more independent from
the Communist Party, the change was only superficial
since the Komsomol was still subservient to the Communist
Party. The preamble to the new Komsomol rules stated :

> "The Komsomol is the active assistant and reserve of the
> Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The (Komsomol) helps
> the Party to bring up youth in the spirit of communism...
> The strength of the Komsomol lies in the leadership of
> the CPSU, in ideological conviction, and in loyalty to the
> Party cause. The Komsomol learns from the Communist Party
> how to live, work, struggle and win in the Leninist way.(2)

It is clear from the official pronouncements that
the Komsomol is the helper of the Communist Party in
realizing and supporting the communist ideology. At
the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party,
Brezhnev re-emphasized that the role of the Komsomol'
members is to help the party in carrying on the "cause
of their fathers, the cause of the great Lenin". He
also asserted that the task of the Komsomol in "bringing
up the youth in the spirit of communist commitment".[3]
Moreover, at the twenty-fifth Party Congress, Brezhnev
considered the Komsomol as the "trusty ally of the Party." [4]
The Komsomol, therefore, is the most essential resource
in providing the Communist Party with new members. At
the Seventeenth Congress of the Komsomol Brezhnev reported

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1). Ustav Vsesoiuznogo Leninskogo Kammunisticheshogo Soiuza Molodezhi
    (Rules of the All-Union Leninist League of Youth, Moscos, 1959),
    pp.3-5, Quoted by Kassof, The Soviet Youth Program, p.51.

2). Komsomolskaia pravda, 21 April 1962, p.6. Quoted by Kassof, The
    Soviet Youth Program, p.51: 'Militant Helper and Reserve of the
    Party', Soviet Education, Vol.XVII, No.4. February 1975, p.29.

3). L.Brezhnev, Report of the Central Committee of the Communist
    Party of the Soviet Union, (Moscow, 1971), pp.93-94, Quoted by
    Barghoorn, Politics in the U.S.S.R, p.104.

4). L.I.Brezhnev, Leninskim Kursom (Moscow:Izd.Pol.Lit., 1976), Vol.5,
    545, Quoted by S.White, 'Political Socialization in the U.S.S.R. :
    A Study in failure?", Studies in Comparative Communism, Vol.10, No.3.,
    Autumn, 1977, p.332.

that "The living ties between the Party and the Komsomol are also expressed in the fact that,tens of thousands of young leaders are elected to the Party's executive bodies : from bureaus and committees of central organizations to the Central Committee of the CPSU."[1]

There is a great similarity between the ASYO in Egypt and the Komsomol in the Soviet Union in respect of duties and rights of membership. The main similarity is that the membership of the youth organizations in the two countries is confined to those who are committed to the ideology of the system and the policies of the Party, and who also accept the rules and regulations of the organization. A member of the Komsomol is required to abide by the rules and regulations of the Komsomol, take an active part in building communism, carry out the decisions of the Komsomol and pay membership duties. A member of the Komsomol also has the obligation to promote his knowledge and understanding of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, to help in the implementation of the Communist Party policies and explain them to others,and to develop criticism and self-criticism.[2] Similar to the ASYO in Egypt, a member has the right to vote and to be elected to Komsomol organs and to discuss and make proposals relating to its activities. However, the

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1). 'Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's Speech at the Seventeenth Congress of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League on April 23, 1974', p.12.

2). 'Rules and Regulations of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League', pp.94-96.

indoctrination attempts of the Komsomol prevent the development of the ability of its members to think critically outside the norms of communism.

The organizational structure of the ASYO in Egypt were also similar to the Komsomol in the Soviet Union. In both countries the similarity is based on the determination of the party to create channels of communication to enable it to impose its policies over the organization and secure that it will implement the party's decisions and programmes of training. The structure of the Komsomol resembles a pyramid in which each higher level of authority is selected by the one immediately beneath. The basic units include the members' place of work, schools, universities, factories, farms and so on. Above them there are the city or district committees elected by the members of the basic units. The highest level is the Congress, which elects the Central Committee.[1] Each level of the Komsomol has an obligation to obey the decisions of the higher level.[2]

The Communist Party is considered the highest authority of the Komsomol since the Komsomol Central Committee is "directly subordinate to the Central Committee of the Communist Party" and the "work of local organizations is directed and controlled by the corresponding

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1). Kassof, The Soviet Youth Program, p.54; N.Grant, Soviet Education p.79.

2). 'Rules and Regulations of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League', p.99.

republican, provincial, city and regional Party
organizations".[1]   Moreover, the Party effectively
saturates the Komsomol with its own members and the
post of the first secretary of the Komsomol Central
Committee is held by a member of the party's Central
Committee. This structure means that the Komsomol is
in effect a wing of the Party. Although members have
the right to criticise and discuss the Komsomol
programmes and activities, such criticisms are ineffective
due to the domination by the Communist Party and the
higher levels over the lower ones. In the Soviet
view, "criticism and self-criticism in the Komsomol must
be directed towards...the optimal implementation of the
decisions of the Party."[2]

In spite of the fact that there is a large number
of members in the Soviet youth organisations who
participate in their activities, there is a doubt about
the effectiveness of the youth organizations in nurturing
the desired political upbringing of young people. Whilst
the members of the Pioneers are generally satisfied
with their activities, members of the Komsomol are less
satisfied with the activities of their organization. The
findings of Soviet studies on the Pioneers' activities
indicate that 75.5 per cent of pupils in the Pioneers age

1). Quoted by Kassof, The Soviet Youth Program, p.52.

2). 'Rules and Regulations of the All-Union Leninist Communist
    Youth League', p.101.

group took part and were satisfied with their social

activities. The others did not participate and were

dissatisfied with the same activities. In another

study related to the members of the Komsomol it was

found that whilst 39 per cent reported that they were

satisfied with their social activities, 56 per cent

expressed dissatisfaction. [1]

Furthermore, the Soviet document "On further

improvements in education and upbringing of the secondary

school pupils and their participation for labour" issued

in December 1977 revealed that the ideological training

of Soviet Youth was not always realized. [2] A survey

carried out by the Academy of Pedagogical Latvian

secondary schools to determine the responses of Komsomol

members to their societal tasks revealed that the

Komsomol had failed to develop the personal conviction

of many of its members to the Marxist-Leninist ideology. [3]

Many of the Komsomol members were far from being

ideologically convinced individuals and displayed

materialistic motives towards life. Moreover, 47 per

cent of the sample indicated that their participation

in Komsomol activities should be carried out only when

it corresponds t one's personal interest and the majority

felt that their participation was boring.

1). C.D.Cary, 'Political Socialization of Soviet Youth and the Building of Communism', pp.293-294.

2). Uchitelskaya gazeta, 29 December 1977, p.1. Quoted by J.Zajda; Education in the U.S.S.R. p.174.

3). Uchitelskaya gazeta, 3 December 1977, p.3., Quoted by J.Zajda, Education in the U.S.S.R., p.175.

Obviously, the main task of the youth organisations in the Soviet Union is to extend and reinforce the ideological work in the school curriculum and to help the Communist Party in taking over the process of political indoctrination. These organisations are established to inculcate in youth the spirit of communism ideas, revolutionary labour, defenders for communism and love of motherland. Moreover, they aim to create in youth devotion and absolute obedience to the Communist Party and its policies and prepare them to be members in the Party. A considerable emphasis is placed on the role of the Komsomol in accomplishing these objectives and therefore it is closely supervised and controlled by the party.

However, the evidence suggests that there is a considerable dissatisfaction among youth with Komsomol activities. Similar to the reaction of young people towards the school curriculum, the nature of the age group of youth in the Komsomol, the development of their ability in criticial thinking and the authoritarian structure of the Komsomol are the main factors behind the dissatisfaction with the social activities and the incomplete conviction with the Marxist-Leninist ideology. It is obvious that indoctrination attempts are not consistent with the development of the ability of young people to think critically at this age. Moreover, the structure of the Komsomol and the domination of the higher levels and the Communist Party over decisions prevents the young people taking part in the selection and design of the activities.

Similar to the youth organizations in the Soviet Union, the ASYO was also established to reinforce the political indoctrination role of the school curriculum. However, in contrast to the youth organizations in the Soviet Union, the ASYO in Egypt covered only the years of secondary schools and worked separately from the educational system. The main aim of the ASYO was to secure the ideology of the new system and its party by inculcating in youth the belief in the principles of the 1952 Revolution and devotion to the system, obedience to the party and its policies, and feelings of loyalty towards the country and Arab nationalism. Moreover, it aimed to mobilize the efforts of youth to help in realizing the plans for developing the country. The ASYO's programmes of political education, which mainly adopted the concept of political indoctrination, were not parallel to needs of youth and developing their ability to participate freely in political life. The programmes were mainly directed to serve the political line of the ASU and the philosophy of the one party system.

The experiences of the ASYO indicate that the attempts of political indoctrination were not altogether successful in securing support for the political system, and subsequently it was necessary to resort to force and violence. Although the state established the ASYO as a means of gaining the commitment of youth and their support to the state's policies and its leaders, desires of the young people for democracy were stronger than the indoctrination attempts of the ASYO. In spite of the

fact that many of the democratic principles were assured
in the documents of the Revolution, democracy was not
practised at all levels of the ASYO. Thus, it was
clear that there were differences between the democratic
principles declared by the Revolution and the real
practices within the ASYO. The youth, therefore, stood
behind these democratic principles and rejected the
attempts of political indoctrination and the domination
of the ASU over their organization and the political
life. In other words the ASYO practices unconsciously
led to the development of political awareness among
youth and criticisms of the system and its one party.

The Recent Political Parties
<u>The Recent Political Parties</u>

     After the termination of the ASYO many of its
members participated in political life through the
National Democratic Party (NDP). This could be
attributed to the effectiveness of the NDP and its
ability to wield the authority. Moreover, many of
the youth believed that the work with the NDP gave them
more opportunities and responsibilities in the government
and political life, than any other political parties.
Those who still believe in the socialist principles as a
main source to improve the society participated in
political life through the Collective Progressive Unitary
National Party (CPUNP). Other members of the ASYO
affiliated to the other parties as they believed in
their ideologies. The other groups of youth preferred
to stay away from all political parties.

     Many of the political parties exercised some sort
of political education in order to promote loyalty to the

party and its principles, expanding the membership to youth, and prepared them to take a role within the party. These aims are accomplished through the establishment of a youth wing or a youth organization within the party and related to its structure and regulations. Up until 1984 there were five political parties. This study, however, concentrates on the NDP (the centre) and the CPUNP (the left) who are more interested in political education than the other parties. The available information suggests that the parties such as the Liberal Socialist Party and the Wafd are not yet involved in political education of youth, however, they are influenced by liberal attitudes which objects to, attempts of political indoctrination, and emphasizes the development of the ability of the youth to participate in a democratic society.

For example, the Liberal Socialist Party emphasize the understanding and discussion not only of matters of the party, but also of other parties.[1] Similarly the Wafd party emphasizes the necessity of youth freedom in opinion and early participation in political life.[2]

The other parties emphasize the practicing of democracy, however, they concentrate on discussing the matters of their particular party and discourage the

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1). Liberal Socialist Party, The Party Programme, Cairo, 1984, (in Arabic).

2). The Wafd, Cairo, 12 April 1984. (in Arabic)

understanding of the other parties viewpoints. More-
over, they are more concerned with securing the party
and convincing the youth with its ideology.

Among all the other parties, the NDP is the most
active party in the political education. The party,
however, attempts to support its ideology through
encouraging the youth to participate in political life,
on the basis of the party ideology, and protect them
from the influence of other political attitudes. In
1977 the first leadership conference for the youth
of the NDP was held. The conference decided to establish
a youth wing within the party to be responsible for
organizing youth activities. From the beginning the
youth wing declared its commitment to the philosophy
of the party and the democratic socialist attitude.
The youth wing also declared its belief in religious
values, the democratic practice, participation in
decision-making, peace efforts and Arab solidarity.[1]
It is clear that these declarations are compatible
with the ideology of the party which is based on the
belief in religuous values, democratic socialism, the
reconciliation of socialist practice and economic
freedom, and Arab nationalism.[2]

In a similar way, the CPUNP established a youth

1). National Democratic Party, Youth Wing, Documents of the First
   Leading Conference of the National Democratic Party's Youth,
   Cairo, 1979, pp.90-96. (in Arabic).

2). National Democratic Party, 'The Intellectual Framework of the
   National Democratic Party', Information Publication, No.55,
   May 1983. (in Arabic).

wing in 1976 to perform its task in accordance with the
party ideology. Article 57 of the internal regulation
of the party states that "the party should have a youth
wing under the name of the progressive youth union in
order to take the responsibility of activity in the
circles of youth, preparing youth capable of leadership
and continuous work within the party. The progressive
youth union execute the party tasks and programmes in
the field of youth particularly supporting their role in
the service of the Egyptian masses and bringing up the
youth in the spirit of patriotism and progressiveness".[1]

The organizational structure and style of work of
the youth secretariats within the political parties are
different from that of the ASYO. Whilst the ASYO was a
parallel to the structure of the ASU, the secretariat
of youth in the NDP, for example, is not separated
from the party and it works as an integral part of the
party and under the supervision of its general secretariat.
Clearly this structure facilitates the communication
between the party and the different levels of its youth
secretariats and consequently support the ability of
the party in supervising and directing the youth in
accordance with the party policies and ideology.

The youth wing in the NDP consists of different
levels begins with the local level and ends with the
national level.[2] In every city there is a youth

1). Collective Progressive Unitary National Party, The Party Political
Programme, Cairo, 1980, p.302. (in Arabic).
2). National Democratic Party, Youth Wing, Documents of the First
Leading Conference of the National Democratic Party's Youth,
pp.128-132; National Democratic Party, Youth Wing, Features and
Commentary on the Plan and Programme of the Youth Party, Cairo
n.d., pp.42-43. (in Arabic).

committee, led by a youth secretary whose job is to carry
out the youth plan on the city level after being approved
by the immediate higher level. This committee formulates
the youth committees in basic units and directs their
activities. Moreover, it accomplishes any political task
derived from the party committee at this level. At the
level of governorate there is a youth committee that
includes the governorate youth secretary and youth
secretaries in governorate's cities. The governorate
youth committee is formulated by the governorate party
secretariat. It performs similar tasks of city committees,
however at the level of the governorate.

At the national level there is the youth secretariat
which includes the general secretary of youth, youth
secretaries in the governorate, and a number of the youth
leaders in the party. According to the party regulations
the youth secretariat undertakes the studying of all
the draft laws submitted to the people's Assembly as
regards to youth in the political and social matters.
Moreover, the youth secretariat is responsible for
securing and evaluating the implementation of the party
policies and plans as regards youth at the national level.
At all levels the youth secretaries are members in the
opposite levels of the party. The belief in the political
line of the party, an ability to defend its ideology,
and acceptance of the regulations of the youth wing are
prerequisites for the membership of those between the age
of 18 and 30.

The main function of the youth wing is to provide
the party youth with political education. The prominent

view of political education is to consolidate the
political line of the party and its ideology through
creating the ideological conviction among the party youth
and the acceptance of its programmes. Moreover, it
aims to display a predisposition towards the superiority
of the party policies in facing the society problems and
issues. The party, however, declares the significance
of practising of democracy and developing the ability
of the youth to participate in democratic and political
life. The main source of political education is the
principles of the 1952 and 1971 revolutions, democratic
socialist, speeches and talks of the party leaders, and
the Egyptian heritage. [1] Clearly, political education
is mainly seen in terms of political indoctrination to
support the party and display its ideology among the
youth.

Similar to the NDP youth wing, the progressive
youth union exercises its activity as one of the basic
components of the CPUNP. There is also a close
connection between the different levels of the pro-
gressive youth union and its counter levels in the
party. This connection is mainly aimed to facilitate
the communication between the party and its youth and
enabling the party to realize its policies and programmes.
At the level of basic units and cities the progressive
youth union consists of the youth conference and committee.
Above them there is the conference and youth committee
at the governorate level. The highest level is the
national level which consists of the general conference
and the youth central committee. The youth committees at

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1). National Democratic Party, Youth Wing, Documents of the First
Leading Conference of the National Democratic Party's Youth, pp.143-144.

all levels are responsible for realizing youth activities

designed by the higher level in accordance with the

party policies and programmes. Moreover, they are

involved in displaying the party ideology and increasing

its youth membership for those between the age of 18

and 35. To secure the party policies, secretaries of

youth committees and their members in all levels of the

progressive youth union are represented in the party

at countre level. Moreover, all union members are

committed to the party ideology and its programme and

accept the regulations and rules of the party and the

progressive youth union. [1]

According to the political programme of the CPUNP,

the progressive youth union aims to indoctrinate youth

in the political line of the party.[2] Although the

party encouraging youth to practise democracy and

participation in political life, the principle of

abiding by the ideology of the party and its political

programme does not allow them to take an active role

in the democratic life. In general the party emphasizes

the principles of the 1952 Revolution, the establishing

of democratic socialist society, the importance of the

public sector, continuing the socialist transformation,

and the belief in religious values and Arab unity. Clearly,

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1). Collective Progressive Unitary National Party, Progressive
    Youth Union, Toward the First General Conference of Progressive
    Youth Union, Cairo, 1984, pp.29-30. (in Arabic).

2). Collective Progressive Unitary National Party, The Party
    Political Programme, pp.76-87, 208-210.

both the NDP and CPUNP attempt to attract youth through the establishing of a specific youth organization within the main structure of the party in order to disseminate the ideology of the party among youth.

Although the political parties in Egypt emphasize the significance of democratic practices, parties' attempts to polarize youth and consolidate the party ideology do not provide youth with opportunities to recognize and understand the different ideologies of other parties. Political parties have the right to consolidate their ideologies and policies, however, the development of youth understanding and evaluating matters of all political parties are important aims of political education. That is to say, a real approach to political education could not be realized under the supervision of any political party.

Moreover, it is expected that political parties are not in the same position which enable them to display an equal opportunity of supporting their ideologies among youth. For example, the general secretary of youth in the ruling party takes over the responsibility of the chairman of the Highest Council for Youth and Sports. This organization was established to care for the youth throughout the country regardless of their party attitudes. It is supposed that the Highest Council's chairmanship is taken over by a member who is at least not a youth leader belonging to any party in order to avoid any attempt to impose any party viewpoint over the youth. Moreover, in the last elections in 1984 one of the opposition journals "The Liberals" accused the general

secretary of youth in the NDP of offering cheques, of

financing the governorates youth centres to the NDP,

candidates to make propaganda and consolidate their

position in the elections.[1]   In England there is an

interest to encourage the British Youth Council and

National Association of Youth Clubs to work in the field

of political education,[2]   however, these youth

organizations refuse any external pressure that would

impose specific political views over the youth.   For

example, the National Youth Bureau "insisted that it

must been seen to be free from political bias."[3]   The

significant indication is that youth organizations should

be free from the effect of any governmental or party

political bias.

Furthermore, the CPUNP declared that since its

establishment in October 1976 until 1981 its youth

wing could not practice political and social activities

because of the political conflict which had arisen

between the party and ruling authority and its opposition

to the party ideas.[4]   Moreover, the CPUNP expressed the

inequality of the potentialities to the NDP and claimed

for sharing other parties in joint activities on the

grounds of equality in potentialities.[5].

1). Liberals, Cair, 14 May 1984. (in Arabic).

2). R.Stradling, 'Political Education in the 11 to 16 Curriculum', p.99.

3). The Times Educational Supplement, 9 December 1983.

4). Collective Progressive Unitary National Party, Progressive Youth Union, Toward the First General Conference of Progressive Youth Union, pp.10-14.

5). Collective Progressive Unitary National Party, Progressive Youth Union, New Initiatives of Youth, Cairo, 1984, p.2. (in Arabic).

Whilst the main interest of the Egyptian political parties in political education is directed to provide the youth of the party with predisposition towards the party ideology, the political parties in England are involved in developing political education within the school. In 1973 the Political Sixth Form Conferences were held with representatives from the Conservative, Labour and Liberal parties on the premises of the Hansard Society. The Conference argued that "Civic education, whether in CSE, O or A-level syllabuses..., is both a highly important and a difficult, hence sometimes neglected area. It needs expansion and more thought for its educational values and as a deliberate attempt to make people aware of their responsibilities as citizens, which obviously must include the responsibility of supporting and even joining political parties and pressure groups".[1] Moreover, the two major political parties emphasize their support to the recent approaches to political education in the school curriculum. [2]

On the basis of these claims political parties in England emphasize the significance of the school curriculum, in carrying out the responsibility of political education. This emphasis is due to the fact that the introducing of political education is most significant

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1). D.Heater, 'A Burgeoning of Interest', p.342.

2). G.Whitty, 'Political Education in Schools', Socialism and Education, Vol.5., No.5, 1978, p.5.

during the years preceding the age of voting and joining
political parties since young people should promote their
abilities to formulate a specific view towards a
particular party before they reach the age of voting
and affiliating to political parties.

In November 1977, Norman St.John Stevas, the then
Conservative Opposition spokesman on Education, ·
reported that the education policy of the Conservative
Party will support the introduction of political education
into schools. Stevas recognized that "There are funda-
mental values on which our society is based and on which
there is general consensus in the democratic parties."
He advocated the need "to build up a consensus among the
democratic parties".[1] However, he declared that "There
are some values on which neutrality is not enough. We
may legitimately expect from those teaching in our
schools commitment to the Crown and Constitution.
Loyalty to the monarch and our traditions are not
optional extras but an intrinsic part of the value system
which we may legitimately expect to be transmitted
through our maintained schools system."[2]

The same approaches are expressed in the Conservative
Party's discussion document issued in June 1978 under
the title "A Time for Youth". The document reported that

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1). Norman St.John-Stevas, 'Political Education in Schools',
    Speech to Birmingham Bow Group, Conservative Central Office,
    18 November 1977, p.1.

2). Ibid., p.1.

the youth policy was neglected and "This could produce
great dangers for the stability of our system and the
survival of our democracy"[1]. Thus, the party encourages
the introducing of political education into the school
curriculum for all pupils. Political education is
seen "to instil in young people a framework of political
values...to explain the system by which the nation is
governed and how Parliament relates to other institutions,
both local and national...(and) to give young people a
greater knowledge of political facts..."[2] It seems
that the Conservative Party is more enthusiastic in
preserving the status-quo of the British system. Through
a debate on political education a senior back-bench
Conservative MP declared that "It is right that all
young people coming up through secondary schools
should be made aware of the British Constitution, the
British way of life, the form of democracy and our
parliamentary system",[3] The party, however, warning
from bias and imposing specific viewpoints over pupils
and recognize that the need for participation cannot
be ignored.

On the other hand, the Labour Party emphasize a
more active form of political education in schools. The

1). Conservative Party Study Group on Youth Policy, A Time for Youth:A Discussion Document, Conservative Central Office, June 1978, p.1. ,
2). Ibid.,pp.5-6.
3). R. Evans, 'Teaching about Politics', The Times Educational Supplement, 17 September 1982.

party is more concerned in developing the concept of
participation through giving young people a feeling of
democratic participation.[1] Neil Kinnock, who is
currently the leader of the party,argues that political
education is important in informing people about their
rights and he sees education for citizenship as the
"provision for enlightenment and for change".[2]
Similar emphasis declared in the manifesto of the party
in 1983. The party stated:

> In a country where people can, with the right understanding,
> take part in the decisions which effect their lives,...all
> schools should ensure that pupils gain the political know-
> ledge, competence and confidence required to play a full
> and informed part in that decision-making. The curriculum
> should encourage responsible participation through an
> understanding of the political process. (3)

It seems that the two major political parties have
different perspectives towards the concept of political
education. On the one hand, although the Conservative
Party defends the British democracy and its parliamentary
system and recognizes the significance of participation,
it mainly sees the role of political education in terms
of maintaining the political status-quo. In its view
political education is to "presenting the world as it
is and explaining the system whereby formal politics
administered".[4] On the other hand, the Labour Party
sees political education in a more democratic society

1). Ibid.,
2). G. Whitty, 'Political Education in Schools', p.7.
3). Birmingham Labour Party, Get Brum Back to Work! The Labour
    Party Manifesto, Birmingham, 1983, pp.14-15.
4). R. Evans, 'Teaching about Politics', The Times Educational
    Supplement, 17 September 1982.

and it particularly emphasizes the development of a
participatory role of political education for political
and social changes within   British society. Never-
theless, the two perspectives of the two major political
parties could not largely affect the objectives of
political education in the school curriculum. Since
recent developments of political education in England,
as it has been seen, emphasize the two perspectives of
conservative and progressive or more participatory role
for change. Political education within school develop
the understanding of pupils to the existing society
values of system and at the same time improving their
ability of participation of what values need change.

Despite the fact that the two major political
parties in England advocate a specific perspective
towards political education, there is a significant
evidence to suggest that political parties have a desire
to promote political education in schools and developing
the ability of young people to understand and discuss
different views of political parties. Political parties
accept that pupils should have real facts about their
different ideologies and understand the justification
behind their policies. In the Political Sixth-Form
Conference held in 1973, the three major political parties
accepted the recommendation that there is a responsibility
for political parties to talk to pupils through a
programme organized by the school.[1]   Moreover, Shirley

1). D. Heater, 'A Burgeoning of Interest', pp.342-343.

Williams suggested that representatives of political

parties should be allowed to speak to pupils.[1]

Similarly, the Conservative Party reported that

"representatives of the political parties should be

allowed into schools to declare their political beliefs

and their reasons for holding them".[2]

In comparison with England, the political parties

in Egypt are more interested in supporting the ideology

of the party and its policies. Although there is

evidence to develop democracy and give youth the

opportunity to discuss and express their viewpoints, the

main aim of political education within the political

party is to consolidate the party ideology and its

political line. The performance of political education

is accomplished by a specific youth wing associated

completely with the structure of the party in order to

realize the objectives of political education in accordance

with the party line. Thus, the task of political

education becomes political party work divorced from

educational criteria.

Attempts of the Egyptian political parties to

attract the youth and implant in them the party ideological

beliefs may be justified on the ground that the youth

party affiliated to the party after they accepted its

1). The Times Educational Supplement, 21 October 1977.

2). Conservative Party Study Group on Youth Policy, A Time for
   Youth, p.6.

ideology. These attempts, however, will certainly
affect the young youth at the beginning of the age
membership and who have no real experiences in political
life and who are unable to discriminate between the
means of political propaganda and the formulation of a
particular viewpoint arising from being convinced with
the ideology of the party to which they belong. A
further support for this argument is that there is a
clear lack in knowledge and understanding of political
parties ideologies amongst the Egyptian youth. In 1983,
A professor in the Faculty of Economic and Political
Sciences complained that many of his students (at the
age of 19) were not able even to name the established
political parties, their leaders, and their newspapers.
Moreover, he expressed that there was a great lack of
political interest among his students.[1]

The political parties in England emphasize the
importance of the introducing of political education
into the school curriculum and express their acceptance
to the recent development of political education.
However, they advocate a specific concept of political
education consistent with the party beliefs. Thus, it
could be argued that there is some similarities between
political parties in both England and Egypt in respect
of the party's attempt to support a specific view.
Nevertheless, due to the more democratic practices in

1). A. Al-Deen Hellal, 'The Future of Parties in Egypt',
   Ros El-Yousef, p.45.

England political parties' attempts to develop political
education are more consistent than in Egypt with the
recent development of political education.

Although the Conservative Party is more concerned
in maintaining the status-quo, there is an obvious
agreement on the importance of participation in
political life and to avoid bias and imposing a specific
view over young people. Moreover, the recent development
of political education in England resolved the differences
in the concepts of political education between the two
major political parties. Furthermore, the encouragement
of political parties to visit schools and talk to pupils
helps, to a large extent, to overcome the possibilities
of political bias.

CONCLUSION - WITH SOME RECOMMENDATIONS

General

This research is devoted to a study of the teaching of

political education and its approaches in Egypt with

reference to England and the Soviet Union. The implemen-

tation of the research is based on the theoretical frame-

work of political education and the development of political

life and ideologies in Egypt. Political socialization and

political education are often regarded as coterminous and

in most countries both political socialization and education

are represented in the school However, there are differences

between countries as to the extent that a country practises

the terms of political education or political socialization.

Although political education is a part of political

socialization, the former has a deeper conceptual approach

than the latter since political education focuses on the

development of the ability of the individual to understand

and critisize the values of the system, to participate in

political life, and to influence the system and its

values. However, political socialization is seen as the

political learning which aims to support the values of

the system and its ideologies.

Ideological developments, values and policies of
a system, the need of a system for support, and the
desire of its leaders are the main factors which affect
the concept of political education adopted by a country.
Of all the ideologies and forms of governments, the
democratic system is perhaps the most favourable for
developing the approaches to political education. In
democratic societies the need for political education is
more necessary than in other ideologies in order to promote
the ability of citizens to practise democracy and to
participate in social and political life.

Official Attitudes to Political Education

In Egypt the Revolution of 1952 regarded the
development of educational provision for all citizens
as the main instrument for achieving the desired aims
of the Revolution and securing the values of the political
system and its leaders. Despite the fact that the
Revolution aimed to develop democracy and many of its
documents assured the principles of democracy, the
failure to introduce democratic practices, the rigid
system of socialism, and the belief in the one party
system hindered the development of political education.
During more than a quarter of a century the state official
documents and pronouncements of the leaders continued to
emphasize the concept of political socialization to
support the Revolution, the values of the political system,
and to declare support for the political leaders and their
policies. Thus loyalty to the country was seen in terms
of supporting the state ideology and commitment to its
policies and leaders. During this period the Constitution

of 1971 was issued to bring about further development in democracy and in 1976 the one party system was replaced by political parties. However, official attitudes to political education remained largely unchanged. This was due to the restrictions on freedom given to the newly established political parties. The government continued to emphasize stability and support for its policies and did not feel strong enough to introduce democratic practices which might encourage criticisms of its policies.

The official approaches to political indoctrination in Egypt can be compared with the official statements in the Soviet Union. Clearly, Marxist-Leninist ideology and the objectives of the Communist Party constitute the main basis of Soviet education. Research findings reveal that official attitudes to political education in the Soviet Union reflected the concept of political socialization to secure the communist ideology and to build a communist society. The purpose of political socialization, as determined by the Soviet political leaders and the Communist Party, is to create an individual who must be an integrated part of the communist society, who thinks and acts in accordance with the policies of the Communist Party and its leaders. In the Soviet view, the task of political socialization is to inculcate in children and youth, loyalty to the communist system, ideas of Marxism-Leninism, love of the motherland, collectivism and love of work, the spirit of socialist internationalism, and hostile attitudes towards the capitalist systems.

From the beginning of the 1980's considerable

changes, however, have taken place in the state policies in Egypt including a greater freedom to establish political parties. Consequently, official attitudes to political education now emphasize the necessity of participation and the expression of different viewpoints as the main features in the development of democracy. Loyalty to the country still remains the most important aim of political education. However, it is based on the principles of democracy and the realization of appropriate changes in improving society. Recent development in political education in Egypt indicate that : First, whilst official pronouncements towards political education in the Soviet Union continue to emphasize the concept of political socialization, the approach to political socialization in Egypt could be changed towards political education in a democratic society. Secondly, there is an increasing similarity in approaches to political education between Egypt and England. However, improvements which have taken place in political education in England are more compatible with the characteristics of democracy than in Egypt.

Until the beginning of the 1970's official attitudes in England meant that political education was neglected. The main reasons for this neglect were due to the belief that discussion of political matters and understanding politics were beyond the ability of pupils under 16, the fear of indoctrination, the lack of qualified teachers, and that the representative system of democracy required only limited participation skills on the part of citizens. Nevertheless, these reasons can be contested and have not prevented the introduction of political education. First,

there is evidence to indicate that political education
could be introduced to all pupils in secondary schools
and even, to some extent, to primary schoolchildren.
Secondly, political indoctrination can be largely avoided.
Thirdly, the lack of qualified teachers can be overcome
by teacher training. Fourthly, it could be argued that
political   education is vital in a democratic system
to develop the ability of all citizens to practise and
safeguard democratic life. Earlier official attitudes
saw political education in terms of supporting loyalty to
the country, the glories of the Empire, promoting political
knowledge of the country, and developing the desired and
prevalent values in an incidental way through the teaching
of traditional subjects.

The most significant developments in promoting
changes in political education came from the Politics
Association and the Hansard Society which emphasized the
importance of political literacy. Political literacy
combines and reconciles the three approaches of conservation,
participation and change, since not all the values of the
system need to change. It also promotes the knowledge,
attitudes and skills necessary to inform an individual
about politics and develop his ability to participate
effectively in political life. The concentration on the
study of political life. The concentration on the study
of political issues in depth is regarded as important in
developing participation skills. The Politics Associa-
tion argued that the exclusive courses which concentrate
on the objectives of political literacy were more successful
in developing political education. However, recent research

on the teaching of political education indicates that
exclusive courses are not necessarily the most successful
form of teaching political education.

The Provision of Political Education in the School Curriculum

In Egypt as well as in the Soviet Union the central
control of education resulted in uniformity of the
provision of teaching political education for all pupils
throughout the country. This system facilitates the
state's desire in providing all pupils with the same
programme of political education. In both countries the
Ministry of Education has foremost responsibility in
determining the aim and designing the content of courses
of political education. However, in the Soviet Union
the Communist Party is seen as the most directly responsible
body in all educational matters and in particular with
respect to political education. In contrast to the Soviet
Union, recent democratic developments in Egypt have
provided educational planners with the opportunity to modify
the aims and content of political education. The Ministry
of Education in Egypt, however, still retains the final
responsibility for the important matters of education
including the provision of political education. In England
there is a more decentralized system of education and
several institutions and bodies have taken part in
curriculum planning in political education. Consequently,
there is considerable variety in the teaching of political
education. The decentralized system also tends to act as
a constraint on governments and parties attempting to seek
to propagate and support specific views and policies in

political   education courses,

In Egypt, the time devoted to the teaching of the
subjects related to political education and their political
content are affected by the ideological development.
Social studies and civic education are the main channels
for teaching political education and providing pupils
with political knowledge and values. Whilst civic
education , particularly in preparatory schools, is seen
as the most important means for introducing political
education, history courses make a complementary contri-
bution to the civic courses. History courses are significant
in providing pupils with political knowledge and the values
of their country in a historical content. They are also
important in giving pupils some justifications for and
understanding of the existing system and its values.
Geography couses are less important than civic education
and history in providing pupils with political education.

Similarly, in the Soviet Union the traditional
subjects of humanities are used in teaching political
education. In contrast to Egypt, however, the Soviet
Union uses more fully all aspects of the curriculum to
inculcate in pupils the communist ideology. In both
Egypt and the Soviet Union, not all aspects of social
studies have an equal importance in the teaching of
political education although they contribute to political
education. Whilst the civic courses are the most
prominent courses in the teaching of political education
in Egypt, history in the Soviet Union plays the most
significant role in the implanting of the Soviet ideology
and the story of the Communist Party. This accrues with

the concept of historical materialism which regards history as the most important means of convincing youth that their society will be transformed automatically into a communist society. However, the realization of communist society also necessitates devotion and commitment to a Marxist-Leninist belief system which is also fostered in history courses. The communist ideological perspective to the teaching of history prevents the application of education criteria to be used in developing political education through the teaching of history.

In England social studies, particularly history, are still the main sources for teaching about political education. However, there is a great interest in developing new patterns of courses to promote the teaching of political education such as exclusive and modular courses. These courses, in general, have been influenced by recent developments in political education and attempts to develop the ability of pupils to take an active part in political life through developing their understanding of political knowledge, values and concepts, and participation skills. However, the tentative experimentation with these courses emphasizes that political education needs to be placed in a socio-historical context to be interesting and understandable to pupils. This stresses the significance of social studies in the introduction of political education. However, it is also important that any courses in political education should include the development of an understanding of knowledge, values and concepts, and participation skills.

Approaches to Political Socialization in the School
Curriculum.

In all three countries the aims and political
content of the school curriculum are compatible with the
respective perspective of the official attitudes to
political education. In Egypt there have been two distinct
periods which have affected the introduction of political
education into the school curriculum. During the period
from 1952 until the beginning of the 1980's the political
content of the school curriculum mainly emphasized the
concept of political socialization to support the new
regime and its political values and leaders. Since the
beginning of the 1980's, however, there have been serious
attempts to extend democratic practices through the
establishment of political parties and giving them more
freedom to participate in political life. Accordingly,
changes are being made to develop political education.
However, the political content of the school curriculum
still emphasizes many approaches of political socialization
in order to promote loyalty to the country and its values
system. Thus, at the present time the school curriculum
still emphasizes the concept of political socialization but
also includes elements of the concept of political
education.

There are some similarities between Egypt and the
Soviet Union in respect of the emphasis of the school
curriculum on the approach of political socialization.
The similarities were more significant during the period
in which Egypt adopted the one party political system
and it was close to the socialist solution. The one party

system and non-democratic system emphasized and adopted
the process of political socialization to support their
political system and its policies. Nevertheless, whilst
recent developments in democracy in Egypt provide an
opportunity for the school curriculum to move from a
rigid concept of political socialization to the more
open approach of political education, the school
curriculum in the Soviet Union has remained as an
essential means of political indoctrination.

In spite of the fact that all three countries
emphasize the concept of promoting loyalty to the
country and the values of the system with the idea of
creating coherence and national consensus, there are obvious
differences between the three countries in respect of
the extent to which the school curriculum practices the
concept of political socialization. The school curriculum
in the Soviet Union attempts to create a closed community
based on the communist ideology. A similar aim is to be
found in Egyptian schools. However loyalty to the
country is less related to a rigid ideology since the
opportunity is given to practice democracy and to
influence the values of society and system. Creating
coherence and national consensus are also desirable aims
in the school curriculum in English schools. However,
there is a little evidence to suggest that the approaches
of political socialization are widely used.

The differences in the extent to which the three
countries exercise the approach of political socialization
are mainly related to their political ideology. Undoubtedly
the nature of the more democratic system in England and

the existence of strong opposition and other viewpoints have affected the development of political education. Moreover, recent developments in political education reject any attempts to support any system or specific views in the school curriculum. Recent developments in democracy in Egypt have resulted in departures from the concept of political socialization to a more open form of political education through developing the ability of pupils to participate in political life. The retention of the concept of political socialization in the school curriculum might be justified on the grounds that the school curriculum needs more time to be developed. However, it seems that there is still a belief that schools should be required to promote solidarity within the society and support the changes and values in the system. In the Soviet Union the concept of political socialization in the school curriculum is based on the belief that the Soviet society must move towards the realization of the communist society. It is commonly acceptable, therefore, that the school curriculum should rear young people in the spirit of communism and prepare them to build and defend communism.

During the period preceding the recent developments in democracy in Egypt the aim of much of the content of the school curriculum in all stages was to inculcate in young people loyalty to the country and support for the new political regime and its leaders. The concept of loyalty to the country was seen in terms of displaying the ideology of the new system and its leaders, promoting the concept of Arab nationalism and securing Arab unity, and

creating a hostile predisposition towards imperialism
and all kinds of exploitation. Clearly, most of these
aspects could be attributed to the historical experiences
of Egyptian society, the need for support of the new
revolutionary system, and the necessity for stability in
creating solidarity within the society. Whilst the creation
of solidarity and stability are acceptable, most of these
aims were not compatible with democratic principles which
the Revolution aimed to achieve.

At the present time the school curriculum, in general,
still emphasizes many approaches of political socialization.
The emphasis on the concept of political socialization
is more common in primary schools (grades 1-6) than in
senior grades. The main aims of political socialization
are to inculcate in children the spirit of nationalism
towards the country and its defence, the ideology of
the system, and support for its policies and government's
achievements. Moreover, loyalty to Arab nationalism
is also emphasized. Through direct and indirect
political learning children acquire loyalty to the country
and its political system and they also acquire predisposi-
tions towards obedience to the authority and acceptance
of the political and social values. The emphasis on loyalty
to the country and values of its system is based on the
assumption that the primary school years are the most
appropriate years in creating positive predisposition
towards the country and its system.

Despite the fact that pupils in preparatory schools
(grades 7-9) are provided with some opportunities to
develop their ability to participate in democratic life

and to become acquainted with some of society's problems,
the school curriculum continues to indoctrinate pupils
in loyalty to the country and the policies and successful
achievements of the political system. The most common
feature in the preparatory schools is that courses in
political education cover in depth prominent political
values and concentrate on political knowledge about
the national government and the state constitution. In
secondary schools (grades 10-12) less emphasis is placed
on political socialization and more concern is given to
develop political education.

In Egypt the concepts of loyalty and nationalism are
not restricted to love of country and the Arab world but
also include international understanding. The school
curriculum in England is more concerned than in Egypt
in providing pupils with international understanding of
other countries, however understanding British society
and creating coherence and national consensus are also
emphasized. In contrast to Egypt and England, the
concept of loyalty to the motherland in the Soviet Union
is solely based on the communist ideology since school
curriculum links love of the motherland with loyalty to
the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the acceptance of the
Communist Party and the policies of its leaders. Further-
more, internationalism and international understanding are
also seen in terms of the communist ideology and support
of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

In all stages of education in the Soviet Union and
even in kindergartens, an intensive effort is made to
inculcate in pupils a Marxist-Leninist belief system.

In kindergartens young children are provided with
concrete political figures that foster devotion to the
motherland and the Communist Party. As children progress
they receive direct political indoctrination in the
communist ideology and political values in a more abstract
manner. On the assumption that the early years are
significant in promoting positive attitudes towards the
system and its values, primary schools include a
considerable amount of political socialization. There
is an increasing emphasis upon Marxist-Leninist ideology
as pupils progress from middle to senior grades in
secondary school. Pupils in senior grades are expected
to develop more sophisticated knowledge of the theories
of Marxism-Leninism. The concentration on Marxist-
Leninist ideology in senior grades is consistent with
the ability of students at this age in understanding
political ideologies. Students, however, at this
age also develop their ability to think critically.
Thus, the indoctrination attempts at the prescribed
ideology of communism are not guaranteed to create a
conviction to Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Approaches to Political Education in the School Curriculum

At the present time the school curriculum in Egypt
is becoming increasingly concerned with the development
of political education through promoting the ability of
pupils to participate in social and political life and
to practise democracy. This development is more marked
in courses offered to older pupils in secondary schools
that at lower ages. In spite of the fact that the

development in political education in England is greater
than in Egypt, in both countries the most significant
developments have taken place in the senior grades.
This is perhaps consistent with the fact that pupils within
the senior grades are more able to think in a critical
and abstract way. Whilst there is some evidence to
suggest that courses in political education for primary
schools and the early years of secondary school in
England are consistent with the approaches of political
education, there has been little progress in preparatory
schools and much less progress in primary schools in
Egypt towards developing the critical thinking and
participation skills of pupils.

Formerly political education in the school curric-
ulum in England was concerned with a descriptive approach
to knowledge about political institutions and the British
constitution. However, a considerable change has taken
place towards developing more active forms of political
participation. The recent changes emphasize more
development of pupils political awareness and partici-
pation skills through understanding and discussing
political matters and issues. In the first years of
secondary schools and in 'O' level courses, the main
focus is on providing pupils with knowledge about local
and central government. However, there is an increasing
emphasis particularly in 'O' level, on developing
participation skills. Political education courses at
'A' level are more concerned with developing political
awareness and participation skills through the introduction
of current political issues and affairs, matters of

political parties, pressure groups, alternative political
systems and values, economic concepts and its relation to
politics and life, political concepts and realities of
the political system, and encouraging pupils to express
their own views and to take an active part in discussion
and decision-making.

The main features in the recent developments in
political education in the school curriculum in Egypt
are :

First, schools are expected to promote the under-
standing of democratic concepts and the necessity of
democracy to the development of the society. Children
are provided with opportunities to discuss the declared
principles of the constitution and to express their own
views through classroom discussions. Secondly, pupils
are provided with opportunities to discuss some of the
failures of society and its political and social problems.
However, courses in political education concentrate on
the successful policies and achievements of government
and most of the criticisms are directed towards the
failures of the past society. Moreover, insufficient
time is devoted to an analytical approach and discussion
of current issues and problems which are important in
developing participation akills of pupils.

Thirdly, political education courses in the school
curriculum provide pupils not only with political know-
ledge and values about local and central government, but
they also attempt to develop political knowledge of the
values of other countries. It is expected that pupils
will become acquainted with political knowledge about

international institutions and alternative political systems and values with special emphasis given to the democratic countries. However, there is a lack in developing the ability of pupils to criticize the values of the system. Moreover, there is a concentration on providing pupils with descriptive political knowledge rather than encouraging an analytical approach to the system and this inhibits the development of critical thinking of pupils and their ability to relate the function of political institutions to the realities of the political system.

Fourthly, attempts are being made to develop pupils' understanding of political party matters. In political education courses pupils acquire some knowledge about the recently established political parties and they compare the disadvantages of the one party system with the significance of political parties in developing democracies and participating in the improvement of the social and political affairs of the society. Pupils are required under the supervision of their teachers to visit and discuss with the political parties, their ideologies and programmes. In spite of the significance of this approach in promoting the political awareness of pupils and their understanding and participation skills in political life, an inadequate political knowledge and understanding of political parties and their ideologies towards society problems are provided. Moreover, visits to political parties in most cases are ineffective due to the lack of local offices of the political parties in many of the school areas and due to the bias of some

teachers toward a specific political party.

Fifthly, there is a great interest in linking the theoretical aspects in civic courses with practical elements and the interest of pupils and their school activities. However, as in other shortcomings in introducing political education, the lack of qualified teachers capable of understanding the aims of political education and linking between theoretical and practical elements hinders the development of political education.

The Role of Political Parties.

The Arab Socialist Youth Organization (ASYO) was established in Egypt to reinforce the role of schools in political indoctrination. Apparently the ASYO was created to provide social and political activities for the youth. However, the aims of the ASYO, its relation to the ASU, its structure and style of work, and the duties of members indicate that the ASYO was mainly a political organization for young people who were committed to the values and policies of the political system. The youth organizations in the Soviet Union have similar characteristics to the ASYO in Egypt. The youth organizations in the Soviet Union were established to reinforce the role of formal education in the process of political indoctrination and to inculcate in young people the morality of the communist ideology and devotion to the Communist Party.

Among the Soviet youth organizations, the ASYO in Egypt was similar to the Komsomol in the Soviet Union. The similarity is based on the fact that the two

organizations were established to secure the policy of the
one party system. To a large extent, the purposes,
membership, structure, relation to the party and the
style of work were similar in the two organizations.
However, the termination of the ASYO in Egypt reflects a
significant difference between Egypt and the Soviet
Union. Whilst the Komsomol continues to support the
Communist Party and the state ideology, the ASYO in Egypt
provoked criticisms of the policies of the system and the
absence of democratic practices.

The Octobrists and Pioneers organisations in the
Soviet Union play an important role in implanting in
young people the spirit of communism, love of the mother-
land, and devotion to the Communist Party. The Komsomol
however, is seen as the most important servant of the
Communist Party in the implementation of political
indoctrination of youth and in providing the party with
new members. Thus, all of the Komsomol activities are
under the supervision and control of the Communist Party.
As in the case of the school curriculum, the indoctrina-
tion attempts of the Komsomol are not guaranteed to create,
in the Soviet youth, a full conviction to the Marxist-
Leninist ideology.

The aims of the ASYO in Egypt were to secure the
principles of the Revolution and loyalty to the country,
and to guarantee the support of the youth to the system and
its party. The organisational structure of the ASYO was
designed to be consistent with the structure of the ASU
in order to facilitate control over the ASYO and to realize
the political indoctrination of the youth. These features

and the absence of democratic practices were the main
factors in hindering the development of political
education and restricting the ability of the young
people in expressing their own views. The ASYO,
however, was inadvertently instrumental in developing the
wider political awareness of the youth which took the
form of angry demonstrations against some of the state's
policies. This was mainly due to the desire of the youth
to participate in social and political life and to realize
the progress of their country based on the declared demo-
cratic principles of the Revolution in 1952. Thus, it
could be argued that the attempts of political indoctrina-
tion of the ASYO to a large extent failed.

Although the political parties in Egypt emphasize the
significance of practising democracy, they tend to support
an approach to political socialization which reflects
support for the ideology of their own party and the means
for securing their policies. The two most active parties
(the NDP and CPUND) provide political learning through
specific youth wings that are linked completely to the
structure of the parties. They see political education
mainly in the form of political indoctrination to consoli-
date the ideology of their parties, convert youth to
their political plan and programmes, and to persuade youth
to join their parties. Thus, the youth wings tend to
inhibit the development of young people to understand and
formulate their own views towards political parties and
issues.

The aim of political education in the view of political
parties are similar to the aims adopted by the former ASYO.

It would be argued that the ASYO was substituted by several youth organizations belonging to the political parties with each organization is adhering to the ideology of its party. Although there is a great similarity between the political parties and the ASYO in respect of their attempts at political indoctrination, the extent of political indoctrination by the political parties is less than it was in the ASYO. This is mainly due to the existing movement towards democratic practices and the introduction of newspapers by parties which encourage political awareness among young people. Moreover, whilst the membership of the ASYO was for the youth between the ages of 14 and 30, the membership of the youth wings of the political parties are for the youth between the ages of 18 and 30 or 35. Consequently, there were great dangers of political indoctrination attempts for those at the age of 14 in the ASYO than for those at the age of 18 in the youth wings of the political parties. Presumably at the age of 18 young people join a political party from a self-chosen conviction of its ideology. However, since young people in Egypt at the age of 18 tend to be politically immature and a lack of experiences in their new democratic practices, the indoctrination attempts of political parties might have a harmful affect on the development of political awareness among young people.

Political parties in England emphasize the significance of the school in political education as a means of providing pupils with the opportunity to understand and discuss different views of political parties. However, the two

major political parties differ in their view on specific

tasks of political education which are based on their

ideologies. In this respect there is a similarity

between Egypt and England but the political parties in

Egypt are more concerned in inculcating in the youth the

specific view and ideology of their own party. In

England the Conservative Party is broadly concerned with

maintaining the parliamentary system of the British

democracy, and preserving the status-quo of the British

traditions and the monarch. The Labour Party encourages

a more open form of participation in political and social

life to introduce changes within the British society.

Both parties, however, recognize the dangers of political

indoctrination and imposing specific views on the

young people. It could be argued that whilst political

parties in England emphasize the significance of schools

in developing political education, in Egypt the political

indoctrination task of political parties gives an

indication that schools are the most important means of

political education.

Some Recommendations.

At a time when the Egyptian society is hoping to

become a more democratic society, political education

becomes a prerequisite in developing democracy. There-

fore, above all this research recommends that improvements

in political education necessitate the relinquishment

of the political socialization approach. There is

considerable evidence to suggest that the political

socialization approach neither develops democracy nor

propagates successful support or stability for the system
and its policies. Since 1952 democracy in Egypt has
developed very slowly and at times somewhat haltingly.
Political socialization in the schools has been one
of the most significant factors in hindering the develop-
ment of political awareness in youth and their ability to
practice and develop democracy. At the present time there
is evidence of a movement towards developing political
education in schools. However, if the already existing
approach of political socialization continues, democracy
in Egypt will develop more slowly than expected. Although
there is no empirical evidence to show the ability of
pupils to practise democracy and participate in political
life, other evidence indicates that young people lack
political awareness and an ability to participate in
political life.

In the Soviet Union there is evidence to suggest
that the predominant approach of political socialization
and political indoctrination does not guarantee success
in bringing up all young people to accept Soviet policies
or with a personal belief and conviction in the Marxist-
Leninist ideology. Whilst political socialization in
the Soviet Union could be justified on the basis of the
nature of the Soviet ideology, in Egypt political socializ-
ation is no longer appropriate for developing the desired
aim of extending democratic practices.

The fact that young people in Egypt have demonstrated
against certain policies of the state, suggests that
political socialization does not necessarily guarantee
support for the system. Moreover, the outcome of political
socialization is only one factor among others which can
affect loyalty to the system and its stability. Stability

is mainly related to the political behaviour of the system and its ability to adapt successfully in response to changes demanded by the majority. Loyalty to Egypt, therefore, is not necessarily synonymous with support for the policies of the system. It is mainly concerned with improving social and political conditions of the society even if this contradicts the policies and values of the system and requires changing some of them.

In spite of the fact that education alone cannot change the values of the system and its policies, it can influence the system through developing democratic practices. Loyalty to the country, therefore, should be seen in terms of supporting the principles of democracy. Young people should learn to accept only what they believe, with conviction, to be the appropriate values and policies for society after open consideration and discussion. Thus, it is necessary to develop their ability to criticize and influence the system and to change inappropriate values and policies.

The findings of the research indicate that the recent developments in political education emphasize the necessity of political knowledge, attitudes and participation skills as essential elements in developing political awareness in young people and their ability to participate effectively in political life. Political participation in a democratic society is inevitably a prerequisite to develop democracy and to increase political activity in the largest number of citizens. In Egypt it is hoped that democracy will become a reality. However, it is noted that courses in political education concentrate on a descriptive approach to political knowledge and there

is a lack in promoting adequately an approach to partici-
pation skills. Moreover, most of the values represented
in the school curriculum tend to emphasize support for
the system and a critical approach towards the values
of the system is neglected.

Therefore, it is recommended that courses in political
education should include the three elements of political
knowledge, attitudes and participation skills. Developing
participation skills is more appropriate in secondary
schools than in primary schools due to the development
of critical thinking in pupils. Thus, more attention
should be given to developing participation skills in
secondary schools (including preparatory schools).

Political knowledge should give pupils an under-
standing of basic political concepts, the local and
central government of the country and how they work and
make decisions, alternative forms of government with
their strengths and weaknesses, actual facts about
basic problems and issues, and what sources of
information are available when pupils need them.
Courses in political education should not advocate any
specific values but they should develop the ability of
pupils to examine and evaluate the values of the system.
This would develop a conceptual understanding and critical
attitude towards the values of the system and therefore
pupils could develop their ability to make their own
judgements on the values of the system.

It has been noted that there is a shortage of
materials for developing participation skills. It is
recommended, therefore, that courses in political education

should provide pupils with more opportunities to discuss current and controversial issues. What is needed here is to identify issues that arise from every day political life. Issues could be selected from the media, political party matters and conflict, elections and electoral behaviours, and the economic matters. It is also important that selected issues should be close to the experiences of pupils and arise from their own interests. A vital pre-condition is that discussion should be opened and not seek to impose on pupils specific views. Pupils should have the opportunity to examine and evaluate knowledge and evidence related to the issue, and to formulate their own views and discover alternative solutions towards the issue.

The research findings reveal that there is lack in providing pupils with adequate political knowledge and ideologies of political parties. An understanding of party political matters is significant in developing the ability of pupils to participate in political life and preparing them to take some responsibility in the political parties. This is particularly vital as the political parties in Egypt are newly established and many young people have no clear idea about them. Thus, it is recommended that political education courses should give more attention to providing pupils with detailed knowledge about the political parties, their ideologies and policies towards political and social issues. More-over, it would be more useful to invite representatives from the political parties to visit schools instead of the visits of pupils to the local offices of political

parties. Each representative from the political parties
should have an equal opportunity in talking to pupils
about their party's ideologies and programmes. This
would avoid, to a large extent, the possible bias and
indoctrination attempts of teachers towards a specific
political party. Furthermore, these visits would help
pupils to formulate their own views towards political
parties.

As well as in secondary schools, most of the above
mentioned recommendations should also be given more
attention in the preparatory schools (ages 13-15). This
is important since many pupils leave schools at the age
of 15 and also there is evidence to suggest that the
political education courses at this stage give insufficient
attention to the development of critical attitudes and
participation skills. It is also recommended that primary
school children should receive some sort of political
education since they are capable of understanding some
of the social and political concepts.

It has been noted that one of the main factors
which has prevented the development of political education
is the central control over the educational system. At
the present time official attitudes and the state pronounce-
ments have already recognized the significance of political
education. However, the approaches to political education
in the school curriculum are developing slowly. This can
be accounted for by the fact that the responsibility for
developing the school curriculum, including political
education, is restricted to the planners and designers
within the Ministry of Education. Evidence suggests

that a more decentralized system of education and

providing   opportunities for several bodies to contribute

to the development of political education, prevents

attempts at political indoctrination. Thus, it is

recommended that more opportunities should be given to

several bodies including the local educational directorates,

inspectors, teachers, pupils, parents, and universities

staff to share the responsibility for developing political

education and to participate in designing courses.

In the light of evidence from the experiences of the

ASYO and from the recent political parties, in order to

avoid any attempts of political indoctrination it is

suggested that the responsibility of political education

should not rest with the political parties. For the same

reason any youth organization should be free from the

influence of the government and the authorities of the

political parties. The experience of the ASYO indicated

that the Egyptian youth needed an organization through

which they could promote their ability to participate in

social and political life on the basis of democratic

principles. Thus, the establishment of National Youth

Organizations for all Egyptian youth, regardless of their

'immatured' political beliefs is recommended. This

organization should be free from government authority

and any political party and should be mainly directed by

the members themselves. The suggested organization

would be supervised and financed by the existing Highest

Council for Youth and Sports which in turn must be

independent of the government and political parties.

The suggested organization should be for young people

between the age of 15 and 21. The aims of the organiza-
tion would be to allow young people to pursue their own
chosen activities and to promote their political
awareness and an ability of participation in political
democracy. More opportunities should be provided for the
study of the political parties matters and their ideologies,
elections and electoral behaviour of citizens. It is
essential that this organization should give young people
opportunities to express freely and formulate their own
views, in particular towards political parties. A gap of
three years between the school leaving age (15) and the
age of voting (18) emphasizes the significance of this
organization in preparing those who leave schools at
the age of 15 to carry out their responsibilities in
political life.

Further research is recommended to improve the
political education in Egypt. First, much of what has
been recommended is dependent on trained teachers who
are capable of teaching political education. However,
it has been noted that there is a shortage of qualified
teachers with suitable training to enable them to make
an effective contribution to political education. More
research is needed to develop courses and training
programmes for student teachers and in-service training.
Such research should concentrate mainly on the most
appropriate ways in developing teacher's awareness and
understanding of the nature of political education and
political socialization, the democratic form of govern-
ment and the need for political education in Egypt, an
analytic perspective to the existing political content

in the school curriculum, and teaching skills for political education.

Secondly, developing an ability to participate in political matters is not restricted to the formal means of the school curriculum. Extra-curriculum activities are also effective in developing this ability. Therefore, further research is needed to define and assess the contributions of these activities to developing the participation and decision-making skills of young people. Thirdly, it has been observed that there is a lack of empirical research into the attitudes of pupils towards the political system and its values, their political knowledge and abilities of participation in political life, and the influence of the school curriculum in developing these aspects. Therefore, more research is recommended into these areas based on appropriately designed tests, questionnaires ,interviews and classroom observations.

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