

Research Report
On
Educational thoughts and Philosophy of
Bangabandhu: Analysis of Bangladesh Education
Commission Report, 1974

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Executive Summary

The momentum of development of any country lies on the productivity and creativity of its population. For the creation of productive human resource, proper education is a prerequisite. Evidence advocates that Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman throughout his life gave equal importance to education alongside his political struggle. Because of his intense efforts, the then East Pakistan Awami Muslim League in its manifesto included some specific declarations on education like compulsory education has to be ensured for all male-female, stipend has to be provided and Bangla will be the medium of education.

Analysis of political activism of Bangabandhu reveals that he was always guided by strong principles of social justice. He stressed 'education for all' as the vital tool for ensuring social justice. He thought of universal education system in harmony with the objectives of the 1962 students' 'movement for education'. Under his leadership the people of Bangladesh fought an armed struggle against the occupied Pakistani army and achieved independence. After materialization of his first dream, the independent Bangladesh, he concentrated on reconstruction of the war-ravaged country. His dream was to build *Sonar Bangla*, the prosperous Bengal and for that purpose he stressed the need for *Sonar Manush*. He realized that it is only proper education that can make his desired *Sonar Manush* and as such immediately after coming back in independent Bangladesh, Bangabandhu put emphasis on education as one of his most priority areas. He wanted to remove various defects and deficiencies and to restructure the existing education system of the country. With that view the government of Bangabandhu on 26 July 1972 formed the Bangladesh Education Commission with renowned educationist and scientist Dr. Md. Quadrat-e-Khuda as the chairman.

This research was an attempt to highlight the thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu on education, to analyse the extent to which his thoughts have been reflected in the commission report and to assess the implementation status as well as challenges of the commission recommendations. A qualitative research approach was adopted in this research for data collection and analysis. With regard to meeting the first two objectives, the study initially demanded employment of secondary sources of data, their interpretation, linkages and thorough analysis. The key sources entail the three writings of

Bangabandhu namely *The unfinished Memoires* (অসমাপ্ত জীবনী), *Prisoners' Diary* (করাগারের রোজনামা), *Amar Dekha Noya Chin* (New China as I have Seen- in Bangla), the public speeches Bangabandhu made at different meetings, the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Bangladesh Education Commission Report, 1974, scholarly writings and documented knowledge of think tanks and educationists, public books on education relating to Bangabandhu and Bangladesh Education Commission, research articles etc. Thereafter we concentrated on collecting primary data since we intended to crosscheck our understanding with regard to the first two objectives. Assessment of the implementation status and challenges of the Bangladesh Education Commission Report, 1974 recommendations also required primary data. As such, we interviewed some renowned educationists, political leaders, educational administrators and teachers of the country. For the identification of prospective interviewees, we conducted a data collection tool development workshop with the participation of experienced BPATC faculty members. We utilized snowball sampling method for interviewee identification as well. We developed a checklist for the purpose of interview and had an open-ended discussion with identified interviewees. In some cases we had talks with them in person while for others we conducted online interview.

Data collected from both primary and secondary sources reveal that Bangabandhu viewed education as the indicator of human civilization. He believed that education has a crucial role in instilling the elements of good citizenship in the society. Through education he thought of creating an attachment for nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism- the four fundamental principles of our state into the minds of the people of Bangladesh. He thought of education as the means of creating knowledge society and wanted his people to be science minded through education. They will not take everything for granted rather will ask questions to interpret the context. The underlying philosophy of education, in his thinking was that economy of the country will depend on the knowledge of their citizens who will be creative and innovative. This is the philosophy that guided him to go for the restructuring of educational system of the country. For him knowledge was the most important factor of production and he thought of knowledge to be used to improve human condition. He believed that people should be science minded and will not be guided by superstitions. His dream was to convert Bangladesh into a knowledge society

where people will be globally competitive. Data reveal that such educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu are rooted in his lived experiences.

Bangabandhu equated investment in education with human resource development not as expensive social service activity. He thought of increased investment in education. Introduction of uniform education for all, modernization of curriculum for the creation of knowledge society, elimination of illiteracy and building educated society, instilling four fundamental principles of state policy in the minds of people through education etc are the demonstration of his educational thoughts and philosophy. Through education his dream was to create humanistic persons with ethical values, skilled persons with technical knowhow, science minded persons free from superstitions and globally competitive citizens. He was very respectful to teachers and thought of enhancing teachers' salary and social dignity; he wanted the most meritorious persons in teaching profession for providing quality education; he gave equal importance to women education and women leadership. Bangabandhu thought of eight-year primary education and four-year secondary education. In his thinking the most meritorious students will go for higher/tertiary education and will be scientists, philosophers, think tanks and will lead the country while others will be exposed to vocational and technical education. He thought of linking education and employment and providing resource through cooperative approach. Nationalisation of education, providing books and school meal, stipend for the poor but meritorious students are some reflections of his progressive thinking with regard to education.

Bangabandhu was a great philosophical ideologist. He brought renowned educationists and intellectuals for the interpretation of his philosophical standpoint. He formed the education commission with a scientist as its convener, assigned seventeen other renowned educationists of the country as members of the commission. He was no political scientist, nor did he learn politics from books but was a great political analyst. He was no educationist but from his political experiences he learned that for the development of the country a whole of the society approach is required. He valued educationists the most and assigned them for policy formulation of the country and in the governance system. In his inaugural speech of the education commission Bangabandhu made an appeal to the members of the commission to give their independent and considered opinions as to how a reconstructed education system can help achieve the people's desire for a socialistic

society. He asked them to indicate a way as to how a wholesome nationhood can be achieved through the medium of education and to strengthen the country in modern knowledge and creative endeavour.

In line with the four pillars of our state principles, as far as education is concerned, the thoughts of Bangabandhu are best reflected in Article 17(a) of the constitution of Bangladesh: *the state shall adopt effective measures for the purpose of establishing a uniform, mass-oriented and universal system of education and extending free and compulsory education to all children to such stage as may be determined by law*. For him investment in education is the best investment and in his thinking at least 4% of GDP should be invested in education. Moreover, he felt the necessity of a radical change in our educational system. The key issues with regard to education, he always put emphasis are-

- ☐ Educational system would be entrusted with the state
- ☐ Disparities among private schools have to be eliminated
- ☐ All schools have to be turned into government aided educational institutions.
- ☐ Education has to be made compulsory for all women and men
- ☐ Free compulsory primary education has to be introduced all over the country
- ☐ Secondary schools have to be established all over the country for ensuring easy access to education.
- ☐ Required number of institutions for higher education and particularly for technical education has to be established.
- ☐ New medical colleges, engineering and general universities have to be established
- ☐ Government scholarship has to be adequately increased to encourage higher education.
- ☐ It has to be ensured that no meritorious student is deprived of quality education because of poverty
- ☐ Teachers will be provided with suitable salary and allowance.
- ☐ Mother tongue has to be made medium of education.

Bangabandhu in a discussion in 1972 commented that all efforts have to be taken to create an environment so that the best persons of our educated society feel attracted to teaching profession. Alongside increasing pay scale and providing other benefits for

teachers, a conducive working environment has to be created and teachers should be given due dignity and respect.

Bangabandhu identified education as a pre-condition for emancipation. His dream was an educated, science-minded and merit-based society for building *Sonar Bangla*. He made education the cornerstone of his national policy. For translating his educational thoughts, Bangabandhu constituted a commission with renowned scholar, scientist and educationist Dr. Md. Quadrat-e-Khuda as its Chairman while seventeen eminent scholars and educationists of the country as members with the assignment of formulating an educational policy guideline. In preparing report the Commission members visited various educational institutions across the country and collected data from University Vice-Chancellors and professors, principals and professors of many engineering, medical and general colleges, heads of educational institutions and teachers of different categories, student representatives, persons with interest in education and local leaders. The following are the key aspects of the commission report that reflect educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu:

Key aspects of the Report-

- ❖ Adequate Allocation in education and stipend based education;
- ❖ Primary Education for 8 years, Secondary Education for 4 years;
- ❖ Expansion of technical and vocational education;
- ❖ Women education, Madrasha education, Specialised education;
- ❖ Higher education and research
- ❖ Ensuring dignity of teaching profession.

Key recommendations of the Report-

1. Bengali has to be used as the medium of instruction at all levels of education.
2. Primary education must be made universal, compulsory and free.
3. Science education and agricultural education must be given due weight right from the primary stage
4. The necessary expansion must be made at the higher levels of technical and technological education for creating wide opportunities for vocational education beginning from class IX at the secondary level.

5. A close relationship should be established between the vocational and technical institutes and the concerned employing agencies.
6. A work-based curriculum should be introduced at all levels.
7. The present examination and evaluation methods have to be reconstructed.
8. The existing disparities between government and non-government educational institutions must be removed as soon as possible.
9. It has to be ensured that no talented pupil is deprived of education—according to merit and inclinations—merely because of poverty or for lack of opportunities.
10. The education service must occupy a top place in the country's service structure to be able to attract the fittest persons to it.
11. The expenditure on education must be raised to 5% of the GNP.

The commission portrayed education as the 'capital of the state' rather than 'right of the people' by which a self-sufficient nation can be formed. The state will invest its capital in order to build skilled human resources which in later times will meet the 'rights' of the people. Bangabandhu's such notion about education was well ahead of the thinking of his contemporary leaders. He dreamt of ensuring accessibility and affordability of 'humanitarian education' for all at all levels. It was in the belief of Bangabandhu, as data reveal, every individual will be an 'ethical person' and a 'well-groomed human being' through humanitarian education. They will attain ethical excellence and will be globally competitive. It is evident from data that several propositions, for example, nationalisation of primary schools, introducing free and compulsory primary education, establishment of University Grants Commission (UGC), progress in women education were implemented throughout the years. Higher education, medical education, engineering education, technical and vocational education etc have expanded hugely over the years. However, the implementation of uniform system of education in Bangladesh and many other recommendations made by the education commission is a far cry. The commission came out with an inclusive report which, if implemented, could have radically changed the education system of the country, and transformed students into ethical persons, enhanced their creativity and productivity. They would also become globally competitive. Data suggest that Bangabandhu got a short span of time to implement his educational thoughts and philosophy. The changes in the political and economic scenario of Bangladesh after his assassination were a huge constraint in this regard.

common subjects in educational system. Investment in education has to be increased for ensuring better and quality education in Bangladesh.

Bangabandhu viewed education to be a state affair and as a sector of state investment for human resource development. Although education today in Bangladesh to a great extent has been a parallel sector of private investment and cannot be ignored for practical reasons, effective education management has to be ensured. Private providers, coaching centres and other beneficiaries of existing divisive education system of Bangladesh have to be taken care of. A regulatory framework should be established to oversee the educational management of the country. Such issues as how education is financed, what syllabus is administered etc should be monitored regularly. Government has to ensure that quality education is provided and meritorious and quality teachers are engaged in education. For bringing meritorious students in education profession teachers should be given lucrative salary and other benefits according to educational qualifications. All these demand enhancement of investment in education. A permanent and independent education commission is also needed in the country for the alignment of education system and national development.

There is no denying that we are far away from the thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu as far as education is concerned. He dreamt of an education system that will create science-minded ethical person who will be globally competitive. Through education system he wanted to infuse the four fundamental state principles of the country in the mind of the people of Bangladesh. He gave more importance in mother tongue but did not ignore English. Bangabandhu always talked of merit based education and thought of financial support for meritorious students who failed to afford to their studies because of poverty. Our present education is mostly memory based and assessment oriented. There is hardly any scope of nurturing merit in the existing education system of Bangladesh. Moreover, space for poor but meritorious students in our existing education system has also been squeezed because of commercialization of education. Government is yet to manage night-schools for working children for ensuring 'earning and learning' opportunity for them so that they can help their poverty-stricken families. Government of Bangladesh is still far away to take appropriate measures for spreading vocational and technical education. Bangabandhu had a dream to establish a National Educational Research Council and this idea is still in documents. However, Bangabandhu was the

philosophical ideologist who had absolute command and control over the people of the country. He had full confidence in his people and employed renowned educationists and intellectuals of the country and did not require any external expert for the interpretation of his philosophical thoughts. The educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu and his approach are equally applicable even today despite so many changes in the national and international context. A strong political commitment and desire is needed for the materilisation of the dream of the father of the nation.

Acknowledgements

This research was an official endeavour as part of observance of Mujib Borsho at BPATC. It is obvious that, this effort would have been not possible without the assistance and support of many accomplished players, who each played an essential but different role. We wish to acknowledge and say thanks to all of them.

Research on 'Educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu: analysis of Bangladesh Education Commission Report, 1974' was the brain-child of our colleague and one of the team members of this research Ms. Afia Rahman Mukta, Research Officer, BPATC who came up with the research proposal. We would like to appreciate her initial effort for the research proposition that created space for us to get involved with such a thought provoking initiative for BPATC. We are also thankful to BPATC authority for taking this area as an institutional research.

Although this research proposition initially was an individual initiation, BPATC authority and Rector of this apex public sector training institution in particular, took this issue as an institutional research as part of observance of Mujib Borsho at BPATC. We extend our heartfelt thanks and gratitude to Mr. Md. Rakib Hossain ndc, Rector, BPATC.

For primary data collection purposes we interviewed a good number of distinguished persons of the country. All respectable persons we interviewed became very interested in this research and hugely contributed to our effort. Their interest was very encouraging for us. Without their cooperation and dedication, this research would not have been completed. We are grateful to all of them for their invaluable assistance and insights leading to writing this research report. Our sincere thanks go to all of them for their patience and understanding during the interview process.

Majority of the interviews we conducted online because of the Covid 19 pandemic. Mr. Tanjur Ahmed Joarder, Assistant Programmer, BPATC, extended his all out support in conducting the online interviews. Thank you so much Mr. Tanjur for your technical support and cooperation in our endeavour. We also are thankful to our esteemed colleagues who have taken the pain of interpreting recorded interviews into text documents.

Finally, we would like to express our heartfelt thanks and gratitude to our colleagues and friends who gave their time, rendered their assistance in different ways and extended their support in our effort.

The Research Team
15 March 2021

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Chapter I: Introduction

1.0 Introduction

“Education is the indicator of human civilization. How can we claim ourselves to be civilized keeping innumerable people of our country in the darkness of illiteracy? Today you see all our educational institutions are getting destroyed. Problems of education cannot be solved unless teachers’ salary is increased. Radical reform in the education system is needed.”

(Hasina 2020)

Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at a students’ gathering chaired by the then college principal at Daulatpur College, Khulna, on 01 December 1948 in his address termed education as the indicator of level of civilization of a country. Throughout his life Bangabandhu struggled for establishing an exploitation free just society for the people of Bangladesh. He struggled to materialize his dream of bringing economic and social justice for his people and realized that without educating the mass people, inequalities cannot be minimized and economic development would be far away.

Education is one of the most important tools for the progression of human civilization and for improving the standard of life. The wheel of development of any country lies on how productive and creative its population are. Population of a country and especially the youth provide the labour force for production of goods and services. They are responsible for building wealth for the nation and the ones who would drive technological advancements for the country. All these necessitate proper education for the people and Bangabandhu alongside his political struggle gave equal importance to education throughout his life. For example, in the establishment manifesto of the then East Pakistan Awami Muslim League, because of his intense efforts, specific declarations were included about education like ensuring compulsory education for all male-female, provision of education stipend and establishment of Bangla as the medium of education (Master, 2019). He played a leading role in the formation of the Jukto Front in 1954 and in the election manifesto, about education there were some declarations including radical reform of the education system (ibid).

There is no denying that education is the most indispensable component in building a nation. Nation building or in other words national integration usually refers to creating a unified identity for all citizens of a country and building a common roadmap for all to follow. To that end, it is argued that a common and unified education system is required for the people of the country. Education develops the capabilities to fight against injustice, violence, corruption, and many other inequalities in the society and paves the way for development. Renowned Syrian-American mystic poet and painter Khalil Gibran (1883-1931) commented that ‘the true wealth of a nation lies not in its gold or silver but in its learning, wisdom and in the uprightness of its sons’. It is education that leads to learning, wisdom and uprightness of people. Educated people are able to think better and apply innovations into the ways of doing things rightly. Evidence suggests that Bangabandhu also viewed education in the same line. He had a dream of independent Bangladesh with proper education and morality. During the post liberation period his dream was to build an inclusive education system considering the socio-economic and political state of the country (Ahmed, 2018).

Analysis of his political activism reveals that he was always guided by the strong principles of social justice while he stressed ‘education for all’ as the vital tool for ensuring social justice. He thought of universal education system in harmony with the objectives the 1962 students movement for education (Haque, 2019). Under his leadership the people of Bangladesh fought an armed struggle against the occupied Pakistani army and achieved independence. After the materialization of his first dream, the independent Bangladesh, he emphasized reshaping the education system of the country. Historical evidence suggests that the demand for educational reform played a central role in our movement for independence. Taking power of the independent Bangladesh, in line with that view, Bangabandhu on 26 July 1972 formed Bangladesh Education Commission with renowned educationist and scientist Dr. Md. Quadrat-e-Khuda as the chairman of the commission. He made an appeal to the members of the commission to give their independent and considered opinions as to how a reconstructed education system can help achieve the people’s desire for a socialistic society.

This research was an attempt to highlight the thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu on education, to analyse the extent to which his thoughts have been reflected in the commission report and to assess the implementation status as well as challenges of the

commission recommendations. This introductory chapter provides an overview of this research. In the subsequent sections of this chapter we discuss the background and objectives of the study, the rationale and limitations of the research as well as an outline of the presentation of the report.

1.1 Background of the research

Father of the nation Bangabandhu struggled for the whole of his life for both political and economic emancipation of the people of Bangladesh. He realized that without proper education no emancipation is possible. As such, he frequently talked about reform of the education system. As a member of the Constituent Assembly of the then Pakistan he repeatedly raised the education issue. Before the constituent assembly election of 1970 Bangabandhu, in his election manifesto presented on 28 October 1970, mentioned that for the creation of wealth of a country, it is essential to transform its people into human resources. To that end the only alternative is to ensure a timely education system where everyone has access. In his speech he clearly stated that no investment is better than investment in education and proposed that 4% of our GDP should be spent for education. He also articulated that appropriate measures have to be taken so that no meritorious students are deprived of higher education because of poverty. Bangabandhu Immediately after independence of Bangladesh formed the government and started implementing his plans for rebuilding the war-ravaged country. Within shortest possible time the constitution of Bangladesh was formulated with nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism as the fundamental principles of the state policies. In line with these, it is obvious that the education policy of the country has to be people-oriented (Mahmud, 2017). Accordingly, free and compulsory education has been included in the fundamental principles of the state policy of the country. Article 15 of our constitution articulates that provision of basic necessities of life, including food, clothing, shelter, education and medical care for all citizens of the country is the fundamental responsibility of the state. Article 17 states that the state shall adopt effective measures for the purpose of -

- (a) establishing a uniform, mass oriented and universal system of education and extending free and compulsory education to all children to such stage as may be determined by law;

(b) relating education to the needs of society and producing properly trained and motivated citizens to serve those needs;

(c) removing illiteracy within such time as may be determined by law.

Bangabandhu in his *The Unfinished Memoirs* noted that '(t)he country is fertile and endowed with plenty. Few countries in the world have the kind of fertile land that we have. And yet we are so poor! The reason is that for ages others have dominated us because of our own fault. We don't know ourselves and till we do and learn to understand our mindset we will not be free' (Rahman, 2020). He talked about knowing the self. He believed that until we know ourselves, until we can develop ourselves we will not be able to enjoy freedom. Therefore, he talked about a well educated nation. He felt the need for bringing people under the light of education. He realized that we have no other way to development and prosperity other than ensuring education for all. Consequently, it is not wondering that immediately after the formation of government he concentrated on education as one of his major areas of reform for the reconstruction of the country. During his time the University Grants Commission with a separate Act known as the UGC Act, 1973, the Dhaka University Act, 1973, the Rajshahi University Act, 1973, The Chittogram University Act, 1973, the Jahangirnagar University Act, 1973, Bangladesh College of Physicians Act, 1973, the Mdrasha Education Act 1972 and the Primary School Act, 1974 etc were promulgated. The intention of formulating theses Acts was to give greater autonomy to universities so that these higher educational institutions can be the places of independent intellectual practices. His motive was to ensure greater academic freedom for universities which they did not have during the Pakistan era (Mannan, 2020). The other major initiatives that were taken during his time for achieving people-oriented education include nationalization of all primary schools, establishment of around eleven thousand new primary schools and highest allocation of annual budget for the education sector (Ahmad, 2020). The allocation in education sector during the first budget of independent Bangladesh was higher than that of defense budget (Chunnu, 2017, Litu, 2019). He reconstituted the Planning Commission with famous educationists, engineers and professionals like Dr. Nurul islam, Professor Rehman Sobhan, Professor Anisur Rahman, Dr. Mosharraf Hossain etc. He appointed Professor Kabir Chowdhury education secretary and included Mozaffar Ahmed Chowdhury and Dr. A. R mallick in

his cabinet (Haque, 2019). All these manifests that Bangabandhu had keen interest in education and accordingly valued educationists and used to listen to them throughout.

Formation of the Bangladesh Education Commission 1974 popularly known as the Dr. Md. Quadrat-e-Khuda Education Commission (QKC) in just seven months after independence was the most remarkable initiative with regard to reforming education system of Bangladesh. His intention was to reorganize the education system of the country for building an educated, science-minded and merit-based society (Ahmad, 2018). In the introduction of its submitted report the commission noted that the aim was to remove the various defects and deficiencies of our present education system, to indicate a way as to how a wholesome nationhood can be achieved through the medium of education and to strengthen the country in modern knowledge and creative endeavour (Khuda et al, 1974). The major key recommendations the commission made were the following:

1. Bengali has to be used as the medium of instruction at all levels of education.
2. Primary education must be made universal, compulsory and free.
3. Science education and agricultural education must be given due weight right from the primary stage
4. The necessary expansion must be made at the higher levels of technical and technological education for creating wide opportunities for vocational education beginning from class IX at the secondary level.
5. A close relationship should be established between the vocational and technical institutes and the concerned employing agencies.
6. A work-based curriculum should be introduced at all levels.
7. The present examination and evaluation methods have to be reconstructed.
8. The existing disparities between government and non-government educational institutions must be removed as soon as possible.
9. It has to be ensured that no talented pupil is deprived of education—according to merit and inclinations—merely because of poverty or for lack of opportunities.
10. The education service must occupy a top place in the country's service structure to be able to attract the fittest persons to it.
11. The expenditure on education must be raised to 5% of the GNP.

With regard to Bangabandhu's great contribution in the reform initiative of the education sector, the commission noted that it would have been impossible for the commission to complete this task without the interest, encouragement, desire and assistance of the Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (Khuda et al, 1974). As far as the goal of education is concerned, the commission in consonance with the fundamental principles embedded in our constitution noted that we must be able through education to instill into the minds of our people a genuine attachment for nationalism, socialism, democracy, secularism, humanism and world-citizenship and moral character. In preparing its report the Commission based on the socio-economic and political condition and cultural heritage of the country (Banglapedia) and evidence suggests, placed the vast illiterate population in the frontline to build an inclusive education system. It is argued that the report made by the commission was a reflection of educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu (Chunnu, 2017). The Commission report was accepted by the government and as evident from our previous discussions, Bangabandhu initiated some actions for implementation of the recommendations made by the Bangladesh Education Commission. However, with the brutal killing of Bangabandhu on 15 August 1975 the implementation of the commission recommendations became a vision and remained far away to see the light.

The post 1975 governments did not care for the education commission report. Some of them intended to strengthen the Madrasha education system while others were more interested in establishing Cadet College and others tried to introduce general education in English. Several education commissions like the Kazi Zafar Ahmed Commission, the Mazid Khan Commission, the Mofiz Uddin Ahmed Commission etc were formed during this time and recommendations made by these commissions raised huge controversy and tension among the educationists and the student community. As a result governments had to step back mostly in the face of strong student movements (Shakhor, 2020). Shakhor (2020) in his article noted that the government led by Awami League prepared a report in light with the QKC report in 1996. However, this report ultimately did not see the light. Thereafter a new Commission was formed in the year 2000 led by Professor Kabir Chowdhury, member secretary of the Quadrat-e-Khuda Commission. The Kabir Chowdhury Commission report also echoed many of the recommendations made in the QKC Report of 1974 (Ahmad, 2018). The government of Bangladesh formulated Education Policy 2010 on the basis of the Kabir Chowdhury Commission report or in

other words to a great extent on the basis of QKC Report (Emdad, 2020) which can be termed an inclusive education policy as Bangabandhu also thought of taking the country forward involving all. Bangabandhu's idea of inclusive education and building an educated, science-minded and merit-based society as well as the importance given to QKC report 1974 have simultaneously generated our interest in doing this research.

1.2 Objectives of the research

In line with the issues mentioned in the previous paragraph with regard to our interest in this research, the specific objectives of this research were:

- ❖ To highlight the educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu;
- ❖ To examine the reflection of educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu in the Bangladesh Education Commission Report 1974;
- ❖ To investigate the implementation status/challenges of the Bangladesh Education Commission Report 1974.

1.3 Rationale of the research

Immediately after the independence of Bangladesh and soon after the formation of the government Bangabandhu engaged himself in building an inclusive education system (Ahmad, 2018). However, how did Bangabandhu view education, what were his thoughts about education? There are some scattered writings on these issues but no research has been done so far with regard to the educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu. Bangabandhu formed the Bangladesh Education Commission for restructuring the existing education system of the country. Again, there is no evidence of research that studied how and to what extent the educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu have been reflected in the commission report.

The commission report defined education system as a weapon for implementation of a nation's hopes and aspirations and for building a new society. The goal of our education, the commission noted, is to create awareness among all sections of people about the requirements of life, to help develop an ability to solve various problems and to create an urge to establish a new socialistic society in consonance with the desires of the people. Moreover, our education system has to ensure the reflections of the four fundamental principles of the state at all levels of education. The commission reported that with a

synthesis between the main principles of education and the four fundamental principles of state the aims and goal of education system in Bangladesh can be infusion of nationalism, socialism, democracy, secularism, patriotism and enlightened citizenship, humanism and world-citizenship, moral values in the mindset of our people. Furthermore, in our context education has to be a weapon for social transformation, applied learning for economic development, proper respect for manual work, organisational and leadership qualities, creativity research and social progress, education for political and economic advancement. There has been so far no research on how the integration of the main principles of education and the four fundamental principles of state has been proposed in the Bangladesh Education Commission Report. Additionally, there has been no research so far to analyse the extent to which the commission recommendations have been implemented with a view to reorganizing our educational system.

Against this backdrop it is imperative to highlight educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu, the extent to which his thoughts have been reflected in the QKC Report, 1974 and to investigate the implementation status/challenges of the QKC Report. Despite many changes in the national and international arena and even after many decades the QKC Report is considered as extraordinary to all concerned (Mahmud, 2017). Evidence suggests that to a great extent equal importance is being given to the recommendations made by the QKC and we believe findings of this research might be helpful for implementing the commission recommendations applicable today with a view to creating an inclusive society.

1.4 Limitation of the research

This was to an extent a secondary source based research and with regard to the first two objectives we primarily consulted available secondary sources. We had the intention to talk to some of the members of the Bangladesh Education Commission for primary data collection purposes. Primary data, we believe would enhance the credibility of the research findings. Despite our efforts we could not find anybody and this is one of the major limitations of this research. Since there has hardly been any prior research on this issue and there are no any objective writings about educational thoughts of Bangabandhu (Hossain, 2000), we mostly had to rely on some on hand articles published in different newspapers and journals. That was a great constraint in doing this research. We examined

the speeches Bangabandhu that he made in different meetings and gatherings and his three writings for analysing his understandings about education. The Covid-19 situation was also a challenge for us. It was hardly possible to interview our key informants in person. Because of the new normalcy we took technological support and in many of the cases we conducted interview on line. Uninterrupted internet connectivity was a big challenge and we had to face that as well. However, we completed this research with all these limitations. Despite such limitations we had our all out efforts to come up with a thought provoking report.

1.5 Presentation and outline of the Research report

This report is organised in six chapters. Following this introductory frame of reference, the second chapter explores the methodological approaches that we have employed in this research. This is to a great extent a literature based research and we used secondary sources of data. We collected primary data from renowned educationists, civil servants and educational organisation leaders for cross checking our understanding about the first two objectives and for understanding the third objectives of this research. We also interviewed some politicians who somehow or rather worked or had close proximity with Bangabandhu.

Following the urgent need of the country's development immediately after the independence, as has been noted earlier, Bangabandhu formed an education commission and ordered to come up with suggestions with regard to bringing about revolutionary changes in the education system of the country. Chapter three, four and five of this research report are devoted to educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu, reflection of educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu in the QKC Report, 1974 and the implementation status/challenges of the commission recommendations respectively. The conclusion of this research is presented in chapter six of this report.

Chapter II: Research Methodology

2.0 Introduction

The research on 'Educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu: Analysis of the Bangladesh Education Commission Report 1974' was adopted for achieving three broad objectives namely; to highlight educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu; to examine the reflection of educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu in the commission report; and to investigate the implementation status/challenges of the commission recommendations. Fundamentally the research is backed by social, cultural and ideological context that indicates interpretivism approach (Chalmers, 1996; Kaplan, 1998; Klemke, et al., 1998; Little, 1991). As such, the study took up qualitative theory in its effort. The study employed qualitative research methodology mainly because of its nature (Babbie, 2007; Baily, 1994; Creswell, 2013). Moreover, the corroboration of the study epitomizes the idiosyncratic philosophy of a legend and the supreme laws of the country. Education was one of the most prioritized areas among the greatest initiatives Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the father of nation, prophesized, philosophized and massively influenced. At all times of his life, be it as political activist or as statesperson, education was in his thinking. It is argued that the fundamental theoretical underpinnings of education not only create the base, it is likewise urgent to bring about changes in our thinking process and behaviour pattern. As an output and transformation to a changed entity, today's Bangladesh profoundly dictated by Bangabandhu long back and fundamentally backed by education. The methodological approach thus suitably fits because of the understanding and presentation in a descriptive manner (Creswell, 2014).

From the perspective of the first two objectives, the study demanded employment of mainly secondary sources of data, their interpretation, linkages and thorough analysis. The key sources entail the three writings of Bangabandhu namely *The unfinished Memoires* (অসমাপ্ত আত্মজীবনী), *The Prisoners' Diary* (করাগারের রোজনামা), *Amar Dekha Noya Chin* (New China as I have Seen-written in Bangla), the public speeches Bangabandhu made at different meetings, Bangladesh Education Commission Report, 1974, the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, scholarly writings and documented knowledge of think tanks and educationists, public books on education relating to Bangabandhu and QKC report, 1974, research articles etc. We tried to collect all available

relevant documents. We went through the relevant writings, sorted those out and then prioritized. Apart from this time consuming 'stepping-into-research' step of data collection from the secondary sources, we also collected and utilized primary data for our better understanding of the research and strengthening the research findings along with data validation.

2.1 Primary data collection process

Linking to the major two objectives of exploring priorities of education related philosophies and analyzing reflections of thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu in the commission report, necessitates the importance of status of implementation strategies. To that end this research required ideas as well as understanding and intellectual thoughts of scholars who are actively engaged with educational management of the country as well as who were involved with Bangabandhu in his administrative process. Accordingly, we identified administrators, educationists, litterateur and politicians as our key informant interviewees. In identifying interviewees, we also considered those who had association with Bangabandhu or were in his touch somehow and have through knowledge or somewhat engagement in the formation of education commission, materialization of the commission, and implementation of the commission report.

2.2 Selection of key informant interviewees

In selecting key informant interviewees (KII) we adopted theoretical sampling, which involved a search for validity of findings, rather than representativeness of study population (Finch & Mason, 1999). Coyne (1997) argues that theoretical sampling is a sort of purposeful selection of participants with a view to obtaining more specific information about a particular issue. Theoretical sampling necessitates building interpretive theories from emerging data, and selecting new samples to examine and elaborate that (Marshall, 1996). We studied secondary data sources with regard to our research questions. We classified obtained information from secondary sources into thematic areas and then had thorough discussions with key respondents about each thematic issue. The key respondents were those whom we perceived had more insights regarding the research questions, were the most knowledgeable in relation to the emerging themes and were willing to talk to us. Size of the sample was of secondary

importance to the quality of data, as qualitative research is concerned with smaller numbers of cases with more intensive analysis (Davidson & Layder, 1994).

In line with our above mentioned purposeful intention we selected our interviewees. Majority of them were very experienced, senior and distinguished persons of the country. Key considerations of selecting such renowned persons included (i) for some of them we perceived that they have thorough knowledge about education system of the country and (ii) for others, we had our perceptions that they had involvement in the implementation of education commission recommendations and most importantly some of them had association with Bangabandhu. However, finally the research team could manage to conduct interviews with eighteen distinguished persons of the country. We sought prudent support of faculty members of BPATC in identifying the right persons to speak on the researching issue. For that purpose we arranged a consultation workshop with twenty-five selected BPATC faculty members who came up with fantastic ideas and suggestions that hugely contributed to our way. We also consulted some of your friends and mentors who from time to time gave suggestions and advices with regard to prospective interviewees. As our data collection proceeded, we needed adoption of snowball sampling method at one stage for interviewee selection.

Aber (1993) argues that the snowball sampling method is used to obtain a sample where there is no adequate list of the population under study. The snowballing from one KII to another increased the pace of identifying respondents and commencing data collection. Snowball sampling is appropriate in such a situation where the target sample members are involved in a kind of network with others who share common characteristics (op cit.:74). Nevertheless, for data collection through interview we prepared and employed a check list of open-ended questions for meeting the objectives of this research (King and Horrocks, 2010).

Primary data was collected after the grounding of the research based on secondary data so that a clear picture of the research with key issues can be presented before the interviewees. We, with regard to the first two objectives, on the basis of our understanding from our reading of the available secondary sources, prepared a synopsis followed by the open-ended questions/checklist. We sent the synopsis to all our primarily selected interviewees although we at the end could not interview all of them. At the very

outset of all interviews, we shared a brief presentation of the gist of educational thoughts of Bangabandhu and its reflections on the commission report that we prepared from available resources. This process was intended to share with interviewees about what we found so far and how the research was being carried out. On the other hand, it helped clarify the understanding of the research along with justification of the process. In our thinking this was the unique procedural aspect of the research.

We carried out interviews with our selected key informant interviewees of this research that lasted for one to two hours. We emphasized valued interviewees, their suitability of time and venue and mode of interview because of COVID-19 pandemic. Considering their age (senior citizen) and pandemic-induced critical factors, both face-to-face and online interviews were conducted. The age group of interview was above sixty which denotes the expertise on the subject matter and captures the special attention from the researchers. Apart from the interview protocols, the study strictly followed the pandemic protocol as well so that the study overcomes the critical question related ethical aspects of research (Creswell, 2014).

The following is the list of distinguished persons we interviewed for primary data collection purposes for our research:

Sl No	Name	Designation
01.	Dr. Syed Anwar Hossain	Educationist, Bangabandhu Chair Professor, Bangladesh University of Professionals, Former Professor, University of Dhaka
02.	Dr. Atiur Rahman	Educationist, Professor, University of Dhaka, former Governor, Bangladesh Bank
03.	Mr. Mujahidul Islam Selim	President of the Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB) and former student leader
04.	Dr. Mohammad Farashuddin	President (Board of Trustees) and Founder Vice Chancellor of East West University, Former Governor of Bangladesh Bank, Worked as Private Secretary of Bangabandhu

Sl No	Name	Designation
05.	Mr. Nuh ul Alam Lenin	Legendary Politician and former Student Leader, had close proximity with Bangabandhu
06.	Dr. M M Akash	Educationist and Professor, University of Dhaka
07.	Mr. Pankaj Bhattacharaya	Politician and former Student Leader, had close proximity with Bangabandhu and stayed in the opposite room of Bangabandhu in Dhaka Central Jail
08.	Dr. Shirin Sharmin Chowdhury	Politician and Honourable Speaker of the Jatiyo Sangsad, Bangladesh
09.	Ms Rasheda K Chowdhury	Executive Director, Campaign for Popular Education (CAMPE) and Former Adviser (De-facto Cabinet Minister), Caretaker Government of Bangladesh in 2008, in charge of three ministries including Ministry of Primary & Mass Education.
10.	Dr. Syed Manzurul Islam	Educationist, Professor, English and Humanities, University of Liberal Arts, Bangladesh and Former Professor, University of Dhaka
11.	Dr. Manzoor Ahmed	Professor Emeritus of BRAC University, Senior Adviser at the BRAC University Institute of Educational Development (BRACU-IED)
12.	Dr. Farzana Islam	Educationist, Anthropologist and Vice Chancellor, Jahangirnagar University
13.	Dr. Syed Golam Faruk	Director General, Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education
14.	Mr. Fouzul Azim	District Judge
15.	Mr. Md. Aminul Islam Khan	Secretary, Technical and Madrasha Education Division, Ministry of Education
16.	Professor Md. Moshuazzaman	Member (Curriculum), National Curriculum and Textbook Board
17.	Professor Dr. Muhammed Alamgir	Member, University Grants Commission Bangladesh
18.	Mr. AKM Aftab Hossain Pramanik	Additional Secretary (University) Ministry of Education

All KIIs are extremely busy persons with greater state responsibilities who could hardly manage their free time for a long interview. We were very much skeptic about time with them. However, despite their busy schedule the enthusiasm and support we obtained from our respectable KIIs indicate the level of successfulness of the primary data collection process. One of the greatest successes of our research was that all distinguished persons of the country we interviewed for this research purpose asked us for the Bangladesh Education Commission Report, 1974. We sent them all the soft copy of the report and during interview it was evident that they were well prepared for sharing their ideas and views.

The primary data collection part started formally on 17 December 2020 and ended on 06 April 2021. However, preparation of checklist and communication for grounding the interview took more than two months. Although we could manage eighteen interviews, our attempt was to conduct altogether twenty interviews including honourable Prime Minister. During interview sessions, we took notes, recorded interviews and thereafter transcribed data into text as soon as the interview was over in order to produce rich data.

2.3 Secondary Data Collection Process

The research mainly epitomizes secondary data based analysis because of the selection of the topic and background of the issue. Theoretically education is highly influenced by the fundamental principles of the constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, very specifically four principles. The concrete gist of principles is stated in the constitution. Thus this supreme law of the country is one of the main sources of secondary data. Relating to education, Article 17 of the Bangladesh Constitution has been the founding source of this research. These principles are the bases of the research, which move through four categories of education system of Bangladesh. The educational philosophy as backed by the fundamental principles were clearly pronounced and analysed by Bangabandhu in his public speeches. He lucidly described all four principles so people could understand the key essence, realize the responsibilities and could act to achieve broader development objectives. Here lies the ultimate essence of learning from the thoughts of Bangabandhu. Public speeches over the period of 27 years (1948-1975) are important documents not only to understand Bangabandhu's thoughts but also to utilize as the reference to strengthen the research findings. Since Bangabandhu's life-long learning

and practice of greatness, whole-hearted devotion for the entire humanity are found as the fundamental learning for human development, his writings were the true sources of making this research resourceful. His writings clearly indicate the importance of education, significance of higher education as well as technical education, providing financial support to poor but meritorious students, formal and informal learning for development, patriotism, sacrifice for humanity and so on. We pinpointed education related issues and masterly captured Bangabandhu's thoughts and philosophy in order to link to the logical sequence of the research. The QKC Report, 1974 was a master document of this research to analyze how thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu were reflected. It is needless to say that the report was entirely influenced by the idiosyncratic personality (Brodbeck, 1968). We captured key parts appositely relevant to the research.

2.4 Data Analysis

Both primary and secondary data were fit into the thematic analysis where themes were derived from the both sources (Creswell, 2013). Keeping the three objectives in mind, the analysis of the research was designed and structure of the research was also logically sequenced and arranged. In the process of data collection we followed an approach like building blocks that helped us data triangulation. At the initial stage of primary data collection we shared our theoretical understandings with an interviewee and then shared our research questions for discussions and comments. Thereafter we shared our understandings based on both primary and secondary sources with the next interviewee. The entire data collection process proceeded in this manner and thus we validated data that we obtained from both primary and secondary sources. As the research characterizes and demands secondary source based analysis, key themes based on Banbabandhu's thoughts on education and categories of education in commission report were the central issues. Apart from the thoughts of Bangabandhu, the education report was highly influenced by the context of socio-political and developmental perspective of the country. Thus, the interpretation necessarily required the interpretivism approach. Thematic issues were strengthened by the scholarly writings and primary data collected from the interviews. Since thinking of a legend seems to be grounded, grounded to the soil, strict to people and people's well being, the research characterizes to analyze the study findings in social constructivism approach (Little, 1991). Thus, the chapters and themes were categorically set in a manner that provides a thorough understanding and clear picture to

the readers. Data analysis was eloquently presented with the support of scholarly words of eminent persons taken from the interview. We have presented a pictorial diagram in the next page of this report that shows how this research was carried out.

2.5 The process how the research was carried out

Objective	Key issues	Approach	Data Collection techniques and sources
To highlight the priorities of Bangabandhu;	Education principles, four principles, free education for all, medium of study	Qualitative, interpretative	Content analysis, secondary data source
To examine the reflection of education thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu in the Bangladesh Education Report 1974	Education system, technical and vocation education, education management, female education, teacher-training, medium of study	Qualitative, interpretative	Content analysis, secondary data source
To investigate the implementation status/ challenges of the Bangladesh Education Report 1974.	Implementation strategies, context of implementation, future course of action	Qualitative, interpretative	Key-informant interview, Snowball technique, primary data source

Chapter III: Life-long learning of Bangabandhu and his Educational Thoughts and Philosophy

3.0 Introduction

There is no denying that developing the world has always been the indirect goal of education while the straight goal of education refers to the powerful tool of gaining knowledge and improving one's skills to transform into a better human being. It is argued that individual contributions are conducive to changing society and improving the world. British Philosopher Bertrand Russell quoted that "education is not to be viewed as something like filling a vessel with water, rather assisting a flower to grow in its own way" (Woodhouse, 2020). Emphasising on harmonious existence because of learning, Bengali poet and philosopher Rabindranath Tagore cited that "the highest education is that which does not merely give us information but makes our life in harmony with all existence" (Das, 2014). Indian lawyer and political ethicist Mahatma Gandhi stressed on deeper philosophical understanding and defined education as "all-round development of a child by drawing out the best in his body, mind, and spirit" (Patgiri, 2018). Likewise, South African politician and philanthropist Nelson Mandela stated, "Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world" (Boehmar, 2008). The above quotations, if we summarize, entails that education refers to the process of holistic development of an individual and the collective efforts of individuals that will improve the world over time.

Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman identified education as a precondition for emancipating the persecuted society. His philosophy of education was people-oriented and his dream was to create skilled human resources who will take the country forward. He understood that progress is not possible without human skills, which requires education, especially technical education (Kholiquzzaman, 2020). This chapter focuses on the educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu that are deeply rooted in the lived experiences that he gained since his childhood.

3.1 Sources of Ideology

The biography of Bangabandhu allowed the readers to observe how Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, a boy from a small remote rural community of East Bengal became the

Bangabandhu- the Friend of Bengal-the father of the nation. His autobiographical writings '*The Unfinished Memoirs*', the '*Prison Diaries*', and the '*Amar Dekha Noya Chin*' enabled the academics to learn how the young Bangabandhu was ever ready to show immense courage to stand up and protest against arbitrary and overpowering forces and injustice. It is frequently pronounced how he became a figure who spoke the truth repeatedly, in the way he inspired others to drive out injustice and how he was willing to sacrifice everything for his beloved country (Alam, 2020). In one occasion, as recorded in *The Unfinished Memoirs*, he noted that "to do anything great, one has to be ready to sacrifice and show one's devotion. I believe that those who are not ready to sacrifice are not capable of doing anything worthy" (Rahman, 2020).

This narrative exemplifies his vision, his urge to continuous sacrifice, endless courage and strained commitment for an independent nation. Bangabandhu inherited his integrity and sense of justice from his ancestors at the early stage. As noted in his writings, he later, consolidated these qualities with his unremitting courage, patriotism, emotion, bravery, firmness and eloquence from his early childhood to the socio-political state of affairs. Bangabandhu also took notes of other's good attributes and inculcated those in him (Islam and Rana, 2018). His entire life aimed to establish a society that would be free from exploitation and to bring happiness for the poor people of this country (Rahman, 2020). In order to materializing his vision, he had to bear immense pain throughout his life. It was in his realization that without developing the people, without mobilizing them, and without underpinning the clear ideology, people cannot work for the country (Rahman, 2020).

From his early age, he realised that the real enemies of a country are those who exploit ordinary men and women. The democratic and secular frame of Bangabandhu's mind, his vision for nationalism as well as attraction for socialism worked as the driving forces to comprehend the need of autonomy for East Bengal (Alam, 2020). As recorded in *The Unfinished Memoirs*, he was involved from his young age in various social works from relief distribution to work in a kitchen in Kolkata. He gained knowledge from the meetings, from his interaction with people of all levels, from slogans, from the surrounding environment and different situation. Further, he had a habit of reading books of multiple areas and some books were his constant companions. Thus, his family legacy, his aptitude for learning from others and interaction with diverse groups of people made

him an all-encompassing personality and helped developing his moral principles (Islam and Rana, 2018).

Nevertheless, he felt that there is no better investment than bringing the backward people forward through education. After independence, Bangabandhu strived to prevent making clerks with the traditional education and went for full-fledged reform of education. His aim of restructuring education was to achieve wholesome nationhood through education and to strengthen the country in science-based modern knowledge and creative endeavour (Khuda, *et.al.*, 1974). During the post-liberation, passion for building the nation pushed him culminating in his call for the 'Second Revolution' based on the four principles- Nationalism, Democracy, Socialism, and Secularism. Therefore, translation of educational thoughts of Bangabandhu for obvious reasons links to the four guiding principles of the country. Consequently, he formed Bangladesh Education Commission and prioritised education in the First Five Year Plan (Rahman, 2020).

3.2. Perception Developed in Childhood

The narratives of his writings allow the readers to realize how Bangabandhu spent his childhood in Tungipara in a well-known middle-class family. At the very beginning of his studentship, he got himself admitted into M.E. School, the only English Medium School of Tungipara village under the then Gopalganj sub-division of Faridpur district. Thereafter he studied at Gopalganj Public School, Gopalganj Missionary School, Islamia College, Calcutta and University of Dhaka respectively. Bangabandhu's writings demonstrate that during his childhood, he was suffering from various physical illnesses like beriberi and glaucoma. He had to travel to Calcutta for treatment of these diseases and at one stage because of glaucoma he had a break of study for four years. During those days, he used to go to the meeting of the Swadeshi movement for self-rule of the country and from there he became an admirer of Subhas Bose. He also began to interact with people of the Swadeshi movement and his interaction with them influenced him to think of the sufferings of the people. This evidence, thus, entails the ability to bear the pain, do hard work, socialize with the ordinary people and involve in the organizational activities.

As recorded in '*The Unfinished Memoirs*', once in 1938 while Bangabandhu was the student of Gopalganj Missionary School, Sher-e-Bangla A.K. Fazlul Huq, the then prime minister of undivided Bengal, and Hossain Shahid Suhrawardy, the then labour minister

visited Gopalganj. Bangabandhu was given the responsibility for the volunteer brigade. In one section he wrote, “I formed the brigade with everyone willing to join it regardless of their religion or beliefs.” Again, he added, “however, the Hindu boys left the group one by one later”. He was trying to figure out the reason for what was going on. After that, one of his friends informed that the Congress party had directed them not to participate in the event. The incident made him surprised because he did not treat Hindus and Muslims differently (Rahman, 2020). When the communal riots broke out in Calcutta in the wake of the partition of India and birth of Pakistan, he actively engaged himself in maintaining peace and communal harmony. He even risked his own life for saving lives of both Hindu and Muslim communities (Daily Sun, 2020). These incidents made him realize the necessity of secularism and identify the reason of surging communalism (i.e. political backing in particular) that he never liked.

Bangabandhu in his *‘The Unfinished Memoirs’* noted that during Gopalganj visit Mr. Suhrawardy also visited Gopalganj Missionary School. Bangabandhu recorded that as a senior student of the school we welcomed the leader and followed him all the way during his school inspection. He led a group of students to demand the cracked roof of the school to be repaired. Bangabandhu was an active member of ‘Muslim Welfare Association’ when he was in school. The association used to collect rice as alms and provide assistance to the poor student for their studies and other needs. In his memoir, Bangabandhu noted “He (father) engaged Kazi Abdul Hamid as my tutor. He even set aside a room in our house for him. My father had built the Gopalganj house himself. My tutor established the Muslim Welfare Association, a society to help poor students in Gopalganj. He enlisted our help to collect alms from all over the Muslim part of town for this cause. We used to go from door to door every Friday for this.....If any Muslim refused to help us, we would join forces to make him pay his share. In some cases, we resorted to having such people’s houses pelted with stones at night. My father often punished me for following this policy. However, he would not prevent me from working for the society itself”. It is evident from these statements and evidences that Bangabandhu was completely focused on his job, courageous and was hard at work. Such commitment and capacity of working hard attached with organizational skills of Bangabandhu justifies why he was made secretary of different committees at different levels, whether as a youth in Gopalganj, or a student in Kolkata (Alam, 2020).

Analysing Bangabandhu's early age experiences, it is observed that values of the middle-class family- strong association with people with a view to contribute for them put light on his mind. Further, he had to bear the pain of his physical illness and he continued his study and gathered a sense of maturity. Besides, his continuous interaction with people from different walks of life also hugely supportive of observing the environs differently. Lastly, he got closeness and caress from Suhrawardy who later became Bangabandhu's role model. Thus, the ability to observe society and the nature of human beings brought him to the forefront of the masses from his childhood.

3.3 Traits of Bangabandhu as a person

Bangabandhu was influenced by his father's view from his early age, as recorded in '*The Unfinished Memoirs*'. He also received immense support from his mother and his wife. One incident of his Childhood, as explored from his writing that in 1941, he was scheduled to sit for the matriculation examination. The day before the examination, he had a high fever and mumps. At that moment his father stayed awake the whole night to nurse him. He pointed that his father brought all the physicians of Gopalganj to treat him. But the high temperature did not reduce. In the end, his father asked him not to sit for the examination. But he sat for the examination despite his unbearable sufferings and passed his entrance examination (Rahman, 2020). This indicates his utmost sincerity and devotion for achieving his target.

Sincerity and honesty – these two qualities made the base of Bangabandhu's life. Bangabandhu stated that after passing the matriculation, he became deeply involved in politics. In 1943, during his study at Calcutta Islamia College, he had to sit for college examinations. But he was not prepared enough for the examination due to his involvement in relief distribution during the famine in 1943. He profoundly mentioned his father's words in '*the Unfinished Memoirs*' during the incident (Rahman, 2020):

'Son I have no objections to you engaging in politics; that you are participating in the movement to attain Pakistan is also a good thing; but please don't neglect your studies. If you don't study you won't become a good human being. And one other thing: if you have sincerity of purpose and honesty of purpose you will never be defeated in life.'

Throughout his life Bangabandhu practiced the essence of becoming good human being that he received from his father. The qualities of introspect, self-criticism, focused on the job, concern for the deprived people were noticeable in his writing. He could clearly express what he believed. These qualities made him an empathetic and focused person and contributed him to work for the people. In his '*The Unfinished Memoirs*', he analysed his attributes (Rahman, 2020):

'I was quick-tempered and obstinate. I did not care about anyone and always had my say. I would do whatever work was given to me diligently. I would never try to evade responsibility. I was the type who could work very hard. That was why even if I had a sharp tongue nobody would say anything in response. I would always support the students whenever they needed me. I would not take up any unjust cause. This is why our teachers always listened to what I had to say. Students in general, were fond of me.'

Endurance of reading transformed Bangabandhu to an enlightened person with through knowledge on history and culture. He had a clear sense of history and knew what it could teach us. It was observed that he was very conscious of the Sepoy Mutiny and the Wahabi movement and also aware of how the British took the power from the Muslims and then how the Hindus had flourished in that area. Later, he mentioned the necessity of the Anti-British movement and of making the country free from all exploitation. In his writing he presented the analysis of the then circumstances and stressed the need for more importance on study for better understanding even while he was in Jail. For obvious reasons there is no doubt about his awareness of how the common people suffered. All these made him one of the most prominent leaders who was well ahead of his time and worked till his death.

Furthermore, teachers have played important role and hugely influenced the life, work, thoughts, consciousness, philosophy, and sense of realization of Bangabandhu. Evidence suggests that Bangabandhu was also very much respectful to teachers, poets, artists, and writers. In one case Bangabandhu himself expressed his sorrow feeling to the teacher who felt insulted by the behavior of Mr. Zahur Ahmed, labour leader of Chittagong. In another incident, he rushed to the meeting room of the Academic Council of Dhaka University, postponing an emergency cabinet meeting to free the blocked teachers. He involved teachers in the development plan of independent Bangladesh. He engaged Dr. Nurul

Islam, Professor Rehman Sobhan, Professor Anisur Rahman, Dr. Mosharraf Hossain in the Planning commission and included many other teachers, engineers, and professionals in the development process of the country (Huq, 2019). Bangabandhu appointed Professor Kabir Chowdhury Education Secretary and included Professor Mozaffar Ahmad Chowdhury and Dr. AR Mallick in his cabinet. He assigned writer and academic Abul Fazl as the Vice-Chancellor of Chittagong University (Chunnu, 2017). He had full respect for the artists as well and listened to their advice. Thus Bangabandhu got close connection with academics and enriched himself greatly.

3.4 Political Ideology of Bangabandhu

Bangabandhu was born in a very enlightened family. His keen interest in politics was developed in his early age. Since his father subscribed, he had the opportunity to read several newspapers regularly including the Ananda Bazar, the Basumati, the Azad, the monthly Mohammadi, and the Saugat. “I began to harbour negative ideas about the British in my mind. The English, I felt, had no right to stay in our country. We had to achieve independence. I too became an admirer of Mr. Bose and started to travel back and forth between Gopalganj and Madaripur to attend meetings. I also began to mix with the people in the Swadeshi movement,” (Rahman, 2020). He was realising the problems of British rule and gradually became an admirer of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. He attended meetings of the Swadeshi movement in Gopalganj and Madaripur. Through attendance in such meetings he gradually became involved with politics (Shawon, 2021). Meeting the then Prime Minister Fazlul Haq and Labor Minister Suhrawardy in Gopalganj at the age of 18 was also an important event in his life. Bangabandhu in his memoir noted how he placed the broken school-roof repair issue for immediate action for the development of the institution before Hossain Shaheed Suhrawardy during his school visit. He mentioned that Suhrawardy was overwhelmed by his courage and honesty. In course of time he became acquainted with Suhrawardy who ultimately became his ‘political mentor’. Thus his political ideology developed from the guidance of his seniors. His endless hard work, constant travel, continuous interaction with people and realization of all sorts of deprivation etc were the most contributing factor in this process. He also got his family support. Bangabandhu wrote: “I was gradually drawn into politics. My father did not prevent me from participating in politics; his only concern was that I should continue to pursue my studies.” (Rahman, 2020)

In his *'The Unfinished Memoirs'* Bangabandhu mentioned the language movement issue and noted that although there was a huge public support in favour of 'Bangla' as the state language of East Pakistan, some of the Bangalees' also supported Urdu. Bangabandhu articulated that in a student meeting at Dhaka University, a student said, 'We will have to accept whatever Jinnah tells us. Since he wants Urdu as our state language, we must accept it as our state language.' Bangabandhu protested instantly (Rahman, 2020)-

'If any leader does something wrong, people have the right to protest and persuade him to abandon his position. For example, ordinary people had once queried Caliph Omar himself about the long dress that he was wearing. Thus, 'Bengali is the language spoken by 56 per cent of the people of Pakistan, it is a democratic country, and therefore the demand of the majority must be met'.

During Dhaka visit in 1948 Mr. Suhrawardy warned Bangabandhu that he would be punished by the crazy Pakistanis for his involvement in language movement. In response Bangabandhu said (Rahman, 2020)-

'Sir, don't worry, God has given me the strength to stand up against injustice and oppression. And you have taught me to deal with such things too'.

This is one demonstration of his concern for right and determination for establishment of right. The above narrative also reflects his immense devotion and respect for his mentors. It also indicates that Bangabandhu had a deep respect for Suhrawardy and highly influenced by his generosity, positivity, and broadness. Regarding the involvement of Bangabandhu in politics, his father played a significant role and encouraged him by supporting his activities. His father realized (Rahman, 2020):

'He is working for our country. He is not doing anything wrong, is he? If he has to go to jail in the process, let him. That won't sadden me. And his life won't perhaps be ruined either. I certainly won't interfere.'

The realisation of his father that he was working for the freedom of the country, that he was trying to stay beside the common and above all wholehearted support from his father greatly motivated him to devote for the well-being for the country people. Again, his

father's respect to his political mentor, Suhrawardy encouraged him very much as he mentioned 'Suhrawardy was a generous man. There was no meanness in him and he was not influenced by partisan feelings or prejudices.' He stated that Suhrawardy did not believe in cliques or coteries and did not try to work through groups. If he found someone eligible, he would trust him fully as he said. Bangabandhu was an admirer of Suhrawardy because Suhrawardy had tremendous self-confidence. He was attracted by the quality of Suhrawardy that Suhrawardy tried to win people's hearts through his honesty, principles, and work efficiency. Further, he worried that the personality of Suhrawardy was also the reason that he suffered humiliation and defeat again and again.

Bangabandhu learned from Mr. Suhrawardy that 'generosity' is needed, but showing generosity to people with a low conscience would do more harm than good in the future, harm the country and the people. Thus, he realised that some people could misinterpret the significance of generosity and being humble. However, Bangabandhu was quite generous; similarly, he became strict when he saw any misinterpretation or something wrong.

3.5 Traits of Bangabandhu as a political leader

Bangabandhu preferred work to speak. For instance, once in Kolkata, famous philosopher Maulana Azad Sobhani came to share his ideology with the workers of the Muslim League. After a while, he left the meeting. In that context, in his '*The Unfinished Memoirs*' he wrote 'It's hard for me to be patient. I used to join in the meeting and share some time there'. However, he would tell his friends that their aim was to become a scholar in future while he had a lot of work to do for the country. Bangabandhu determined his mind and thought that his fight will continue until Pakistan is brought. He used to tell his friends, 'Let Pakistan come first, then we can sit down and discuss' (Rahman: 2020). Bangabandhu believed that the leader should keep quiet. Even after independence of Bangladesh, his belief was the same. For instance, in one of his speeches made in 1975 he said that '*the doers should keep restraint and tolerance. They should think and consult with the fellow before making any decision*' (Rahman, 2020).

Bangabandhu used to take a reasonable time before taking any decision. He advised not to start working or take any decision suddenly. He believed that generally people make mistakes when they work or take any decision suddenly. Therefore, people should think

carefully before doing anything. This lesson Bangabandhu intended to share with the people of his country. In his *'The Unfinished Memoirs,'* he wrote how much he thought of the country, the people, and the environment. As a lover of nature, he expressed that (Rahman, 2020)-

'The country is fertile and endowed with plenty. Few countries in the world have this kind of fertile land that we have. And yet we are so poor! The reason is that for ages, others have dominated us because of our fault. We donot know ourselves and until we learn to understand our mindset and accordingly, we will not be free.'

Bangabandhu had a keen observation power and he could internalise the sufferings of the people with his extraordinary sensory perception. He felt most of the people were illiterate for which it was possible to run them in one direction. They might be attracted by anyone's words and they lack the ability to define good or bad, right or wrong. And that was happening in that society. He mentioned (Rahman, 2020)-

'Often it has been seen that an illiterate man who has fair complexion, who wears flowing clothes and who has a well-groomed beard and can speak a few words of Arabic or Persian is hailed as a Religious leader soon after coming to Bangladesh. Bengalis spend thousands and thousands of money to get his blessings.' However, if a person investigated to get the truth of the matter, he or she would identify that the man is an employee of some fruit shop in Calcutta or perhaps an accused in some murder case'!

The blind faith and superstition were another cause of sorrow for the Bengalese. From that understanding, Bangabandhu believed that education was the only means to bring them out of their periphery. That was why he believed in educating the people, which would be applied in their daily life, in their workplace. Moreover, he believed that such education would enlighten people and would create a science-minded society. When traveling from one end of the country to the other during his struggle for freedom, he observed the economic standing, education status, infrastructure capacity and socio-cultural values of the country. These interactions gave him the significance of building a new nation and the idea of prioritization to build a new state.

3.6 Philosophical underpinning of education

The philosophical underpinning of education of Bangabandhu is rooted in his political ideology of emancipation that he learned from his lived experiences. The idea of reforming education was an urge for emancipation of people and development of the country. This development characterizes the creation of real human being that he stated in his writings and public speeches. He evaluated the aims and objectives of education so that the system did not produce clerks only (Huq, 2019). In his address to the people before the 1970 elections, Bangabandhu mentioned, "(T)here can be no better investment than it in education sector to build a society." He mentioned that we have to make sure that poverty does not become a curse for meritorious students for higher education (Huq, 2019). While speaking at the first literary conference of independent Bangladesh in 1974, he said, "To build a nation, development is needed in industry, communication or all other fields, but revolution is needed in thought and consciousness." He reiterated that, "if we want to build *Sonar Bangla*, we need *Sonar Manush*. '*Sonar Manush*' would not fall from the sky, nor would they grow from the ground. They have to be created from the seven crores and a half people of this Bengal."

However, the way of adapting education for the creation of *modern, science-minded, progressive, and productive* people required introducing a "developed state system" without discrimination and exploitation and that was the focus of his educational philosophy (Rahman, 2020). The four state principles namely nationalism, democracy, socialism, and secularism were also echoed in the educational thoughts of Bangabandhu. The Constitution, the mother law of the country prepared and promulgated under the directives of Bangabandhu outlined the overall sketch for developing the country by incorporating its education, agriculture, industry, culture, and human moral values. The preamble of the Constitution of Bangladesh stated that 'it shall be a fundamental aim of the State to realise through the democratic process a socialist society, free from exploitation, a society in which the rule of law, fundamental human rights and freedom, equality and justice, political, economic and social, will be secured for all citizens.'

Article 17 of the Constitution stated that the state shall adopt effective measures for the establishment of a people-oriented and universal education system and free and compulsory education to all boys and girls up to the level prescribed by law; to bring education in line with the needs of the society and to create properly trained and well-

intentioned citizens to fulfill those needs; to eradicate illiteracy within the time prescribed by law. Bangabandhu's ideas on education were reflected clearly at the beginning of this article (Kholiquzzaman, 2020).

On his return in independent Bangladesh on 10 January 1972, Bangabandhu declared that "Education will be the tool of liberty." He expressed that the form of this liberty would be "freedom from narrowness, freedom of humanity, freedom of the poor from oppression, freedom of economic autonomy of the country". Moreover, Bangabandhu desired an inclusive education system with science and technology, as well as liberal arts (such as literature, language, culture, etc.) infused in the education system. His political beliefs, thoughts on development, value for the society were reflected in different policy-making declarations. These beliefs and ideologies were developed from the early stage of his life. His philosophy is rooted in his lived experiences that he gained from the ups and downs of his life.

3.7. State Principles that influenced Education reform

The enduring lessons Bangabandhu learned over the years from his lived experiences framed his ideology and were reflected in the constitution of Bangladesh. During the post-liberation era while speaking at the First National Assembly Bangabandhu talked of 'Second Revolution' and mentioned that the four principles of the constitution were the core of his 'Second Revolution'. The spirit of four principles had a close link to the socio-economic development of the new society as was reflected in one of his speeches. He mentioned on 25 January 1975 in the second sitting of the seventh session of the first National Assembly (Momen, 2020)-

"I would like to say to the countrymen, to all, irrespective of party affiliation, to those who love the country, who respect the four principles - nationalism, democracy, socialism and secularism. They please come and start to work. The door is open. I urge everyone - everyone who believes in these principles, let them work and make the country safe. Save the country, save the people, remove the sufferings of the people."

Bangabandhu urged the countrymen to inculcate the four principles in their lives and work accordingly. He tried to motivate the people to make the country a safe and prosperous one on the basis of the four principles. He did not force them to follow the

principles rather he said the door is open for those, who love the country. Thus, he perceived that the patriotic people will make the country safe.

3.7.1 Nationalism

The first principle among the four was 'Nationalism'. Bangabandhu believed that no nation could move forward without nationalism. Based on this principle, the Bengali nation plunged into an extreme death struggle. Many advisors, many academics, many intellectuals have given different definitions of nationalism. However, Bangabandhu noted (Momen, 2020) that,

'I can only say that I am the people of Bangladesh, I am a nation. I want to say one thing about this nationalism. Speak the language. If you talk about education, civilization, and culture, everyone has one thing that is feeling. No nation can grow without this 'feeling'. And this sense of 'feeling' frames the Nationalism'

Bangabandhu explained that the conception of nationalism is based on a feeling. He mentioned that there was a precedent in the world that they had become one nation despite having different languages. Again, despite having the same language, the same religion, the same culture, different nations had developed in the world. As there was a feeling in the Bengali nation, he pointed out that this nation had gained independence through defensive struggle. Bangabandhu believed that he was a 'Bengalee' because he had that 'feeling', and he had his 'Bengalee' nationalism. Bangabandhu expressed his 'feeling' for the country. This feeling indicated how much he used to love the country. And this sense of feeling denoted the feeling of 'nationalism'. In May 1952, Bangabandhu went to meet the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Khwaja Nazimuddin. That was Bangabandhu's first visit to Karachi. He expressed (Rahman, 2020) his feeling during his journey-

"I saw Karachi for the first time, I thought this is our capital! We were born in a green country. Would any of us like this sandstone in the desert? I think, the human mind also has a connection with nature. The mind of the people of the sandy area flies like sand. And the mind of the people from alluvial soil of Bengal are so soft, so green. We are born in the boundless beauty of nature and we love that beauty"

The love and respect for the nature of Bengal was expressed through this description. Bangabandhu explained a close influence between human mind and the nature. This also exemplifies his nature of keen observation, extra-sensory perception and evolving nationalism.

Furthermore, the key factors developing nationalism indicated that national and social consciousness must be developed through *knowledge of the history*, in particular, knowledge of the anti-imperialist liberation struggle, *the practice of culture* and *the enrichment of the mother tongue* (Alam, 2020). Thus, education for the country aimed to ensure the all-round development of the 'Bangla' as mother tongue which was a symbol of the *nation's pride, unity, and hope- nationalism*. Bangabandhu stressed that it was necessary to provide the same curriculum for all up to a certain standard to ensure national unity beyond the group consciousness. Article 3 of the constitution revealed that the state language of the Republic is Bangla. Article 17 of the constitution stated one of the purposes of free and compulsory education was to establish a uniform, mass-oriented and universal system of education and extend free and compulsory education to all children to a certain standard (such stage as may be determined by law). Thus, the idea of Bangabandhu on inclusive nationalism was visibly reflected in our constitution and the intention of introducing uniform, mass-oriented and universal system of education was to infuse the sense of nationalism in the minds of the people of Bangladesh.

3.7.2 Patriotism

Bangabandhu always urged for the wellbeing of the country people. To reduce the misery of the people of the country, to find people's smiling face, he appealed to the educated people to disseminate his words that wherever they are, they should love the country. He requested the citizens to remove the sorrows of the people by working together. It was his appeal for the Pakistan movement before 1947 as well as for the movement of Bangladesh before 1971. Certainly, he stuck to his point even after independence that people had to work together to build a new nation. And he warned several times that 'if we do not make people happy, our history will not forgive us' (Momen, 2020)

The sign of his patriotism was visible in many events of his life. Referring to his visit to China, in one passage he shared that a hotel saloon owner wanted to know his identity. Bangabandhu was wondered and looked around. He replied (Rahman, 2020) to his mind-

'My identity? I walk around on the road; I walk around giving speeches. And sometimes, at the kindness of the government, I get a chance to take the names of God and the Prophet in prison. This is my identity'.

Bangabandhu believed that he had a simple mind and he was a common one like other common people. That is why he could interact with the commoners and walked from one place to another inside the country and abroad. Thus, the closeness with the common people pulled him to be a leader of the masses later. While attending the peace conference in China, Bangabandhu realized that people of that country had mobilized all their strength to build the country. When Bangabandhu returned to the country, he prayed to God for a new China, saying, *'God bless them so that they can make their country the best in the world'*. He wished so that the Bengalese can turn their country into a developed one and may the people live happily ever after. (Rahman, 2020). In another section of 'New China 1952' he argued that the Chinese government had a code of conduct. They wanted the help of the people in all aspects and it was in the realization of the people that those works were for their own development. Therefore, whenever the government called, millions of people responded at a time. The people had done thousands of constructive works to build the new China, because they had the confidence in the government and realization that those works were for their own, for the development of their country (Rahman, 2020)

Such realization of people of China made Bangabandhu think how the Chinese Government keep faith in the people of China, how the Chinese government made a system to run the country and develop a mechanism so that people can 'own' the country. He realized that there is no such system in East Pakistan that can make people keep faith in their Government. He remembered the great leaders of Bengal such as Titumir, Subhash Basu, Suhrawardy, and so on and showed his respect to their humbleness as they did not hesitate to sacrifice their lives for the needs of the country (Momen, 2020).

It was Bangabandhu's realization that power belongs to the people and gun is not a source of power. After the election of 1970, he became frustrated since the Pakistan government did not show respect to people's verdict (Rahman, 2020):

"We are the elected representatives of the people, not only Bengal, we are the 'majority' of the whole of Pakistan. The people will accept the

constitution that we will adopt and no one has the right to spoil it. The late leader Shahid Suhrawardy has said that the verdict of the people is the last word on the question of the constitution. And we got that verdict. If anyone opposes this verdict, there will be bloodshed and no one will be able to stop the coup'.

This narrative explains how the then Pakistan Government seized power of the winning party in the 1970 election and created difficulties for the people of Bengal. Pakistan did not value the people's verdict rather showed their disrespect for the opinion of the people. Such behaviour from the government was on the contrary to his experience. From the early stage of his life he was involved with politics. He thought of people's well-being and his politics was dedicated to that end. As such, he could leave ministerial post for his better involvement in politics. His intention was to work for the common people with more dedication. Since his student life he nourished such desire in him. At a rally held on 3 January 1970 at the then Dhaka Racecourse Maidan Bangabandhu said (Momen 2020)-

'I have no desire to be the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister comes and goes. But the love and respect that the countrymen have given me, I will remember for the rest of my life. I am not afraid of torture and the solitary confinement of prisons. But the love of the people seems to have weakened me'.

These words demonstrate the level of maturity of Bangabandhu's leadership that took him away from being in power. Before independence his focus was to make the country free from exploitation while in the post independence period his dream was to build a developed Bangladesh. He thought of inclusive development, inclusive participation and wanted to infuse the feeling of patriotism in the minds of people. To that end his means was education. He intended to reconstruct educational system of the country in way that people love their country and become patriot.

3.7.3 Secularism and freedom of religion

The third fundamental principle of the state policy is secularism and freedom of religion. Bangabandhu believed in Islam and he was a keen follower of that religion. Despite his respect for Islam, his concern about the rights of other religions was noticeably praiseworthy. He believed that secularism does not mean absence of religiousness. He

realised that everyone will practice religion in their own way and none stop them in this regard. His only denunciation was that no one can use religion as a political weapon. During pre-independence period for about twenty-five years he experienced exploitation, oppression, murder and adultery in the name of religion in Bangladesh. From his long years of experience he developed a strong voice to stop doing wrong things in the name of religion. Bangabandhu firmly believed that religion is a very sacred matter and it should not be used as a political tool. Every people have equal right to enjoy respective. And no restrictions should be imposed to their religious beliefs. He (Rahman, 2020) said-

'If anyone says that religious rights have been shortened, I would say - religious rights have not been curtailed. The quota of secularism has been called to protect the religious rights of seven and a half crore people'

In every morning, Bangabandhu started his day in the name of God. Before starting any work, he uttered, *'let's move on. Saying 'Bismillah', I proceeded in the name of Allah. Inshallah we will succeed. God is with us'* (Rahman, 2020). This precedence of practicing religious beliefs indicates how firm Bangabandhu was in his religious beliefs and how devoted he was towards Islam. He mentioned (Rahman, 2020) that the people of the country have to work sincerely and honestly in the name of God for the emancipation of the poor people of this country:

'If all of you together proceed to work by saying 'Inshallah', with your divine soul, with your fresh mind and by appearing to God, by self-correction, by self-purification, then you will know that the people of Bengal are with you. Whatever you will tell the people, they will follow and perform as well. You just have to move on, Inshallah we will succeed'.

In *Amar Dekha Noya Chin* he noted that 'business can be done without money in our country'. He strongly argued that the religious leaders of the country are making money without doing any work. He cited that *'with the religious rituals 'fu', saints were taking money from the people, they build big houses and bought land'; and they don't do any work. It's a business.'* After visiting New China, Bangabandhu thought deeply about the situation of the country. He realized that it was difficult to eradicate corruption, superstition and irregularities from the country unless the nation is radically changed. There is no benefit in reducing lime in broken buildings. It would take a long time to

build a new infrastructure. In the same way, the superstitious book should be seen as a lesson to the Bengali nation. Thus, enlightened persons would try to understand all things by reasoning and would develop as science-minded people.

Bangabandhu explained that political leaders used religion to divide the country. He observed that political leaders utilized religion for their own interest, for reaching to the power. He also gave evidence in his writing (Rahman, 2020):

'These political leaders use religion for their own interests - to defend their own leadership. He wants to rule and exploit the people by deceiving them in the name of religion. They are the ones who have done and are doing enough damage to religion in Denia by vcbdemeaning religion to the people. Doubt whether there would be exploitation, oppression, injustice in the country if people really understood what is inside religion, and if they followed it? '

Bangabandhu emphasised that Religion could not be a tool for obliterating the harmony of the countrymen which they cherished for ages. Again in one of his speeches he mentioned that Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Christians- altogether irrespective of religious identity and students, youth, peasants, workers who live together, would be 'one' in the land of Bengal to attain national unity.(Momen, 2020)

In another example during his visit in Sylhet before 1970's election, Bangabandhu illustrated that while he was about to speak on the microphone, the religious leaders first stood up and issued a fatwa, saying that it is '*haram*' to talk into a microphone. He thought himself that *haram* and *halal* were completely worthless in this regard. Almighty Allah created the world for all human beings and taking care of respective neighbours is the rule of Islam (Rahman, 2020). Bangabandhu shared that after the initiation of socialism in China, girls were joining in the factory, in the mills, in the army. He realised that, if half the people of a nation sit at home and do nothing, then that nation would never be a great in the world. The establishment of equal rights for men and women in new China, reduced the rate of abuse of the female dramatically.

Comparing the religious context of new China, he viewed that the literate and illiterate people of our country had the idea in mind that heaven of a wife is beneath the foot her husband. The reality was that they had to depend on men's money and silently endure everything in the hope of heaven. Therefore, women stayed home to achieve the heaven.

But reading Islamic history, it was evident that Muslim women and girls went to the war with men and carrying weapons. Hazrat Ayesha Siddique (R:), wife of Rasul (Sm:) used to say, "Islam has given women's rights in the world" (Rahman, 2020). Therefore, Bangabandhu urged people to work hand-in-hand irrespective of their caste, community, and religion. He argued that religion cannot be a tool for any business or power. There are many illiterate people in our country. As such, it is easy for some vested interest groups in the religious periphery to make money by using the emotion of the people. However, Islam is a scientific religion. Thus, people should be educated so that they can use reasoning power. Furthermore, he believed that religion cannot be a barrier to work irrespective of gender identity. He also emphasized that only education can enlighten people and make them out from ignorance. For Bangabandhu, it is science-based learning that can contribute to remove the darkness of their life. Furthermore, he thought that women should participate in all economic activities as the women in China do.

3.7.4 Democracy and human rights

Various political ideologies such as monarchy, democracy, somewhere fascism, communism or socialism explain human rights differently. Bangabandhu observed that in countries where fascist events and communist governments were in place, no other political party or political ideology was allowed to function. From his experience he realized that there are some democratic countries in the world where government did not allow 'democracy' to be established. Bangabandhu in one of his speeches mentioned (Momen 2020):

I don't believe power is at the gunpoint. I believe that power belongs to the people of Bengal. The day people will say, 'Leave Bangabandhu. 'Bangabandhu will not be the President, will not be the Prime Minister one day more. Bangabandhu did not himself in politics for power. Bangabandhu did politics out of love for his fellow people, Bangabandhu did politics to establish a society free from exploitation.

Bangabandhu believed that in democracy both ruling and opposition political party will exist. In 1952, Bangabandhu went to meet Khwaja Nazimuddin, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, with the demand of release of all imprisoned language movement activists. In that meeting he placed the role of Awami League as an opposition party. He noted that

democracy cannot function without the opposition. The Prime Minister admitted his view and told that Awami League is an anti-government political party. At this point Bangabandhu applied for this consent to publish this statement to the newspaper. And the Prime Minister agreed on this issue. He assured Bangabandhu that he would try to get the prisoners released.” (Rahman, 2020). It is evident illustrates that Bangabandhu had a strong understanding of democracy and the role of the opposition party in democracy. To make a constructive democracy, the opposition party has to play a vital role in the development of the nation. In several assembly meetings, on behalf of Awami League, Bangabandhu raised various issues of East Pakistan.

Bangabandhu believed that ‘democracy serves the welfare of the common man’. He expressed his experience of other countries where democracy was in practice and worked to protect the capitalists and the exploiters. However, Bangabandhu did not believe in that type of democracy. He thought that it is an idea of the people and people are the only source of power and inspiration. Bangabandhu articulated that ‘democracy of people’ meant the provisions of the rules of democracy that exist in our country to facilitate the miserable people of this country to get protection. There were arrangements for the persons—those exploited people who do not get protection. Consistent with Bangabandhu, that is why there was a difference between the democracy of Bangladesh and others. It was evident that the practice of democracy had been included in many schedules of the law, in many bills of the new country “Bangladesh” for example the constitution of the country (Momen, 2020).

Bangabandhu arguably stated in his speech that no one could take anyone's property. He viewed that his government was not touching anyone's private property. Rather Bangabandhu's government wanted to identify the vicious cycle by which people were oppressed. For that, the government of Bangabandhu had first nationalized banks, insurance companies, textile mills, jute mills, sugar industry, etc. This indicated that the oppressed group could not use democracy. Bangabandhu expressed that the democracy that he wanted to introduce would be used to protect the oppressed. That was why he believed that there would be a difference between the definition of democracy in Bangladesh, and the definition of many others. (Momen 2020).

Bangabandhu always admitted that the source of power is the people not the barrel of a gun. He believed that it was the duty of his government to protect the poor people of this

country. That is why he emphasized on democracy in the constitution and said there is no provision for the exploiters to get protection. He believed that democracy was different from the other countries. For instance, Bangabandhu nationalized the schools, colleges, textile mills, banks, jute mills, insurance companies, etc as a part of ensuring democracy (Rahman, 2020).

3.7.5 Socialism and freedom from exploitation

The social system of the country had become entangled and Bangabandhu wanted to hit this society hard. He started to hit from his early childhood in the British period as well as in the Pakistan period again and again to hurt this rotten society (Alam, 2020). He repeatedly acknowledged the support that he received from the people. The new system that he wanted to establish was various forms of cooperatives in the villages. He urged the citizen not to get him wrong. He explained (Momen, 2020),

“I would not take people’s land. In the five-year plan, there would be one co-operative in 65,000 villages of Bangladesh. The land would remain in the pervue of the owner. But everyone would get a share of the produced harvest. Every unemployed person, every person who could work, must be a member of this co-operative. These would-be multifaceted co-operatives. The common people would get the share of resources, for instance, money, fertilizer, test relief and other technical staff. Further, people would get various programs to work together. In this way, the co-operatives would be formed in each village”.

In *Amar Dekha Noya Chin*, Bangabandhu clearly noted his idea of socialism and the reasons for his attraction for socialism to develop the new independent country. The first thought of Bangabandhu in case of socialism was to ensure the basic rights of all in the society. There might be class divisions in society but the gap between the rich and the poor would be very minimal. In his book Bangabandhu wrote that New China also followed the process of minimising the inequalities between the rich and the poor. During his China visit, he observed the process how the people of New China materialised the notion of socialism in their way. Bangabandhu expressed that establishing socialism does not mean making everyone equal. During his visit, he observed that class inequality was very low in New China. He also experienced that difference between the wages of

President Mao-Se-Tung and the factory workers was very small. That experience inspired him to know about socialism and to form a co-operative system in Bangladesh after independence.

In post-liberation period nationalisation of schools, colleges, factories, banks, insurance companies etc by the government of Bangabandhu was not only for practicing democracy but also for introducing socialism. The nationalisation of the institutions aimed at making the society exploitation free. He believed that through nationalisation of different institutions, the mass people will get services and socio-economic gap between rich and poor will be reduced. He also specified in his speech that it takes many days to understand socialism, has to go a long way to work with the concept of socialism. From his experience, he detailed that one country is different from another country in moving towards socialism in one way or another. Bangabandhu explained that the attitude of the people, the financial condition of the country, everything had to be taken step by step towards socialism considering the environment of the country and it was recognized in the world at that time. He also commented that the approach followed in Russia, China and in some other countries had not been taken rather our country is moving in another direction.

From his experience Bangabandhu realised the significance of Democracy and Socialism to frame a new nation in a new shape. He focused that the country was not liberated just by passing the constitution. He said that socialism was not intended to establish in the country only by passing laws, rules and regulations. According to him, the effectiveness of the government depends on how properly the future generation, the future people work. He stated that the constitution does not mean law rather laws are made through the constitution. He believed that laws can be changed at any time. He articulated the importance of the constitution 'a constitution is a thing that has a philosophy, a principle'. From that understanding, Bangabandhu along with his team formulated the Constitution of Bangladesh that in its essence reflected the beliefs and philosophy of Bangabandhu. There is an intertwined connection between four fundamental principles of state policy defined by Bangabandhu and educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu. The association is described in the following paragraphs.

3.8 Thoughts of Bangabandhu that Reflect Education

Bangabandhu's thoughts on education were profoundly influenced by the learning he gained formally and informally including his visit to China. The visit to China was dominated by the visit to education institutes in particular that ranged from primary to higher education. He keenly observed the curriculum, priorities, emphasis, management, research, collaboration, medium of study, gender development, link of education to employability and patriotism. In 1952, after the formal programs of the China Peace Conference, Bangabandhu visited Nanking University. Describing the experience of meeting with the Vice-Chancellor of the university in *Amar Dekha Noya Chin*, Bangabandhu mentioned (Rahman, 2020a) that

"The Vice-Chancellor spoke in Chinese and the interpreter translated into English. Here I saw that when the interpreter could not speak English well in 2/1 places, the Vice-Chancellor himself translated into English. He doesn't speak English even though he knows English very well. He speaks the national language. We, as Bengali, become crazy to speak English and Urdu."

Bangabandhu had great respect for the mother tongue 'Bangla'. He felt that people of Bangladesh gained language rights in exchange of blood and no other country has such experience. He urged that the people of the country should show proper respect to the national language. Although the Vice-Chancellor was very good at English, he spoke Chinese. Bangabandhu realised that sense of 'nationalism' inspired him to speak the mother tongue. Realizing this philosophy, he delivered his speech in China in Bangla and later he emphasized on introducing Bangla at all levels as a medium of instruction and communication. However, he also gave emphasis on learning English as a second language to keep pace with the world.

On 8 March 1975, Bangabandhu gave a speech in the inauguration ceremony of a college in Tangail underlining the importance of life-long learning. He mentioned (Momen 2020):

'Boys, education is not just education. Please work in the field with your father. They wear the local attire called 'lugni' and they sell the paddy in the market to send you to the college. Now, you are wearing pants with that hard

money. So, take off your modern dress and put on lungi- the local attire, and go to the field. Work with your father. During the work, forget your education status and do work hard.'

In his speech Bangabandhu added that some parents complained that their son was not getting job after passing Matriculation or B.A. examination. He noted that if those boys didn't get the opportunity to study, they could have worked in the field. The underlying philosophy of Bangabandhu reveals that education is not just for getting the certificate, it is about learning, it is about application of knowledge. He believed that if anyone after attaining some degree sits idle, then there is no use of passing the examination. He viewed that most of the people of Bengal were working in the field and we should respect their efforts. He emphasized in his speech that *'Those who work, produce food and other accessories, they have their dignity. His respect is much higher than the job'*. His notion about education resembles to the concept of Rabindranath Tagore who also weighed on life-oriented education (Rahman, 2020). That is why, Bangabandhu emphasised career-oriented education, *i.e.* technical education, vocational education. This underpinning idea has been one of the core aspects of his thoughts.

From China visit experience Bangabandhu learnt and believed that education for the mass people should be ensured up to a certain level. He visited several universities of China and *Amar Dekha Noya Chin* is actually the reflection of his visit experiences. He compared the socio-economic condition of both China and the then East Bengal and developed his educational thoughts which are also reflected to an extent in this book. For example, Bangabandhu paid a visit to a university in Peking and he wrote (Rahman, 2020a):

"The university is huge. There is no education system to produce clerks like in our country. Arrangements have been made to provide agricultural education, industry, engineering, technical education." There was a talk with Mr. Halim, Professor of that University. Mr Halim said that the new Chinese government had introduced a compulsory free education system. Every boy and girl has to go to school. The government bears all their expenses. Agricultural schools have been set up for the farmers; schools have been set up for the workers. Education has also been arranged for the board. Mr Halim added that in just four years, the Chinese government had taught 30

percent of the population to read and write. He added that after 10 years, an uneducated person will not be found in China."

Bangabandhu realised that increasing literacy rate is the key to develop a society. He noticed that literacy rate was very low in the then East Bengal and existing education did not influence the people to think of the country. Bangabandhu highlighted that (Rahman,2020a):

"There is a "privileged" class in each and every country. For instance, in our country the wealthy landlords constitute the privileged class, in some other country this place is taken up by industrialists, in New China, however, the children are the really "privileged" class! they are the one given all kind of facilities by the government. The government of New China has decreed that all children must be sent to school."

Thus, the government of New China took the responsibility to take care of the children. They invested more to build them for the nation. The government endorsed guidelines for providing an amount of food that a child must fed. There were also provisions for clothes and each child must be dressed accordingly. Moreover, those who could not afford to follow the guidelines must inform the government. The government would help them. In this way the government of New China tried to create a nation that will be made up of transformed human beings. Bangabandhu keenly observed Chinese plan for the next generation of the country and the approach of building a network of new people in China. Alongside he thought of the condition of East Bengal and became emotional as he wrote 'I thought about the unfortunate boys and girls of my country'. (Rahman, 2020a). He realised that emphasizing children's education and developing them as future leaders will bring the country to an enviable socio-economic height.

The experiences of Bangabandhu described in his writings tell us the extent to which he was willing to turn the fate of the people. He believed that education is the key to move the wheel of the country. Accordingly, after the independence of Bangladesh Bangabandhu nationalized 36,165 primary schools, established 11,000 new primary schools and introduced free primary education system. Being inspired from the notion of nationalism, Bangabandhu initiated the nationalization of the institutes of the country.

In a public speech made on 26 March 1975, Bangabandhu urged the countrymen to commemorating the immense contribution of those who sacrificed their lives to make us educated. He reminded all that despite poverty the citizens of the country pay huge for the making of an engineer or a doctor with a high hopes. He again uttered that the poor citizen made them educated not only to look after their family and children but to work for the countryman also. He intensely urged the educated individuals for self-criticism, self-purification and think of the questions of what they pay to the citizen in return. Bangabandhu believed that these questions would make the educated persons responsible, pro-people and service oriented. It was his realization that if the educated people could think in that way, it would be easier to build the nation.

In post-war Bangladesh, Bangabandhu during the inauguration of a college at Kagmari in Tangail made a great appeal to the parents '*you try to make your children as a human. It is not possible to bring humanity just by reading and writing*' (Rahman, 2020a). It is noted from his speech that only proper education can transform a man or woman into a true human. That's why Bangabandhu appealed to the parents that they had to make a bonding their children with the soil.

Bangabandhu immensely emphasized secularism in education as he believed that education should be imparted to all, irrespective of race, religion, caste and creed. It was his view that the arbitrarily use of religion in education is not the right thing. His political view also echoed secularism. Considering the context of the country, he endeavoured to retain the Bengali culture. Although the majority of the people were Muslim, a good number of Hindus, Christians and Buddhists live in the country in harmony for years. He also retained the culture of unity in diversity and believed that the politics of religion cannot make a country happy. Bangabandhu believed that every boy and girl must have access to education. He viewed that every child should get uniform education at the primary level through 'universal education' in line with the constitution.

Bangabandhu in his writing mentioned that '*Neither I nor all of you will carry anything with you except a few yards of cloth after death*'. Such feeling led him to devotedly urge all to work for the people. After the country became independent, Bangabandhu was frustrated to an extent and said that he was becoming mad because people were facing scarcity of food, clothes, education, and so on (Momen, 2020). Thus, the sufferings of the citizen made him upset and it had driven him to work further for his countryman. After

liberation, his wholehearted endeavour was to overcome several problems of the new country. However, it took time to reconstruct a war-torn country. His notion was to build a modern, balanced, developed and sustainable society with quality education and skilled manpower. To that end, Bangabandhu realised the significance of educating the common people which was a vital tool for the socio-economic development of the country.

The idea, 'Education is the backbone of a nation' was ingrained in Bangabandhu's mind and was reflected in the speech he made through radio and television before the 1970 election. In the election manifesto, he drew the clear picture of his thought on education to restructuring the new nation. He clearly depicted that the declining number of primary schools in Bangladesh after 1947 is a terrible fact. He mentioned that eighty per cent of our population was illiterate at that time. More than one million illiterate people was adding every year and more than half of the nation's children were being deprived of primary education. He added that only 16 per cent of boys and 8 per cent of girls were receiving primary education. Furthermore, the salaries of college and school teachers, especially teachers from primary school, need to be significantly increased, illiteracy must be eradicated. In that speech, Bangabandhu emphasized a 'crash program' and that must be introduced for compulsory unpaid primary education for 5-year-olds, and the door to secondary education must be kept open for all classes. He further, added that new universities, including medical and technical universities, need to be established soon so that poverty does not become a curse for meritorious students for higher education. To get rid of the illiteracy, that is the decent thing which the country can do (Momen, 2020).

Bangabandhu mentioned in one of his public speeches that the literacy status of the country was very low and the importance of taking policy decisions to improve the illiteracy rate should get high concern. He emphasised compulsory and free primary education for all and ensuring *free and compulsory unitary education* for all was the first step in his educational reform. He was also concerned about the ratio of boys and girls in primary education and he believed it must be increased (Momen, 2020).

The salary of the teachers of schools and colleges was another concern of Bangabandhu. He stressed the need for providing access of all classes of people to secondary education establishing new universities, medical and engineering institutions to build a knowledge society and even taking a 'crash program' to educate the common people. This speech clearly defined the notion of Bangabandhu to make a country educated. In line with his

thoughts Bangabandhu desired to restructure the educational system of the country so that the education system gets the right shape. He constituted national education commission headed by Dr. Quadrat-e-Khuda, an eminent educationist and scientist of the country. He was not only a scientist, but a person with cultural values. Bangabandhu gave the responsibility to Dr. Khuda and his team to blend the knowledge of science and the thoughts of nationalism, secularism, socialism and democracy.

However, Bangabandhu perceived the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi that a connection between body, mind and soul is made only through education. He comprehended that education brings our life in harmony with all existence what Rabindranath Tagore believed. Similar to Nelson Mandela, Bangabandhu realised, an individual can utilise education to change the world. He also believed in the words of Bertrand Russell that education assists an individual to develop in his/her way. Nevertheless, the ideologies, the beliefs of Bangabandhu were deeply rooted in the values of his family, his schools, especially from the missionary school where he was taught respecting different religion, his teachers, political mentors, friends, visiting various places, observing peoples' lives, studying in jail and above all, from nature. Thus, all these components of the society together contributed him to become 'Bangabandhu'. He desired that Bangladesh would be a socialistic society and people of this country will learn the essence of socialism through the process of education. He dreamt that people of the country will gain social and economic freedom through education. His educational philosophy is rooted in intertwine of the basic principles of education and the four fundamental principles of state policy. Through education he wanted to create a generation that will instill the sense of patriotism, nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism. He intended to restructure education with the aim of developing a generation of humanistic citizen having moral values and respectful to manual work. In the next chapter we discuss the reflection of Bangabandhu's educational thoughts in the Bangladesh education commission report prepared by Dr. Quadrat-e-Khuda and his teammates.

CHAPTER IV: Educational Thoughts and Philosophy of Bangabandhu and Bangladesh Education Commission Report, 1974

4.0 Introduction

The people of Bangladesh under the leadership of the father of the nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman earned freedom through continued and strenuous struggle and great sacrifices. Immediately after independence Bangabandhu concentrated on the reconstruction of the war-ravaged country. Evidence suggests that educational reform was one of the key demands in our movement for the attainment of democratic freedom. As such, one of the prime areas of his concern with regard to the reconstruction of the country was to reform the education sector. It was in his realization that a properly conceived education system is a vital requirement for successful existence of the newly emerged country. The beginning of education reform in Bangladesh essentially started from the speech delivered by Bangabandhu on 26 March 1972 on the occasion of celebrating country's 1st Independence Day while declaring the nationalization policy. He mentioned:

"I am going to form an education commission with detailed plan of revolutionary changes in our education system"

The eighteen member commission titled Bangladesh Education Commission was constituted on 26 July 1972 with eminent educationist and scientist Dr. Mohammad Qudrat-e-Khuda and Professor Kabir Chowdhury as Chairperson and Member Secretary respectively. The Commission was formed with the aim of removing existing defects of our education system for achieving a good nationhood through the medium of education and for strengthening the country in modern knowledge and creative endeavour. Bangabandhu formally inaugurated the functioning of the Commission on 24 September 1972. In his inaugural speech Bangabandhu appealed to the members for their thoughtful opinions for the reconstruction of education system that will meet all legitimate educational requirements and will help achieve a socialistic society. To ascertain public opinion about existing education system Commission sent a questionnaire to educational institutions of various levels, to related organisations, to educationists and teachers and public leaders. The questionnaire was also circulated through newspapers for public

opinions beyond these designated persons. Thus the Commission consulted all concerned stakeholders, visited many educational institutions and observed Indian educational system and management. On the basis of their observation and public opinions they prepared a report suggesting measures for the reconstruction of the education system of the country. The Commission submitted one interim report to the government on 8 June 1973 while the final report to the government on 30 May 1974. In preparing report the commission took the socio-economic and political condition and cultural heritage of the country on board. Education system of the contemporary world was also taken into consideration (Khuda et al., 1974).

4.1 Philosophical foundation and principles of education

Education is ubiquitously linked to development at all levels and backed by institutional underpinning. The constitution of Bangladesh emphasised education as the fundamental principles of state policy. It has been declared in the constitution that ‘the state shall adopt effective measures for the purpose of (a) establishing a uniform, mass oriented and universal system of education and extending free and compulsory education to all children to such stage as may be determined by law; (b) relating education to the needs of society and producing properly trained and motivated citizens to serve those needs; (c) removing illiteracy within such time as may be determined by law’ (Government of Bangladesh, 2012). The philosophical foundation of education fundamentally backed by the country’s supreme law of the country echoed in the education commission report designed and generated by Dr. Md. Qudrat-e-Khuda and his team. The Qudrat-e-Khuda Commission Report, 1974 (henceforth QKC Report, 1974) was fully spawned on the four principles of the constitution – nationalism¹, socialism², democracy³ and secularism⁴ in

¹ The unity and solidarity of the Bangalee nation, which, deriving its identity from its language and culture, attained sovereign and independent Bangladesh through a united and determined struggle in the war of independence, shall be the basis of Bangalee nationalism (Article 9 of the Constitution of Bangladesh)

² A socialist economic system shall be established with a view to ensuring the attainment of a just and egalitarian society, free from the exploitation of man by man (Article of 10 the Constitution of Bangladesh).

³ The Republic shall be a democracy in which fundamental human rights and freedoms and respect the dignity and worth of the human person shall be guaranteed and in which effective participation by the people through their elected representatives in administration at all levels be ensured (Article 11 of the Constitution of Bangladesh).

⁴ The principle of secularism shall be realized by the elimination of (a) communalism in all its forms; (b) the granting by the State of political status in favour of any religion; (c) the abuse of religion for political purposes; (d) any discrimination against, or persecution of, persons practicing a particular religion (Article 12 of the Constitution of Bangladesh).

order to label a universalism in education (Momen, 2020; Khuda, et al., 1974). Nationalism for national unity through practice of liberation war study, culture; socialism for social harmony through earning knowledge and its effective use for social wellbeing; democracy through practice of its principles and nourishment of liberty; and secularism through valuing all's rights and diverse practice are set to infuse to students throughout the total education system.

These principles are the true reflection of the thoughts and ideology of Bangabandhu. He explained these principles in lucid Bengali so that people can easily understand the meaning, realize the philosophy and inculcate the essence throughout their lives. In most of his public speeches he used to explain these principles in his own words, in the dialect of general people. Nationalism is what we are that means we are 'Bengalee'. Socialism that we believe in is the society free from exploitation^{5,6}. He further clarified, exploitation free society means nobody can exploit anybody. He also cited the key essence of secularism meaning that Muslims, Hindus, Christians, Buddhists, whoever it is, will practice their respective religion and one religion will not undermine other religions (Momen, 2020). He explained democracy as the arrangement of protection of poor people's rights, protection of proletariats which does not make any concern in capitalist countries⁷. He likewise warned, '(W)hat does democracy mean- write whatever you wish to write or speak? Whatever you wish is not democracy.' Bangabandhu used to believe these principles by heart and tried to demystify the concepts in many public speeches particularly after the independence so that common people can realize the real meaning of these principles and inculcate at all levels. These principles are the grounds of sticking together uniting the whole nation and are the bases for overall development of the country.

Bangabandhu himself categorically stressed students to study for nation building as it is prerequisite to be a good man to serve the nation. His words also reflect self-esteem and caring to parents (Momen, 2020:327). This indicates self-development, social development and national development, which must be achieved through proper

⁵ In a public speech at Sohrawardy Uddyan on 7 June 1972

⁶ In a public speech by Bangabandhu at Maizdecourt, Noakhali on 26 June 1972.

⁷ In a session for approval of draft constitutions on 4 September 1972

education. The QKC underlined humanity, global citizenship, and morale values to learn and practice to contribute for development of human being and grow themselves as honest, benevolent individual. Education must be a means to change the society where learning should be practicality focused so that students can contribute to the society and to the country to their fullest extent. It is believed that an active workforce with new scientific knowledge is required to take a society forward and upward. This notion matches with thoughts of Bangabandhu who realized this issue and tried to infuse in education. Furthermore, his thoughts were also shaped by the progress and manifestation of Chinese socialism in educating children. He noted (Rahman, 2020a):

‘Every child must go to school. Government bears all their (education) expense. Agriculture school was established for farmers. We were taken to visit an agricultural school where after a short training on agriculture, young people are sent to farm’.

The key essence of this quotation signifies the importance of practical learning and practical knowledge about agriculture so that no people starve without food. There should be direct link between theoretical knowledge and its practical application in order to put theory in practice and fit it in. It is needless to say that theory without practice is useless and practice without theory is pointless. After independence, Bangabandhu realized that the country does not produce adequate food to feed its all people. Insufficiency in food production led him to think of agricultural technology for increasing production and arrangement of practical learning on agricultural technology encouraged him enormously. Hence, it is evident that technical knowledge and agriculture education was much-emphasized component in the report. However, other areas of study were similarly taken into consideration to create an effective and efficient workforce needed to build the nation. Building leadership and nourishing leadership qualities, practicing innovation and creativity through research are seeded in the philosophy for the pursuit of truth and bringing the nation up. Consequently, education is the sum of means of changing society by practicing important principles mentioned above in order for socio-economic progress. Against this philosophical backdrop, the commission developed and produced the national document for a significant change in the whole structure and process of education in Bangladesh.

The life-long struggle of Bangabandhu for freedom of speech, freedom from dominance and happy life of the people of Bangladesh was the strong foundation of the constitution that ultimately influences state run policies where education has been included as one of the most important sectors. This broad underpinning stimulates the basic issues, strategies, methods, budgeting, education environment, infrastructural development, categories of education system, teaching style, teacher-student relation etc.

4.2 Inculcating values of good character and developing personality

Since education system is one of the most important means to nourish character and personality development, the need for educational environment, curriculum, textbooks, teaching methods, arrangement of games and sports have been underscored as necessary supportive conditions for the students. Values like integrity, justice, neutrality, responsibility, and discipline need to be cultivated. Additionally, clear concepts about four fundamental state principles are indeed helpful for them be good citizen. His emphasis was on the contribution for nation development, caring parents, becoming honest and studious. In his speech, Bangabandhu articulated ‘how long will you eat in restaurant of your parents’ which means every student must be self-developed and have self dignity (Momen 2020). He repeatedly and strongly urged to be good human being as he mentioned in his speech made at the national parliament on 25 January 1975:

‘(You) need to produce. Production has to be increased. You have to be good human being. Pupils have to study. You have to be educated to become good human being. General people give you money to become good human being. You have to be human that people want. We should not transform to beast. We wish to be good human being through education’.

‘What is the difference between us and the animals that eat up their kids? A so called intelligent person earns money by dint of knowledge and keeps people to starve to die. What is the difference between man and animal? If we loss our humanity, am I a human being?’

In another public speech⁸ at Sylhet when he was visiting flood affected area, he requested all including students to stand beside poor people of villages. He said (Momen 2020):

Learn how to respect. Bring back discipline. Try to learn to show respect to parents. Try to learn to respect your teachers. I think you are detached from this norm. (But if you do not learn this) you cannot become human being.

Caring for parents and the elderly people are century-old values practiced in Bangladeshi culture. Bangabandhu's deep respect to his parents signifies the essence of loving parents and necessity of inculcating this long-practiced tradition. A photo of Bangabandhu hugging his elderly parents very passionately symbolizes his respect for parents. Literature correspondingly shows love for child as his father is shown in various occasion to accompany. It indicates father's support to Bangabandhu for his wholehearted devotion for the country and country people. On the other hand, parents support boosts up children to achieve anything, even a country. Family bonding matters a lot and it can be seen and realised from some of his writings where he several times mentioned his loving wife, Renu from which we can understand how deeply he used to love his wife. Similarly, he mentioned and cited emotional words about his family affairs, particularly about his youngest son Sheikh Rassel and eldest daughter Sheikh Hasina. A portrait of Bangabandhu with his loving daughter Sheikh Hasina has become a symbol of father-daughter's love. An innocent smile can come only when a daughter gets loving touch of a father. Words are limited to explain the magnitude of love and family relation. Maybe, this touch has highly influenced Sheikh Hasina to work relentlessly for fulfilling his father's dream- the betterment of the country, the betterment of the people of the country. His wife was a portrait of a caring personality as well. We realise her caring attitude as we see her at every step of Bangabandhu particularly bedside the hospital bed when a dearest person is badly needed. The picture of nursing Bangabandhu at a hospital in London speaks the culture of Bangladesh, speaks the values practiced in our country. It also teaches about the humanity. A person needs all-out support from family members to achieve something special. Bangabandhu got it and emotional touch^{9 10} is also found in

⁸ Speech was delivered by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at Sylhet on 28 June 1972

⁹ 'I thought Renu and children would come today to see me. It is seen that Renu told in last visit that she would come again on 20 or 21' [1966].

¹⁰ A response to a prisoner, 'I am still *Khoka* (child) to father-mother. As long as they will survive, they will address me as that name. When they will leave this earth, nobody will call me this loving name. Because only they have this right! I

his writings. The inspirational words from his father are the invaluable wishes and strong support for him to move further (Rahman, 2019):

Receiving your two letters of 19/6/66 and 1/7/66, I knew your present condition. But, I understood that you are always anxious of us. Don't be anxious about us. By the mercy of Khoda, there is none happier people like us, if so, it is freak. I have also courage to bear and never feel afraid in distress, probably you know better.

The encouraging words from parents always boost up children and provide mental support. Similarly his feelings as father touches everybody when he could not accept his two-year old son's request to go with him (Rahman 2019). This support came from his every family member- wife, parents, children, siblings and even from distance cousin. This philosophy teaches us how and why we need to love our parents, why we need to strengthen our family bonding. This principle must be studied in academic area and should be infused among the students that will help transform students to be true human being. The philosophy of becoming good human being for the society must be instilled in the students through curriculum. The QKC suggested incorporating these concepts in literature, history and social sciences. The commission proposed to run student clubs, sports clubs etc under teacher's supervision for getting the scope of leading organization. This engagement is believed to inculcate leadership traits in students and likewise will help them to be strong both physically and mentally. Teachers were emphasized to be followed as model while home, family and greater social ecology could act as enabling environment for nurturing values of being good and growing good. Students are the future leaders of the society and nation who need to be widely acceptable for their high sense of values and personality.

Education must be paid back to the people who have paid for us to be educated at all levels. This philosophy was repeatedly told by Bangabandhu so that everybody must not forget the contribution of people and to repay to the nation. In this regard, the words Bangabandhu made on 25 January 1975 reminding the members of Parliament about their administrative authority are noteworthy (Momen, 2020):

am now 45 with grey hair, I am father of five children. Still I am little *Khoka* to them. Still I love my mother and father hugging with their neck, we I meet them.'

Today, those who are educated, we have passed MA, passed BA; Mr. Speaker, You know, people of this poor Bangla supplied money for your education. You (all) study at the universities, you have obtained degrees, the university where I have passed from, those who taught us, who spent this education expenses? It is not our father and grandfather it is poor people of this Bangla... Today who is doctor of at least one lac taka of poor people, an engineer for whom one lac taka is spent, it needs one lac taka to become an agriculturist. They are educated by those poor people who do not have enough food to eat. Time has come, we have to realize to what extent you have paid back them whose money was spent for becoming your doctor, scientist, all those who became human being, those who became university professors, and also those who are studying now. People give a big portion of every education tier. That is basically the government's money and this is money spent. It is time to criticize us. To what extent, we have completed our responsibilities. To what extent, we have paid back to them.

The words expressed by Bangabandhu are heart-touching and grounded. These truly reflect feelings and realization of very poor people's miseries, utmost sincerity of doing something for poor, supreme humanity for mankind and above all notion of patriotism. Gratefulness is infused in all sentences, which is reminded again and again. This reiterative notion shows how importantly he thought about the country people and their development. The strong philosophy of paying back to the nation after being educated to those who have spent for us must be taught in education system and instilled among the students. It is believed that if students can realize this philosophy they would be able to become good human being- the ultimate purpose of education.

Education must be paid back to the country by contributing to its substantive development. Students must be taught to contribute in nation building where patriotism is a principal criterion. Students can easily blindly follow Bangabandhu for his true love for the country, how deeply he loved this country. Setting 'my golden Bengal, I love you' as the national anthem proves his true patriotism to this motherland and mother tongue. His life-long passion was to bring benefit for the country people and for the country as a whole. His deeds and words regarding patriotism can be greater field of learning and

practicing patriotism. Moreover, his grapple against corruption should also be disseminated among the students. He recognized the harmful consequences of venality that may hinder all sorts of good deeds and development of the country and as such he emphasized building a corruption free country. His repeatedly pronounced words against corruption denote his entire hatred of this disease. Students at all levels must stand against venality and act accordingly where Bangabandhu's philosophy can be a milestone and antidote to the disease of corruption.

4.3 The desired standard and need based education system

Bangabandhu thought of reconstructing the nation as a developed one and to that end he thought about the modernization of the education system at a world standard. He emphasized Bangla as he valued the mother tongue throughout his life as was reflected in his various speeches delivered before independence. On a point of privilege, on 17 January 1955, he strongly noted that orders must be issued in Bengali alongside English and Urdu (Momen, 2020). Reiterating the same issue, he realized people's feelings and enforced that Bengali should be the state language of the whole country. The words '*it shall be the duty of the Federal and Provincial Governments to take all possible measures for the development and growth of a National Languages*' indicate that mother language is the foundation and prerequisite for all development (Momen, 2020). While speaking in favour of the state language, he strongly proposed 'Bangla' with undeniable justification. He also cited the strong basis and historical perspective saying (Sarker, 2019):

'During the British regime, English was the official language while we used to use Bangla also state language. In East Bengal, we do not consider official language as state language...'

His realization of the importance of state language signifies why mother tongue should be the medium of instruction. Bangabandhu was also emboldened and influenced by the words of Mr. Md. Abbasuddin who told him (Momen, 2020):

'Mujib, there is conspiracy afoot against the Bengali language. If Bengali is not made a state language, Bengali's culture and civilization will be under threat. The songs that you have appreciated so much today will lose all their

charm and melody. Whatever happens, Bengali must be made the state language'.

Bangabandhu underscored the importance of mother language for practicing our traditional culture. Accordingly he assured him to try his best to make it state language and do the needful to achieve that goal. Bangla Academy is the immediate result of language movement. It is true that language has a great role for achieving rights. He knew that language flourishes in open environment (Momen, 2020). It encourages to be creative, to contribute in various fields of literature that eventually encourages to practice and enliven own culture. The word 'Joy Bangla' has the political, economic and social freedom infused in it. The Bengali words encourage and force to achieve independence. There is no denying that without practicing own culture through own language neither a nation can become independent nor a person can ever be self-esteemed. Echoing with the thinking of Bangabandhu about language, scholars remark that medium of instruction plays a vital role in this regard. Learning through mother tongue not only becomes easier but also flourishes intuitive power and basic thinking ability. This process widens the learning ground from classroom to broad ecology. Bangla should be used in everywhere for knowledge aggrandizement, flourishing of culture and national unity. Hence, Bangla should be practiced until class twelve and higher education books on science, engineering and technical are required to be translated into Bangla. In order to do so, translation should be commenced immediately and teaching materials in Bangla should also be signified. As Bangabandhu used to believe as Bengalee, his practice of Bengali culture is an issue of encouragement for others. Even in the jail, he celebrated *Pahela Baishakh*. In his words (Rahman, 2020b):

Today is Bengali New Year, 15 April. After waking up from sleep in the morning, I found Alam Siddiqui, Nurul Islam and some other prisoners are at my area in the jail with few flowers. They offered me new year's greetings with flowers. My friend Khondaker Mostak Ahmed also sent flowers from 26 hospital cell. I sent flowers with new year's greetings to Haji Danesh, Syed Altaf Hossain, Hatem Ali Khan, Sirajul Hossain Khan and Maolana Syedur Rahman Shaheb of cell no 26 and Mr. Rafiq, Mizanur Rahman, Molla

Jalaluddin, Abdul Momin, Obaydur Rahman, Mohiuddin, Sultan, Siraj of cell no. 10 and Khondker Mostak Ahmed of hospital cell.

It indicates his devotion of practicing own culture even in an adverse situation. Bangabandhu wanted to send flowers to all in the jail, but he could not. He knew this culture would strengthen the relation, expedite our spirit for which he at least sent greetings in words to those he could not send flowers. Our culture is not limited to send wishes to near and dear ones only but also organizing cultural events for example singing and organizing *Mela*. There was a programme of singing song with prisoners including a general prisoner. Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury advanced the culture as he sent Bangabandhu new year greetings with a poetry. It is mentionable here that *Pahela Baishakh* was celebrated on 15 April in 1967 which is now celebrated on 14 April. This indicates the notion of restlessness and non-consensus of fixing a date for celebration by the whole Bengalee community. *Pahela Baishakh* is celebrated on two separate dates namely 14th and 15th of April by two communities of Bengalee society

Besides Bangla, a second language, English should also be studied from class six. Modern language institute is needed to establish for learning foreign language, especially at honors level or thereafter. The basic foundation which must be done through national language and learning foreign language at higher level create the environment of effective learning. Giving importance on learning English as a second language symbolizes the farsightedness because it has become the technology, a means of communication and development.

Giving importance of effective learning and scientific learning method, the QKC proposed to minimize the teacher-student ratio at all levels, for example, 1:40 from 1:45 at primary; 1:25 from 1:30 for government & 1:50 for non-government secondary schools; 1:30 from 1:100 for non-government at College level with no change for government colleges while it proposed to increase from 1:15 to 1:20 for technical education. The ratio at university level was also suggested more or less with the standard system where 1:10 ratio is fixed for engineering, agriculture and medical. It is evident that specialized knowledge based education requires the teacher-student ratio minimal for better and effective study. The ratio signifies the close contact between teacher and students higher the class than that of lower class students.

Bangabandhu used to believe that it is important to educate the whole nation to build it as a developed one. His thinking is found in his writing when he mentioned his experience referring to China where they were constructing new schools for their children (Rahman, 2020a):

New schools were built everywhere. Government has taken responsibility of educating young children. Chine own style of education has been introduced.

It is also understood that a new country needs to comprehensively plan and implement where everybody should work and children must be educated. In line with this principle, 36,165 primary schools were nationalized and 11000 new schools were established just after the independence in order to ensure availability of education for all (Imam, 2013; Hossain, 2020) under the state management. This process shows how Bangabandhu set the priority necessarily important for the development of the country. Keeping the country's development in mind, he used to think the education criteria and system. In order to inculcate Bangabandhu's thoughts and realign the education with the global standard and practical need, pre-primary and primary education needs to be updated. He believed that 'there would be no best investment for equitable social system other than investment in education' (Momen, 2020). He demanded that a crash programme has to be taken to teach compulsorily children of five years age (Momen, 2020). Children under five years of age are need to be specially cared as this age is important for mental development for which they should be given enabling environment. They should be well nourished under the supervision of parents. Similarly, kids' home and kids' garden are required to set up. The QKC stressed to set up this children-friendly initiative at the city area. Establishment of a Child Education Research Institute is important for educating children and introducing scientific pedagogy. Primary education, from class one to eight, should be compulsory for all while from one to class five should be completely free. This proposal requires reforms in recruitment of teachers, updating curriculum and teaching materials. For sustaining the education at this level, night shift school for under privileged children, recruiting female teachers to attract girl children and enabling environment would be created. The QKC likewise emphasized practical learning, scientific curricula, unitary system of education for all in line with social demands, sufficient teachers'

training, establishing Primary Education Academy and National Primary Education Board. The prime objective is ensuring compulsory, inclusive and need based quality primary education materialized institutionally and professionally. Bangabandhu's inquisitiveness developed from his childhood and that should be infused among the youngsters. He also observed from the surroundings and thought how our country can be developed and how our children can be well nourished. While he was visiting China, he noticed how Chinese government had remarkably developed and met up basic needs and livelihood of all walks of people. He keenly observed the country's progress and even young children and students how they had been learning and practicing patriotism and responsiveness. He observed that the working procedure of the Chinese government is significant for our primary schooling where students can learn and practice patriotism from the very beginning of life.

Secondary education stage is the foundation base for higher education, vocational and technical education in one hand while it is important for developing personality, creating an active workforce for contributing in economic development on the other. Hence, connectedness between these tiers with higher education must be logically and professionally done. Considering the socio-economic perspective of the country, secondary schooling is viewed as the exit programme for a larger portion of the workforce that should be labeled by a vocational education. The QKC proposed to omit intermediate by adding one year to secondary education and one year to higher education. This suggestion is seen as the remarkable reform proposition by this commission.

The QKC suggested modernization and updating of madrasa education. The same primary education system should be followed in all madrasas with Bangla as the medium of instruction at all levels. Arabic and English will be included as second language while religious study will be compulsory study. As a vocational education, religious study would be taught at secondary education. The commission also suggested three-year degree course and two-year post-graduate course. The madrasa education was proposed to equalize with general education. In this regard, Bangabandhu put emphasis on modernization of religious education responsive to the present-day needs and to the global changes. He warned that religious leaders should not oppose his proposal of

women's coming out of their houses for any purposes. His realization about Mullas' backwardness was reflected in his speech of 28 February 1956, as he said:

'Our Mulla elements might give a fatwa and raise voice as some of them have already started saying that our womenfolk must remain inside their houses'.

From such statement we can realize how progressive he was in his thinking and at the same time how aware he was about the backwardness in thinking of our religious leaders who are confined within the madrasa premises. This also reflects that confrontation of our religious leaders with regard to women's participation in development was worrisome for Bangabandhu. It can be argued that such thinking of a group of people who has got huge influence in the society has also contributed to his thinking of secularism and neutrality. He warned that illiterate people may be misguided and misunderstood about the women's rights. Following the wrong concept 'heaven of wife lies under the feet of husband' men do whatever they wish (Rahman 2020). Bangabandhu realized that women are discriminated in the guise of religious customs and are kept under pressure so that both illiterate and literate people can take advantages over women. His farsightedness about the snags of women development was realized much before we thought.

Bangabandhu was against Islamization and he emphasized secularism. He warned saying that efforts were made to Islamize Bengali language by changing new personnel in the position. It was essayed to write Bengali in Arabic and efforts were also made to take action for alphabet-reform, language-reform, and spelling-reform. It means that it was cogent and planned attempt to taint glorious history of Bengali. He emboldened to study the miseries of common people and people who fought for independence. Categorically he talked about Surya Sen and reviled them not to write about him because of his being Hindu (Momen, 2020). It proves that he did not like radicalism- the prime message of secularism.

4.4 Learning for life and learning for economic development

The key essence of the philosophy 'learning for life and learning for economic development' is acquiring such learning, which can be gained practically and can be utilized for economic activities. Bangabandhu reiteratively emphasized increasing

production in almost all public speeches, as he was well aware of immediate and future requirements. He mentioned the very word 'production' at least six times in a single speech delivered on 25 January 1975 on the occasion of fourth amendment bill 1975 of seventh session of first National Assembly (Momen, 2020). Production is linked to economic development and must be achieved through education, especially learning advanced technology. The paucity of practical work experience does not create learning environment where value of labor is given. Work experience is deemed as tool to gaining practical knowledge as well as developing intuitive capacity. Hence, children were asked to learn to value labor, practical work experience in particular. The commission stressed for the students to gain work experience from their educational institutes. However, responsibilities to evaluate student's physical activities are to be done by the teachers. Three key issues are significant in this regard such as, 1) continuous development and expansion at each level through a comprehensive programme; 2) supply of necessary instrument and equipment; and 3) teacher's training. It is believed that building constructive conception about labour is only an issue of practice in education institutes; these must be cultivated in other areas as well. The work experience will provide foundation to the students for better and brighter future.

Following the above philosophy of Bangabandhu, the commission's most emphasized education system is the vocational education with a broader objective of creating opportunity for economic prosperity. However, this system requires investment for purchasing and installing necessary equipments. Following the vocational education, the QKC weighted on technical education and engineering diploma with the same purpose of job creation opportunity since economic prosperity needs technically expert persons as well.

The main objectives of higher education are determined as creating an efficient, knowledgeable, farsighted individual for advanced jobs; creating a workforce having workaholic nature, thirst of knowledge, freedom of thinking, prudent and bloomed with morale and humanistic values; identifying and solving socio-economic problems. Higher education helps creating workforce for various specialized knowledge, which eventually helps bringing the nation upward, and building sustainable society. The QKC found the deterioration of higher education because of increase of unplanned colleges. It was also

revealed that more students studied arts in higher education, which is not logical for rebuilding the society. Higher education and higher education institutes like Calcutta Islamia College and Dhaka University had a great impact on Bangabandhu. His thoughts, ideas, doctrine were much pronounced and shaped during his student life at the university level. Moreover, language movement and liberation were also fueled and strengthened by the students' activities (Karim, 2018). Higher education institutes were the breeding grounds not only for higher knowledge but also mainly for freedom. Furthermore, university teachers have a great contribution and thus they play a significant role for intellectual development as a whole. During the liberation war, along with significant number of intellectuals from various fields, university teachers played a very effective role in numerous ways and even sacrificing their lives for the country. Bangabandhu wanted that highly intellectual and renowned professors should lead the university administration that means better quality of education, better output and better future leaders produced by better nourished teachers. That's why just before reopening of universities in February 1972, Bangabandhu personally requested renowned professors to be the Vice-chancellor. Muzaffar Ahmed Chowdhury, Khan Sarward Murshid, Syed Ali Ahsan, M Abul Fazal were appointed Vice-Chancellors of Dhaka University, Rajshahi University, Jahangirnagar University and Chittagong University respectively (Anisuzzaman, 2015). In order to create higher level of learning and knowledge based society through exercise of autonomy, Bangabandhu promulgated specific Public University Act, 1973. Constitution of University Grants Commission was his breakthrough initiative in this regard. Such thinking denotes his foresightedness of knowledge creation and keeping higher education free from administrative structure which is believed to be hindrance to heightening the higher education. The public university act 1973 is a milestone that serves as the safeguard for autonomy of public universities. It is much pronounced law as well.

The commission was dubious of getting better output because of existing faulty education system, memory-based learning, paucity of learning materials, lack of good relation between teachers and students and importantly the missing link between learning and research. That's why the commission suggested a major reform in the higher education system that would bring positive change at all levels. The recommended changes in reform include, updating syllabus, merit-based admission system, integration of science

and vocational education, establishing Open University for broadening the scope and finally establishing required laboratory and research centres for increasing the scope of education research. The commission reiterated to stop approving new colleges. Bangabandhu realised that teachers of higher education institutions require exercise of knowledge, conducting research and as such knowledge autonomy is the fundamental. That's why he enacted higher education ordinance to bestow more responsibility with autonomy upon the universities. This thinking is also a notion of showing respect to teachers who will be creating well-groomed future leaders.

The QKC reinvigorated the engineering and technological education at degree level to fulfill the objectives of creating a top-class workforce having higher scientific and practicable education. They will be able to increase production of raw materials, utilize the labor force, contribute for industrial products and solve technical problems. Ultimately they will have their effective role in increasing the economic condition of the country and in developing the living condition of the entire community. For achieving these purposes, the QKC put emphasis on anatomy of colleges, formation of technical education advisory council and training of working engineers.

It is an undenyng fact that the knowledge of science is very essential for daily life for solving various problems pertaining to food, clothing, medical and so on which exponentially expedite holistic development of the society. Consequently, science education must be incorporated and emphasized at all levels of education system, for example, nature studies, agriculture, health etc from class three to five; biology at class five; a comprehensive science course consisting of biology, physics, chemistry from class six to eight; compulsorily physics and chemistry for science group and general science for arts & commerce at secondary level.

As Bangladesh economy and society is highly influenced by agriculture, studying agriculture is a reinvigorated area as vocational education at class nine, ten and eleven. Introducing agriculture diploma and certificate course in polytechnic institutes, opening agriculture college in each division, introducing honors and postgraduate courses on botany, biology, soil chemistry in agriculture university, teacher-training for all levels were key suggestions. Bangabandhu had special attention to agriculture because he got

the independent country with food crisis. His concern was how to solve the crisis is expressed in the speech he made on 25 January 1975:

'We have to buy food. What is the food deficit?...27000 people died from hunger... we shall have to increase production in fields...we are not sufficient in anything; neither in food, nor in garments, nor in petroleum or edible oil. We have to buy raw materials... People have work in fields. No agricultural land will remain barren. You have to increase production, production must be increased...'

The commission thoroughly examined the existing condition of medical education and came up with practical recommendations of updating curriculum, incorporation of various subjects, teacher-student ratio, doctor-people ratio, people-nurse ratio, medium of instruction, governing institutions, medical research and research institutes, medical assistant, various courses on medical education, evaluation system, autonomy of medical colleges and special committee for evaluating homeopathy, *unani* and *ayurvedic* medical education. Inclusiveness in medication with traditional system was included to have comprehensive healthcare system in Bangladesh with the blending of both modern and traditional system.

It is required to create effective workforce at business and industry area with an ultimate purpose of establishing a socialism driven economy. Therefore, the commission recommended, business studies would be introduced as vocation education at secondary level, commercial institutes would be dictated to run diploma and evening courses on insurance, banking, business methods and salesmanship. This education should also be backed by updated curricula, practical learning, competent teachers, and encouragement of female in business education. This arrangement of practical learning serves as the big philosophical foundation of economic development and prosperity of the country so that diversity in education is achieved and active workforce is created. Establishing higher education institutes and producing a significant number of general graduates seems a deviation from the philosophy of Bangabandhu and recommendation of the commission. The emphasis on technical education backed by 'digital Bangladesh' motto of the government symbolizes and endorses the necessity of practical learning for socio-economic development of the country.

The criticisms of about existing law education forced the QKC to suggest practicable and implementable education. The proposed suggestions were increasing duration from two to three years after first degree; assigning specific subjects in first two years and third year; universities would control examination including preparing question, maintaining similarity relating to curricula and education of colleges and universities, introducing four-year honors and two-year master degree course at Dhaka and Rajshahi University.

Teachers play a vital role in shaping students' character, developing their aims of life and moreover leadership quality. The latter one is quite important and needed for the development of the country. Thinking the overall progress and development of students, the QKC included the student guidance and counseling as an integral part of education system. What a student friendly decision! Every student must have a record card that will include consecutive characteristics, family environment, personal likings-disliking and tendency, future plan and continuous development. This seems a summary of a student to understand him or her and directions towards the future so that the student can plan for the self and be motivated as well to achieve that set goals. This counseling system should be practiced in education and research institute so that it can be carried out through teachers in their respective schools. This strategy is effective in building and enhancing student-teacher relation which ultimately will hugely contribute in creating a good learning environment and will help developing personality and personal growth.

Students' welfare is a linking strategy of student counseling that students develop welfare fund and help the students in their need, particularly providing protein-contained food to the students. This is a visionary idea since students, poor in particular, need balanced food for their mental and physical development. A malnourished student can never be transformed into a proper nourished person while malnourished persons cannot make nourished community. Similarly, practicing and organizing cultural programmes is also needed for mental development and each student should get involved in such activities. This will open an opportunity to produce artists. Education should be accompanied by study tour to learn from the field as it creates permanent learning for the students.

In a public speech¹¹, Bangabandhu advised students about what they are expected to do (Momen, 2020):

My student brothers, you have to study. I am happy to learn that you have stopped copying. I have seen that one percent student passed, two or three passed. ... you have to study and become good human being. Bring back the discipline, do less politics.

Bangabandhu clearly defined the responsibilities of students in the above speech. Their task in one hand is to study which is their very basic and fundamental job. On the other hand, becoming good human, becoming honest is the broader purpose of the study and that is also reminded them. These are prioritized areas for the students other than only politics. He realized and ventilated what should be their role as we have already obtained independence.

4.5 Respect for teachers: Value to the nation builders

Country's great leader realized that teachers must be respected and their professional development must be emphasized. He personally used to show respect to teachers. He believed in their freedom so that they could contribute to the nation fearlessly. His words 'salary shall have to be increased significantly for college and schools, particularly for primary school teachers' of the 1970 speech denotes that he thought about the social status of teachers (Momen, 2020). Similarly he had deep respect for university teachers whom he used to address 'sir'. He requested the then renowned teachers to become Vice-chancellor of public universities. Professor Anisuzzaman mentioned when he proposed Muzaffar Ahemd Chowdhury to become Vice-Chancellor of Dhaka University, he showed him due respect, even when he wanted Professor Anisuzzaman to be back to Dhaka University saying, 'Sir, I want Anis in Dhaka University'. What a generosity Bangabandhu showed where he could arbitrarily take the decision and implement these easily.

The involvement of highly intellectual persons is believed to have the real contribution and expected outcome for nation building. Hence, Bangabandhu showed respect and

¹¹ Bangabandhu delivered his speech on 26 March 1975 at the public gathering organised to celebrate the independence day at the Sohrawardy Udyan.

valued teachers. He appointed Professor Nurul Islam, Rehman Sobhan, Musharraf Hossian, Anisur Rahman in planning commission while Professor Kabir Chowdhury education secretary. The appointment of teachers in important nation building activities signifies his respect for the teacher community as well as demonstrates how he valued their honesty, acceptance and capacity. The society still feels teachers are those who can be easily followed as they are the idealist people of the society. His respect to teachers is noteworthy as he used to show respect to his teacher Saidur Rahman as father. It is mentionable here that the proclamation of independence was read out and issued by the name of Professor Yusuf Ali (MoL 2016). Bangabandhu recognized and honored him by appointing him as cabinet member.

His thinking and behaviour towards teachers demonstrate how he valued them. He valued since teachers play the preaching role and influence students greatly throughout their life. The way they handle students, the process they teach them, the behaviour they show to students are indeed very important for their development. Style of teachers, depth of knowledge, leadership traits, mannerism, etc easily transmit to the pupil. Thus teaching training is an emphasized component of this education commission and teachers should be trained on regular basis to be updated, refreshed and modernized. The important suggestions of the commission included two-month short-term course for teachers in PTIs, training for graduate teachers in teachers' training colleges; introducing refreshers course, commencing vocational teacher-training, establishing new education extension centres, updating curricula, establishing PTI for female teachers, establishing educational research institute. The commission also suggests to encourage meritorious students to get engage in teaching, maintain the expected teacher-student ratio, extend teacher-training through radio-television, bridge with society through observance of national days, establishing national teacher training institute and form a national teaching advisory council to advise pertaining to teacher-training.

Teachers play an important role for developing the society to a significant height for which society also expects logically many things from them. The QKC suggested teachers at primary level to prepare lesson plan, facilitate students using modern learning materials and scientific method, include students in extracurricular activities, to spend specific time for preparing class and practical session; teacher at college and university

level to involve students for home work and tutorial. The QKC put importance on teachers' salary, promotion, sufficient training, and pension facility so that they could remain mentally sound and contribute effectively in building the society. Bangabandhu realized the importance of handsome salary of teachers long before and spoke in a meeting on 1 December 1948 (Dhaka University Talks, 2020):

'If the salary of teachers is not increased, education related problems won't be solved'.

Thinking about the development of teachers, immediately after the independence, he nationalized and created posts for 1,55,023 teachers that dignifies his overall development of education and involvement of teachers (Imam, 2013). The nationalization process was also followed by the declaration of grade-wise teachers which were subsumed in three categories. The inclusion of teachers as public employees upholds the position and social status. Apart from the respect to the teachers, Bangabandhu defined the role of teachers and strategies how and what students should be taught (Momen, 2020):

I have a request to you to the teachers' community. Please don't fail them. It seems you have performed you duties just making two percent pass. You have responsibilities to bring up students as human being. You don't have any credit to fail them. Do you jobs. There is not credit to fail them rather there is a credit to pass them. Teach them to be man. I will give salary to all teachers and I want return. You are required to teach them. Bring back discipline and stop doing politics less. Try to make teach them to become human being. Don't just show the credit doing two percent pass that you have become strict. I want strict. Don't let them indulge in copying. But, my earnest request, kindly do your jobs religiously. Try to make students as good person. Try to increase the pass rate. If you try to make them human being, that would be nice. Do not be annoyed. You can do that on me.

These words are mixture of soft and hard advices about how teachers should perform their responsibilities for bringing up next generation as good human being. The strong message in this speech he delivered was about what to do, how to do and even what not

to do. This is quite a guideline in the guise of advices. The key message is to teach students to make them good human being and good heart who will also be taught to establish a society free from all sorts of corruption. Bangabandhu also urged for producing good human being since he said, 'our education has created only bureaucrats till today, human beings were not created'.

4.6 Cultural development through education both formally and informally

Studying fine arts aims at building a cultural minded society and flourishing aesthetic beauty of country people so that it can contribute social development and progress. Aesthetic beauty develops children's mental development. That's why creating proper environment is needed. Enabling environment for studying fine arts include natural surroundings, nicely decorated house, planned garden, own school museum, artworks, music, library, beauty corner etc. Studied subject of fine arts means studying music, dance, acting (with recitation), painting, handmade items, sculpture. The QKC suggested opening fine arts faculty for higher studies, arrangement of fine arts study at teacher-training institute, setting up drama stage, establishing national art collection, library at each district, setting a national fine arts academy, exchanging cultural team with other countries, and introducing national award in each department of fine arts.

Bangabandhu realized that without education a nation cannot progress. Hence learning at all levels – either formal or informal- is more important where library can contribute significantly. Library is treated as the heart of any educational institute whereas most of them lack libraries. This situation shows the present scenario as well as provides the grounds of setting and developing libraries. The QKC suggested setting attractive libraries at primary schools to attract pupils to learning, redeveloping libraries at secondary levels as well as college level. University libraries have also the similar condition which must be developed in line with the renowned libraries of the world and these libraries must be equipped with books, journals, research papers, international books to strengthen the reference section.

The QKC thought beyond the formally set libraries and suggested developing public libraries like developed countries. This idea is influenced by the thinking of Bangabandhu's vision of developed nation as well as nurturing the nation's culture. Public

libraries as national archives should be the depository of all public documents not only to preserve but also make available for all and future generation. The commission finds the necessity of training of library management, setting up museums for inculcating the various stages of learning both institutionally and informally.

Public libraries and museums are the storage of valuable documents of our culture as well as liberation war. The latter one is much more important for the foundation of learning and nation building where it lays the basic principle of education. Seeing visually those documents students can think, understand, realize the deep sense of our greatest liberation war and thus learn to practice throughout their lives.

Bangabandhu stressed informal and unstructured learning that is grounded and aligned with our culture. He told youths (Momen, 2020):

My young brothers, the cooperative system I am going to introduce in villages would be a great issue for survival of our people. You have to make your full pants to half pants, you have to wear lungi instead of payjama. And, you have to work in villages to make cooperatives successful. For this task, we need youths, we need students, we need all.

The message clearly denotes that young generation should become real ‘Bengalee’ that portrays of a person who follows village norms, wears dresses in our country context, does economic activities particularly agriculture and also forms a cooperative to help each other to progress together. The popular proverb ‘unity is strength’ is an underlined message of forming cooperative society for agricultural economic activities.

4.7 Inclusiveness & equality and importance of special education

The lifelong philosophy of Bangabandhu was to establish a society free from inequality and deprivation which is also a principle of the constitution of Bangladesh. It is also important to practice a classless, exploitation-free societal notion in educational level. Bangabndhu realized that exploitation and inequality creates deprivation and led to restlessness in the society for which basically Bangladesh emerged after a nine-month liberation war. It was also realized by the QKC that this deprivation can be minimized through learning and practice at all levels particularly through education. Several

strategies were recommended such as compulsory and free primary education up to class VIII, arrangement of educational equipment, Tiffin, uniform etc. at low cost. Compulsory primary idea came from Bangabandhu's China tour as the government started providing free education for all (Rahman, 2020a). These recommendations are treated effective and farsighted as supplement to ensure quality education. To ensure equality proper education and training were suggested on the basis of merit and competency. A special emphasis was given to create opportunities for poor families of rural area. The lifelong philosophy of Bangabandhu- working and development for the poor is echoed here. It also opened up the opportunity for all irrespective of class, region and vulnerability in line with basic human right principles of the constitution. The commission did not ignore the education and development of differently able students as well as female education. Broadly sustainability of educational development was spawned in the commission report fueled by the vision of Bangabandhu.

Inclusiveness is a fundamental principle of education. It requires setting up special schools at both primary and secondary levels and separate schools for blind and deaf in each division. It also requires enabling environment and specially trained teachers. The fundamental principle 19(1) of the constitution stated that the State shall endeavour to ensure equality of opportunity to all citizens (Ministry of Law, 2020).

As an integral part of education, health education and physical exercise is required for physical and mental development of children. It must be mandatory at all level with a scope of playgrounds, fitness centre, sports items, trained teachers, physical college, introducing short and postgraduate courses. In order to uphold the spirit of independence, the commission emphasized studying military education for bringing discipline and valuing national interest over individual interest. The achievement of newly independent country boosts up the commission member to propagate in this regard.

Realizing Bangladesh as one of the most illiterate countries, the QKC suggested to take comprehensive programme following institutional arrangement across the country.

4.8 Role of Women in developing the country: Women's Education

Bangabandhu was always concerned about women education. He believed that leaving half the population confined within homestead we cannot attain progress. He remarked (Rahman, 2020):

To speak the truth, if half of the total population being captured in house does only increase generation and does not do anything, that the nation can never progress in the world.

These words symbolize development thinking of Bangabandhu relating to women who need to be developed and must be engaged in every sphere. Ensuring gender equity at all levels is a constitutional obligation and demands equal participation of women in education. Universal equity and Bangabandhu's life-long philosophy of equality for all can be ensured and be determined through female education which not only leads to the progress of women-folk, but also the whole nation. He used to believe that if women-folk does not come forward, the nation in true sense would not progress (Mamun, 2004). Believing this philosophy he emphasized women's active involvement in decision-making process. As such, he appealed for reservation of 20 seats for women in the National Assembly (Momen, 2020). Educating women has spillover effect in the society. His witty and knowledgeable speech strongly favoured women. He asked all to encounter and he himself encountered the criticism of religious leaders with regard to women's participation in development activities when he said 'our Mulla elements might give a fatwa and raise a voice as some of them have already started saying that our womenfolk must remain inside their houses and should not dabble in politics' (Momen, 20205). The message clearly denotes that women must come out for their own development and for participating in national development however, education is the first and foremost step to move forward. Acknowledging the superstition, Bangabandhu encouraged female to study that is expressed in a lucid Bengali words,

'We forcefully kept half of our community in darkness, in our house. You can fully rely on the religion that it has equal rights for education of brothers-sisters and it will be materialized in this independent Bangladesh. (Female) you have to step forward. Young sisters, be educated'.

He hoped that young generation of independent Bangladesh- boys and girls- would move forward together so that next generation can step up to a certain height. He gave equal importance to both boys and girls in his words.

The QKC emboldened female education on issues applicable for day-to-day living for example, child caring, nursing patients, healthcare, food, protein, preservation of food, embroidery, making dolls and toys, cattle rearing. These are very soft-skilled expertise that women can learn through education and with this learning they can contribute to their family income. These are supportive to their family and contributing factor to the society and to social development. The committee might be encouraged by the socio-cultural issues of the country that women should do some jobs, which are mostly feminine in nature. That's why suggestions for educating women were circled by number of issues which are soft in nature, linked with home management and most importantly have little scope to demonstrate high level knowledge. All suggested jobs are discouraging for women to move beyond home sphere and to contribute in public sphere. It is cogently evident that inclusion of such learning issues indicates confinement of female at home and ignores their intellectual capacity. Moreover, such recommendation contradicts with 'inclusiveness principle' of Bangabandhu since he wanted to step forward with all. His repetitive words on hand-in-hand movement towards development must be with both male and females. In almost all his public speeches, he addressed 'my brothers and sisters' and such addressing indicates inclusiveness, integration, involvement and contribution for the country. The commission did not recommend higher education rather emphasized to increase female teachers at primary and secondary level and vocational learning. The suggestions concerning female education made by the commission do not fully reflect the 'equality for all' philosophy of Bangabandhu and that of the constitution of the country.

In the formation of the Bangladesh Education Commission Bangabandhu did not forget women. He valued women's intellectual ability and accordingly included one in the commission as member. However, it is evident from the commission report that surprisingly the sub-committee on 'Female Education' consisting of all women came up with the recommendations mentioned above. It is not unlikely that they could not come out from the traditional beliefs and practices regarding women's role in the family and

also was skeptic about the reaction of male members. There were two other sub-committees namely Secondary and Higher Secondary Education and Vocational and Technical Education respectively headed by two female teachers. Both committee heads were two headmistresses where principles of different colleges and university teachers were the members. It indicates that formation of sub-committees was free from the bureaucratic and administrative principles of committee formation as the two sub-committees heads were two school headmistresses. In our administrative system, a person usually is not included as member in a committee where a person of lower rank serves as the committee head. This indicates the broadness of the committee formation structure. Despite freedom and authority, female head committee came up with the very simple suggestions that lacked of broader aspect.

The question is couldn't they beyond the narrowly defined role and socially constructed responsibility of women nor could they exercise their free thinking for big change. It might also happen that they thought their suggestions might not be accepted or their suggestions were not accepted. It also poses another question whether they were fully driven by the male dominated social culture and the then socio-economic condition of the country. If it is true, the committee could not think or failed to see bigger contribution of womenfolk. Educationist and social scientists advocate that the ultimate purpose of education is always linked to long-term development where value of immediate output is reasonably narrow versioned. If women are not highly educated, they won't be able to hold higher decision-making post and thus, they won't be able to contribute more for total development. The question is how the country would get engineers, scientists, university teachers, pilot, chief of business organization, administrative head of bureaucracy, high-ranking defense officials from among the women if women are not highly educated. Bangabandhu always was used to think big, was used to see the big picture. The thinking of visionary leader Bangabandhu does not match with suggestions of the sub-committee of female education. The formation of sub-committees was idealized, as the change or expected suggestions should come out from 'within' as the key stakeholders could think more concrete and realistically. This seems missing.

Bangabandhu had a strong belief that rights would be achieved when female would also join which means collective actions and responsibilities are required. It needs active

participation for every issue of the country where education plays a significant role. He praised female students' actions when he was in jail (Rahman, 2020b):

'We were put up in Ward 4. It was housed in three-storied building. Outside the walls of the jail was Muslim Girls' School. All the five days that we were in jail, the schoolgirls began their morning raising slogans from the school's rooftop and ended their day doing the same at four in the afternoon. They seemed indefatigable as they cried out, "The state language must be Bengali", 'Our brothers in prison must be freed', 'People brutality must end', and so on. I remember telling Mr. Huq then, 'See how even our sisters have come out in the open for our cause...'

His high hope about the female seems not only encouraging, it shows the way of women development and their awareness of rights, understanding against the brutality and feelings for countrymen and language. This is only possible if women are educated. However, the QKC and women members probably could not realize the philosophy of Bangabandhu who had a great concern about the so called religious leaders who could create obstacles to women development in Bangladesh. His realization is reflected in his speeches and writings. It is clear from his thoughts that he wanted women's progress at all levels, he emphasized women and noticed women's contribution. He observed women's support and contribution in China and remarked how and why a nation can progress further (Rahman, 2020a):

The factories, industries, government offices I have visited, I have seen there women are working; there involvement rate is more than 40 percent. The main reason for New China's develop is the combined effort of men and women. They have put hands together. That's why the nation is increasingly moving towards progress.

He believed in women's capacity and ability by heart and his beliefs were reflected in his words and personal life. He experienced the reflection of his beliefs in Chinese society as well and realized how women are indispensable in the progress of the country.

4.9 Administering education institution and managing education system: Examination and Evaluation method

Bangabandhu realized that education institutes particularly universities should be administered by educationist, experienced, knowledgeable and renowned professors. He requested Professor Muzzafar Ahmed Chowdhury to become the Vice-Chancellor of Dhaka University. Similarly, he also convinced Professor Abul Fazal for Chittagong University (Hossain, 2020). Since scientific evaluation of education system is considered as the improvement standard, the QKC recommended some changes in examination system, structure of examination, duration of examination, administrative structure, examination management so that it could be widely accepted and could contribute to building a socialist and democratic society in turn. They also emphasized in-course system examination in addition to external examination. Very specifically, pupils at primary level should be evaluated on the basis of their class performance and behaviour; students of secondary level and degree course should be evaluated on their homework, tutorial, class performance, performance at the examination and practical examination; at honors and masters students evaluation will be done both internally and externally. Universities are suggested to introduce merit-based admission system followed by a competitive examination.

From the decision made by Bangabandhu cogently indicates that education institutes must be administered by the educationists who can actually realize, understand and feel the betterment of institutions. His thinking signifies the deeper understanding of the effectiveness of institutional management of education and the policy implications. If it is not maintained, there is a possibility of being ruled by the inexperienced and non-academic person who can hardly make these institutes successful and meaningful contributions to the society.

4.10 Holidays in Educational institution

In order to maintain similar leave system in all education institutes and bring effectiveness in education system the QKC suggested maximum 120 days leave and 245 working days. The commission recommended same weekend for all, provision of long vacation during harvesting period so that students can help their parents and can get experience of practical work and same commencement date study year for college and

university. In line with the views of Bangabandhu, the QKC proposed the provision of long vacation during the harvesting period so that students can assist their parents in their day-to-day activities. Here socio-cultural norms are set how they should develop themselves and should contribute to the familial and social prosperity.

4.11 Curriculum and textbooks

The most important and emphasized part of the QKC was to reform education system and textbooks, which must be done by various educational institutions. This is categorically assigned so that our curriculum can meet the world standard as the world continuously is updating aligning with the changes. The QKC acknowledges that our curriculum is conservative, traditional, conventional and developed with low quality materials which are key constraints of quality education. This notion aligns with Bangabandhu's thoughts of quality education and development to compete with the global standard. Equal importance was given on curriculum so that students can become good citizen. Following Bangabandhu's idea of learning through mother tongue, Bangla was made compulsory at primary education proposing English as the second language. Incorporation of English as the second language signifies the farsightedness towards the creation of global citizen. The proposed curriculum included rural agriculture, industrialization and learning by doing materials. The learning continuation of primary to the secondary level seems not only a bridging between two steps but also scientific method of gradual up gradation in the process as well as development in line with vocational and general education. As secondary is deemed to be the foundation of education, this tier needs inclusion of basic subjects from where students can be encouraged and molded towards their choice and knacks. It is assumed that without learning science and mathematics, a country can't proceed towards development. Hence these two subjects were much stressed at this level. It is needless to say that the whole curriculum is fueled and influenced by the spirit of liberation war and by the basic principles of the constitutions, the key philosophical bases of education as Bangabandhu thought.

Textbooks are the main materials for learning and needed to make available with the students without any hindrance. However, these textbooks must be written by experienced and expert teachers and writers. This is the task of the textbook board. A teacher-learning aid should be developed. One of the major recommendations made by

the commission was to produce books of higher education level in Bangla with suitable translation. Books at all level must be reasonably priced to make affordable for all. This idea emphasizes the purchasing power of poor community of the country.

Apart from modernizing curriculum, the philosophy of equitable society is strong permeating factor so that students through this curriculum can gain knowledge on these issues and inculcate at all levels. Here comes the four principles as the source of all tiers of education and curriculum.

4.12 Educational institutes and learning materials

Considering the exponential increase of students and best utilization of money, educational institutions should be built so that these can produce most out of these. All classrooms, laboratories should be properly and widely utilized. The QKC acknowledges that learning materials, which are bought, are not up to the mark, where quality must be maintained through proper supervision. The unplanned construction of schools was matter of annoyance for Bangabandhu and he commented that schools have been made a place for cattle farming (Momen, 2020). This indicates his awareness as well as worrisome about the environment of education institutes. Environment of educational institutes must be workable for learning and suitable for both students and teachers. The message was also delivered to the society and the social leaders that there should be good education institutes.

4.13 Education administration

Government had very little attention on education in the country before independence. As such there was very little or no reform initiative in this sector. It is also clear deprivation that led to liberation war. That's why reform in education administration was a dire necessity. The QKC recommended to solve inherent problems such as, capital based education administration, less involvement of educationist, repetition of task by ministry and department, mentality of administrator, negligence to lower tier of education, paucity of training personnel and tendency to circulate rather than real reforms. To address these obstacles, commission suggested some steps such as, merging department, decentralization of administrative and financial power, autonomy to engineering and medical colleges, establishment of primary education authority, forming executive and

management council at all levels with teachers and guardians, recruitment of educationist in education ministry, training to education personnel and establishing university as fully autonomous body.

It is noticeable from the speech of Bangabandhu in an opening of training programmes for newly appointed District Governors where he ordered them to look after schools and take the hold of school administration for its smooth running (Momen, 2020).

4.14 Financial allocation for education

The QKC deeply realized and agreed about the tremendous effect of education on forming a modern society. The commission proposed development schemes for which huge money is needed. However, it should not be treated as expenditure rather it is an important investment for the socio-economic development of the society. This investment will produce multiple effects in the society including developing future leaders to rule the society and nation. Investment will be done considering three key issues such as, the percentage of total GDP, distribution of money based on levels and methods of providing money. Research shows that rich people usually benefits from the government allocation (Buracom, 2011; Karim, 2015). That's why consideration must be kept in mind so that poor people can be more benefitted from the education budget. This strategy will help reduce inequality and build harmonious society for which Bangabandhu struggle throughout his life. Although there is no widely acceptable strategy to allocate money, the key consideration should be 'need based' and 'equal distribution' that follows the prime philosophy of Bangabandhu. However, he uttered¹² sad notion about the bad environment (Momen, 2020):

There are schools and colleges where government allocates money. We have given money to primary school. Many do not emphasize schooling, many [teachers] do not teach and even do not go to school [for teaching]. People use schools as cattle firm. Money is spent and ration is also provided. Watch those how implemented. If you can be able to do so, engage one officer; District officer, school officer- control them. Know details about them. If

¹² Bangabandhu delivered a speech in an inaugural ceremony of training programmed organized for the newly appointed district governors at Bangabhaban on 21 July 1975.

you see any teacher does not work, transfer him. Because they are public servants.

This is a quite indication of proper utilization of government resources and public money and strong position against misappropriation of money and corruption. Best utilization of resources, financial resource in particular is a strongly emphasized issue as he mentioned in many of his public speeches. He deeply realized that limited resources with huge demand are major challenges for rebuilding the economy and society of the newly independent country. This learning is set as the basis of resource planning that is needed to be practiced among the nation builders, students in particular.

The QKC panned out with the remarks that the existing education system circled with complex problems cannot be solved with 'one size fits to all' strategy. Thus, it needs to prioritize the problems and take initiatives to solve gradually. The most emphasized areas include reflection of four basic principles at all levels of education, introduction of Bangla as medium of instruction, compulsory primary education up to class eight, inclusion of agriculture and science at primary level, creation of opportunity of vocational education from secondary level, introduction of work-based curriculum at all levels, elimination of illiteracy, reform in examination and evaluation method, removal of discrepancy between public and private institutes, reconstruction of education administration, nurture of meritorious poor students, encouraging youths to social services, attracting competent persons to teaching profession and finally, treating education as an investment not an area of expenditure. This positive approach may significantly change the system and achieve a better future of the country through a better-nourished and educated society. The positive notions and positive advices of Bangabandhu can be followed at all levels (Momen, 2020):

'I believe in positive approach, not a negative approach. ... think for a positive approach than a negative approach.'

Being positive at all levels brings constructive development in human mind. Thus, the learning of practicing positiveness is mandatorily required. If it happens we can hope for

our desired better society. A better society with triumph¹³ of truth against dishonesty, naturalness against madness, bravery against cowardice, justice against injustice and good against bad will be established (Momen, 2020). And, that is basically the ultimate purpose of education.

¹³ In a speech of Bangabandhu at Palam Airport of New Delhi on 10 January 1972.

Chapter-V: Results and Discussion

5.0 Introduction

The research design had three objectives namely (i) understanding educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu; (ii) analyzing the reflection of educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu in Bangladesh Education Commission Report, 1974; and (iii) the implementation status/challenges of the education commission report. It is evident in our previous presentations that the commission report with minor exceptions is the reflection of educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu. The previous two chapters are the presentation of our understanding and findings with regard to the first two objectives that we developed from available secondary sources. We realized that Bangabandhu equated investment in education with human resource development not as expensive social service activity. He thought of increased investment in education. Introduction of uniform education for all, modernization of curriculum for the creation of knowledge society, elimination of illiteracy and building educated society, instilling four fundamental principles of state policy in the minds of people through education etc are the demonstration of his educational thoughts and philosophy. Through education his dream was to create humanistic persons with ethical values, skilled persons with technical knowhow, science minded persons free from superstitions and globally competitive citizens. He was very respectful to teachers and thought of enhancing teachers' salary and social dignity; he wanted the most meritorious persons in teaching profession for providing quality education; he gave equal importance to women education and women leadership. Bangabandhu thought of eight-year primary education and four-year secondary education. In his thinking the most meritorious students will go for higher/tertiary education and will be scientists, philosophers, think tanks and will lead the country while others will be exposed to vocational and technical education. He thought of linking education and employment and providing resource through cooperative approach. Nationalisation of education, providing books and school meal, stipend for the poor but meritorious students are some reflections of his progressive thinking with regard to education.

However, evidence suggests that many of his ideas or in other words the recommendations made in Bangladesh Education Commission Report, 1974 with regard to the restructuring of education system of the country are yet to be implemented. We shared our understandings with our respected interviewees and sought their views with regard to our understanding. This chapter is the presentation of results of this research conducted following a qualitative approach. These results are the outcomes of the interviews necessarily linked to our understanding from available literature on Bangabandhu's thoughts on education. The results are described and thematically arranged relating to the three broad research objectives. Key results of the study represent Bangabandhu's childhood learning, life-long learning and philosophy, state policy and governance, socio-political context and ecology, and numerous challenges at all times.

5.1 A multi-level education system

The constitutionally enshrined education system clearly defines the total system that carries the underlying philosophy of educating a whole nation in one single system. The beginning of the article of the constitution with the universality notion emphasizes the philosophical foundations and bringing all under one system in order to provide similar treatment to all irrespective of class and capacity. The result shows that the universal system of education is yet to be established in our country. Evidence shows that there are at least three types of education systems, namely, general education, madrasa education and English medium education are in practice in Bangladesh. People of the high-income group are usually exposed to English Medium School while the poorer groups of the society usually gain education from madrasa. The majority of the society gets their children admitted into general education. The reasons behind the non-implementation of the uniform and universal education system are captured during the interviews.

'...the present multi-level education system is seemingly different than it is stated in the constitution which also differs from the thoughts of Bangabandhu. Various systems of education and medium of instructions are seen as the different dimensions which are necessarily contradiction of the constitutional obligation'.

An interviewee, a renowned educationist

The multi-level education systems are the outcome of pressure group having different political ideology. For example, those who pressurized for the continuation of madrasa education were able to pacify the fraction of the society who was in favour. One interviewee mentioned that initially government intended to introduce unitary form of education with same syllabus even in madrasa. However, Maulana Abdur Rashid Tarkabagish advised the government not to challenge religious sentiment and the existing madrasa education system. The following governments were politically rightist and in favour of religious education continued the process and further strengthened the inclusion of madrasa education. Moreover, amendment of article 8 of the constitution and inclusion of 'Islam' as the state language acted as enabling situation for continuation of strengthening the madrasa education. For the similar socio-political factor, branches of religious education for example, *Koumi* flourished over the period of years irrespective of different political ideology in power. It is worth mentioning, as interviews revealed, that one of major reasons for non-implementation uniform education system was time. Bangabandhu got very short time after the submission of the commission report. His brutal killing in 1975 as well as the changed socio-political context were the major obstacles in this regard.

It is argued that the prevalence of multi-type education systems widened the inequality, strengthened the class structure and weakened the unity among the nation that ultimately serves against the notion of uprising independence. Cultural orientation in three different systems is diverse and outcomes of education are differently valued and impact is scattered.

5.2 Childhood Learning

The learning at the early childhood that shaped Bangabandhu's thinking of working for the people, sacrificing for the wellbeing for the humanity is the fundamental philosophical base for education. He personally helped poor people and tried to provide food, shelter and other assistance- in cash and kinds. The miseries and sufferings of people touched his heart and emboldened him to contribute instantly what he had or what his family member had. A famous economic analyst, educationist and one of our distinguished interviewees mentioned:

“ Two values significantly served Bangabandhu to think about and do something for education. He was admitted to mission school. Mission school means secular education. The secularism mentality developed at the childhood through secular practices. Secondly, when AK Fazlul Haque and Hussain Shaheed Shahwardy visited his school and he urged them to take action for repairing the school building. The issue of compulsory education upto class eight came from this school learning and learning his visit to China encouraged him. His endeavour always was for unprivileged and vulnerable. He was kind to the suppressed. Naturally, he thought education for those who were out of education because of money.

The environment where Bangabandhu was brought up and studied pivotally impacted to think about such significant initiatives about education, its progress and its systems. Some other prominent interviewees also opined the same during interview sessions.

Primary education up to class VIII emphasized by both Bangabandhu and QKC means special care to the children and their mental growth. His idea was to treat children as privileged class as he had seen in China although the notion of privileged class differs based on the political ideology in power for example, *Jaminder* in our society during that time, businessmen in capitalist society. Bangabandhu wrote:

In the capitalist society businessmen are the privileged class, in our society Jaminders are the privileged class, but in China, children are the ‘privileged class’.

5.3 Education Institute

It is a crude truth that without education, in real sense, a nation cannot prosper while education institution is immensely important for disseminating education. Bangabandhu realized the importance of education and education institutes from his student life. Education institute creates the platform to realize the essence of education as well as the essence of emancipation for the country people where education works as the vehicle. From his family he learned to help the distressed and the vulnerable people of the society and continuation of such practices even in education institute molded him in adopting educational policies and taking massive actions. As such, he tried to solve problems at the

school where he studied so that students would continue their study without any structural obstacle. Interviews reveal that Bangabandhu's study at the missionary school was also a contributing factor in shaping his idea of secularism and wellbeing of the society. Learning from this school emboldened him to practice it passionately and encouraged him to infuse it through his political ideology.

His reading habit ignited him for establishing such a society where people would be free from all sorts of oppression and inequality. His ideas came from his brain. He loved to read. During his prison day he did not waste a single moment. He used to read different books and share his experiences with other inmates in the prison and analysed different concepts and gradually developed his own thoughts. A veteran politician, former student leader who had close proximity with Bangabandhu mentioned:

...that once he was reading the books on 'European renaissance' and he analysed how the European countries overcame the crisis and progressed for advancement. Bangabandhu explained that European countries separated the 'education' from the 'Church'. He realized that religion and education will exist in its own way. From that realization, Bangabandhu emphasized the notion of secularism in the constitution as well as in the education system.

Education institute directly played a vital role in shaping his ideas and thoughts. These were encouraging for him not only for cultivating normative values but also engaging him in the struggle for the rights of people. His studentship was cancelled from the University of Dhaka because of joining for the rights of class four employees, which means he always stood against oppression. Employees of education should be well-paid so that they can work with full devotion.

5.4 Individual behaviour and Effects of Education

Education institutes are the practical field of developing personality, leadership and team spirit among students through well-designed curriculum and by translating values and norms among the students. Bangabandhu, as leader, hypnotized peoples from all walks and demonstrated the inimitable leadership. Following the leadership quality of the great

leader, the QKC emphasized incorporating values, traits so that students can be future leaders. The interviewees viewed:

... Bangabandhu's belief was 'Education must ensure that every citizen of Bangladesh is respectful towards our national morals and ideology. Only quality education can develop the morals of the people'. For this, he urged for the reconstruction of the education system involving the teachers and educators to make a good and patriotic citizen who will be dedicated to the welfare of the country. He guided to instill the education into the minds of the people with the aim of a genuine attachment for nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism and its assurance of true reflection. The respondents stated that concerning the thoughts of Bangabandhu on education, the commission set the aim of education maintaining a balance between the main principles of education and the fundamental principles embodied in our constitution. The goal of education stated in the report was to build an attitude of respect for the people of the country, for friendship and amity among nations, above all for the humanism."

The commission report focused on setting morality, leadership, respect for manual work and building diligent character through an appropriate curriculum and a proper academic atmosphere. The report emphasized the responsibility of teachers for demonstrating honesty, impartiality, diligence and genuine sympathy for the students to build their morality. In addition, teachers will be financially encouraged. They mentioned that other reports from several education commissions did not focus this issue of student development. They also showed the example of China in 1952 how the then government provided support for the citizens to build the children as a human being.

Leaders will emerge among students through practice of learning in different students' clubs and reading clubs, through various competitions where they will have the opportunity to organise, demonstrate and contribute for social well-being. These informal organisations help learn about life, inculcate good practices, practice organising skills and administrative capacity. Throughout this process leadership will be developed. The QKC report also stressed that. For developing leadership, and educationist as well as one of our distinguished interviewees argued:

A good headmaster who is also supported by good people, plays an important role in shaping the student's thought process and creates leaders. Teachers should be role model. Combination of good headmaster and good people in the community significantly contributes to this process.

He further showed the mechanism how this leadership can be materialized and can be decentralized as Bangabandhu in the form of district governor system.

5.5 Education is an investment

The investment is the interaction of input and output where the latter provides continuous benefits and development. Education is considered as the biggest investment for all sorts of development. Its benefits are enormous in terms of value for money, value for the society and most importantly for the development of the society in an evenly manner. Education spending is thus the best investment considering all social spending. Although the issue of investment is usually seen as a term for capitalism, Bangabandhu stressed it as state investment within a broader context and not beyond capitalistic framework. From the perspective of capitalism investment is utilising money to get profit in return which is different in the context of socialism and links to the rights of people when it is about investment in education. His notion of state investment clarifies that investment in education must be done by the state to get the most return from the citizen. Such investment would create social capital, would generate employment and would enhance social development. Here the state has broader responsibility with a greater interest. This philosophy has the underlying meaning that education won't be an area either by the riches or by state only. However, state has a bigger role for investment. Thus he realized the truth and emphasised increasing state spending upto 4% of GDP. One of our interviewees, an educationist, former governor of Bangladesh Bank and who worked very closely with Bangabandhu told:

Bangabandhu lucidly said that spending GDP for education is an investment. It is also a modern concept that it is investment if money is spent for study. And by investing this, youth will be turned to human capital. Although he did not pronounce words like an academic, he ultimately emphasized investment that linked to social capital.

While Bangabandhu stressed education as investment, the then leftist student section because of their misunderstanding was against this idea although they in later times realized in inner meaning of state investment that denoted the blending of socialism and capitalism. One of the legendary politicians of our country having very close proximity with Bangabandhu while talking to us during interview commented that Bangabandhu was well ahead of his time. His notion of education was a much more far-sighted thought from the contemporary leaders of that time. He mentioned:

We were against the notion of investment in education that appears the capitalism because of investment terminology; education can be product which only rich people of the society can buy. Rather education is a right of citizen. We went to Bangabandhu and explained our position. He told us in such a convincing way that we agreed with him.

The term investment indicates multiple and multi-dimensional meaning to different sections of the society. Existing different systems of education can be the primary cause for which the richest group of the society who are also the beneficiaries of state power hardly emphasize such investment since their children are not taught in general education. It is also noticeable that private universities emerged to provide education to the richest group. One interviewer remarked that:

...private universities introduce courses which have market demand and profit making that differs from the main philosophy of education. These education institutes do not provide subjects of arts and social science, for example Philosophy, Bangla which are mainly important for developing social norms and values.

Although education is the most important sector for developing a country and sustaining the development and making a prosperous nation, this sector still did not get much attention in our budget. This sector was ignored to a great extent by all governments and expected investment was never made. One of the leading economic analysts of the country and a former governor of Bangladesh Bank while talking to us during interview mentioned that even today the investment in education did not exceed 3% of our GDP. The reason, he identified is lack of financial ability. Investment has increased gradually

over the years but yet to be the expected level of 4% of GDP since the country cannot afford to it. It is because of the tax-GDP ratio which is the lowest in Bangladesh among the South Asian countries.

5.6 Giving Dignity to the teachers

Bangabandhu had special care and profound respect for teachers. Showing deep respect for the teachers is not only a culture but also is recognising the nation builders who actually create future leaders. It signifies the appointment of good teachers in administering the educational institutes. A leading educationist and senior professor of the country from University of Dhaka during interview told us that:

.. Bangabandhu used address teachers 'sir' and this was a reflection of his respect for the teacher community. He personally requested renowned teachers to run educational institutions. That's why he made Professor Mozaffar Ahmed, Professor Abul Fazal, Professor Khan Sarawar Murshid VC of Dhaka University, Chittagong University and Rajshahi University respectively. There is a story about the appointment of Professor Abul Fazal as VC of Chittagong University. Bangabandhu could not communicate with him as he did not have a telephone. He connected through telephone of Bangladesh Betar of Chittagong and requested him to be VC of Chittagong University. When he tried to refuse the proposal, Bangabandhu said if renowned teachers like you don't want to come to university administration, how students would not be well-educated.

As teachers are the key-players of developing future leaders, they should be well-paid so that they can lead a dignified social life. Teachers' peaceful living automatically encourages them to contribute for true mental growth of children. It necessitates sufficient salary and other allowances for their livelihood. Bangabandhu realized the importance of enhancing teachers' salary and allowances and repeatedly raised the issue in many public speeches, included his educational agenda in political movement. The urge for increasing 4% GDP for education mandatorily links to this enhancement of salary and other benefits for the teacher community. One of our interviewees who was a former governor of Bangladesh Bank and worked with Bangabandhu very closely while talking to us shared

his analysis that the society is not ready to think the way Bangabandhu thought of education. Financial condition of the country is also a matter of concern.

5.7 Medium of Instruction and need for second language

The great leader had keen interest and profound respect for mother tongue 'Bangla'. His respect for the mother tongue is demonstrated when he used Bangla as the medium in making his 'speech in the UN assembly', 'speech in China' although he had a very good command over English. Learning in mother language undoubtedly helps create true learning. Bangabandhu also emphasised learning English but not merely as a second language rather as an instrument for communication. English as technology significantly plays a role for reshaping the academic environment and economic development. ICT also serves as the instrument of communication for sharing and transferring knowledge.

5.8 Nationalisation of the education institution

The reiteration of handsome salary for the teachers in almost all public speeches encouraged him to nationalize all primary schools meaning that the financial problem of those schools would never be a problem. For that reason, immediately after independence, Bangabandhu nationalized 35165 primary schools. He was motivated by his learning from China visit where he experienced that the Chinese government ensured free education for all children. The present government also did the same thing. However, the context for nationalisation of education institutes during the period of Bangabandhu and at present may not be the same. The study reveals that the nationalised schools lack quality teachers because these schools were built based on the supply side of unemployed graduates, not because of the exact demand of the society. Those graduates having no higher qualification and no alternative sources of income are the founders. Political and social issues also acted to nationalize those institutes that compromised with the quality. As a result, students, future leaders of the country would not be well taught and nourished.

5.9 Increasing investment in Education

Increasing investment in education is an option for quality education since it is linked to infrastructure, facilities, modernisation, teachers' salary and pension, student stipend etc.

Presently only 1.92% GDP is used for this sector which is meaningfully low even compared with the many other developing countries of the world. It is revealed that Korea did not cut their education budget even during the war. The result is easily visible. The government can follow Bangabandhu's direction in sanctioning the budget for education.

5.10 Lucrative pay scale

Primary and secondary education is the foundation for higher education which demands meritorious teachers to teach, guide students to lead the country in future and to develop them in a sustainable manner. Quality teachers are the driving force and mandatory mechanism to provide education which needs attraction of meritorious students in education institutes. Highly meritorious students do not come to be primary teachers unless they are forced because of scarcity of jobs. The main problem in the regard, interviews reveal is low salary, lack of facilities and above all lack of dignity as teachers. Because of the low salary and disrespect to them, the best students of the country are not encouraged to accept the profession of primary or high school teaching. Very recently the status of head teachers of primary schools has been upgraded at 10th grade of the national pay scale which is still not lucrative. Similarly, it is pitiable that secondary teachers complete their career in one pay scale. The government recently took action for upgradation of their salary. One of the leading educationists of the country and a former professor of Dhaka University during interview mentioned:

If primary school teaching would be more attractive in comparison to BCS jobs, the best students would come to this profession.

Referring to the quality education and salary structure of Indian education system, one of our interviewees, a former governor of Bangladesh Bank and a renowned educationist of the country during interview cited that the government of India follows same pay structure for school teachers and university teachers. Qualification of school teachers is also quite high.

Formulating a lucrative salary structure for the teachers is an investment for the whole country not for the particular community. Realization of the learning of Bangabandhu is a must for all and must for immediate action.

Attracting meritorious students to the teaching profession by providing mere salary may not also work particularly at tertiary level that necessitates creating opportunity for research. Teachers who studied higher education in overseas countries especially in developed countries usually conduct research on scholarships provided by the host country. Such research topic is usually their context specific and need based in line with the host country. There is a lack of broader scope of research in Bangladesh due to multiple constraints, teachers find themselves underutilized and feel encouraged to settle abroad. It is a loss for the country in one sense, future researching area becomes squeezed on the other. It is quite noticeable that many renowned Bangladeshi researchers are found contributing in other countries. An educationist as well as a vice chancellor of a public university while was in interview session mentioned:

Teachers who pursue research based higher studies on scholarships provided by the host country do the research needed for that very country. As such, after coming back home they neither can continue their research nor can utilize their new knowledge because of lack of enabling environment.. As they can't utilize their learned knowledge nor can they continue research, they go back to that particular country. However, Teachers who study in Japan, come back to Bangladesh because of having no scope to stay as immigrants unlike USA, Canada, Australia. This notion is applicable now for UK and other European countries as well.

The above statement signifies that research opportunities apart from the lucrative salary structure are required at tertiary level to attract and retain talented groups. However, handsome salary with dignity is sufficient enough to recruit best teachers for primary and secondary in order for better return from the investment and greater impact in society.

5.11 Teaching as technical profession

Like other technical professions such as doctor, engineer, judges, teaching must be emphasized to flourish as a technical profession which can be developed after class twelve. Teachers are the passive builders based on whom active nation builders are created that demands a talented cohort recruited through Public Service Commission in order for ensuring quality.

5.12 Modernising Madrasa Education

From the social point of view, madarasa education cannot be merged with general education. Rather it can be modernised linking to the market driven practical education. Curriculum can be modernised and quality English and mathematics teachers can be recruited and posted there. One of our interviewees, a renowned development economist of the country explained:

Madrasha education was technically sound in British period. At that time science and English were included in the syllabus of Madrasha Education what is missing at present.

It can be panned out stating that education is realized as the central issue for a meaningful development as was emphasized by Bangabandhu. Educationists, researchers, civil society, international think tanks and organizations also put emphasis on education. Nevertheless, it is the most questionable sector in terms of producing quality output and impact. In spite of the constitutional obligation for a uniform education system, it is yet to be materialised, increasing investment in education at a level of at least 4% GDP is far cry. The key problem is the exclusion of education as a right in the mother law of the country. Since, education in Bangladesh is not established and cannot be claimed as right, people cannot demand for it. Education has been prescribed as state policy and policy can only create the enabling environment that cannot bind legally.

Secondly, the QKC had 17 (seventeen) committees which were not inclusive and influenced by the administrative procedures. However, there was no inclusive single committee to handle education related matters effectively under a permanent education commission. The permanency in nature helps continuation of tasks, revision and modification of issues ultimately towards quality change in education in holistic manner.

Chapter-VI: Conclusion

The momentum of development of any country lies on the productivity and creativity of its population. For the creation of productive human resource, proper education is required. Evidence advocates that Bangabandhu alongside his political struggle gave equal importance to education throughout his life. In the establishment manifesto of the then East Pakistan Awami Muslim League, because of intense efforts of Father of the Nation, specific declarations were included about education like compulsory education has to be ensured for all male-female, stipend has to be provided and Bangla will be the medium of education.

Analysis of political activism of Bangabandhu reveals that he was always guided by the strong principles of social justice. He stressed 'education for all' as the vital tool for ensuring social justice. He thought of universal education system in harmony with the objectives of the 1962 students' movement for education. Under his leadership the people of Bangladesh fought an armed struggle against the occupied Pakistani army and achieved independence. After the materialization of his first dream, the independent Bangladesh, he concentrated on the reconstruction of the war-ravaged country. His dream was to build *Sonar Bangla*, the prosperous Bengal and for that purpose he stressed the need for *Sonar Manush*. This transformation necessarily needs reforms in education.

This research was an attempt to highlight the thoughts and philosophy of Bangabndhu on education, to analyse the extent to which his thoughts have been reflected in the commission report and to assess the implementation status of the commission recommendations. A qualitative research approach was adopted in this research for data collection and analysis.

He believed that education has a crucial role in instilling the elements of good citizenship in the society. Through education he thought of creating an attachment for nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism- the four fundamental principles of our state into the minds of the people of Bangladesh. He thought of education as the means of creating knowledge society and wanted his people to be science minded through education. They will not take everything for granted rather will ask questions to interpret the context. The underlying philosophy of education, in his thinking was that economy of the country will depend on the knowledge of their citizens who will be creative and innovative. This is the

philosophy that guided him to go for the restructuring of educational system of the country. For him knowledge was the most important factor of production and he thought of knowledge to be used to improve human condition. He believed that people should be science minded and will not be guided by superstitions.

Bangabandhu was a great philosophical master. He brought renowned educationists and intellectuals for the interpretation of his philosophical standpoint. He formed the education commission with a scientist as its convener, assigned seventeen other renowned educationists of the country for the commission. He was no political scientist, nor did he learn politics from books but was a great political analyst. He was no educationist but from his political experiences he learned that for the development of the country a whole of the society approach is required. He valued educationists the most and assigned them for policy formulation of the country and in the governance system. Bangabandhu made an appeal to the members of the commission to give their independent and considered opinions as to how a reconstructed education system can help achieve the people's desire for a socialistic society. He asked them to indicate a way as to how a wholesome nationhood can be achieved through the medium of education and to strengthen the country in modern knowledge and creative endeavour.

In line with the four pillars of our state principles, as far as education is concerned, the thoughts of Bangabandhu are best reflected in Article 17 of the constitution of Bangladesh. QKC stressed to invest 5% of GDP in education. Moreover, he felt the necessity of a radical change in our educational system. The key issues with regard to education that Bangabandhu emphasized are educational system would be entrusted with the state; disparities among private schools have to be eliminated, all schools have to be turned into government aided educational institutions, education has to be made compulsory for all women and men, free compulsory primary education has to be introduced all over the country, secondary schools have to be established all over the country for ensuring easy access to education, required number of institutions for higher education and particularly for technical education has to be established, new medical colleges, engineering and general universities have to be established, government scholarship has to be adequately increased to encourage higher education, it has to be ensured that no meritorious student is deprived of quality education because of poverty,

teachers will be provided with suitable salary and allowance., mother tongue has to be made medium of education.

Bangabandhu urged to create an environment so that the best persons of our educated society feel attracted to teaching profession. Alongside increasing pay scale and providing other benefits for teachers, a conducive working environment has to be created and teachers should be given due dignity and respect.

Bangabandhu identified education as a pre-condition for emancipation. His dream was an educated, science-minded and merit-based society for building *Sonar Bangla*. He made education the cornerstone of his national policy. For translating his educational thoughts, Bangabandhu constituted a commission with renowned scholar, scientist, educationists of the country as members with the assignment of formulating an educational policy guideline. In preparing report the Commission members visited various educational institutions across the country and collected data from University Vice-Chancellors and professors, principals and professors of many engineering, medical and general colleges, heads of educational institutions and teachers of different categories, student representatives, persons with interest in education and local leaders. The following are the key aspects of the commission report that reflect educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu:

Education is the 'capital of the state' rather than 'right of the people' by which a self-sufficient nation can be formed. The state will invest its capital in order to build skilled human resources which in later times will meet the 'rights' of the people. Bangabandhu's such notion about education was well ahead of the thinking of his contemporary leaders. He dreamt of ensuring ensure accessibility and affordability of 'humanitarian education' for all at all levels. It was in the belief of Bangabandhu, as data reveal, every individual will be an 'ethical person' and a 'well-groomed human being' through the humanitarian education. They will attain ethical excellence and will be globally competitive. It is evident from data that several propositions, for example, nationalisation of primary schools, introducing free and compulsory primary education, establishment of University Grants Commission (UGC), progress in women education were implemented throughout the years. Higher education, medical education, engineering education, technical and vocational education etc have expanded hugely over the years. However, the

implementation of uniform system of education in Bangladesh and many other recommendations made by the education commission is a far cry. The commission came out with an inclusive report which, if implemented, could have radically changed the education system of the country, and transformed students into ethical persons, enhanced their creativity and productivity. They would also become globally competitive. Data suggest that Bangabandhu got a short span of time to implement his educational thoughts and philosophy. The changes in the political and economic scenario of Bangladesh after his assassination were a huge constraint in this regard.

Bangabandhu sent some of the then student leaders like Mr. Pankaj Bhattacharaya to see for themselves and report back about the structure and content of madrsha education of West Bengal, India. In the structure of madrasa education of West Bengal, India general education is compulsory for all up to class-V is compulsory followed by religious education for the later classes. This structure can be implemented in Bangladesh as well. Interviews reveal that despite the massive changes in the socio-political context of Bangladesh, educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu are equally applicable today to a great extent. Primary education should be enhanced up to class-VIII, secondary education should be up to class-XII followed by higher education. It was a very practical, wise and far-sighted view of Bangabandhu that only the meritorious students should go for higher studies. They would be scientists, the leaders and would give intellectual support for the development of the country. Less meritorious students after passing primary education would go for vocational training and would become skilled manpower. Students who will not qualify for university education will be exposed to technical education and would contribute to the technological advancement of the country. Education has to be linked with employment so that the right person is employed in the right sector. All these need strong political commitment. The present socio-economic context of the country also has to be considered. Data reveal that educational development mainly depends on the blending of political intervention, administrative involvement and economic interposition. Lack of this amalgamation failed to operationalise the proposals of 'Bangladesh Education Commission Report 1974' a successful one.

Article-17 is one of the fundamental state policies and not about fundamental rights of the citizens of the country. Since education is not included as a fundamental right in the

constitution, government cannot be challenged for not introducing uniform system of education in Bangladesh nor can any question be raised for not taking such initiative. However, for creating a common base and understanding, at least common syllabus can be introduced up to class-v at all types of existing educational system be it madrasha education, English medium education etc. Thereafter content specific subjects can be introduced alongside common subjects in educational system. Investment in education has to be increased for ensuring better and quality education in Bangladesh.

Bangabandhu viewed education to be a state affair and as a sector of state investment for human resource development. Although education today in Bangladesh to a great extent has been a parallel sector of private investment and cannot be ignored for practical reasons, effective education management has to be ensured. Private providers, coaching centres and other beneficiaries of existing divisive education system of Bangladesh have to be taken care of. A regulatory framework should be established to oversee the educational management of the country. Such issues as how education is financed, what syllabus is administered etc should be monitored regularly. Government has to ensure that quality education is provided and meritorious and quality teachers are engaged in education. For bringing meritorious students in education profession teachers should be given lucrative salary and other benefits according to educational qualifications. All these demand enhancement of investment in education. A permanent and independent education commission is also needed in the country for the alignment of education system and national development.

There is no denying that we are far away from the thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu as far as education is concerned. He dreamt of an education system that will create science-minded ethical person who will be globally competitive. Through education system he wanted to infuse the four fundamental state principles of the country in the mind of the people of Bangladesh. He put more importance in mother tongue but did not ignore English. Bangabandhu always talked of merit based education and thought of financial support for meritorious students who failed to afford to their studies because of poverty. Our present education is mostly memory based and assessment oriented. There is hardly any scope of nurturing merit in the existing education system of Bangladesh. Moreover, space for poor but meritorious students in our existing education system has also been squeezed because of commercialization of education.

Bangabandhu was the philosophical master who had absolute command and control over the people of the country. He had full confidence in his people and employed renowned educationists and intellectuals of the country and did not require any external expert for the interpretation of his philosophical thoughts. The educational thoughts and philosophy of Bangabandhu and his approach are equally applicable even today despite so many changes in the national and international context. A strong political commitment and desire is needed for the materilisation of the dream of the father of the nation.

The research has great implication to utilize findings for overall educational development and significantly contribute to country's development. Since this research has been carried out to anlyse Bangabandhu's thoughts on education and reflections on QKC, it demands cluster and sector wise research to specifically recommend.

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