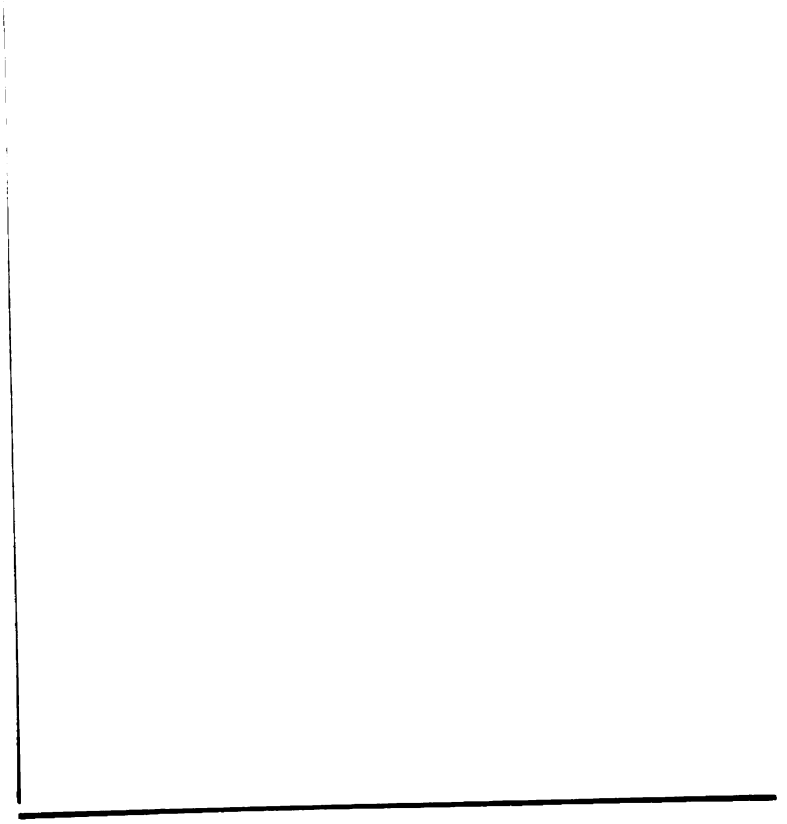

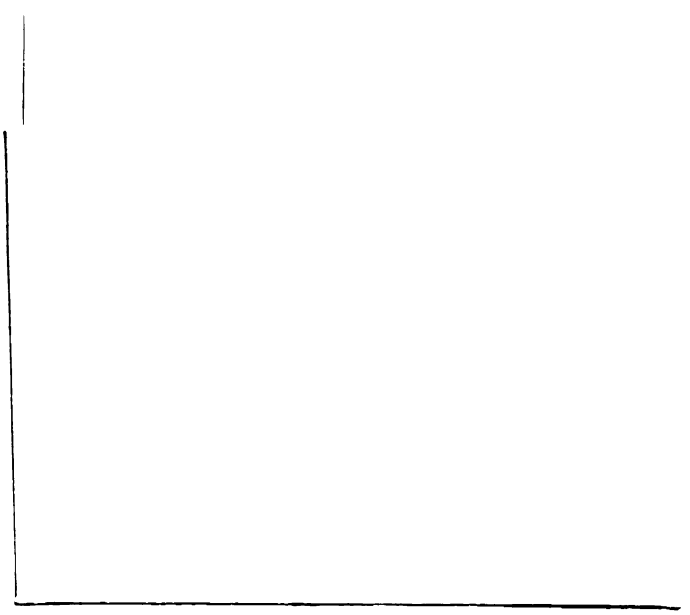

ABSTRACT

DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOLS IN TWO ARAB STATES
OF NORTH AFRICA, WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION
TO THE NATURE AND EFFECT OF FRENCH INFLUENCE

by Ronald Edward Eick

The study deals with the development of schools in Tunisia and Egypt in three successive periods. Attention is first directed to the foundations and history of Islamic education; the second phase begins with the French invasions of 1798 for Egypt and 1881 for Tunisia. Educational development is traced, in the light of external influences, to the establishment of the Republic of Tunisia and the United Arab Republic. Finally, the current (post-independence) systems are described and analyzed, again in terms of possible external influence. The writer's position is that the national systems of education established by the Republic of Tunisia and the United Arab Republic demonstrate French influence.

The intellectual or study method may be described as historical-analytical-interpretive. Sources of data are largely original English and French works, translations from Arabic and Italian, government documents, study with Arabic scholars, and interviews with officials of the Arab governments.

The writer's position is corroborated in both cases, although influence in the United Arab Republic is somewhat more subtle and complex than that in evidence in the Republic of Tunisia. In both countries, however, the training of North Africans in France and the presence of Frenchmen in Arab Africa provided a common opportunity for influence. European financial and commercial interests in the Middle East were extended in the late nineteenth century to include political and cultural interests. The continued interchange of people across the Mediterranean provided a major channel for the introduction of a European mode of life. The second channel of influence is identified as the language of communication. Although French language institutions were largely superimposed on Tunisian national life, in Egypt they were established side by side with indigenous systems and operated independently. Consequently, after seventy-five years under a French Protectorate, Tunisia had almost become in substance what it was legally---an overseas department of France. On the other hand, Egypt was stirred by the mixed forces of a scientifically superior modern secularism and the conservative traditions of the Islamic past. The United Arab Republic has attempted a compromise position, initiated in the last century of taking from the West those techniques which would best serve a revival of Arab unity under conditions of a modern,

technologically-advance society. Although in both countries the administrative structure, educational organization, and the means of structuring an elite are analogous to the French model, Tunisian dependence on France is more pronounced. While Tunisia relies on France for teachers, her major problem is one of training sufficient Arabic-language teachers. The United Arab Republic, however, while recognizing a degree of dependence on English and French sources, has set out to train its own teachers of those languages. Educational missions continue to be sent abroad as before.

The difference in the degree of French influence in the two countries seems to rest in the different political arrangements which existed with France. As a result of a sustained and dominant role in Tunisia, the French position seems more secure. In the United Arab Republic where the French played neither a dominant nor sustained role, a greater degree of Egyptian identity has been retained. By means of people and language, however, French influence has penetrated both national systems.

DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOLS IN TWO ARAB STATES OF NORTH AFRICA, WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE NATURE AND EFFECT OF FRENCH INFLUENCE

By

Ronald Edward Eick

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PREFACE

In the nineteenth century, and in the early part of the twentieth, international educational involvement generally took two forms. A country would either establish in another country the kind of schools peculiar to its own system, or it would train persons from the other country in its home schools. The United States, France, Britain, and others engaged in these programs. American schools were established in the Middle East and in Latin America, and the French had their counterparts in Asia and Africa. Also, education for foreign students in America became as commonplace as it had become in Britain and on the Continent. The trend to import students continued in widening proportions.

New trends in international education emerged in the two decades following the Second World War. The United States, having achieved internationally a position of political and economic leadership, provided support to nations which had experienced major destruction. Such support resulted in American involvement in the new, complex relationships which were unfolding in all areas of the world. In this role as an active participant, the United States became aware of a demand for more extensive understanding in all areas of the world.

Secondly, many colonies, particularly on the African continent, began a determined drive toward independent nation

status. The repeated appearance of new members at the United Nations is well-remembered. America attempted to stand by its European allies and at the same time encouraged the cause of independence for the new states, thereby acquiring problems yet to be resolved.

Finally, universal education was viewed as necessary by modern governments. In some independent republics of North Africa, attempts to build a national system of free education were ambitious and immediate. Though intended to demonstrate to the citizenry the advantages of independence over conditions of dependence, the ambitious efforts led to another dilemma. Outside help was needed, but help from the expelled power smacked of continued influence and could not be accepted. The United States, consequently, became involved in affairs of the many countries that needed and sought assistance. The assistance varied in both intensity and scope, and, at times, it was inimical to the interests of the previously-ruling nation or of other patron nations. Such, however, was the situation in which grew the new pattern of extending financial and material aid for the purpose of educational development in other countries.

The new nations were nevertheless bound by old forces. Insitutions in the colonial period had taken on a foreign air. Government agencies were often dominated by personnel that was European or European-trained. Plans or programs, indigenously developed, were often curtailed or suppressed. Knowledge of English or French was a pre-requisite to social or economic advancement, and in numerous instances, one of these languages

became the first language of the young African. Interdependence of European and African economic interests, too, was pronounced. An example of the African plight was contained in a statement of Nigerian Prime Minister Balewa declaring that although he could telephone New York directly, he could not call his neighboring countries without going through London or Paris.[1] To this legacy, the method of foreign intervention through material and financial aid would be added.

African states, now presumably free of a European trustee, receive developmental assistance from multiple sources. Britain, France, West Germany, the Soviet Union, the United Arab Republic, and the United States have assisted financially and materially. The resources of such collective agencies as the World Bank, the various United Nations' sub-organizations, and of private agencies of which the Ford Foundation is a single example have also been available.

Regardless of whether the assisting governments act on motives of philanthropy or of political self-interest, it is significant that the former colonial powers are re-entering the world scene as material and cultural benefactors. They help, in fact, to create a growing reservoir of donor countries. In this atmosphere some new nations are attempting to create viable institutions which are truly national in character. In this atmosphere some countries hope to revive or to re-create

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[1]Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, "Nigeria Looks Ahead," Foreign Affairs, XLI, No. 1 (October, 1962), 137.

their former cultures by re-shaping their present institutions. In both cases, national goals are being defined, and education is viewed as the means toward their realization.

For us who are accustomed to long-established school systems, the attempts of these nations offer a rare and exciting opportunity to observe the evolution of new systems. The unfolding of this opportunity has been facilitated for me by the cooperation and assistance of many persons both in North America and abroad. To them I acknowledge my debt and gratitude.

Very special thanks are also due to the following: Dr. Carl H. Gross, Chairman of the doctoral committee, for his encouragement, counsel, and for his example as a teacher; Dr. Fauzi Najjar, a distinguished Arabic scholar who was chiefly responsible for my developing interest in studies of the Middle East; Dr. Herbert C. Rudman for his painstaking appraisal and suggestions for organization of material; Dr. John Hanson whose depth of experience with African education provided a valuable perspective to discussion of the thesis; Dr. Alfred G. Meyer whose creative thought and exciting lectures contributed so richly to the impetus for research.

and

To Aileen, Gerald, Christine, and Louise whose gifts of patience and love have miraculously outlasted the preparation of this work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

Newly-independent territories have mutually experienced political uncertainty, economic instability and a sense of urgency about reconstructing their national institutions. Despite the hope of new countries such as Tunisia and the United Arab Republic for building educational systems which reflect local and national aims, and despite their employment of international resources for this purpose, there is reason for examining the extent to which national systems have become distinctive. Have they assumed a character which is truly distinguishable from the colonial past? Edmund King has cautioned that "those of us who live in the United States and Britain should note that when a hitherto underdeveloped country wants an educational model, it does not often go to them; it goes to France."[1] The French model, he points out further, "has been copied extensively even in those Moslem countries which charge France with colonial oppression."[2] This seems to be substantiated in a report on Tunisian education which admits that "it may be too rigidly patterned after the French system."[3]

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[1]Edmund J. King, Other Schools and Ours (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1958), p. 65.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Education in Tunisia (Washington: American Friends of the Middle East, Inc., 1963), p. 11.

For their part, the French expect their influence to survive decolonization. The Minister of Cultural Affairs for France has even asserted that "the imprint left by the French continues to effect the thought and even the behavior of the leadership."[4]

On the other hand, the governments of Tunisia and the United Arab Republic have expelled some French institutions as well as French officials. They appear to believe that Arab society cannot be constructed according to non-Arab patterns. To leaders of these national movements, the suggestion of external influence may, in fact, be considered as an affront.

This study is centered on the development of schools in two Arab countries of North Africa, with particular attention to the nature and effect of French influence. The writer's position is that the national systems of education established by the governments of the Republic of Tunisia and the United Arab Republic demonstrate French influence.

While that position may conceivably be extended to include other African states, it is confined, here, to two republics whose past relations with France have been quite different: Tunisia and the United Arab Republic. Tunisia was a relatively independent Ottoman territory constituting a Regency over which a French protectorate was imposed in 1881. Egypt, on the other hand, was also a province of the Turkish Empire, experiencing only a brief period of French occupation by

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[4]France, Revue de Defense National (Paris: February, 1962) cited by Le Monde (Paris), February 1-7, 1962 (passage translated by the writer).

Napoleon's forces. Beyond that, there was no direct, political tie between Egypt and France.

Both Tunisia and Egypt have had, in the past, highly advanced and distinguished cultures. Each has in contemporary times a prominent leadership role in the eastern Mediterranean and Arab world. Tunisia, whose checkered past includes Carthaginian, Roman, Byzantine, and Berber cultures, is an important choice for two reasons. One of them is that geographically and culturally, Tunisia has embodied the bipolarity of East and West. Jutting into the Mediterranean Sea, facing Sicily, she has been, throughout the ages, a jumping-off-point for Easterners moving west and for Westerners moving to the East. Her northern view of Europe and the long eastern coast of the Mediterranean confirm her linking position between the diverse Mediterranean areas. In the period of Arab empire-building, Islamic civilization was extended from the Tunisian frontier to Sicily, Spain, and the Italian mainland. Later, reversing direction, the Spanish Christians and the crusading French knights put Tunisian cities and Islam on the defensive side. In our own time, the port in the Gulf of Tunis and the deep-water, sheltered harbor at Bizerta have been crucial points for the Allied forces in launching their westward campaign. Likewise, the French attempted to use the same facilities in their war with Algeria. Tunisia, then, as a meeting ground of factions of the East and of the West is potentially an important center for inter-cultural interpretation.

Second, the importance of Tunisia rests on her

position as an example to the other communities of North Africa (the Maghrib). Again, that area is geographically and culturally on the periphery of Islam. This has tended to make development of the Maghrib different from that of other areas of Muslim Africa. If that continues to be the case, Tunisia may well provide a partial model for Algeria, and possibly even for Morocco, by synthesizing the problems to be faced.

The United Arab Republic may, likewise, be a prototype for the remainder of the Arab territories. Certainly, the self-image of the present leadership embraces the concept of centrality and prominence in the Arab community. It is characterized by determination and an aggressive spirit. In many ways, its efforts toward land reclamation and economic resurgence as well as its trying struggle against disease, ignorance, and a politically and religiously stagnant past, are typical of the Arab plight. For this study, the inclusion of the United Arab Republic as a logical and desirable subject stems from its contact with colonial powers and from its bellicose treatment of colonial institutions. Its drive toward nationalism, spurred on by revolution, makes its institutions particularly worthy of scrutiny in the light of present beliefs and past sentiments.

Methods of research used in this study are chiefly historical-analytical-interpretive. Sources of information consist primarily of readings of original works in English and French, reading of translations from Arabic and Italian, and consultation with scholars and officials from the

countries concerned.

An undertaking of this kind does not escape the limitations and pitfalls inherent in historical research. Despite the measurement of one source against another, reconstructions of the past or conclusions about it contain a high degree of inference. Moreover, the conditions under which influence could be exerted in the past no longer exist, and the repetition of earlier methods is improbable.

In a discussion of African culture change, Malinowski asserts, however, that "the whole range of European influences, interests, good intentions, and predatory drives must become an essential part of the study."[5] In a further defense of the historical approach, he states that to the extent that we gain from "the lessons which can be drawn from past blunders, misconceptions and wrong policies . . . history is as important in its past stages as in its assessment of the future."[6] The writer believes that the efforts to understand the African present are best realized when that present is viewed in relation to a causal past, and that positively-directed future development occurs in the presence of an overview of the past.

Although more attention is being directed to the publication of materials relating to Arab intellectual and social history, extensive study of the vital role of education in contemporary Arab national development has gone unreported. The priority of education in the actualization of national

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[5]Bronislaw Malinowski, The Dynamics of Culture Change, ed. Phyllis M. Kaberry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 14.

[6]Ibid., p. 33.

goals seems evident to the national leaders, judging from the rapidity with which they have instituted or augmented school programs. The writer believes that consideration of the whole matter of instruction is required, for education in these new countries is intricately related to social and political innovations or alterations. Hopefully, this study can make some contribution to the growing body of information dealing with the varied facets of Arab national life.

Although the writer anticipates the appearance of many similar or related studies within the next decade, the catalog of American dissertations on foreign education contains no entries at all for Tunisia. Education in the United Arab Republic has been treated only in terms of specific curriculum problems. A more broad and general treatment is necessary before specific studies assume a working or useful significance.

The writer believes that either the corroboration or negation of his position would be significant. If education, indeed, is the transmission of a culture, one would want to determine which culture is, in fact, being transmitted. In addition, a study of this sort may provide insight into the ways in which cross-cultural influences took root; it may help to form some generalizations about cultural change; and finally it may provide a much-needed description of emerging systems of education in these areas of the Arab world.

A student of Arab affairs is confronted with single names and the various transliterations of Arabic terms. For the most part, responsible English equivalents will be used

in this paper. Where there is a question about translation, the commonly-used transcription of the Arabic term will follow the English meaning. Although Persian, Turkish, and Arabic spellings vary throughout the literature (when applied to words identical in meaning), consistency will be maintained except when direct quotations make it impossible.

Even more difficult, perhaps, is the definition of the term "Arab" itself. Bernard Lewis presents an excellent resume of changes in definitions over a period of centuries, and he concludes with:

> that which regards the Arabic-speaking peoples as a nation or group of sister nations in the European sense, united by a common territory, language and culture and a common aspiration to political independence.[7]

While that definition serves well the purpose of this study, it should be noted that the emphasis is on language and culture. Also, although in Tunisia the terms "Muslim" and "Arab" are often used interchangeably, the practice is generally not considered to be proper. While the Arab culture is deeply embedded in Muslim tradition, the Arab need not be exclusively Muslim. Obviously, a Muslim is not necessarily Arab.

As for the order of this work, consideration will next be given to the socio-political setting of the two countries and to their intellectual climate prior to direct contact with the French culture. Following will be an examination of cross-cultural contacts, the zero-point of contact being established as 1798 for Egypt and as 1881 for Tunisia.

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[7]Bernard Lewis, The Arabs in History (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), p. 17.

To give meaning to a historical past, attention must subsequently focus on the historical future. In the succeeding chapters, then, emphasis is given to study of emerging or surviving educational institutions and on tendencies or trends in their development. Such institutional developments after 1956 in Tunisia and after 1952 in the United Arab Republic will be considered in terms of their similarity to the French system and the probablity of French influence.

CHAPTER I

THE ISLAMIC WORLD PRIOR TO THE NAPOLEONIC INVASION

Arab history shows that the periods of nationalism were separated by a wide gap which extended from the end of the eighth century to the beginning of the twentieth. The interval was marked by many changes. In the opinion of this writer, none of the stages of development can be omitted from study if an understanding of the intellectual climate is to be attained. The first reason for this belief is that modern Arab countries cannot ignore the past, themselves. They are, in fact, faced with the problem of reconciling the past with the present. Secondly, since time has virtually stood still for many people of Arab lands, the past is not so remote for them as it is for people on this continent. The absence of change in their customs has, in effect, caused the past to appear as a constant present.

Although Muhammad received the Word and his commission as the last of God's messengers in 610 A.D., the Muslim calendar dates from 622, the year of the flight (Hijra) of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina. The Islamic era is generally regarded as beginning in that year.

The period under review in this chapter extends from that time to the end of the eighteenth century. It may be divided into three distinct parts, including (1) the rise of Islam and the ensuing period of Arab conquest, (2) liquidation

of the Arab Empire at a time of intellectual productivity, and (3) decline under the Turkish rulers. It is the last period of decline and eventual stagnation that provided the setting for French occupation. While that condition accounted for no brief time in Islamic history, it is to be viewed in the light of previous episodes, embracing the span and variation of Arab cultural development.

The First Century of Islam

The quarrelsome tribes of western Arabia found a measure of unity in the monotheistic religion of Muhammad. His early work was directed toward the re-organization of economic and political life of the Medinese community which was characterized by factionalism and devotion to tribal authority. In the process of re-defining community structure, however, the Prophet's faith replaced blood-line as the unifying factor within the community of believers (Umma). Unlike the pattern of the blood feud, unity was to be sought through arbitration and achieved under direction of the religious leader or Sheikh. "The source of authority was transferred from public opinion to God who conferred it on Muhammad as His chosen Apostle."[1] This seemingly natural transposition of authority, the convergence of religious civil authorities into one being, established the rationale for the caliphate and administration of the future empire. "As long as Muhammad lived he performed the functions of prophet, lawgiver, religious leader, chief judge, commander of the army and civil head of the state---all in one."[2] His successor (the caliph)

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[1]Bernard Lewis, The Arabs in History (New York: Harper Brothers, 1960), p. 43.

[2]Philip K. Hitti, The Arabs (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1949), p. 62.

would carry on the role, that of prophet being excepted. Furthermore, as Muhammad encountered resentment or hostility from non-Arab-Muslim groups, he embellished the faith with a more distinctively Arab and national façade. That could have been the basis of the concept of "Arab" and "Muslim" as companion, if not synonomous terms.[3]

In the process of Arabicization, however, the concept of Arab nationalism became transformed to Muslim universalism.[4] Like the merger of religious and civil authority within the Umma, religious and political objectives of the Arab community dissolved into a single goal and plan. Having had only limited success in Mecca, Muhammad turned his attention to the city of Medina. Then with the help of his Meccan followers and the Medinese converts, he was able to return to Mecca in victory. Despite dissension in the religious ranks, particularly after the Prophet's death, the Muslims reached out to bring other Arabian tribes under their law. After this was accomplished, even in a limited way, "the Arabs rushed out of their Peninsula to conquest, a people chosen by God to make His law know to the infidels, and at the same time to enjoy the worldly benefits to which their privileged position entitled them."[5] It appears to the writer that the latter was more the case. While the new-found faith or religion had served to exalt the Arab ego,

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[3]Lewis, op. cit., pp. 42, 58.

[4]H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, Islamic Society and the West (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 71.

[5]Francesco Gabrieli, The Arab Revival, trans. Lovett F. Edwards (London: Thames and Hudson, 1961), pp. 10-11.

it tended to stimulate a militant outlook rather than a missionary zeal. Certainly, the unity which had been realized in the area of Muhammad's activity (the Hijaz) was of a political nature. Even though the developing framework of religious tenets may have been, for Muhammad, a motivating factor, they were a secondary consideration for those whom he enlisted.

By the eighth century A.D. the Islamic Empire stretched from Spain and the Atlantic to Central Asia. The caliphs of Mecca had expired, and the seat of supreme authority had been removed to Damascus. The administrative hierarchy which extended throughout the empire in those days continued to be Arab, though not necessarily of the Prophet's Meccan tribe (the Quraish).

Within that vast, sprawling territory, "wide variations in language, in culture, in prior religious tenets, and in customs and institutions precluded any prospect of early unification."[6] It was, indeed, a varied assortment of provinces and people over which the caliph tried to exert his prestige. Alfred Guillaume describes the pattern of Arab occupation as follows:

> Garrison towns generally on the edge of the desert were occupied or formed when there was no existing town there, and these became the centres of Arab government. To them the inhabitants of the country came to market their produce and wares, and through them the knowledge of Arabic gradually permeated the country. All non-Muslims had to pay a tax, and this disability not unnaturally led to a vast access of converts to Islam. Such converts theoretically became Arabs by attaching themselves as clients (mawali) to some Arab tribe. These towns housed a large number of civilian employees from the occupied country, and they performed such services as a military community requires of its civilian dependants [sic].[7]

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[6]Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., p. 70.

[7]Alfred Guillaume, Islam (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark Ltd., 1961), p. 80.

As Gibb and Bowen have pointed out, the implantation of a small ruling Arab group in each of the provinces had major consequences.[8] In the first place, Islam became further associated with so-called Arabdom, in the minds of both the governing and the governed.[9] This gave the particular religious practices of the rulers the status of orthodoxy and the appearance of a state Church. Moreover, identification with Arab ways and language became the means of acceptance and social advancement rather than the adoption of the Islamic religion. The other important effect of the association of Arabs and Islam was that it caused "those who accepted Islam but who were hostile to the governing classes to lean towards the sectarian rather than the 'established' interpretation of the religious creed."[10]

Thus, Islam experienced a reformation in its first century. Not only were there two contending orthodox parties, called Sunnites, but the opposition party (Shi'ite) split into differing factions. As the number of converts increased, so did the divisive character of the political entities. The struggle for recognition and the right to exercise the power and authority of the caliphate continued between the two major opponents, the Sunnites and the Shi'ites. The dilemma was never resolved. As one sect or another came to be dominant in parts or provinces of the Arab Empire, the whole matter of the caliphate came, in fact, to have minor overt importance. Instead, it has remained as a symbolic focal point of the differences between Muslim sects.

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[8]Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., p. 71. [9]Cf. p. 11.

[10]Gibb and Bowen, loc. cit.

Intellectual Progress Under the Arab Dynasties

The Abbasid Dynasty.--Whereas the removal of the Arab capital to Damascus in 659 had marked the end of the Muslim theocracy, the establishment of the third capital at Baghdad in 750 signalled the end of hopes for a politically united empire. The setting up of a rival dynasty in Spain added momentum to a series of events which spelled fragmentation, even though the Arabs were still expanding their holdings through conquest. Also under the Abbasids at Baghdad, the old class differences were considerably diluted. The former structure, with Neo-Muslims, members of "tolerated religions", and slaves, trailing Arabian Muslims in rank order, was, in fact, a cause in the unseating of the Umayyads.[11] The resulting "mixed" society of Baghdad became the vehicle of intellectual progress. There, Arab life encountered Persian and Indian culture alongside Greek works on philosophy, science, and mathematics. An academy of translators was established by the Caliph Mamoun in 813 A. D. There, Christians, Muslims, and Jews cooperated in the task of translating Greek manuscripts into Arabic, often by way of Syriac. "No field of Greek learning, from philosophy to mathematics, medicine and botany, was neglected."[12] The Arabic translations and commentaries were subsequently elaborated upon by western Arabs of Sicily and Spain; and it was continually through Spain and its Latin translation centers that Arab writings reached Europe. Philosophers are particularly aware of the impact on

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[11]Edward Atiyah, The Arabs (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark Ltd., 1958), p. 42.

[12]Rom Landau, The Arab Heritage of Western Civilization (New York: Arab Information Center, 1962), p. 11.

Christian scholasticism by such writers and commentators as Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Ibn Rushd (Averoees), Al-Farabi, and Maimonides. Bourke states that these Muslim and Jewish writers "play almost as great a role in his [Thomas Aquinas'] scholarly documentation as do Christian authors and the Bible."[13] Jewish scholars such as Levi ben Gerson and Yehuda ben Solomo Cohen also used Arabic language in their work.[14]

Whether the area of study was philosophy or science, however, it was invariably related to some aspect of Muslim religion. The necessity of facing Mecca during prayer, for example, stimulated the development of direction-finding devices. The need for equal division of land among male heirs brought about adaptation and advancement in mathematics. Similarly, the required observances during the feast of Ramadan and the inclusion of a pilgrimage to the Holy Cities during one's lifetime re-emphasized studies in astronomy and geography. Achievement in academic fields has been detailed by Professor Landau in various articles and booklets, of which a summary appears in Appendix I.

Hitti notes that the conglomeration of persons contributing to Arab knowledge was one of the most significant facts of Islamic civilization. He explains as follows:

> The Arabic-speaking man, hitherto but an Arabian, has thus become international. When we therefore speak of "Arab medicine" or "Arab philosophy" or "Arab mathematics" we do not mean the medical science, philosophy or mathematics that are necessarily the product of the Arabian mind or developed by people living in the Arabian peninsula, but that body of knowledge enshrined in books written in the Arabic language by men who flourished chiefly during the

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[13] Selections from the Writings of St. Thomas, ed. Vernon J. Bourke (New York: Washington Square Press, 1960), p. xx.

[14] Landau, op. cit., p. 25.

> caliphate and were themselves Persians, Syrians, Egyptians or Arabians, Christian, Jewish or Moslem, and who may have drawn some of their material from Greek, Aramaean, Indo-Persian or other sources.[15]

Quite evidently, Arabic literature and science did not flourish exclusively under the tutelage of the Abbasids. The removal of the capital eastwards had, in fact, resulted in indifference to much of the western area. Consequently, rival dynasties were established in Spain, Morrocco, and Tunisia in the early years of the Abbasids' rule. Rival though they were, these dynasties produced their own scholars; and their cities served as channels of information to Europe. The significance of the Abbasid capital in Baghdad lay in its vital position as a trading center and ultimately as an intellectual center. Through it, Chinese paper and Hindu numerals, along with original Arab works, made their way to Europe by way of the western Muslim provinces. By the tenth century, the literary and religious language of the Arabs had become the language of diplomacy and science throughout much of the Mediterranean world.

Aside from religion and language, perhaps the most original and universally pleasing contribution was in the field of Arab art and architecture. The delicate Arabesque designs (resulting partly from the Muslim view that representation of the human form was idolatrous) have been admired by art lovers throughout the world. The architectural styles of the minaret, the mosques themselves, and the luxurious Muslim palaces were studied and duplicated in the churches and castles of England,

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[15]Hitti, op. cit., p. 100.

France, and Italy. While the literary works of the tenth and twelfth centuries are highly esteemed by Arabists, they have not been so widely appreciated by westerners unfamiliar with Semitic languages. The esoteric quality of Arabic poetry has not been extended to visual art forms.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, the Arabs had turned to building fortresses. The great Muslim center at Cordova was regained by the European Christians in 1236, and Baghdad was plundered by the Mongols in 1258. Although Granada was not re-taken by the Christians until 1492, the Spanish Muslims were, to a great extent, driven back to North Africa long before. While the Muslims were expelled from Spain, the Mongol invaders, on the other hand, adopted Islam as the Seljuq Turks had done before and as the Ottomans did after them.

Beginning of the Fatimids.--This dynasty, whose caliphs were descendants of the Prophet's daughter, Fatima, represented a further split of the Shi'ite Muslims. Part of a group called the Isma'ili, it established itself in Yemen, India, and in North Africa. Its first caliphs had their headquarters in Tunisia beginning in 908. The Fatimids conquered Egypt in 969, and a century later, they had all of North Africa, Sicily, Syria, and western Arabia in their sphere of influence.[16] Egypt prospered under Fatimid rule, largely as a result of the development of lucrative trade agreements with countries of western Europe.

The Fatimid regime was headed by "the infallible Imam,

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[16]Lewis, op. cit., p. 112.

an absolute monarch, ruling by hereditary right transmitted by the divine will through a divinely ordained family."[17] The highly centralized government included three separate hierarchies. Two of them, the military and bureaucratic branches, were directed by a civilian chief executive (Wazir) who was immediately responsible to the caliph. The third branch, the religious, was headed by a sort of missionary-in-chief. As director of the department which was in charge of all higher schools of learning as well as the Isma'ili propagandist organization, the religious leader could exercise political influence, too.[18] The Fatimids and their successors make up an important area of study because of their organization of education as a means of religious and civil control. It is also because the Fatimid institutions survived successive invasions that they deserve special attention.

Muslim Law and the Sects.--Because the foundations of Egyptian education rested on sectarian differences, it is necessary to examine briefly the structure and content of Islam before proceeding with its application to education.

Like the Torah and the Talmud of the Hebrew community, the Koran and the Traditions (Hadith) served as the guide for Muslim life. The Koran as a book of sayings of Muhammad (as revealed by God) and the Hadith as a record of the activities of the Prophet provided the basis for both religious and civil law. Consequently, the laws which were evolved from those sources were ethical in substance rather than legal. For Muslims, there is a pattern of behavior which ought to be followed,

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[17] Ibid., p. 113. [18] Ibid.

"both individually and in community. There is a proper form of human conduct: vis-à-vis the God who made us..., and vis-à-vis our fellows. There is a right way to live."[19] The concern, then, is not necessarily so much for "right-believing" as for practice according to a special code.

In any situation for which the Koran did not possess the clear dictates, one turned to the Hadith to discover how the Prophet would have dealt with a similar matter. Because the alleged doings of Muhammad were recorded by various people (of varying beliefs) over a period of a century, the Hadith was held open to doubt, challenge, and disbelief. Particularly as sects developed within Islam, a similar heterodoxy became evident in matters of application of law. That is, not only were there differences in beliefs among Muslims, but the particular set of beliefs held by each group determined their selection and interpretation of Muslim law. Aside from divergent sectarian views, many of the desert nomads (bedouins) maintained the former tribal laws and customs which pre-dated Muhammad. Even within the Sunnite group, four different schools of law evolved, "each of which recognized the orthodoxy of the others and tolerated their divergences of detail."[20] Whichever school was called upon to render a decision, it did so on the basis of consensus (icma') within that particular school or rite. The decision was considered to have validity equal to that ascribed to revelation and Prophetic Tradition, and it was not

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[19]Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Islam in Modern History (New York: The New American Library of World Literature, 1959), pp. 18-19.

[20]Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., p. 115. (The schools or rites were Hanefi, Maliki, Safi'i and Hanbali. Despite a ruler's own preference, he made judicial appointments from all of the rites.)

open to further controversy. Each expressed opinion was "secured by tacit assent on the part of those who were most qualified to express an opinion, and from whom the rank and file took their cue."[21] It is also significant that the Sunnite Muslims counted among them "the Court, aristocracy, and army, the bureaucracy, the Ulema or representatives of the orthodox religious institution, and all who were associated with these groups."[22] The aim of the Sunnite leaders was to preserve the religion despite any political changes.

The Shi'ites' support came chiefly from the lower classes and from frontiersmen. In the role of an opposition group, they were more aggressive in their aims.[23] Being fewer in number, however, they confined their early activity to underground and propaganda techniques. When they came to Egypt and faced a largely Sunnite population, they resorted to persuasion rather than force.

Fatimid Education.--The distinct features of this Isma'ili sect were all related to education in a broad sense.[24] The first involved the divine right of the Imam to rule over the Muslim theocracy. The people, consequently, had to learn that obedience to the Imam was proper and deserved. Secondly, because the Fatimids were lineal descendants of the Prophet, they claimed, likewise, to be heirs of the twenty per cent share of income

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[21]Ibid., p. 72. [22]Ibid., pp. 71-72.

[23]Holy War was, in fact, one of the Fatimid Pillars of Faith which the Sunnites did not share.

[24]Bayard Dodge, Al-Azhar: A Millennium of Muslim Learning (Washington: The Middle East Institute, 1961), chap. I.

which Muhammad had received from followers. The Fatimid agents set out to convince the people that the contribution was a religious duty rather than a payment of taxes. The third feature hinged on the infallibility of the Imam. Regarding the doctrines of the Koran, the Fatimids interpreted these as a "public form" of revelation, claiming that a special understanding had been conveyed to the Prophet's son-in-law, Ali, from whom the Fatimids were descendant. Ali, in turn, had imparted this special form of understanding to the successive Imams. Hence, their word and deed were beyond question. In order to train jurists to carry out his decisions, however, the Imam had to give instruction in law, since he was the only person endowed with that high degree of knowledge. Finally, because of the special understanding which the Fatimids possessed, they were free to pursue studies which did not involve the Koran. These characteristics which distinguished the Fatimids from their Sunnite brothers constituted the underlying reasons for establishing a more formalized educational institution. Aside from the desire for scholarly pursuit, they had "to teach the legal authorities how to introduce the Fatimid system of jurisprudence, to take the place of the Sunnite codes. The other reason was to train propaganda agents to win proselytes for the Fatimid cause."[25]

The great Fatimid Mosque of Al-Azhar in Cairo had been completed in the third year after the conquest of Egypt, and it provided the logical setting for the training program.

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[25]Ibid., p. 13.

Lectures and discussions were conducted following the Friday prayer service. As inducement and convenience, scholars were soon awarded both living quarters and stipends. Dodge reports that next to the Koran, textbooks that were taught included The Vizier's Epistle on Shi'ite Jurisprudence (written by a brilliant, converted Baghdad Jew) and Differences in the Fundamentals of the Sects.[26] Aside from this pre-occupation with law and exegetics, there was some teaching of reading and writing based on recitations from the Koran.

Early in the eleventh century, a second teaching mosque, later called Dar Al-Hikma, was opened. Under the direction of its founding caliph, the new mosque apparently threatened to eclipse the Azhar for a time. Al-Azhar continued to emphasize Koranic studies while Dar Al-Hikma seems to have had a following of students of science and philosophy. Nevertheless, "high officials vied with one another in improving the living quarters for the students, beautifying the building, enlarging the collection of manuscripts and strengthening the courses."[27]

The establishment of endowments was of benefit to all institutions. Real estate investments in perpetuity guaranteed the survival of the schools, the provision of staff, and subsidies for pupils. These endowments (Awqaf), as part of Muslim tradition, were administered by religious foundations set up especially for that purpose. The foundations and the endowments have continued to the present time.

Successive caliphs added to the pomp and structure of the famous Al-Azhar, but the Fatimid caliphate, itself, was

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[26] Ibid., pp. 16-17. [27] Ibid., p. 21.

weakening. By the beginning of the twelfth century, the Isma'ili sect which the Fatimids represented split into two competing factions; and finally, under pressure of the Christian Crusades, the Fatimids had to rely on the Abbasids from Baghdad for protection. It was in this manner that the Fatimid dynasty succumbed to an Abbasid caliph in Cairo. The whole of Egypt was, thus, regained by the Sunnites.

The Ayyubis and the Mamelukes.--The Ayyubi dynasty at Cairo was officially recognized by the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad in 1175. Although it ruled Egypt for less than a century, that dynasty and that period marked the beginning of many more centuries of Arab-Muslim decline. From their earliest years, the Ayyubis were hampered by internal strife brought on by famine and economic failures and by external pressure in the form of the Crusaders and invasions from the northeast. Moreover, the rulers were faced with the task of reversing Fatimid, Shi'ite education---particularly Shi'ite jurisprudence. To this end, over thirty colleges were established in and around Cairo for the teaching of the preferred branch of Ayyubi, Sunnite law (Safi'i rite).[28] Among its peculiarities, the Safi'i rite recognized the observance of Friday prayers at only one mosque in a city. Al-Azhar was, subsequently, abandoned for the famous Friday sessions. After decades of occupying this secondary position, it was revived in the form of other Sunnite institutions, all of which exemplified devotion to studies of Arabic language, Koranic exegesis, and Muslim law.

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[28] Ibid., p. 40.

With the assumption of power by ex-slave Mamelukes in 1250, the curriculum of the mosque-colleges remained relatively unchanged.[29] The fervor was likely augmented, because under a chiefly Turkish-speaking ruling class, the religious institutions were charged with the responsibility of preserving the Arabic language and the customs of Islam. The age of Arabic scholarship had passed.

In the two and one-half centuries of Mameluke rule, Egypt reached a new peak in artistic and architectural productivity[30] as well as in political prominence within the Arab-Muslim world. Historians seldom fail to mention the quantity and excellence of the artistic achievements under the least artistic regime. Successive additions were made to Al-Azhar as well as to other mosques in Cairo. Students and teachers from North Africa and Iraq sought the refuge of Cairo. Perhaps the last great scholar of the period, ibn-Khaldun, came from his native Tunisia to lecture at Al-Azhar in 1382.[31] Although the influx of students may have partly resulted from the widely-known prestige of Al-Azhar, it must be observed that Cairo replaced Baghdad as the Arab cultural center, following the devastating invasions of Iraq by the Mongols. As such, Cairo may have been an Arab haven. As a center of intellectual activity, however, Cairo, like the other Arab capitals, lost its prominence.

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[29]The Mamelukes came to power following the marriage of one of their powerful officers to the widow of the Ayyubi Sultan.

[30]Hitti, op. cit., pp. 244-45.

[31]Dodge, op. cit., p. 68.

On the eve of the European renaissance which had been, in part, abetted by Arab academics, the Arab world was in a slump. Subjected to the excesses of savagery and luxury of the fifteenth century Mameluke sultans, the Arabs took on an appearance of indolence and lethargy. The coming of the Ottoman Turks was only the last of a chain of events that rendered them comatose---a condition that would endure until the twentieth century.

The Ottoman Turks and the Arab Middle Ages

In the sixteenth century, the divergent Arab societies from Iraq to Morocco and from Syria to Yemen were re-united under the rule of the Ottomans of western Turkey. The new ruling group, though not Arabic-speaking, was nevertheless of the same Muslim faith. As a governing body, the Turks, at best, were no worse than the Mameluke predecessors. Gabrieli states that the Turkish example of misgovernment "distributed its evils impartially wherever it took root" and that as for the Arabs, they had "long since fallen into such a state of profound material and spiritual decadence that the loss of independence could hardly make matters worse."[32] Classical Arabic had declined almost to the point of a dead language; and the Islamic religion, once irresistible and stimulating, drifted into an atrophied state of orthodoxy. This had a natural effect on Muslim education, and eventually education contributed toward the preservation of the decayed state.

Education in the home provided the basis for attitudes

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[32]Gabrieli, op. cit., p. 28.

which characterized Islamic society. These attitudes reflected discipline, respect for elders, and submission to authority. In homes where parents could afford tutors, reading and writing were sometimes included with Koranic studies. Even then, the reading textbook would be the Koran, and the sentences to be written would consist of passages memorized from the Koran. Hence, "the sole type of education accessible in the Islamic lands was one not only based upon but consisting almost exclusively of religious instruction."[33]

Although the limitations of such religious education may make it appear narrow, indeed, the Arabs were at a distinct advantage in comparison to their conquerors. The chief language of Koranic education was, naturally, Arabic; and Arabic was not the language of the Turks nor was it taught in the so-called Turkish homelands. While Turkish students memorized verses from the Koran, the Arab students had the means to understand at least some of what they memorized.

Religion comprising the substance of education, both were in the hands of the Ulema, those equipped with the knowledge of Islam. (See figure 1 for general organization of the Ulema.) The Ulema were consequently in the business of training more members for their hierarchical ranks. Bearing in mind the relationship (theoretical or practical) between religion and daily life, one sees that the Ulema were in a position of potentially great influence. This influence was not necessarily confined to religious aspects of life, but it could extend itself

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[33]Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., p. 139.

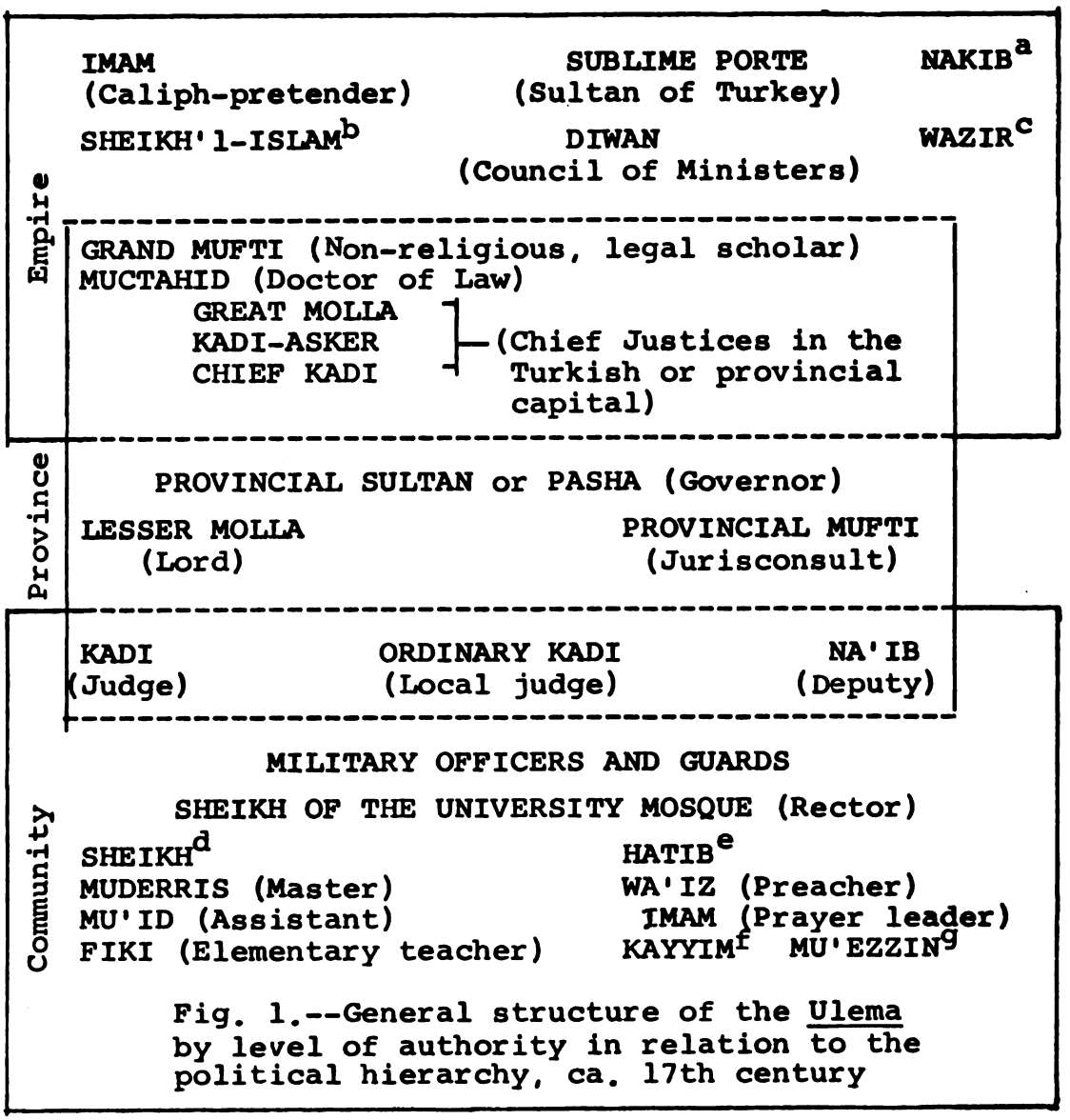

Fig. 1.--General structure of the Ulema by level of authority in relation to the political hierarchy, ca. 17th century

[a]Head of the organization of noble descendants (Serifs) of the Prophet.

[b]Religious appointee equal to the Wazir but potentially more powerful than the Sultan whom the Sheikh'l-Islam could have deposed by religious edict.

[c]Chief executive, responsible to the Porte.

[d]A professor in charge of a residence or department.

[e]Sultan's representative at the mosque service.

[f]Supervisor of mosque services---not necessarily a part of the Ulema.

[g]Caller to prayer, chosen for voice quality---not necessarily a part of the Ulema.

through the political-religious posts which Islamic society recognized. Situated at the head of this political organization and somewhat above the structure of religious occupations was the Turkish ruling class. Because of their training and interests, the Turks concerned themselves with administration and exploitation of the widespread territory. Recognizing the threat of the deposed Mamelukes in their continuing capacity as landlords and wanting to obviate any rebellious acts of the indifferent Arabs, the Turks welcomed the stabilizing effect which the reactionary attitude of the Ulema could have. The entrusting of so large a sphere of social control to the hands of local, respected figures had the effect of making allies of the conquered people. As a result, the aim of education was the preservation of Islam and the reproduction of the Ulema who would supervise both the practice of Islam and of education.

The need for large numbers of local administrators must have influenced the Turks to support education, for support it they did. In Egypt, the remodelling and enlargement of Al-Azhar continued with the vigorous support of the Sultan and his Viceroy. If curtailment of the curriculum prevented it from regaining its former brilliance, at least it came to dominate education in Egypt once more. Of the hundreds of mosque-college complexes in and around Cairo, it served its purpose of training social servants for the Turkish Empire and more specifically for the Province of Egypt. Similarly, the Zaytouna Mosque of Tunis must have formed the center of Tunisian studies.

From this point of time and place, it is difficult to imagine how loosely organized Egyptian education was. It is

probable that most schools were attached to a mosque. At times, the mosque itself served as a school. Actually, no building was required; and certainly none was supported by the government. Such buildings as did exist were indebted to "the munificence of the rich, who founded them and assigned endowments for their upkeep, in some cases sufficient also to feed and clothe a number of poor scholars."[34] Teachers sometimes received a small salary from the endowment. Sometimes they were paid by the parents, and often they did not expect to receive any earnings from teaching.[35] The appointment of teachers was usually the responsibility of the founder's descendant who acted as administrator of the endowment. There was apparently no inspection of classes, and any external control was limited to finance.

As in the case of private tutoring, learning in the Koran schools (Kuttab) was limited to memorization of verses from the Koran. Difficult as it is to master the language of the Koran, it was not a study which stimulated thought or discussion. In some cases, children were taught to read and write. "Simple arithmetic may sometimes have been taught, but was more often learnt [sic] from the public weigher (kabbani) or village land-measurer (massah)."[36] For those few who went to school at all, these studies and recitations were the common base, whether or not the pupil was going on to a madrasa or mosque-college.

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[34]Ibid., p. 140.

[35]It was customary among some members of the Ulema not to derive personal income from their religious work. Instead, they worked at some other job in order to earn a living.

[36]Gibb and Bowen, loc. cit.

Students at the madrasa would first take up additional studies of the Koran, for it was assumed that no one teaching in a kuttab knew classical Arabic well enough to teach it. Recitation, Arabic language, grammar, rhetoric, rhyme, and intonation of the Koran made up the early years of study. (See figure 2 for the structure and general content of studies at a madrasa.)

Although there were grades or levels of competence to be passed, it must be understood that no grade was of fixed duration, there were no specific examinations, and passing from one grade to another was a purely individual matter. Students were free to listen in on whatever lectures and lecturers they chose. When a lecturer or teacher was satisfied that a pupil had mastered the book or books pertaining to that level, a license (Icaze) was issued, and the pupil was eligible to try for the next license.

While the size and staff of a madrasa undoubtedly affected the number of levels or offerings, the maximum number of twelve was certainly included in the major urban mosques. A pupil who had mastered the texts for subjects mentioned above would likely possess four or five licenses.[37] In that case, he could proceed to studies of Islamic Tradition, theology, Shari'ah law, exegesis and commentary regarding the Koran. Medicine was the only significant subject taught outside of the "religious sciences". In medicine as in other fields,

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[37]Students were prevented from using notes during their first four years of study since it was felt that they would either become confused or that they would develop heretical ideas. The highly regarded method of memorization was the only one considered reliable at the early levels (Dodge, op. cit., p. 135).

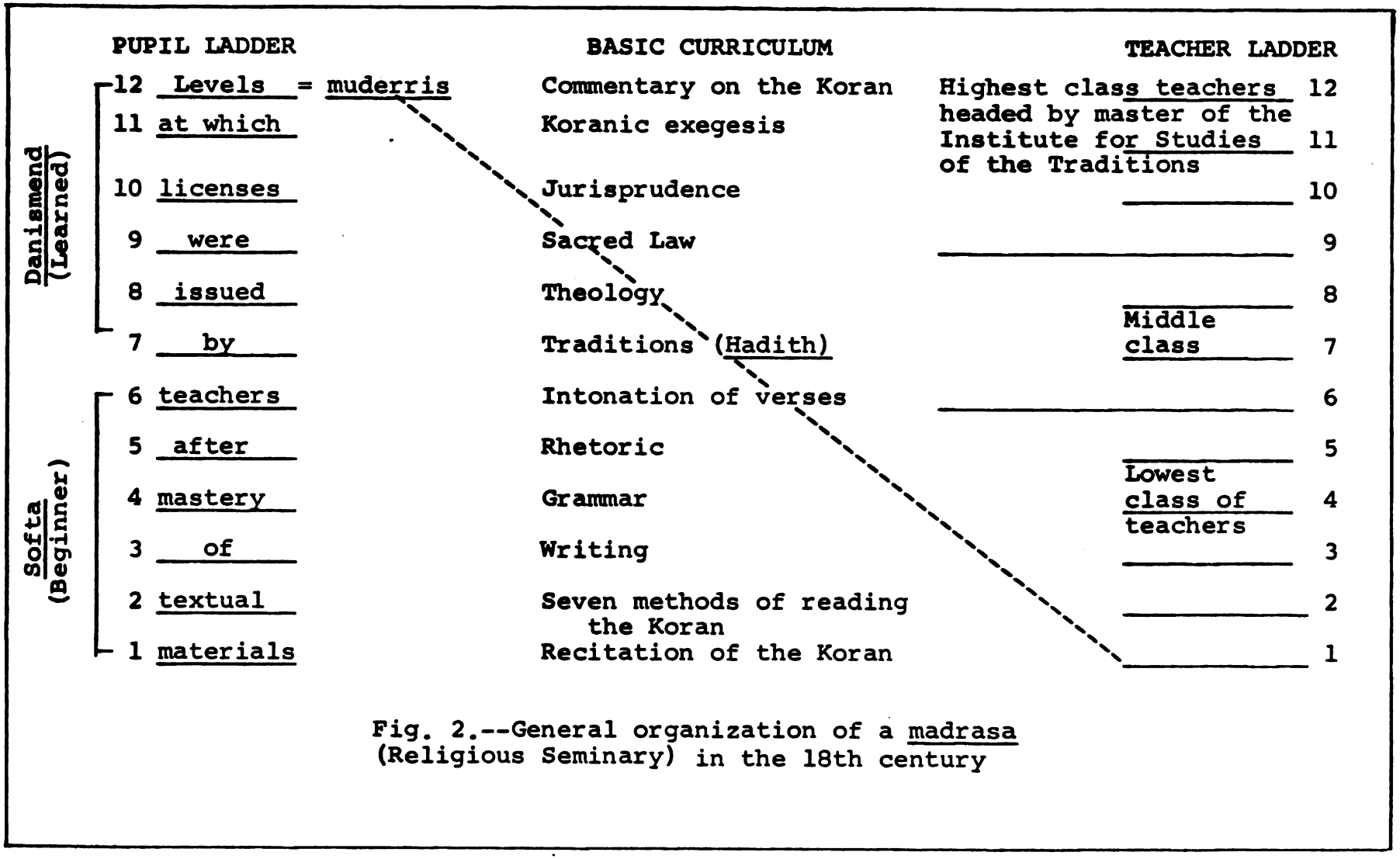

Fig. 2.--General organization of a madrasa (Religious Seminary) in the 18th century

however, the import of printed books was forbidden; and the printing of books by Muslims was, likewise, prohibited until the eighteenth century.[38]

Large proportions of students did not complete the twelve stages of madrasa education. Instead, those leaving at various points in the upper six grades would qualify for positions as local judges (ordinary kadis), provincial jurists (Mufti), teaching assistant in the lower grades (mu'id), or prayer leader. Those qualifying for the full range of licenses were regarded as masters (muderris), and they could begin taking pupils of the elementary level. Whether they were assigned to village mosques or to the great mosque-colleges, they had to begin at the bottom and progress, as teachers, through all of the stages which they had entered as pupils. Also as teachers, they belonged to one of three status groups which indicated their position in the Ulema. Group differentiation was reflected not only by prestige but by mode of dress and salary as well.

Particularly in the Turkish capital, higher teaching posts led to judicial office. Minor clerks in the ruling establishment and judges in major centers (Mollas) were also recruited from the ranks of teachers. Outside of Istanbul, schooling became mechanical, politically involved, and corrupt. "Education had ceased to set before itself even the hope of moulding society in the direction of its ideals, and had sunk to the level of merely holding society together by the inculcation of tradition."[39]

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[38]Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., p. 151. [39]Ibid., p. 160.

Licenses were issued freely to relatives of the Ulema and of government officials. The teaching ranks became so swollen that positions were eventually filled through a compulsory annual rotation system. The title of master (muderris) came to indicate a source of income, and in some instances, teachers did not even attend their classes. Instead, they engaged substitutes (hocas) of uncertain abilities. The accumulating effect on the quality of education can be readily comprehended.

Under the Ottoman regime, the forces of the Arab-Muslim world were exhausted. The willingness of the Ulema to collaborate with the ruling class in exchange for a free hand in just about everything except revenue matters precluded any possibility of change from within. Not only did Islamic education shrivel and decline but the Ulema seemed to be unaware of the alterations. One is inclined to wonder if they cared any longer. Into that saddened and decadent society, so much in need of new stimuli and life, Napoleon Bonaparte transfused the knowledge of the West and new hope for the Middle East.

CHAPTER II

ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH

The centuries which intervened between the capture of Saint Louis of France during the Crusades in North Africa and the invasion by Napoleon's troops were not entirely without Franco-Arab contacts. Traffic, both commercial and diplomatic, was commonplace between the European and Ottoman capitals. Although European ambassadors were regarded by the Sultan as inferior to Turks, France was officially recognized as the protector of Catholics inhabiting the Ottoman Empire. Also, France gained a primary position in eastern markets which led to the establishment of trading houses in leading Near East centers. Especially in Egypt, France secured a virtual monopoly, with merchant establishments at Cairo and Alexandria out-numbering the nearest rival, Britain, by fifty to two.[1]

The supremacy of France in religious and commercial matters was confirmed by the Capitulations granted to France by the Porte in 1536. These Capitulations or concessions, guaranteed freedom of worship, exempted French traders from customs-duties, and granted certain judicial extraterritorial privileges to French residents. These latter rights not only removed foreign residents from jurisdiction of the religious

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[1]George E. Kirk, A Short History of the Middle East (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1959), p. 68.

courts (Shari'ah), but placed them in a separate category under consular authority. Henceforth, the French were a distinct and privileged group in Arab-Turkish affairs. That such Capitulations were not extended to England until forty-five years later is further evidence of the headstart which France had in the Franco-British competition for dominance in the Middle East.

Napoleon in Egypt

Despite the development of new trade routes to the East, the British and the French did not lose their vision of expanding overland routes through Egypt or Syria. As the English position became more secure in India, shipments into the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea increased. Such shipping posed a constant threat to French businessmen in Egypt. In the presence of tension created by such rivalry, both England and France openly supported the Ottoman government. Having established highly favorable relations with the Sublime Porte, they felt secure in their dealings as long as the Middle East maintained even token unity under the Porte's titular reign.

That Bonaparte dreamed of occupying the Near East, particularly Egypt, is little to be doubted. Whether he actually invaded the country for personal or commercial reasons or for the purpose of wrenching the government from the hands of the Mamelukes, as he said, is in doubt. It seems most likely that the Egyptian target was, nevertheless, an indirect strike at Great Britain and a temporal substitute for invasion of England, for which the French Directorate would not grant

sufficient financial and political support.[2]

With the attack on Alexandria in July, 1798, a new and significant period of direct European intervention in the Arab world began. By their easy victory and subsequent occupation of Egypt, "the French shattered the illusion of the unchallengeable superiority of the Islamic world to the infidel West."[3] Not only had French military strength been demonstrated, but with the instruments of war came an out-pouring of scientists, technicians, archeologists, and savants. The scientific exploration to be conducted by this entourage provided the basis of the famous Institut d'Egypte.[4] That institute with its library, laboratories, and instruments of scientific wonder was destined to survive French military setbacks and to bring inspiration to scholars of the twentieth century.

Some measures adopted to support and sustain Napoleon's campaign resulted in long-term benefits to the native population. For example, the building of hospitals and the enforcement of health regulations for the protection of army personnel rendered a beneficial consequence for the civilians. The introduction of an Arabic printing press by means of which Napoleon could communicate his greetings to the people of Alexandria resulted in the foundation of the Imprimerie Orientale et Française. It still serves as a major publishing house of the Middle East.

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[2]P. G. Elgood, Bonaparte's Adventure in Egypt (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), chap. III.

[3]Bernard Lewis, The Arabs in History (New York: Harper Brothers, 1960), pp. 166-67.

[4]Russell Galt, "European Versus American Education for the Orient," School and Society, XXXVIII (August 12, 1933), 217.

As for other areas, Charles-Roux observed that during the occupation, Egypt was

> delivered over to the technical studies and scientific activities of ordnance survey officers, civil engineers, astronomers, and officers of the Engineers, collaborating in work of inestimable value both for science and for the country concerned. Together with medicine, surgery, and engineering, geometry and astronomy made their re-entry into Egypt in the wake of technicians stimulated by the noble idea of bringing the benefits of progress in these sciences to one of the countries in which they had first flourished.[5]

Despite the Egyptians' lack of appreciation of Napoleon's efforts and despite their distaste at being taxed to support such incomprehensible activity, the occupation was to leave the imprint of France on the banks of the Nile. As commander of the army and as a member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences of France, Napoleon had assembled the most capable colleagues for his expedition. Their classification of Egyptian architecture, the delicate translation of the Koran into French verse, and their written accounts provided material stimuli for later researchers. Writing about that same period, Cachia says that "it is possible to see in the manifold activities of the French in Egypt...the seeds of all the major cultural ventures that were to follow."[6]

There are numbers of reasons why the relatively brief occupation by French forces should have exerted such an influence on Egyptian life. First of all, the military was admired because of its conquest by more modern, technical means. The superiority

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[5]F. Charles-Roux, Bonaparte, Gouverneur d'Egypte (Paris: Librarie Plon, 1936), p. 116.

[6]P. J. E. Cachia, "Modern Arabic Literature," The Islamic Near East, ed. Douglas Grant (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), p. 284.

of gunpowder over brandished swords was sufficiently established in the hours-long conquest of Alexandria. Second, the exploration and scientific activity had awakened a sense of importance in a docile people even if they did not grasp its immediate significance. The enthusiasm of the young general and his followers for introducing industrial goods and techniques was successfully copied by the Egyptians even though much of their work did not outlast the occupation. Third, the tolerance of Islam by Bonaparte and his troops was to set a precedent which would make possible the teaching of Egyptians by French teachers and even by French clerics. The Muslim concept of European Christians as armed missionaries intent on destruction and conversion was reversed or at least re-examined. The troops had been instructed to offer the same respect and cordiality to followers of Muhammad as they did to Italian Christians or to pagans of other lands. Regardless of the reasons, the soldiers who went about the cities unarmed bought freely and paid generously for Egyptian goods. That encouraged the local vendors to come into contact with them. Although the French language first made its way into families of middle class merchants, the relationship between the army and native peasants seems not to have been unpleasant. Fourth, in order to assuage its displeasure at uncomfortable surroundings, the French Army re-created some elements of their home environment in Cairo and other places.[7] Through the introduction of shops and services, a French atmosphere was achieved in varying degrees and in uneven tempo through the century and a half to follow.

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[7]One of the earliest tasks assigned to the Institut d'Egypte was to develop a way of making leavened bread for the Frenchmen.

Two other events seem likely to have had importance. One involves the fiscal policy which Napoleon instituted. Instead of employing Mameluke tax collectors who had often been chosen for their ruthless ability to extract disproportionate amounts of money from peasants, workers, and landowners, Napoleon appointed eight Egyptians to head the revenue service. Through his advisors, he also changed the system of tax assessment. "Though taxation remained very heavy it ceased to depend merely on the collectors' requirements and began to be adjusted to the taxpayer's needs, the size of his property and the size of his crops."[8] These measures altered the relationship between administration and law; and they helped to improve the image of the European Christian and of the European businessman in Egypt. Finally, the disbanding of Napoleon's forces made military personnel and technicians available for service elsewhere. Although the occupation of Egypt lasted three years, the final defeat of Napoleon and the dispersion of his army coincided with the rise of new nationalist energy in Egypt. Subsequently, the Europeanizing process, begun by Bonaparte, continued in Egypt with some of the same forces but with new leadership.

Napoleon left Egypt the same year of the invasion, and his troops were evacuated in 1801. Although many of the general's innovations faded when the occupation was over, some seeds of French culture were nurtured and continued to grow. New ideas

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[8]Jean and Simonne Lacouture, Egypt in Transition, trans. Francis Scarfe (New York: Criterion Books, 1958), p. 47.

and ambitions had been aroused, and the succeeding Ottoman governor, Muhammad Ali,

> was convinced that the way to strengthen Egypt was to emulate the western powers and to copy their military institutions and administrative organization. He preferred to introduce new institutions, which were in fact foreign to Egyptian culture, rather than to reconstruct, improve or build upon existing institutions and harness or channel the vital forces behind them. But these new institutions could not work without a system of education other than the religious one centered in the old, famous, University of Al-Azhar.[9]

As admirers of the tools and weapons of the West, particularly of France, and as witnesses of Napoleon's ascendance, Muhammad Ali and his officers looked westward for a model on which to pattern modern Egypt. England, Germany, and especially France were prepared to give assistance.

From French Occupation to British Occupation

Muhammad Ali, often regarded as the George Washington of modern Egypt, was a Turkish-speaking Ottoman. Muslim though not Arab, his military ambitions placed him in a favorable position with both the English government and with the Sultan of Turkey. His relatively long reign over Egypt was sprinkled with military campaigns and European dealings. With an officer class trained by Europeans, he conquered Syria, Arabia, and the Sudan. The subsequent loss of these territories ushered in a more centralized Ottoman government and the successive penetration of the Middle East by European powers.

The personal history of Muhammad Ali is virtually the history of Egypt during the first half of the nineteenth century.

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[9]Sadek H. Samaan, Value Reconstruction and Egyptian Education (New York: Columbia University, 1955), pp. 5-6.

This scheming Albanian who claimed to know more tricks than Macchiavelli employed his skill in destroying the Mamelukes and having himself recognized by the Porte as ruler of Egypt. Being illiterate, Ali brought others to translate and to read books to him about Napoleon and the art of government. He admired the methodical and centralized administration which the French had set up, and he endeavored to emulate the administrative system as well as the well-trained army and navy. Compared to the confusion which was so prevalent between the leaving of the French troops and the seating of Muhammad Ali, Napoleon's administration must have been viewed with favor even by those who would have bitterly denounced it in 1800. Some of the Sheikhs at Al-Azhar who had been critics of the French general became admirers of his efficient operation of government after he had departed. Chief among these was the famous Egyptian historian al-Jabarti.

The Reign of Muhammad Ali.--Although to intellectuals, France was the norm of civilization, to Muhammad Ali she represented the ideal of military skill and organization. With his sights clearly set on the gaining of political power, to be achieved through increased military strength, Muhammad Ali set out to create institutions for the preparation of military officers and for the training of ancillary personnel. He was aware that the old system of religious schools (the kuttabs and mosque colleges) would not help him to accomplish his aims. Faced, then, with the alternatives of interpolating the necessary, new subject matter into the old curriculum or

of setting up an entirely new system, he chose the latter. The ancient system of religious education was left intact. At that point, the "European philosophy with its two-ladder school system, giving a minimum education to the masses and a maximum education to the classes"[10] was firmly implanted on Egyptian soil.

Impatient, and pressed by the immediate need for specialists, Muhammad Ali structured his new system from the top down. He created higher institutions first, and he staffed them with Europeans. Included at that time were the School of Medicine and the School of Pharmaceutics as well as all manner of military and technical establishments. Radwan reports that each of the higher schools was patterned and named after a counterpart in Paris.[11] The Cavalry School, for example, was a copy of the Saumur School in Paris; the School of Engineering was like the Ecole Polytechnique with its three departments: the Mining Department, the Central Department, and the Public Works Department.

In 1813, the first of eleven missions to be sent to Europe by Muhammad Ali began military studies, chiefly in France. Hitti has noted that there were 311 students included in these missions of Muhammad Ali at an expense to the state of 273,360 Egyptian pounds.[12]

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[10]Galt, op. cit., p. 218.

[11]Abu Al-Futouh Ahmad Radwan, Old and New Forces in Egyptian Education (New York: Columbia University, 1951), pp. 87-88.

[12]Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs (London: Macmillan Co., 1958), p. 724.

Muhammad Ali's interest in military education apparently spread to other aspects of education. He employed the services of many French translators, but the progress was too slow for his purposes. Ahmed relates an incident where Muhammad Ali, after being told that it would take three months to translate a geography book, slashed the book into three parts with his sword and gave it to three translators.[13] This frustration eventually led to the establishment of formal translation bureaus and of schools for the training of translators.

A separate school for Muhammad Ali's delegations was established in Paris in 1826. The mission to France that year comprised forty-four students whose areas of specialization encompassed civil and military administration, science, medicine, and manufacturing techniques.[14] The students in that mission, like later ones to Paris, were housed in a special building; and the students lived under strict discipline and a code of regulations. Since it was not Muhammad Ali's intention that these students should see too much of French life, they lived together as a colony. The duration of their studies varied from two to twelve years. Students attending the Egyptian Military School in Paris were "placed under the supreme directorship of the French Minister of War and all teachers were Frenchmen."[15]

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[13]J. M. Ahmed, The Intellectual Origins of Egyptian Nationalism (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 10.

[14]Omar Tusun, Educational Missions during the Reign of Muhammad Ali (Alexandria: Oriental Press, 1934), pp. 12-54.

[15]J. Heyworth-Dunne, An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt (London: Luzac Co., 1938), p. 243.

The leader of the 1826 mission was a student from Al-Azhar named Rifa'ah Rafi al-Tahtawi. Tahtawi had been a pupil of the Sheikh Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Attar, a rector of Al-Azhar. The Sheikh Hasan had been an observer of the Napoleonic occupation, and he had frequented the Institut d'Egypte where he was impressed by the French scientific work. Aside from the significant impression which he made on his pupil, it was the Sheikh Hasan who got Tahtawi appointed as the imam of the delegation to Paris.[16] Although not there as a student, Tahtawi spent five years in Paris reading a great variety of books, concentrating on Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu. "The thought of the French Enlightenment left a permanent mark on him, and through him on the Egyptian mind."[17] Writing in Paris at the time of the French occupation of Algiers, Tahtawi apparently saw no political threat from Europe. Rather, he saw France as a symbol of "science and material progress."[18] Although he speculated and wrote on such matters as the natural basis for a state and the nature of monarchies and republics, his life was spent chiefly in matters relating to education. On his return to Egypt, he worked as a translator of European works, he taught French at the School of Medicine, and he edited the official journal Informations Egyptiennes.[19] Later, he became head of the new School of Languages, started in 1835 for the purpose of preparing students "for the professional schools and to train officials and translators."[20]

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[16]Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939 (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 69.

[17]Ibid. [18]Ibid., p. 81.

[19]Ahmed, op. cit., p. 13. [20]Hourani, op. cit., p. 71.

In 1837, education was removed from the jurisdiction of the Department of War, and a Department of Education was created. Tahtawi served on the commission which established the system of schools, and he later served as an inspector and examiner in them. The department, called the Conseil Superieur de l'Instruction Publique, was headed by a Frenchman, Sulaiman Pasha. He was a close associate of Muhammad Ali and a convert to Islam. Considering the esteem in which the French schools were held, it is not surprising that the new system for Egypt was characterized by centralization, inspection, and examinations.[21]

Three levels of instruction were to be incorporated into the system of schools after 1837. (See figure 3.) Primary schools, preparatory schools, and special schools were proposed. The first two prepared pupils for the possible next stage. The last was a consolidation and reorganization of the higher institutes for cavalry, artillery, infantry, medicine, language, and veterinary training.

The plan called for forty-five primary units to be distributed among the provinces with another one at Alexandria and four in the city of Cairo. Uniformity of discipline, teaching, and administration was the goal for the primary schools. It was a graded system for three years. Pupils could remain for a

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[21]Since Muhammad Ali selected and placed the students, there was probably justification for this comment of Poujoulat at the time: Muhammad Ali has established public instruction for what? In order to have officers, administrators, and doctors, and not for the enlightenment of the Egyptian population by putting the benefits of education in the place of plentiful ignorance. One could say that there is nothing less public in Egypt than that instruction which is called public. (Heyworth-Dunne, _op. cit._, p. 229, passage translated by the writer).

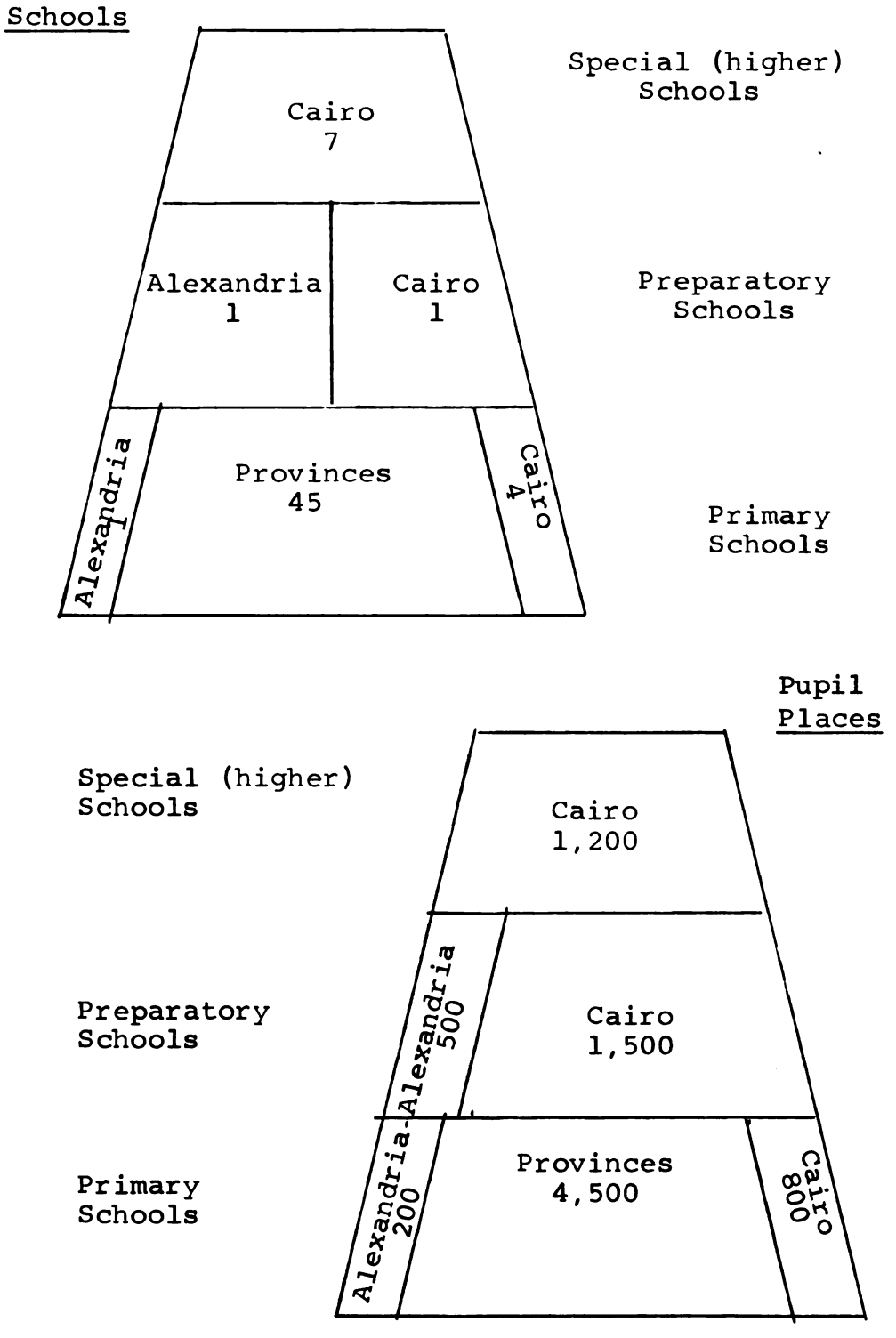

Fig. 3.--Number of schools and places proposed by the Department of Education under Muhammad Ali, 1837

a fourth year where it was necessary and if it was recommended by the inspector. Promotion was determined by examination.

School inspection was to be carried out on a quarterly basis. The inspector was responsible to the central authority. To that body, reports were made concerning pupil progress, teacher zeal, and school administration. Results of examinations, given by the teachers themselves, identified pupils who were to be drafted for admission to the preparatory schools.

There were two preparatory schools, one each in Alexandria and Cairo. Together, they accommodated 2,000 pupils. The preparatory course was of four year's duration, and as in the earlier segment, a student could remain for an additional year with the approval of his teachers. Subjects to be included at the preparatory level were: Arabic, Turkish, Persian, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, history, geography, calligraphy, and drawing.

It was in the special School of Languages that French was introduced as a subject along the ladder. The main function of the school was the training of translators who could convert French textbooks for use in Arabic or Turkish. Since the translated works were designed to serve as textbooks in the schools and training colleges, it is significant that "works on military and naval subjects, as well as on mathematics and mechanics, are almost all in Turkish."[22] This would indicate the minority position of Egyptians in training at that time.

In 1841, Muhammad Ali officially attached a Bureau of Translation to the School of Languages, even though his military

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[22]Lewis, op. cit., p. 172.

aspirations were being extinguished. For in the same year, he was forced, under Anglo-Turkish pressure, to forfeit Syria which he had ruled for ten years through his favorite son and deputy, Ibrahim. In exchange, the Sublime Porte invested him with the government of the Sudan and declared the Pashalik of Egypt to be hereditary in Muhammad Ali's family. (See figure 4.) In difficult conditions militarily and financially, Muhammad Ali was obliged to reduce his army and the budget for education.

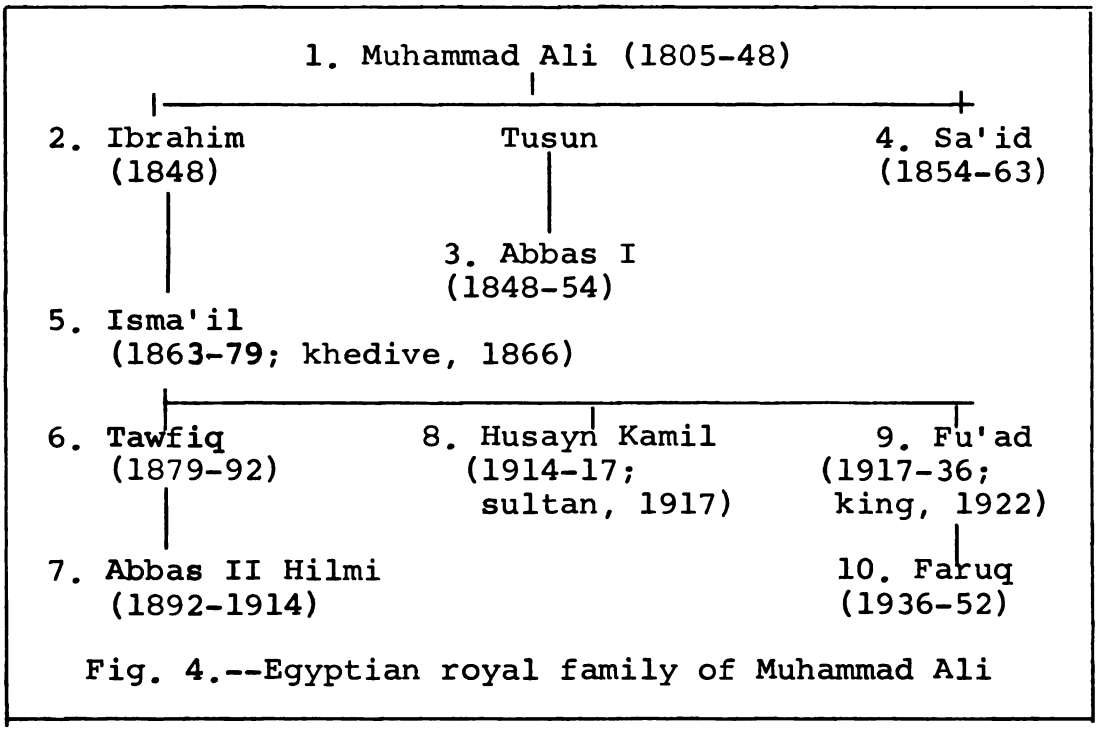

Fig. 4.--Egyptian royal family of Muhammad Ali

Writing about that time, Schoelcher declared that since the schools were only instruments for war, when the need for an army was dissipated, Muhammad Ali no longer wanted schools.[23]

A plan to abolish all of the primary, preparatory, and special schools was advanced, probably by some of the conservative Ulema. The plan met with strong opposition from Sulaiman

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[23]V. Schoelcher, L'Egypte en 1845 (Paris: 1846), p. 63, (passage translated by the writer).

Pasha who still enjoyed Ali's favor. Ibrahim suggested the dismissal of expensive Europeans and the employment of more Turks and Egyptians. Actually, both schools and staff suffered cutbacks. The number of pupils in the higher schools was sharply curtailed, while primary schools were almost eliminated.[24] Near the end of 1841, only three primary schools remained in operation.

> The affairs of Egypt are always in the same state of uncertainty. Today, the governmental catchword is economy and all energy is directed toward the elimination of European employees. Also in the name of economy, the number of pupils in school has just been reduced so as to include only a very few. In the School of Medicine, for example, where there used to be 300 students, the number is now fixed at only 130. All other institutions have been submitted to similar cuts.[25]

In the writer's opinion, the role of Muhammad Ali as founder and patron of the Bureau of Translation at such a critical period is indicative of his real intention. His pact with the Porte had precluded further military adventures for which he is supposed to have wanted education. He must have known that in the works of Europe lay the basis of a changing and progressive future. Tahtawi was named head of the bureau, and it is there that he is considered to have made his most important contribution. Not only did he do personal translations, but he recommended and supervised the translation of some 2,000 books and pamphlets on a variety of subjects.[26] Like his Francophile mentor, al-Attar, Tahtawi "began with a strong belief in the power of language and a critical trust

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[24]For details of the debate on the closing of schools, see Artin, Lettres du Dr. Perron à M. Jules Mohl (Cairo: 1911), pp. 68-69.

[25]Ibid. (passage translated by the writer).

[26]Ahmed, op. cit., p. 10.

in European arts and sciences...Before him European learning was practically unknown to Egyptians and it may therefore be said that the intellectual movement in Egypt began with his studentship in Paris and the book he wrote then."[27] Muhammad Ali had been responsible for sending him to France; he was equally responsible for his later appointments in Egypt; and he may be assigned credit for the outcome of Tahtawi's work. Further evidence of Ali's devotion to western education is that the missions to Europe continued after the termination of his military career. In fact, while only 108 students had been officially sent abroad between 1828 and 1836, the years of Ali's build-up of forces, 135 students were sent to Europe in 1847. Eighty-five of the latter group went to France.[28] This was six years after he had any need for training armies.

The next year, Muhammad Ali died. By that time, it could be summarized that during his reign he had helped in the ousting of Napoleon; he had expelled or exterminated the Mamelukes; he had worked assiduously for the development and enlargement of his country; he had introduced 10,000 to 12,000 young Egyptian residents to European education and culture; and he had left his country free of debt.[29] Aside from his establishing the first military officer training school, Ali set up a sort of education for military purposes.[30] Often, he disturbed the old mosque system. Although he did not provide the skills, atmosphere, or the means to personal enterprise, he appears to have discovered the thrill of learning. Ambitious

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[27]Ibid., p. 11. [28]Heyworth-Dunne, op. cit., p. 243.

[29]Kirk, op. cit., p. 103.

[30]The first recruitment of Egyptians began in 1823.

for territory and power, searching for new techniques and knowledge, villainous toward his enemies, but generous to those who wished to serve---such were the qualities of the Albanian who set Egypt on a new course.

Some of the programs instituted by Muhammad Ali were to have far-reaching implications for Egyptian national development. First among these was the creation of an Egyptian intelligentsia. These scholars and writers of the next generations were active politically as well as academically. They agitated for reform, they acted as critics of successive regimes, and they challenged old institutions. Moreover, they began to think in terms of an Egyptian nation, a concept which was foreign to the Arab world.

Second, the import of western ideas brought about a tendency toward greater secularization of Egyptian life. The schools did not escape that secularization. For centuries, the pre-eminence of the Azhar had not been seriously challenged. As the stronghold of Muslim absolutism, it performed its social and religious function in a manner that could not have been duplicated by another agency. But after 850 years, it was dealt its first blow by a follower of the Muslim faith. For with the addition of a second school system, traditional education became increasingly vulnerable. Formerly supreme, it was subjected to comparison with the newer system which stood alongside it. The educated class, often having shared the benefits of both systems, sensed the commitment to the past and present of the old and the new, respectively. The teachings of the developed and envied West not only excluded the religious

training, but they were in conflict with it. Since the old religious institution, intact and unreconstructed after hundreds of years, continued to defend the traditional way of life which had proved so disastrous in 1798, the students who were schooled along European lines displayed increasing antagonism toward it.

Third, the ability to speak a foreign language, especially French or English, became a mark of education and a distinguishable social achievement. Parallel to the acquisition of a foreign tongue was the training abroad. Since relatively few persons were chosen, the missions assumed a decidedly exclusive nature. Perhaps more important is the recognition of these men as Ali's personal representatives, whether they were Turkish, Armenian, or Egyptian. It was from these missions that government officials were selected; it was the membership of these missions that created a new stratum of society, the "cultured" class. It was these people who were granted positions that yielded profit and reward in land, money, or titles. Quite reasonably, there grew the notion that training and specialization abroad were pre-requisite to success and privilege.

Finally, as a result of Muhammad Ali's generosity, the Catholic community gained government sanction. To the large number of Europeans who had established business operations in the seaport of Alexandria, Ali made a gift of land. On it, Franciscan monks built a convent whose chapel became the famous Church of Saint-Catherine. It eventually became the parish church of all Latin Catholics of Alexandria. As such, it was the focal point of religious and cultural training for the Catholic flock; and it was a base from which French cultural

influence could be disseminated. This overture, coupled with the long-standing Capitulations which granted special privileges to Europeans provided a basis for the establishment of foreign schools for Egyptians as well as for the European Catholics. Thus began a trend the impact of which would arouse both support and ill-feelings for a century.

Ali's Successors.--Muhammad Ali's death (in 1848) had been preceded by the death of his appointed successor, Ibrahim. Consequently, the title passed to his grandson, Abbas. In his six years as governor, Abbas looked with disfavor at the presence of Europeans in Egyptian institutions; but even more, he regarded the internal movement for reforms as highly dangerous. He sent the most vocal of the European-trained reformers to posts in other parts of the empire. Among "the exiles" was Tahtawi who was sent to the Sudan. Paradoxically enough, Abbas' antagonism toward European ideas was expressed in an atmosphere which was becoming increasingly European. His power was neither great enough nor of sufficient duration to reverse the European trend. Both France and Britain were extending their political and commercial interests in the Middle East, the most important events among them being the building of railroads between Cairo and Alexandria and between Cairo and Suez.

Sa'id, governor from 1854 to 1863, held ideas more similar to those of his father, Muhammad Ali; and the Europeans continued to flow into Egypt. The Suez Canal was begun in 1859, encouraging even further immigration. Even though the labor for the building of the canal was supplied by the Egyptian Army,

the cost was otherwise divided among Egypt, Britain, and France. All three expected to increase their revenue as a result of it.

With the French and British commercial interests came their schools. The Catholic Church, having already been established in Egypt and elsewhere in the Middle East, expanded its educational services to accommodate the children of European businessmen. Although a number of countries exercised their rights under the Capitulations which guaranteed freedom of religion and other privileges based on nationality, France had some advantage. She continued to enjoy the ascribed role of protectress of the spiritual and cultural welfare of the Catholic community; and she had what was called the French civilizing mission (la mission civilisatrice). Also, the prior contacts between France and the Muhammad Ali regime, with their reciprocal religious tolerance, added momentum to the French cause. Despite the adverse views of Abbas, the imprint of France was being made and could be demonstrated by the proportion of the educated class who knew the French language. "Such seed ripens into a harvest of French prestige," lamented Pierre Crabites. "It brings Egypt into the spiritual empire of France. It makes of the Levant one vast Gallic cultural dominion."[31]

Among the Egyptian educated class, there were several main streams of thought. One group favored the adoption of European ways which was already being expressed in modes of dress and furnishing. At the other extreme was a group which favored a return to Islamic institutions of previous centuries

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[31]Pierre Crabites, "The Cultural Dominions of France," The Nineteenth Century, CIV (August, 1928), 180.

and maintenance of the supremacy of Islam. Between the two positions was a group that was more important, in terms of their long-range effect. These men admired the European arts and sciences, and many of them had adopted European philosophical and scientific approaches to problems. Their concern was for the development of their own country with the adaptation of whatever would be useful from Europe. Their problem, then, was one of reconciling European modernism with Egyptian traditionalism. Since the students who were sent to Europe had invariably been trained at Al-Azhar first, most of them were quite familiar with both patterns of thought and mode of life. Thoroughly versed in the works of Bentham and Mill as well as in those of Voltaire and Rousseau, they debated the wisdom of secularism within a religious state, and they repeatedly questioned the function of a static system of religious education in the making of a modern state.

Isma'il.--Of all the Egyptian governors of the nineteenth century, Isma'il was probably the most extravagant. He was also the most generous in his acceptance of Europeans and their ideas. Having also been educated in Paris, Isma'il gave preferential treatment to Tahtawi, who had been allowed to return to Cairo under Sa'id Pasha as head of a school. Tahtawi echoed the reformers' sentiments for a revised and expanded educational system. Disturbed by domestic conditions which they attributed to unfavorable political structure, the reformers demanded the establishment of democratic institutions. They saw education as a source of aid in producing a nation which could get and use such institutions. Tahtawi was appointed by Isma'il to a

commission to devise a new educational system. The work of the commission led to the new Code of 1868. The new Code called for the addition of modern primary schools, the improvement of the old Koran-type schools (kuttabs), and the combination of the two sets of schools into a unified system. Furthermore, the Code demanded the participation of citizens in the financing of this new program of national education.

At the same time that the government schools were being re-examined, two other notable developments were taking place. For one, the Azhar itself was being subjected to intermittent reforms, attributed to Isma'il, in what Adams called his "zeal for Europeanizing Egypt."[32] New subjects were being added to the curriculum and subsequently deleted, depending on the rector at the time. A schedule of examinations and a board of examiners was established, however; and logic and philosophy were being taught at Al-Azhar in 1866 when Muhammad Abduh entered the University.[33] The other development occurred outside of Egypt but was of importance to it. The French government invited the Sultan to visit Paris where a new system of secular, public education was recommended to him. As a result,

> there was opened in 1868 under the joint direction of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the French Ambassador the Lycée of Galata-Serai, a great secondary school open to Ottoman subjects of every race and creed, where more than six hundred boys were taught by Europeans in the French language---a symbol of the action of France, exerting herself to teach the peoples of the Orient in her own language the elements of Western civilization.[34]

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[32]Charles Clarence Adams, Islam and Modernism in Egypt (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 30.

[33]Infra, pp. 60-61.

[34]Kirk, op. cit., p. 86.

The French scheme for introducing more school systems was shattered by the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Enrollment in the European schools of Egypt continued to increase, however, and the increase was most noticeable among Muslims and others of the indigenous population. Although many schools taught Arabic, the French language held a position of choice in both the Egyptian and European schools. English acquired a degree of prominence through the introduction of both British and American schools; but the French had greater numbers of students. At least one of the reasons for this was that the French schools were established in large population centers while the English schools were scattered about the countryside or in small towns.[35]

The government of the Khedive Isma'il was in a bitter crisis. His lavish building and industrialization programs had brought the country to the point of bankruptcy. Not only had he accumulated vast debts in Britain and France, but the decline of demand and price for Egyptian cotton after the end of the American Civil War reduced revenues for the Egyptian treasury. Consequently, the new educational program never really got started.

Tahtawi continued his work for the Ministry of Education as editor of a periodical to which he contributed a number of original articles; but his main work consisted of the translation of French legal codes into Arabic by way of preparation for the Mixed Courts, established in 1873.

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[35]It appears that while the French concentrated on teaching their own language as perfectly as possible, the American schools were more inclined to encourage the use of Arabic. Consequently, the American schools are considered to have made a valuable contribution to the revival of Arabic literature although their academic reputation was inferior to that of the French, at least from the European point of view.

The Mixed Courts probably came to be introduced as the European governments became more deeply involved in Egyptian affairs and as the European population in Egypt increased. Joesten reports that "whereas in 1850 there had been only 6,000 Europeans resident in Egypt, by 1875 there were over 100,000."[36] Litigation involving these foreigners and the government of Egypt, including the estates of the Khedive, came under the jurisdiction of the Mixed Courts. They were presided over by both Egyptian and European judges. "In other words, foreign diplomatic pressure could henceforth be applied directly on the Egyptian Government through legally established channels."[37] This system apparently resulted in further indebtedness on the part of Isma'il. In 1875, at a time when Isma'il had boasted that Egypt was part of Europe instead of Africa,[38] he was forced to sell his 44 per cent share of the capital in the Suez Canal Company to Britain.

The following year, Britain and France foreclosed, in a sense, on their Egyptian mortgages by establishing a financial control system in Egypt. The controllers representing the two countries were responsible for supervising all state expenditures, the collection of revenue, and they, in fact, directed the country's economic and political activities. Isma'il appointed a new Government with both French and British cabinet ministers.

The measures enforced by the Anglo-French dual control resulted in financial hardship for the army. This caused

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[36]Joachim Joesten, Nasser: The Rise to Power (London: Odham Press, 1960), p. 22.

[37]Ibid., p. 23.

[38]Jacques Baulin, The Arab Role in Africa (London: Cox and Wyman, 1962), p. 42.

an uprising in 1878 which invited Franco-British intervention. The two powers secured the resignation of Isma'il's government with the Sultan's approval. The Khedive was replaced by his son, Tawfiq, who was more acceptable to the dual control but whose weakness encouraged bickering and aggression among the nationalist forces. Further uprisings led the French and British to the point of armed attack.[39] Before any action was taken, the French Parliament was dissolved and the British came, alone, to occupy Egypt.[40]

The British Tenure in Egypt

Prior to the British occupation, but during the events leading up to it, a new generation of intellectuals with nationalist reforms in mind had been operative. Their nationalist ideas grew stronger, and the national movement accelerated after the occupation of Egypt. Some of the scholars were kept under close surveillance, while others went into exile. Both groups continued their work. One reformer was Jamal al-Din al-Afghani. A man of uncertain background,[41] he first came to Egypt in 1871. Later, he headed the group called the Azhar Circle. Most impressed by

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[39]The revolt was led by Colonel Ahmad Arabi who had been educated at Al-Azhar under Muhammad Abduh's tuition. He and his striving for the formation of a republic were most influenced by biographical studies of Napoleon (Ahmed, op. cit., p. 25).

[40]Thomas F. Power, Jules Ferry and the Renaissance of French Imperialism (New York: Kings Crown Press, 1944) p. 131. It is also possible that the French could not have supported the attack on Egypt since they had privately encouraged the uprising with the hope that it would result in the expulsion of the British from Egyptian territory.

[41]Whether Afghani was from Persia or Afghanistan was significant only to those who opposed his teachings. The popularity of this man (educated in India but very much "at home" in Paris, Istanbul, or Cairo) and the impact of his work on the Muslim community seems important to the writer in that it points up the disregard for "national" boundaries when Islamic religion or society were at stake.

Guizot's History of Civilization, he concerned himself with the means to social and individual development as expressed by Guizot. He attributed the weakness of the Muslim countries to ignorance. In his view, Muslim unity was the beginning of all improvements. This sense of unity (pan-Islamism), with its suggestion that religion could contribute to the formation of a political state, was his one major point of difference with the French. That difference caused heated debate with Ernest Renan during Afghani's residence in Paris. Afghani did not accept the absolute necessity of a secular, rational state; but he felt that "Islam needed a Luther"[42] in order to give religion its proper role in Islamic life. Afghani gave

> untiring efforts and ceaseless agitation . . . [to] the accomplishment of the unification of all Muslim peoples under one Islamic government, over which the one Supreme Caliph should bear undisputed rule, as in the glorious days of Islam before its power had been dissipated in endless dissensions and divisions, and the Muslim lands had lapsed into ignorance and helplessness, to become the prey of Western aggression.[43]

Not only did Afghani try to imbue his pupils with these ideas, but he also taught them how to write articles and to make public speeches on social and political subjects.

One of the most avid followers of Afghani was Muhammad Abduh. He, too, was inspired by European political thoughts, but his application of them was along traditional lines similar to those of Afghani. Aside from teaching at the Azhar, he was appointed to the School of Languages where he taught Arabic language and literature. Having been a witness to reforms and the abolition of reforms at Al-Azhar, he was a frequent critic

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[42]Hourani, op. cit., p. 122.

[43]Adams, op. cit., p. 13.

of Egyptian education. As head of the Publications Office of the Ministry of Interior (1880), he edited the official Gazette through which he tried to guide public opinion. His essays on education led to his appointment to the Superior Council on Education which was charged with the planning of educational reforms. These efforts, however, were thwarted by the British occupation.

It was chiefly through writings that Muhammad Abduh gained the reputation of chief member of the Azhar Circle. His position, as expressed in his writings, is clearly stated by Adams as follows:

> We must study the affairs of neighboring religions and states to learn the reason for their advancement. And when we have learned it, we must hasten towards it, that we may overtake what is past and prepare for what is coming. We see no reason for their progress to wealth and power except the advancement of education and the sciences among them. Our first duty, then, is to endeavour with all our might and main to spread these sciences in our country.[44]

Although he expressed pride in the nineteenth century translation of scientific works into Arabic, he lamented the decline of Arabic as the great language of science that it had been in the eleventh century. Moreover, he was aware of the lack of Arabic works in political science, but he, like Afghani, felt Guizot's History of Civilization would fill the void. From that work, and from his studies, Abduh concluded that European civilization "is the result of preparatory measures wisely taken with a view to producing these results. Every one should study these measures in order to make use of them in raising up his own country."[45]

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[44] Ibid., p. 39.

[45] Ibid., pp. 39-40.

In exile in Paris around 1884, Abduh and Afghani started a nationalist movement of undetermined strength.[46] They published a journal fostering the ideas of pan-Islamism which stimulated much debate throughout the Middle East. Intellectuals in Cairo, some of them Lebanese, freely vented their political views. Those taking a more conservative tone referred to the champions of the cause of nationalism as "sailing in French waters."[47] The voice of nationalism was strong in any case. A contemporary of Afghani, Adib Ishaq, came to Egypt after being educated in French schools of Syria. He translated classical French plays into Arabic, and he founded a newspaper in which he aimed at diffusing scientific knowledge of the West and in which he wrote essays about la patrie. Abd al-Salam al-Muwailihi wrote responses to government speeches echoing such terms as "liberty", "justice", and "equality" of rights. Qasim Amin pressed for emancipation of women and for equal educational opportunity for both boys and girls at the primary level. Marsafi published a book in which he stressed the need for general education for all citizens.

Among the colleagues of Afghani and Abduh were the brothers Ahmad Fathi and Saad Zaghlul. After typical Azhar schooling, both men studied law. The former went to France and England as part of an educational mission, while Saad learned French in Egypt and studied law at the French School of Law in Cairo. Both of them later worked for the Ministry of Justice although the major influence of Fathi Zaghlul was through his Arabic translations of

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[46] A branch of the movement was known to exist in Tunis, but the movement and its followers were not otherwise identified with any certainty.

[47] Ahmed, op. cit., p. 31.

English and French works. He translated only those things which he thought "were capable of application to conditions in Egypt or were needed as an incentive to reform; and an introduction to each translation pointed the application."[48]

Saad Zaghlul is best known, of course, for his work in uniting the intellectuals and peasants under the Wafd Party which aimed for the expulsion of the British. Throughout the British occupation, all military forces were under direct and rigid British control while political leadership was in the hands of landowners and rising professional groups educated abroad.[49] Consequently, it is not incongruous that Saad Zaghlul was appointed Minister of Education by Lord Cromer in 1906.[50] While in the ministry, Saad tried to give Arabic a more commanding role in the curriculum of the schools. Britain's Lord Cromer, however, duplicated the English practice of training a class, suitable for government service, which rendered Arabic impractical.

Antagonism toward British occupation was, nevertheless, expressed linguistically. The French language continued to be dominant. Marvin indicated that "upon leaving school . . . [pupils] find themselves among a population in which, next to Arabic, French is unquestionably the predominant language."[51] He asserted further that although the time devoted to the teaching of English was second only to the time for teaching Arabic,

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[48]Adams, op. cit., p. 213.

[49]P. J. Vatikiotis, The Egyptian Army in Politics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), pp. 20-25.

[50]Saad Zaghlul was also married to the Egyptian Prime Minister's daughter at that time.

[51]F. S. Marvin, "Education in Egypt," Contemporary Review, CXXXIX (1931), 462.

"the townsman or 'effendi' speaks French or English, and in spite of the schools rather French than English."[52]

Another project of Saad Zaghlul was the formation of a committee to consider the establishment of an Egyptian university. This resulted in the opening of the School of Arts in 1908. "Foreign visiting professors were invited to teach, and Egyptian students were sent abroad to prepare for teaching at the new University."[53] It remained a private institution until after nominal independence. It is noteworthy that the manner of staffing the school and the means of preparing teachers was remarkably similar to the practices of a century earlier.

The existence of private institutions was even more evident in the lower schools. In the school year 1913-1914, there were 302 foreign kindergarten and primary schools and 615 private Egyptian schools, compared to 94 public schools in that category. Of the secondary schools in the same year, six were public, five were private Egyptian schools, and ten were foreign schools. The foreign schools had a greater enrollment than all the public schools permitted by the British.[54] A similar imbalance of foreign and Egyptian schools prevailed until the adoption of the Egyptian Constitution in 1923, at which time, education came under Egyptian control. Observing the termination of the British occupation, Crabites commented that "Egyptian independence is the child of French culture, not begotten by Quai d'Orsay intrigue, but born of French scholarship."[55]

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[52] Ibid., p. 457.

[53] Roderic D. Matthews and Matta Akrawi, Education in Arab Countries of the Near East (Washington: American Council on Education, 1949), p. 71.

[54] Ibid., p. 34. [55] Crabites, op. cit., p. 182.

Although it is improbable that one could prove that statement, the impression finds credence in an assessment of the period by a professor and Dean Emeritus of the American University at Cairo.

> By catering to the top stratum of society and attracting the children of the aristocratic classes, foreign schools exerted great influence on Egyptian education. In the meantime their graduates became the nucleus of a type of cultural aristocracy and formed a group of cultural elite who later became highly powerful in the conduct of the general affairs of the country. Thus, foreign schools with their unique curricula, their organizational pattern, and with no check on their work by the State, found ample opportunity to make themselves an instrument of propaganda for their respective countries, and faced no obstacle whatever in directing the youth the way they desired.[56]

	SCHOOLS	TEACHERS	PUPILS
American	78	408	6,914
Italian	91	558	9,809
British	74	275	4,322
French	279	1,657	32,812
Greek	88	432	11,396

Fig. 5.--Teachers and students in foreign schools, 1927-1928

While statistics are not available for the year of independence, figure 5 gives some indication of the advantage held by the French schools over other foreign schools five years later.[57]

Working with Saad Zaghlul in the drafting of the 1923 constitution was another friend of Muhammad Abduh, Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid. He, too, had been greatly influenced by French

[56]Amir Boktor, The Development and Expansion of Education in the United Arab Republic (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1963), p. 74.

[57]Ibid., p. 78.

and English writings though his reading was mostly in French.[58] He had edited a journal in favor of the nationalist movement for which he received, in fact, the support of the Khedive and the French government. Like Abduh, he was concerned with reform of national character, the building of self-respect among the peasants, and the restoration of the Arabic language to its former important position. Education was to be one of the vehicles of progress.

The Egyptians were serious and devoted in their efforts to establish a national system of education. This is shown in the vastly increased amounts of money apportioned from the national budget for school purposes in the revision and the modernization of both elementary and higher schools.

The system which was introduced in 1925 was, essentially, a two-ladder system. One ladder was composed of tuition-supported primary and secondary schools leading to the institutions of higher learning. The other ladder consisted of a terminal program of compulsory, free, elementary education. The latter was a five-year course made up of half-day sessions, one for boys and one for girls. There were economic advantages to the half-day school, but it was also believed that parents would give more enthusiastic support to the schools if their children were available for a half-day's work at home or in the field. Dissatisfaction with this plan eventually resulted in replacement of the sessions with full-time schools.

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[58]Ahmed, op. cit., p. 90.

Accompanying the elementary plan were evening adult courses. These concentrated on memorization of the Koran, much as did the kuttabs which continued to exist but with a broadened curriculum.

Also in 1925, the Egyptian University was legally transformed into a state university. Incorporated in the original arts college was the School of Law, founded by Isma'il in 1866, and the School of Medicine and Pharmacy, founded by Muhammad Ali in 1827. In 1935, some of the other higher schools were incorporated, such as the School of Engineering and the School of Veterinary Medicine. Thus, emerged the first modern Egyptian university which came to be called Fuad I University in 1940.

It was in the early 1940's that a third type of school was devised. As a means of getting basic education to the farm and village population, the rural elementary school was introduced. (See figure 6.) The curriculum was intended to fit the pupil for the demands of his immediate environment. The expansion of the program was delayed, however, due to the unavailability of adequate staff.

Common to all types of elementary school were the absence of fees, omission of foreign language study, and concentration on reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion. At the end of the elementary school years, it was technically possible for pupils to take entrance examinations for the primary schools. They could also elect one of the terminal, vocational programs. Generally, however, pupils dropped out of school before or upon completing the elementary segment.

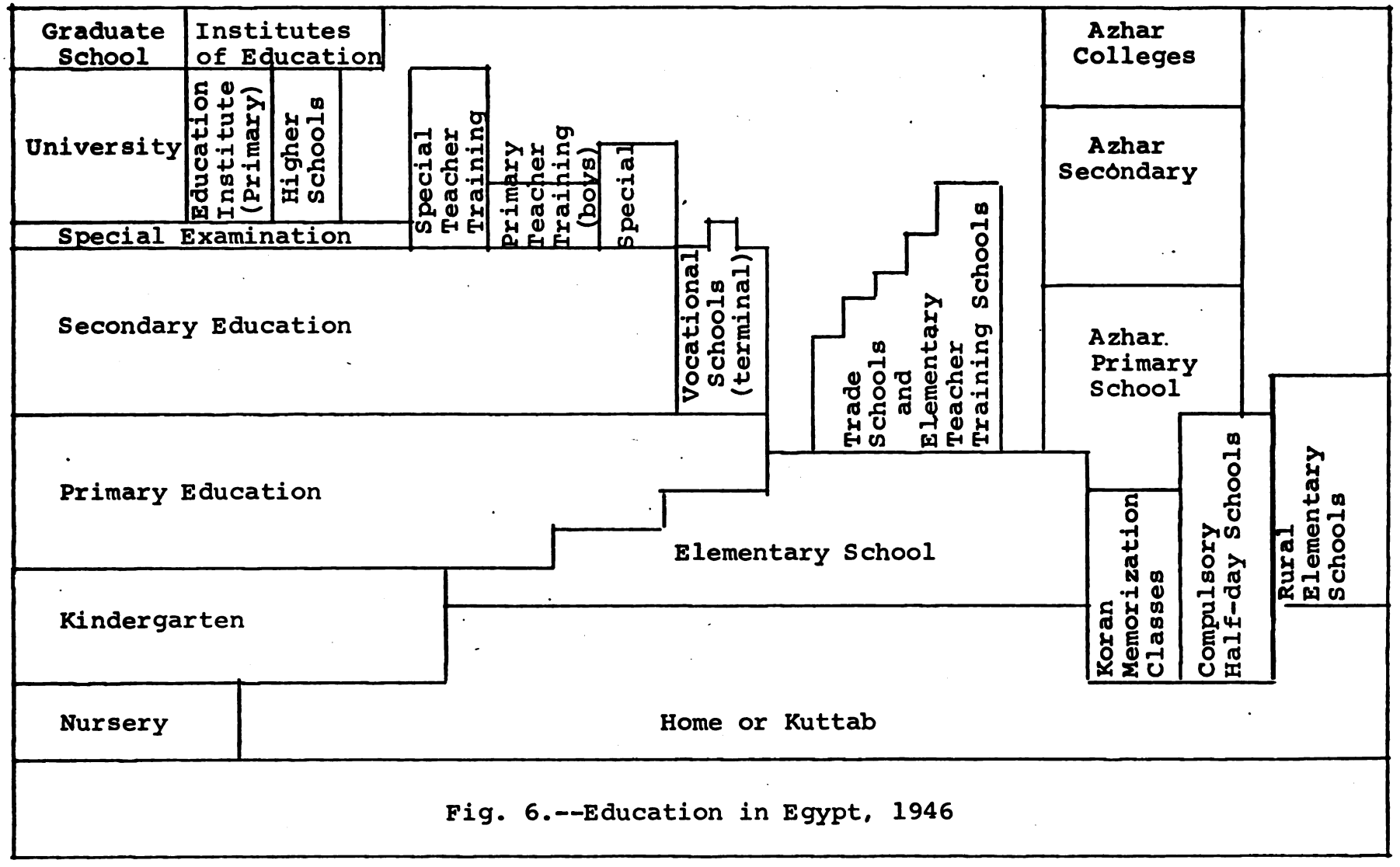

Fig. 6.--Education in Egypt, 1946

The primary school ladder continued to offer a kindergarten program of three years, a four-year primary program, and a five-year secondary program. Through those offerings, students could gain access to the higher schools with courses ranging from four to six and one-half years. Like the French model, examinations were important at every level; and they were necessary to determine advancement. The secondary school, like the lycée, had a general academic course followed by public examinations. For those selected after the examinations, there was a final year with options in literary, scientific, or mathematical specialization. Another examination determined the issuance of a diploma, approximating the French baccalaureat.

The prestige of the foreign schools remained high, in spite of the similarity in structure between the foreign system and the Egyptian primary system. Although more pupils passed through the public and private Egyptian schools, by 1945, the foreign teachers and pupils constituted one-fourth of the country's school population. European economic and cultural penetration of Egypt was at its peak. It is possible that distrust of the British position in Egypt was also at its highest pitch. While the English sought political advantage by direct, diplomatic means, the French pursued their so-called civilizing mission. They were considered to have been successful in Egypt, according to Crabites. In his warning to the British Parliament, he said, "The light which burns to the prestige of France is there to prove it."[59]

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[59]Crabites, op. cit., p. 183.

The French in Tunisia

Tunisia, with its Roman and Carthaginian history, shared the experiences of the earliest Arab Empire. As a relatively independent part of the Ottoman Empire, Tunisia had experienced the machinations of the Turkish, French, and British governments as well as the workings of the Ulema. The ancient Zaytouna Mosque performed a static function similar to that of Al-Azhar in its most conservative periods. Moreover, Tunisia underwent the effect of the French encroachment, particularly after the capture of Algeria in 1830.

Two scholars whose work gained educational and political significance within the empire are distinctively identified with Tunisia. The first was ibn-Khaldun (1332-1406). His works on historiography, and his contribution toward the foundation of sociology, have been recognized by Arnold Toynbee and other scholars in those fields.[60] Professor Sarton considers ibn-Khaldun the greatest historian and sociologist of the Middle Ages who "came too late not only to be translated into Latin, and thus fall in the stream of western learning; he came too late even to be appreciated by his own people."[61] Ibn-Khaldun did, however, become an object of pride and study throughout the Arab world wherever there were liberal reforms taking place in education.

The other Tunisian scholar was Khayr al-Din, born in the Caucasus but whose career was centered in Tunisia. He

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[60]Rom Landau, The Arab Heritage of Western Civilization (New York: Arab Information Center, 1962), p. 75.

[61]George Sarton, "Islamic Science," Near Eastern Culture and Society, ed. T. Cyler Young (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 92.

received a classical Arabic religious education as well as the so-called modern education which included the study of French language. Early in his political career, Khayr al-Din was sent to Paris by the Bey of Tunis, the Sultan's representative in Tunisia. After four formative and enriching years of study in Paris, Khayr al-Din returned to Tunis where he initiated a movement for constitutional reform. He became prime minister in 1873, culminating a series of appointments to governmental posts.

Like Muhammad Abduh, Khayr al-Din wished to take those things from the West which were adaptable to his own country, without having an actual occupation by a foreign country. To him, the superiority of the West resulted not from Christianity but, ultimately, from western political institutions. The way to modernism resided in education, and education was dependent on responsible government.[62]

Khayr al-Din attempted reforms in both government and in the structure of education. Always in a position of having to defend European modernism in terms of Muslim traditionalism, he brought the studies of the Zaytouna under the regulation of the Bey. Also, during his term as prime minister, Khayr al-Din prescribed textbooks for the first time; and he introduced modern, optional studies into the Zaytouna curriculum. It is doubtful that the curriculum could have been seriously effected by these changes, since the prescribed textbooks

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[62]Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939 (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 84-94.

were, among the newest, three centuries old.[63] The precedent was, thus, established.

The attempt to modernize education was further expressed in the founding of the Sadiki College, a secondary school in the French sense. Established in 1875, the school offered courses in arithmetic, geometry, architecture, astronomy, and history and geography of the Arabs. Concentration on memorization of the ancient curriculum greatly outweighed any small attempts at modernism, however. Further efforts by Khayr al-Din were prevented by his expulsion from the country within three years after his founding of the Sadiki College.

On the eve of the French occupation, the Zaytouna Mosque with its few hundred students and the system of kuttabs continued to demand memorization of the Koran by rote. The only other type of schooling available was in the foreign schools operated by the French Brothers of the Christian Doctrine. Even so, by 1880 there were only three foreign schools in Tunisia. They had a total enrollment of 465, including four Arabs.[64]

The French Protectorate, 1881-1956.--On the pretext of quelling a Tunisian raid across the Algerian frontier, France took Tunisia without a struggle. While the French role was said to be supervisory, for all practical purposes it was all-pervasive. Total power was exercised by the French Resident-General. As a nation of cities climaxed

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[63]L. C. Brown, "Tunisia: Education, 'Cultural Unity' and the Future," Unpublished letter from Tunis, December 1, 1960.

[64]Ibid.

by the one great capital, Tunisia and her people had been accustomed for centuries to minorities ruling poor, uneducated masses. No disturbing changes were required in order to adapt the country to the French system.

Unlike Napoleon's procedure in Egypt, the Frenchmen in Tunisia made only a negligible effort toward studying the country, toward educating or spreading foreign culture among the indigènes. One of the probable explanations for this would be that the French, in keeping with the classical period of imperialism, were interested in establishing a French colony. Also, instead of being scientists or soldiers, the Frenchmen who came to Tunisia in 1881 were business people. Poncet indicates that they were, in fact, wealthy business people who made large investments in agricultural enterprise and in industrial development.[65] The settlers were interested in having their children receive an education comparable to that available in their homeland; but they saw no apparent need to improve schooling for the native population.

The kinds of schools which operated during the French protectorate were numerous. The old, religious system continued to be untouched. In addition, there was the metropolitan French system, established by the colonists. A third, compromised system called the Franco-Arab or assimilated system was developed at the primary level. Its graduates could proceed to the Sadiki College which was allowed to remain in operation.

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[65]Jean Poncet, La Colonisation et l'Agriculture Européenes en Tunisie depuis 1881 (Paris: Mouton, 1961), p. 142.

The French schools, designed to accommodate the colonizing forces, were integrated with the French metropolitan organization. Textbooks, teachers, examinations, and certificates were supplied and controlled by the French National Ministry of Education in Paris. The system as it operated in Tunisia was, in a very real sense, education for the ruling class. As such, the system admitted some non-French applicants who wished to be identified with that class. Regardless of their background or nationality, pupils in the French system followed the French pattern. If they attended a lycée, they sat for the same baccalauréat examinations as the students in metropolitan France. Those electing to pursue higher studies did so in French universities, usually at the University of Paris. The educational policy during the protectorate was summed up by a French scholar in Tunis as follows:

> Two great tendencies seem to have presided over the erection of schools and the development of school enrollment; the concern of the authorities to assure the maximum instruction of French children, and the necessity to plan by priority more important population centers for school building.[66]

It appears, then, that the French policy of building schools in urban areas was duplicated in Tunisia. Not only did the policy apply to the French system overseas but to the building of Franco-Arab schools as well. The Koran-type school was left to the rural areas.

Development of the Franco-Arab system was obviously limited to the level of primary education, since there was

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[66]Jean Poncet, "La Scolarisation de la Tunisie et le Milieu Social," Paper presented at a Conference on Public Education, Tunis, April 1949.

only one secondary school of that type during the entire period of the protectorate. That school was the Sadiki College at Tunis. For the Tunisian Muslim, even in a major center outside of Tunis, the choice would have been between (1) a terminal program of education in which French would dominate but which would also include limited study of the Arabic language and culture, (2) a move to Tunis where assimilated, French-dominated secondary schooling could be tried, (3) application to a wholly French system, (4) a few years of Koranic memorization in the local mosque, or (5) no schooling at all.

The role of the assimilated or Franco-Arab system of education must not be minimized. At the primary level, it served as a pattern for modern Tunisian education. Also, the lone Sadiki College, with its relatively small enrollment, became the center of intellectual activity within the whole school-going Muslim community. Prominent Tunisians who were trained there include Habib Bourguiba, several of his present cabinet ministers, and numerous founders and adherents of the Neo-Destour Party.

Among the so-called private systems, three deserve consideration if only to demonstrate the complex legacy of Tunisian education. One of them was developed within the Jewish community and was called the Alliance Israelite. Schools of that category largely duplicated the French curriculum but they offered Hebraic studies as well. Another type developed within the complex of the Zaytouna Mosque.

The mosque itself, with a series of annexes for various kinds of training, offered courses in Arabic language and literature as well as courses in the Islamic juridical and religious sciences. Several teachers tried to instigate reforms through a core movement called the Khalduniya, named for the renowned fourteenth century ibn-Khaldun. The group was established in 1895 by a few reform-minded Tunisian Muslims

> for the purpose of giving Zaytouna students some background in modern studies. Finding little official response from the Zaytouna leadership, the Khalduniya (which interestingly enough did get the warm support of the French Resident, Rene Millet) was obliged to give off-hour instruction in foreign languages and modern studies on a completely voluntary basis to interested Zaytouna students.[67]

The Khalduniya did not accomplish the formidable task of reconciling religious traditionalism and modern secularism, but it did serve to "pave the way for an acceptance by traditionalist bourgeoisie and urban workers of modern, secular ideas; and to this extent, it was a necessary forerunner of the Neo-Destour of the 1930's."[68] The movement toward modernization was eventually dissipated, but its product, the Sadiki College, carried on the wedding of the two cultures.

A third variation in the private sphere was the modern Koranic school which was distinct from the old kuttab. This type of primary education was intended to carry on the work of the kuttab to the extent that Arabic language would be used in the pursuit of Islamic studies. Its modernity rested more on newer techniques and teaching methods. The modern Koranic schools had the support of the religious charitable funds as

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[67]Brown, op. cit., p. 10. [68]Ibid.

well as support from private subscriptions. These schools have come under the direction of the State Secretariat for Tunisian Education as part of its "nationalization" program.

This variegated and diverse educational scheme was due for revision by the end of World War II. In 1947, Mahmud Messadi, the present Minister of Education, expressed criticism of the complex systems, and he presented his case for unification. "If the society is a living reality, one and indivisible," he said, "then the culture will be so as well."[69] The democratization of education which came to France after the war seemed to be reflected in Tunisia. In the first post-war decade, the school enrollment of Tunisian children aged five to fourteen increased from 14% to 20%.[70] But like the internal Zaytouna reforms, it was a matter of too little, too late.

In the 1950's, both Tunisia and Egypt made their bid for new national life. After a long and carefully executed campaign, the young Free Officers Group gained a numerical advantage over the officers who were loyal to the Egyptian Crown. King Farūq was deposed in the 1952 coup; and General Neguib became titular head of the Revolutionary Council which assumed command. Egypt was declared a republic the following year; and in 1954, Colonel Nasser became premier, thereby gaining the title suited to the authority he already exercised. Tunisia, through negotiations with France, was granted independence in 1956 and the official status of a republic in 1957.

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[69]Brown, op. cit., p. 1, citing Mahmud Messadi, Al Mabaheth, an Arabic language review, 1947.

[70]United Nations, Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, World Survey of Education (Primary Education) (Paris, 1958), II, 989.

CHAPTER III

THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Education, like other institutions, experienced the tight control of the Revolutionary Command Council in the early days of the republic. The teaching profession was purged of politically "disloyal" members, and in the transfer of power from General Neguib to Colonel Nasser, the state universities were closed in order to forestall student riots against the newly-formed government. The various types of pre-university schools continuing from the regime of King Faruq, were subjected to a sequence of alterations and refinements. The series of laws affecting education from 1953 to 1961 provide a rather complete image of the revolutionary cycle extending from reaction and reactionary controls to optimism with its attitude of generous expansion; and finally, there is a gradual conservative retrenchment. The writer believes that the events and refinements in education since 1961 are more permanently indicative of the government policy. The frequent shifts in emphasis of the Nasser government, which caused so much uncertainty and reluctance on the part of political analysts, seem now to have developed into a pattern.

One of the first steps in the campaign against illiteracy was expressed in the Education Act of 1953 which specified that education was compulsory for children between the ages of six

and twelve. The educational structure was not, itself, altered until after the law of 1956, at which time education was reorganized into primary, preparatory, and secondary stages. Under those circumstances, pupils were apt to be in the preparatory stage when they reached the legal school-leaving age. The Education Act of 1957 clarified the matter by declaring that preparatory education was an independent stage lasting three years. It was to be free but not compulsory.[1]

Law 160 of 1958 was issued "for the purpose of Arabicizing foreign schools. It stipulated that all the school proprietors, directors and staff must be Arabs, and limited foreign elements at such schools to language instruction."[2] The term "foreign" was to be replaced by the term "private" in reference to schools operated by groups other than Egyptian nationals. Under either name, school curriculum was to be adapted to the government syllabus. Nevertheless, foreign schools have continued to prepare their students for special examinations, said to be equal to the examinations for the secondary education leaving certificate. The possibility of the survival of these schools has been intimated by Boktor who writes that:

> It has been suggested that if these schools were called language schools, and their school subjects dealing with national matters were taught in Arabic, there would be no objection if the rest of the subjects would be taught in a foreign language.[3]

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[1]U. S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Educational Data: United Arab Republic (Southern Region), compiled by Abul H. K. Sassani (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 2.

[2]Amir Boktor, The Development and Expansion of Education in the United Arab Republic (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1963), p. 76.

[3]Ibid.

In 1961 the four universities came exclusively under the new Ministry of Higher Education. Al-Azhar also experienced drastic revision. Having already added some secular faculties to its university, Al-Azhar came under the specific directorship of the president of the republic. Following that legislation, the Rector commented,"The Almighty has now ordained that Al-Azhar shall enter the field of science in addition to its spiritual mission."[4]

The present educational system is summarized in figure 7. It is extremely complex from both the standpoint of administrative structure and of organization and distribution of the institutions themselves. This results partly from the narrow specialization of single schools and from the fact that, in many cases, separate schools exist for men and women.

The six-year elementary school (maktab) is the mainstay of Egyptian education. Although there are slight variations according to geographical area, the curriculum is generally standardized. Foreign language teaching is entirely omitted from the elementary stage; and there is no longer a primary school leaving examination. Instead, admission to the next stage is based on a competitive entrance examination rather than on primary school records. Although primary school attendance is far from being universal, the present five-year plan anticipates that all children of age six will be accommodated by 1965.[5] Girls made up about one-fourth of the 1963 enrollment.

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[4]Bayard Dodge, Al-Azhar; A millenium of Muslim Learning (Washington: The Middle East Institute, 1961), cover addendum.

[5]Boktor, op. cit., p. 6.

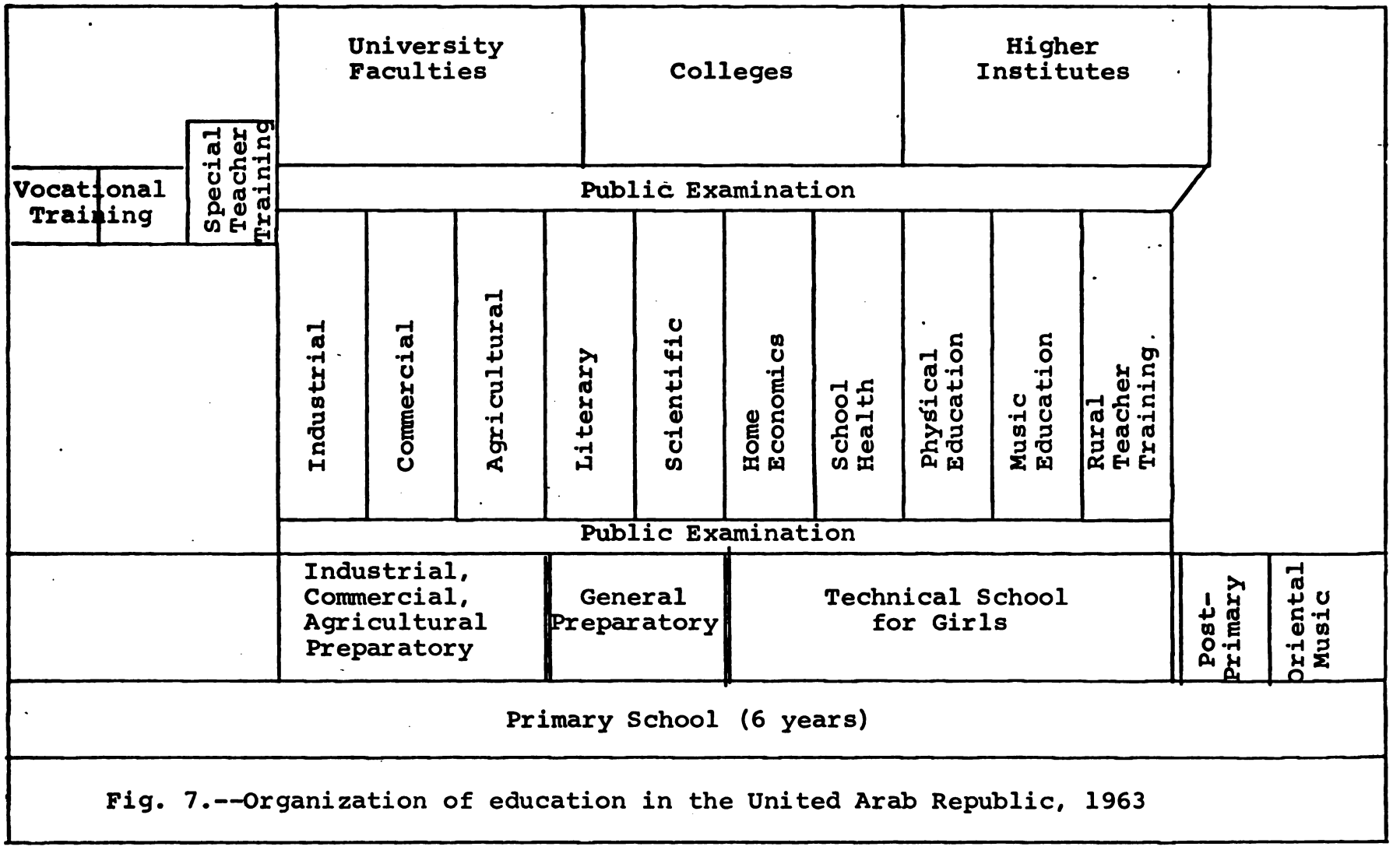

Fig. 7.--Organization of education in the United Arab Republic, 1963

Post-Primary Education.--Only 20 per cent of the pupils graduated from the primary schools are admitted to the second stage which is of essentially three categories. The group of schools referred to as post-primary are not strictly preparatory schools. They provide training in basic occupational skills, but they do not prepare students for secondary schools. Sometimes referred to as Practical Preparatory Schools, their curriculum is intended to be sufficiently flexible so as to meet changing local demands for labor.

The vocational or technical preparatory schools offer a course of three years with training in commercial, agricultural, or industrial skills. It is to this phase of technical education that much attention and money is being diverted. It is hoped that enrollment at technical schools by 1965 will be double that of 1960; and to that end, the government has increased its budget for technical preparatory education at the expense of academic education.

The general or academic schools enroll the greater portion of pupils at the preparatory level. Although academic enrollment continues to increase slowly, it is insignificant when compared to the technical schools. Whereas the ratio of general preparatory school enrollment to technical school enrollment was about ten to one in 1958, in 1964 the ratio was four to one.[6]

The curriculum of the general preparatory school is substantially an extension of the primary school course.

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[6]Ibid., p. 44.

Notable exceptions are the addition of more advanced mathematics and the introduction of a foreign language. Public examinations are administered following the third year of all preparatory studies. Of those who pass the competitive examinations, approximately 40 per cent are admitted to secondary schools.[7]

The secondary stage is complementary to the preparatory stage. Technical education is offered in agricultural, commercial, and industrial sections, consecutive to those offerings at the preparatory level. Within the general or academic secondary school, the first year is common to all students. During the second and third years, however, the choice of either literary or scientific branches must be made.

It is in the general secondary school that foreign language study gains real significance. Although six hours each week are devoted to foreign language study during each of the three years of preparatory school, a second foreign language is added to the secondary curriculum. Dean Boktor indicates that six and four hours a week are given to the study of first and second foreign languages, respectively, during the first year of secondary school.[8] The government syllabus, however, designates seven hours a week for the study of English during the first year, if that is the first foreign language. If French is the first language, the syllabus states only that it should continue as it is.[9]

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[7]Ibid., p. 7.

[8]Ibid., p. 51.

[9]United Arab Republic, Ministry of Education, Documentation and Research Centre, Syllabuses of the General Secondary School (Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing Offices, 1962), pp. 28, 41 (passages translated by the writer).

Judging from the French literary content during that first year, the writer concludes that the syllabus presupposes a high degree of competence.

During the second and third years of the literary cycle, eight and seven hours a week, respectively, are reserved for study of either French or English as the first foreign language. In the scientific cycle, foreign language courses occupy seven hours weekly during the second year and six during the third.[10] In addition, during those last two years of secondary schooling, as much as three hours each week may be devoted to "special" language courses in the literary cycle. It appears that, in some cases, students may spend nearly 50 per cent of the week's class periods on foreign language study.

As for the prominence of the German language in schools of the United Arab Republic, there is more speculation than public information. The syllabus issued by the Cairo Ministry of Education is very clear, however, in its specifications for the teaching of German. The syllabus, which is printed in German, English, and French, accords about the same numbers of hours to the study of German as to French and English under the conditions described above. As the first language, it is taught for seven hours each week during the first year, eight hours in the second year, and for seven hours during the third.[11]

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[10] Ibid., p. 41. (See also, Boktor, op. cit., p. 51.)

[11] Ibid., pp. 65-67.

In all language study, emphasis is placed on translation. Reminiscent of the language schools founded during the reign of Muhammed Ali, students are encouraged to read widely in the foreign language of their first and second choice; and they are expected to develop skill in translation to Arabic. At least one hour each week for the three years is spent in translation exercise.

At the same level on the ladder as the secondary schools, is a battery of institutes which offer training in music, home economics, physical education, health education, and general teaching training. In 1960, there were fifty-seven such institutes for prospective teachers, twenty-eight for males and twenty-nine for females. The total enrollment for the fifty-seven institutions was 13,300.[12] Graduating teachers from these institutes are assigned positions in primary schools and in some cases in preparatory schools. Some graduates who produce exceptionally high examination grades and who have demonstrated extraordinary skill are invited to enter one of the higher institutes.

Successful graduates of the different secondary schools are issued corresponding certificates which entitle them to seek admission to one of the university faculties or the higher institutes. Holders of the General Secondary Certificate have access to any appropriate faculty or institute while holders of the Technical Secondary Certificate are eligible only for entry to the higher technical institutes. Graduates of the teacher training institutes at the secondary level may be

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[12]Boktor, op. cit., p. 10.

admitted to higher institutes of teacher training for their special field. Figure 8 shows the variety of patterns which these candidates may follow. Students from the general secondary schools who enter one of the university faculties must, upon completion, enter a faculty of education if they wish to become teachers in secondary schools or in teacher training institutes. At present, the only faculty of education is part of Ein Shams University.

Still another set of special institutes is found beyond the general secondary school, but they are not regarded as equal to the level of universities and the higher institutes. Some of the schools in this category train French language teachers, and some are special schools for physical culture. Still other institutes provide students with occupational skills such as those needed to be a cashier or telegrapher.

Of the multiplicity of higher institutes and the numbers of students enrolled in them, most are centered in Cairo. The capital is also the site of two of the four state universities along with the Azhar and the American University. Although Alexandria University is well established and the newer university at Assiut is expanding rapidly, about 70 per cent of the nation's university students are enrolled at Cairo University and at Ein Shams, in Cairo.[13] With the addition of the College of Business Administration and the Islamic

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[13]United Arab Republic, Ministry of Education, Department of Statistics, A Guide for Educational Statistics (Cairo: Société Orientale de Publicité, 1962), p. 18.

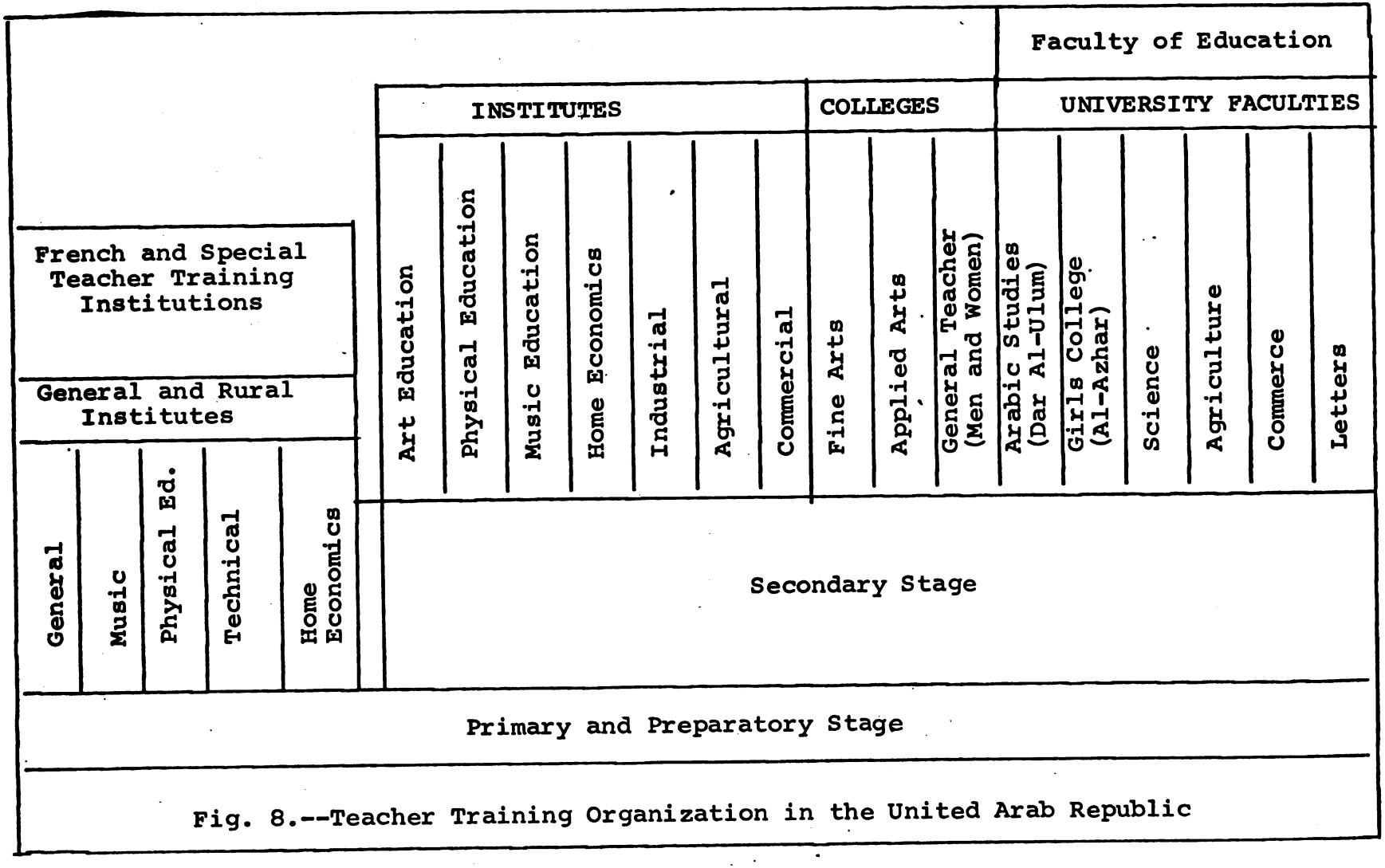

Fig. 8.--Teacher Training Organization in the United Arab Republic

Girls College to Al-Azhar, and in view of the progress toward establishing faculties of medicine, engineering, and agriculture at that institution, the city of Cairo seems to have insured itself as the apex of Egyptian intellectual life.

Administration.--There has been some effort toward administrative decentralization, but the results, if not the efforts, have been slight and superficial. Samaan reported as early as 1956 that the country had been divided into zones in which educational authority was exercised independently from the National Ministry of Education in Cairo.[14] The increased nationalization of schools since that year has, apparently, necessitated more strict regulation and control by the Cairo government. More recent reporting by Boktor verifies the existence of zones, but he states that in those areas where zonal authority is exercised, enforcement of policy is more rigid and uniform than that meted out by the Cairo ministries.[15] Gulick and Pollock examined the lines of zonal division and found that they often followed former boundaries of governorates (Mohafzas) which had been defined by earlier regimes.[16] Such divisions have little or no relation to social or economic life of the present. Consequently, the administrative climate seems to be characterized

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[14]Sadek H. Samaan, "Some Aspects of Education in Egypt," Teachers College Record, LVIII, No. 3 (December, 1956), p. 176.

[15]Boktor, op. cit., p. 161.

[16]Luther Gulick and James K. Pollock, Government Reorganization in the United Arab Republic, A Report Submitted to the Central Committee for the Reorganization of the Machinery of Government (Cairo, 1962), pp. 44-45.

by desultory decentralization, retraction of power into the hands of the Cairo leadership, and generally an atmosphere of regression. Redistribution of authority, even if it happens, will most likely be limited to elementary school matters. Quite clearly, the details of curriculum, school organization, and the control of post-primary education remain the responsibility of upper cadres of government officials.

Educational organization at the ministerial level has become even more complex since 1961. At that time, separate ministries were created for the administration of higher education and for Al-Azhar.[17] Separate ministers have also been appointed.

Foreign Schools.--The study of the recent changes in foreign schools is one of the most curious and challenging. One is most apt to hear or read that there are no foreign schools in the United Arab Republic at this time. Technically, that is true. Many of them have come under the direction of the Ministry of Education. As already noted, the others have come to be called "private" schools. All of them have experienced some type of government regulation. Although the government officially combined the administrations for private and foreign schools, the term "foreign" must continue to be used for purposes of study and distinction. Aside from language implications, "foreign" distinguishes those schools that do not yet follow the government syllabus.

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[17]The ministry responsible for all pre-university schooling is reported by Gulick and Pollock to have 129,503 persons attached to the ministry's budget. If there is a concentration of officials in the Cairo area, this might be a factor in the maintenance of authority at the level of central government. Ibid., p. 68.

The statistical changes with regard to foreign schools in the United Arab Republic reflect the political instability of the past few years. In the school year coinciding with the Suez crisis, there were 156 French schools, 28 British schools, and 21 American schools. The year following the nationalization of the Suez Canal, there were no French schools listed by the Arab government. On the other hand, American schools had increased in number by one-third.[18] Cairo declared that the only schools representing the European aggressors that would be allowed to continue operation would be those that were sponsored by the Vatican. Curiously enough, in the year following the Suez crisis, government sources identified 137 Vatican schools.[19] Furthermore, Vatican school enrollment was nearly 53,000. The French schools, presumably no longer extant by that time, had enrolled over 57,000 pupils prior to the schools' dissolution a few months before.[20] Confirmation of assumptions in this delicate matter is difficult to obtain. A reasonable conclusion is, nevertheless, that the Vatican assumed sponsorship of the French schools.

By autumn of 1958 when diplomatic relations between Egypt and the United States were at their poorest, following years of controversy over the cost of Suez shipping and money for the High Aswan Dam, one-fourth of the American schools

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[18]Boktor, op. cit., p. 78.

[19]United Arab Republic, Ministry of Education, Department of Statistics, Comparative Statistics of Education (Cairo: Societe Orientale de Publicite, 1961), p. 75.

[20]Boktor, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

were closed. By 1960, half of the American schools that had been operating in 1957 were under other direction.[21] This undulating pattern continued when the Ministry of Education announced that "Russian will gradually replace French as the second foreign language after English."[22] This, of course, followed the announcement of a loan agreement with the Soviet Union.

In 1959 the French government was allowed to establish a commission in Cairo for the direction of French assets in Egypt. One new French school was opened to accommodate the French children. The following year, there were five French schools.[23] In December of 1961, during the incident of the arrest of French diplomats in Cairo, the French authorities considered closing the French schools in the United Arab Republic as a retaliatory measure. The Arab government acted first by sequestering the schools along with some French business interests.[24] With the closing of the last French school (for the second time in five years) many of the French teachers left the country. The need to replace these teachers by foreign residents or by teachers in training in the United Arab Republic was urgent. The effort to compensate for the loss of teachers from France is evident in the government statistics which show that the number of French language teachers being graduated

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[21] United Arab Republic, Comparative Statistics, loc. cit.

[22] Lands East, November, 1958, p. 23.

[23] United Arab Republic, Comparative Statistics, loc. cit.

[24] Le Monde (Paris), December 28, 1961-January 3, 1962, p.3.

from Egyptian teacher training institutions quadrupled from 1956 to 1961.[25] Although there is dissatisfaction with the oral competence of the locally-trained language teachers, the government is accomplishing its policy of using whatever foreign institutions are helpful, without having the foreigners. With the continued operation of former foreign schools, there is also some budgetary advantage for the Cairo ministry. For that reason, Mills states that the government "is wary of encroaching too far on the freedom of foreign school directors."[26]

The Vatican schools have continued to function but in gradually diminishing number. At the end of the 1962 school year, there were still 230 foreign schools in the United Arab Republic, of which 93 were under Vatican sponsorship. Total enrollment in all foreign schools was almost 92,000, representing about one-fifth of all students enrolled in private schools, foreign or Egyptian.[27]

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[25]United Arab Republic, Comparative Statistics, op. cit., p. 104.

[26]Arthur Mills, "The Impact of Cultural Factors on Economic Activity," Paper presented at an international seminar on Comparative Administrative Problems, Cairo, April 21, 1959.

[27]United Arab Republic, A Guide for Educational Statistics, op. cit., p. 15.

CHAPTER IV

TUNISIAN EDUCATION SINCE INDEPENDENCE

With the coming of independence in 1956 and the formation of the Republic in 1957, Tunisia was faced with matters of adjustment somewhat different from those of other new nations. The conditions which had made Tunisia readily adaptable to French rule over a period of two generations were basically the same as those which made difficult her struggle for self-determination. As Hitti has pointed out,

> The fact that this whole North African block was the first to be detached from the Arab Moslem world and brought within the sphere of Western influence, together with the fact that its geographic position was peripheral to the lands of Islam and that its population had a large non-Arab element, served to denationalize its people and make them follow a course of their own.[1]

This denial or rejection of cultural ties was emphasized in the early republican days in the disputes both with the government of France and with the Arab League. The course which Tunisia set for herself, then, was one of cautious direction toward cultural unity, in the achievement of which education would occupy a major position.

Following independence, there was neither immediate nor drastic reform in the national and private systems of education.

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[1]Philip K. Hitti, The Arabs (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1949), pp. 254-55.

The government was not hasty in discarding the old or in developing something new. Rather there was a patient and deliberate continuation of the systems which operated under the protectorate in order that the new national life might seek stability in the light of newer, more pressing problems arising from political and economic uncertainty.[2] Government leaders were sharply aware of the acute shortage of resources for educational development. They were also aware that the complex and divisive systems left by the French would not serve to create a unified nation. The petrified, religious system could not enhance the drive for progress, and the French system had never been adapted to Tunisian life, modern or otherwise. Most of all, the officials were cognizant of the staggering disparity between education of Europeans in Tunisia and Tunisian Muslims.[3] If a new system were introduced, it might have to

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[2]Michel Abu Jaudeh reports that within the year between the granting of independence and the founding of the republic, 90,000 Frenchmen emigrated from Tunisia including some 13,000 civil servants. Part of the result was large-scale unemployment, reported to have been 300,000 in 1957 with another 200,000 partially unemployed. That, added to a 1957 trade balance deficit of ninety millions of Lebanese pounds and the responsibility for hoards of Algerian refugees, must have appeared as depressing obstacles. "Tunisia Today," Middle East Forum, XXXV, No. 5 (May, 1959), pp. 3-5.

[3]The imbalance is dramatically clear for the year 1959 when 94 per cent of French children eligible for school in Tunisia were in actual attendance compared to 12 per cent of Tunisian Muslims. Tunisia, Secretary of State for National Education, New Conception of Education in Tunisia (USOM/T; Education Division) (Tunis, 1959), p. 5.

draw its staff from the latter, largely untrained group. Furthermore, the government would have to provide for the education of remaining French residents as well as for Tunisians.

As in the case of Egypt, Tunisians admired the scientific modernism of the West, and their leaders wished to emulate part of the developing pattern of which they had really been a part. Also like Egypt, Tunisia had the obligation of preserving cherished beliefs and honoring older-world traditions. Tunisia, more than Egypt, however, was bound by reason of history and geography to both the western, industrialized nations and to the Arab-Islamic East. Those dual connections could prove to be advantageous in creating the new nation.

To the policy of no immediate change, the Zaytouna system was the possible exception, if only in a technical sense. Although the French had not tampered with Zaytouna, there had been agitation for change from within. Agitation was dissipated, and practice continued to reflect the past; collapse was incipient in the face of a new environment. The Zaytouna directorate had been too acquiescent to French policy-makers to suit a new nationalist regime; and characteristic of the Ulema, they were too solidly entrenched in tradition to be in touch with the modern social leaders. As for Zaytouna graduates, they found placement difficult if not impossible.[4] Under those conditions

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[4]The Zaytouna has served the area of the Maghrib but it never assumed the importance or religious autonomy of the Azhar which has been the Islamic stronghold for nearly a thousand years. Among the bedouin, particularly, there has been an attachment to education in the great mosques; but the unsuitability of their graduates for work in a modern world makes up one of the tragic enigmas of the middle Eastern world.

at the onset of independence, the Zaytouna system was decentralized. The various institutional annexes were incorporated into the national secondary education system with the exception of one school. That single building was able to survive to allow students an opportunity to complete courses of study in progress. Enrollment diminished gradually toward the scheduled closure. The grand mosque, itself, no longer the head of an educational empire, continues to function although weakened, disillusioned, in disrepute and disrepair.

By the beginning of 1958, an interministerial committee was formed for the purpose of defining the foundations of a general educational reorganization. The objectives of the committee were stated as being:

> (1) To replace the juridical chaos and the great variety of educations by a coherent, unified system, endowed with a national character, and (2) To allow National Education to perform its whole duty by edifying a harmonious cultural system and by adapting education to the variety and evolution of economical, social, technical and cultural needs of the nation (and by further adapting education to) the demographic growth by aiming at achieving a total school attendance as quickly as possible.[5]

Anticipating the recommendations of the committee, the government designated 18 per cent of its total national budget for education.[6]

By the end of 1958, following negotiations with France, the work of the committee was synchronized with that of other

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[5]Tunisia, New Conception of Education, op. cit., p. 8.

[6]Ibid., p. 9.

governmental agencies. President Bourguiba was ready to articulate the resulting educational reforms. The proposed reforms were summarized as having these four main aims: (1) unification of the various types of schools, (2) re-nationalization, (3) adaptation of education to national life, and (4) horizontal and vertical extension of education opportunity.[7] The educational aims of Tunisia as applied to individuals were more specifically stated in the Arab World as follows:

> to permit all its people to acquire the indispensable knowledge which makes of the most humble citizen a useful worker for the cause of the country and conscious of the purpose of his task; and, to create on this base the conditions which will best permit the more intelligent children to attain the highest levels of knowledge possible---to advance to the extent of their capabilities.[8]

The task of introducing and enforcing a curriculum which combined modern sciences and language with the study of Islamic culture, seemed impossible to much of the Arab world. This, nevertheless, was the task which Tunisia set for herself. Moreover, through a system of elementary and terminal vocational schools, she became dedicated to the modern goal of education for all.

What form, then, has educational program taken under the new republic? As already noted, there was no sudden change, no sweeping reform. The systems of the protectorate are still operative in one form or another, in increasing or diminishing

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[7] Ibid.

[8] "Tunisia Seeks a Future in Education," The Arab World, March, 1961, p. 8.

force, but all are now pointed toward the achievement of the fixed concept of "cultural unity" as conceived by M. Messadi.

The schools have not, as yet, been able to accomplish the government's hopes for a unified program where attendance is compulsory and universal and in which Arabic is the primary language of instruction. The aims are most nearly realized, however, in the new elementary system under the control of the Secretary of State for National Education of the Republic of Tunisia. It is this system which forms the core of new Tunisian general education and which provides, in large part, the foundations of new Tunisian life. Most previously-existing elementary systems were incorporated in this single system. Included in the nationalizing process were the modern Koranic schools, some French schools, the Franco-Arab schools and those of the Alliance Israelite. The few institutions not yet included in the national system are apt to be all French-language schools operated either by religious or lay groups in commercial areas.

The announcement and initiation of this new national program in 1958 was the first large scale effort toward the progressive evolution of an Arab-Tunisian society through education. Improving an earlier plan to give increased instruction in Arabic to boys, the ministry declared Arabic the sole language of instruction for boys and girls for their first two years of schooling, beginning in the year 1958-59. In order to produce a significant increase in enrollment though, it was necessary to compromise the plan from the beginning. Out of consideration of the teacher shortage and the need to get more children in school, the ministry chose to have the first two years of

education consist of half days or about fifteen hours of weekly instruction for each child. It was reasoned that full-time teachers could accommodate many more pupils than under the previous system. Classroom space could also be conserved.

The curriculum is basically the same everywhere for the six year elementary program.[9] While there is sufficient flexibility to allow for adjustment to peculiarities of the local economy, whether it be agricultural or maritime, the basic studies must be treated similarly in all areas in order to provide equal preparation for the primary school leaving examination. During the first two years, concentration on the basic subjects of Arabic, arithmetic, practical training, moral and social training provides the maximum opportunity for introducing Arabic as the major instructional language while French is taught as a first foreign language.[10]

Beginning with the third year, pupils attend classes for about twenty-five hours each week, and French is more likely to be introduced as a language of instruction. The increasing importance or prominence of French language in successive years of schooling seems to guarantee retention of the French language. There is a move, however, to inject the kind of subjects into later years of schooling that would promote teaching in Arabic

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[9]U. S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare-Office of Education, International Educational Relations, Educational Data: Republic of Tunisia, compiled by Abul H. K. Sassani (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 2.

[10]In the schools during the protectorate, Arabic was taught as a foreign language.

as in the first two years. Such courses as Arabic literature, Islamic thought, Tunisian history and geography are to be taught in Arabic; and they, along with religious studies, reflect the new national character of the curriculum.

Post-Primary Education.--As in the primary schools, post-primary education is largely free but not compulsory. Of the pupils who have successfully completed primary school leaving examinations, those wishing to continue their schooling have essentially two choices. Students whose capacities or aptitudes do not indicate that they would profit from academic secondary schooling may be directed toward terminal, intermediate schools. Terminal education is of three years' maximum duration, and it is offered in general, commercial, and industrial options. All three streams are designed to provide basic training for students who will become skilled or semi-skilled workers. Training is given in such fields as mechanics, pipe fitting, stone work, carpentry, commercial, industrial, or agricultural trades.[11] Although the normal primary school leaving age is twelve, admission to terminal schools is permissible up to age sixteen, except in the industrial section where the age limit on entrance is seventeen. Appropriate certificates are issued following the successful completion of any of the three sections.

Students with more favorable examination records may elect the six-year secondary education program. It consists of two three-year cycles. The whole course is offered in some

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[11]U. S., Educational Data: Republic of Tunisia, op. cit., p. 3.

lycées. In cases where lycées provide only the last three years of secondary schooling, students enter a collège for the first three-year cycle. In either case the first year is common to all students, and it serves the same function as the observation cycle in French schools. "All students study languages, mathematics, sciences, history and geography, as well as manual training and drawing."[12] Also during the first year batteries of psychological tests are administered to students in order to determine vocational and mental aptitudes. Test results form the basis for direction of students into one of three areas of specialization beginning with their second year of secondary education. The three channels of study open to students during the last two years of the first cycle are general, economics, and technical. Students who leave school at the end of the first cycle are issued a school certificate which shows their school records.

The second cycle of secondary schooling is also of three years' duration in which the options are more numerous. Figure 9 shows the organizational structure. Superior students from the technical section are routed into mathematics specialization. Others from that section receive training in mechanics, electronics, topography, construction, building trades and hydraulics.[13] Students in the economics section who are not

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[12]Education in Tunisia (Washington: American Friends of the Middle East, Inc., 1963), p. 2.

[13]Ibid., p. 3.

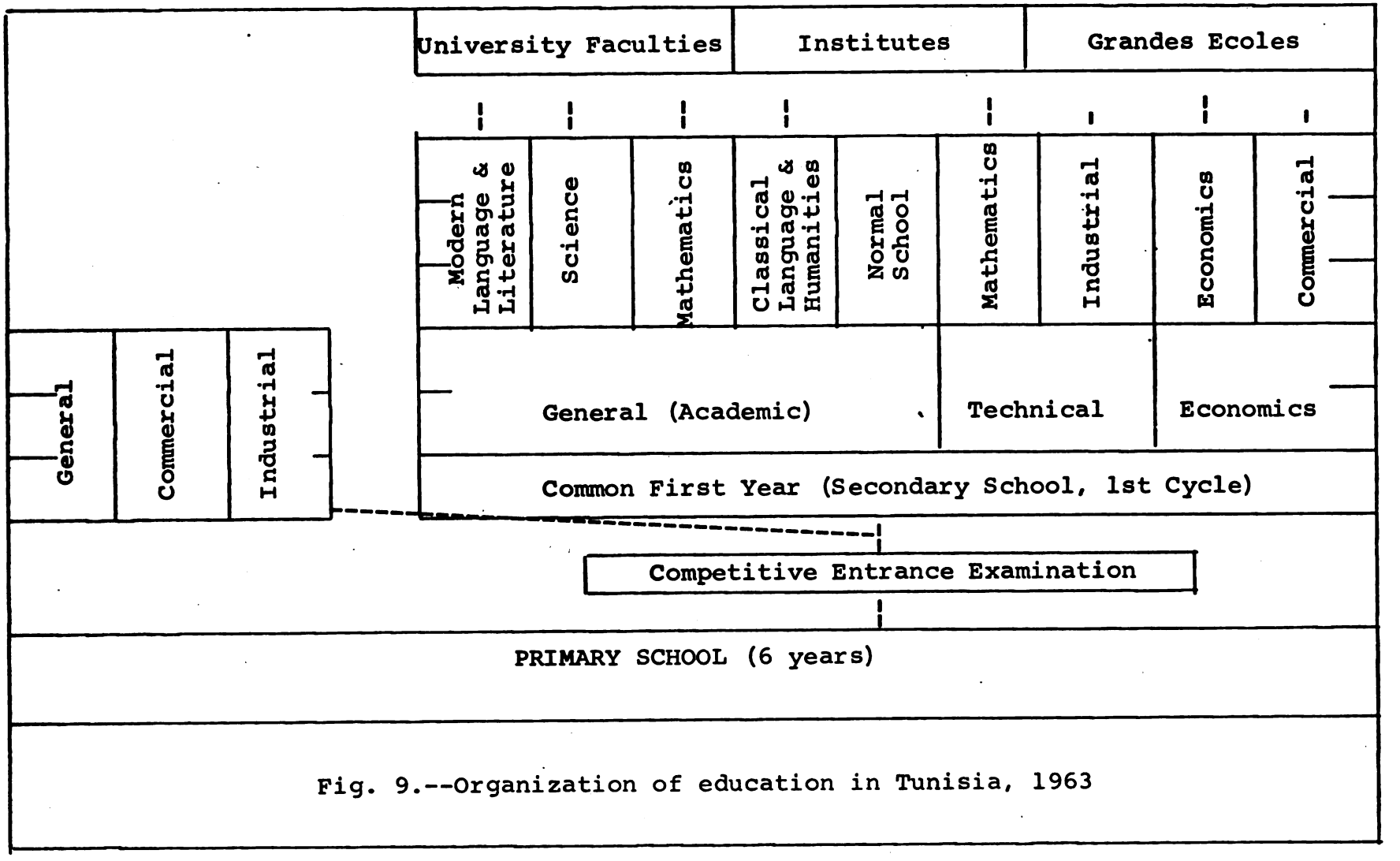

Fig. 9.--Organization of education in Tunisia, 1963

considered capable of specializing in economics are directed into a commercial section which gives preparation in accounting and secretarial services. Graduates of industrial and commercial sections are eligible for entrance to higher institutes, but they are not eligible to enter the universities as are the graduates of the mathematics and economics sections.

The greatest number of choices exists in the general secondary track. There, the student may be directed toward studies of classical or modern language and literature, science, or humanities. A student may, after taking a competitive examination, be selected to enter the normal school section which prepares primary school teachers. All sections of the general course, except the normal school, lead to the baccalauréat. Graduates of the latter section are issued a diploma of study completion. As in the case of the French model, students enrolled in sections leading to the baccalauréat must sit for an examination at the end of the fifth year of their secondary training. (That is at the end of the second year of the second cycle.) Successful students engage in intensive specialization during the sixth year following which there are both oral and written examinations. As in France, students who do not receive the baccalauréat following these examinations may take supplemental examinations the next autumn.

Higher Education.--Students with the baccalauréat are eligible for admission to the University of Paris as well as to other French universities without further examinations. They

may also enter the preparatory courses at the grandes écoles of France.[14] Naturally, they may also be admitted to higher schools in Tunis.

Former Tunisian higher institutes and some of the Zaytouna annexes have now been reorganized and incorporated in the new University of Tunis. The university includes faculties, institutes, and grandes écoles. Holders of the baccalauréat are admitted to any of those categories for which they would seem fitted. Generally they enter one of the university faculties. Included in the institutes is the National Technical Institute which admits certificated graduates of the industrial section of the secondary schools. The Higher School of Business and Commerce which admits certificated graduates of the commercial section is included as a grande école, at a level equal to secondary teacher training institutions and the Ford Foundation-supported Bourguiba School of Modern Languages.

Although they do not relate, specifically, to the Ministry of Education, the many research institutes in Tunis have an important role to perform in relation to the university and to the scientific development of the country. Some of them are already well-established and respected institutions, of which the Institut Pasteur de Tunis, founded in 1893, is an example. While several of the institutes coordinate their

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[14]Some French universities also require a preparatory year of studies (année propédeutique) as a means of further screening as well as a means of discouraging entrance into some faculties by disproportionate numbers of students.

laboratory facilities and activities with the teaching program of the Faculty of Science, most of them are independent research organizations. The work of the institutes is particularly significant in the fields of animal and vegetal biology, pharmacology, parasitology, and oceanography. Research institutes which have been founded since independence concentrate on subjects ranging from tuberculosis chemotherapy and chemoprophylaxis to atomic physics. The inheritance of numerous institutions of this type from the French has included many devoted research workers. If the quality of these institutes can be maintained, they should have a beneficial effect on university studies and on the opportunities open to students in scientific fields.

Teacher Training.--Teachers for the primary schools are trained in the normal school section of secondary education, as discussed earlier. Although most teacher training courses are given in Tunis, several normal school sections have been opened in outlying schools. Preparation of teachers is carried out in two sub-sections to allow for training in both French and Arabic languages. Candidates who are admitted to the program are committed to ten years of service to the Secretariat of Education.[15]

Preparation of intermediate and secondary teachers is exclusively carried out by the various components of the state university. Prospective teachers for the first cycle

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[15]United Nations, Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, World Survey of Education (Secondary Education) (New York, 1961), III, 1090.

of secondary education and for terminal, intermediate schools receive their formal training at the Normal School for Associate Professors. The training period lasts for three years. Also attached to the University of Tunis is the Higher Teachers College. That course, also of three years' duration, trains secondary school teachers of the second cycle. Although these students take some pedagogical courses, they pursue studies in the various faculties according to their area of subject specialization. Upon successful completion of the course of study, these teachers are awarded a university degree (licence).

Administration and Inspection.--Responsibility for general organization, curriculum, buildings, and staff appointment is centered in various departments of the State Secretariat for National Education in Tunisia. The efforts and proposals of the various departments are consequently coordinated in the Office of the Minister of Education. Inspection of schools is also to a large extent a function of the National Ministry. Separate groups of inspectors are assigned to Arabic and French classes, particularly at the primary school level.

Inspection of secondary education is still carried out by the French Ministry of National Education in Paris. One might expect that the annual visitation by French inspectors-general is a condition of recognition of the Tunisian baccalauréat for admission to French universities. That, however, is not stated. A program for the training of Tunisian inspectors has been instituted, and it is anticipated that supervision of

more areas of secondary school may eventually be carried out by Tunisians.

As in France, teachers are employees of the national government. Teachers from France who teach in Tunisia on a contract basis are subject to negotiations by the French and Tunisian governments. The appointments and salaries of such teachers are more likely to be based on situations in metropolitan France, however, than on the conditions met by Tunisian national teachers.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION IN THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC: AREAS OF POSSIBLE FRENCH INFLUENCE

To state or to demonstrate that there are resemblances between the institutional activities of two countries is relatively easy. To show in any scientific sense that one has influenced the other is often very difficult. Sometimes it is impossible. Yet, where there is change, the possibility of influence exists. In this period of accelerated change on an international scale, the source, nature, means, and effect of influence have become matters of study and speculation, pervading every academic discipline. In this and the following chapter, several variable aspects of the educational institutions of the United Arab Republic and Tunisia will be summarized in terms of their possible similarity to institutions of another country, particularly France. Whether or not the similarity results from external influence is, of course, a major concern. The following institutional features will be considered: (1) the administrative structure, (2) any curricular variations, (3) the plan for teacher training, and (4) the means by which an educated elite is structured.

Administration

There are numerous similarities between the methods of organization of education in the United Arab Republic and in France. Both countries are divided into administrative zones or academies; and in each the pattern of the inspectoral hierarchy is the same. This means that aside from local officials to whom minimal responsibilities are allocated, there are zonal inspectors who oversee the local activity; and there are ministerial inspectors who exercise superior authority in both the regional and local spheres. Although a similar structure is evident in the United Kingdom, the freedom of the British headmaster in setting curriculum is absent from both the French system and that of the United Arab Republic.

In the latter countries, responsibility for school matters is largely centered at the level of national government. The central administrations articulate the goals of national schools, they design the curriculum, and they supervise examination procedures. Similarly, matters of finance and school facilities as well as responsibility for staff certification are under the supervision of the central ministries. Although both countries have made attempts at decentralization, in neither case has the attempt been significantly effective. Any trend toward decentralization, however, is regarded by the writer as a world trend resulting from factors other than inter-national influence.

While the universities of France function in an atmosphere of greater freedom than those of the United Arab Republic, in both countries the requirements for university admission and standards for degrees and diplomas are set by the central administration. Where foreign schools are concerned (in the United Arab Republic), a committee of examiners, appointed by the Ministry of Education in Cairo, administer examinations which are presumably comparable to those formerly issued by the Paris and London ministries. The writer interprets such practice as an indication not only of the similarity in admission procedures but as indicative of a similarity in the kind of admission requirement.

In the absence of meaningful choice among political parties in the United Arab Republic, comparisons in the parliamentary and administrative decision-making process with regard to national education are largely precluded. The inter-relationships of the president, the National Assembly, and the Minister of Education, however, are such in the United Arab Republic, that one may suspect with cause that under conditions of more popularly-supported government, the United Arab Republic would experience clashes like those within the French government. While the rapid succession of education ministers in France may well reflect differences from the views of the president, collapse of the Government has, at times, reflected differences within the National Assembly on matters of education. During the Fifth Republic, the French president has had only limited success in circumventing the parliamentary framework while implementing his plans for

education. In the United Arab Republic, Kamal el din Hussein has enjoyed a considerably longer tenure as Minister of Education than many French counterparts; but his ideas have met with similar obstacles. A situation in which the wishes of the Minister have over-ridden the action of the National Assembly (with presidential sanction) has already been cited.[1] However complex the workings of government may be, the point is that decisions which guide and affect education are made by the central administration in both countries. Whatever influence can be exerted at the top level, then, has paramount importance.

A major source of influence would likely stem from the foreign schools themselves. If they provided what many Egyptians apparently felt was the best education possible, it is not unreasonable to expect that the pattern of such schools would have been admired and emulated within the administrative hierarchy of the national schools as well. The placement of foreign school graduates and of European-trained personnel in the Ministry of Education would also add strength to the impact of the foreign schools. Recalling that these schools (with a long and continuous administrative history) numbered several hundreds at different times, it would seem strange, indeed, if their impact were limited to foreign language instruction.

Whereas the conditions of the revolutionary government and the past experience of Egypt seem to have led the country

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[1]Keith Wheelock, Nasser's New Egypt (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960), p. 116.

to a position of administrative centralism, the possibility of influence, though harder to detect, still seems very real. In such a case, French or other influence would be greatly diffused within the Arab culture; and it would be indirect in nature. To the extent that Arab officials can divorce their admiration of the French administrative system from their dissatisfaction with French political activity in the Middle East, the possibility of French influence continues to exist.

Curriculum

The organization of schools into primary and preparatory levels is most reminiscent of the system established under Muhammad Ali in 1837.[2] While the content of the Egyptian primary cycle is neither startling nor unique, it is of a matter of interest that the reference to its function as disseminating general culture is the same term used by the French in justifying the existence of a uniform curriculum. The primary cycle, through a fixed core of subject matter, is aimed at providing the "fundamental elements" of national society to the great mass of people who will not proceed to further education. The preparatory cycle, for those who are admitted to it, is likewise a unit designed to form a complete training experience.

It is at the secondary school level that the real similarity to the French system emerges. Present Egyptian organization is a variation, however slight, of the French-

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[2] Supra, pp. 45-47.

inspired system of secondary education established in the 1920's. As can be seen in the diagram on page 68, the secondary school formerly included the extra year of study similar to the second year of specialization for the baccalauréat in a French lycée. The year of specialization has now been omitted in the United Arab Republic; but there is still a clear division of secondary education into literary and scientific streams after the common first year. This appears to be a direct parallel to the French system through the Fourth Republic.

Both countries have introduced technical and vocational education programs at the post-primary levels. Such programs are apt to be terminal or continuous but low in prestige. As such, they do not necessarily distinguish one country from another. In both the systems of France and of the United Arab Republic, however, a secondary school stream has been reserved for those whose technical studies are of a calibre that would qualify the student for entrance to the higher schools. Since the baccalauréat technique is a relatively recent innovation in France, it is difficult to say that preparatory training for higher technical institutes in the United Arab Republic is an imitation of the French system. Nevertheless, the practice of grooming the few highly competent technical students for the higher institutes (as distinct from the mass of technically-trained students who terminate their education at lower levels) is very much like the pattern established during the reign of Muhammad Ali.

The higher institutes of his day, like the French institutions on which they were fashioned,[3] have retained a high degree of importance. The School of Engineering and the Khedival School of Languages, no less than the grandes écoles of France, have continued to be distinctive educational institutions to which access is gained by the primary school ladder. Proliferation of these higher institutes seems to be a continuation of a peculiarly Egyptian practice. Although the Ministry of Education has indicated a desire to consolidate the functions of several of the institutes, their relatively great number continues as does the relatively small enrollment in each. It is likely, however, that the old, urban institutes maintain higher prestige value.

As to the possibility of influence in republican institutions, the writer concludes that as a result of wide diffusion of direct French influence of the early nineteenth century and of the indirect French influence (through Taha Husayn) of the 1920's, present curriculum organization reflects French influence. It is by no means recent or imitative. In fact, on the surface, the system may well appear to be historically an Egyptian product.

Teacher Training

Study of the teacher training programs of the United Arab Republic reveals a similar penchant for numerous, specialized institutions for both males and females. The multiple types of specialized training are offered in scores of

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[3] Supra, p. 42.

institutions designed for preparing teachers of the primary, preparatory, and secondary levels.

Training of teachers is an area of education where past Egyptian experience has been left wanting. In the process of developing systems of schools from the early nineteenth century onward, the pattern has largely been one of importation of teachers and exportation of students for teacher training abroad. The exception, of course, applies to the training of religious teachers for the mosque system. In the recent drive for the accomplishment of national aims and the concommitant implementation of a more "national" curriculum, the need for teachers has been acute. With the expulsion of many foreign teachers and the pressing demand for teachers trained in Arabic language and in the history and geography of their own lands, a sense of urgency surrounded the staffing of schools. This resulted in the practice of adding more teacher training schools of the type already in existence rather than in any concerted effort to consolidate or re-design the functions of those extant. Consequently, current teacher training procedures can scarcely be considered as innovative. Neither are they imitative. On the contrary, it is plausible that those responsible for the direction of teacher training programs have been guided by the need to adapt to specific and immediate national demands, even though their thinking may have been influenced by the systems with which they were familiar. The result is a diverse and complex mixture of institutions which, in some instances, bear resemblance to those of other countries and which, in

other cases, reflect little more than a need to train teachers quickly for the waiting positions.

The point at which primary school teacher training begins appears to be a compromise between the two pre-revolution systems. Under the dual system[4] prospective elementary teachers began their training after they left the elementary school, or at about age eleven. Prospective primary school teachers, on the other hand, began their training following the fourth year of the five-year secondary course. Beginning primary teacher trainees would have been about sixteen years old under that system. In the present plan, teacher training for the primary school begins at completion of the preparatory stage when pupils are about fourteen. Teachers are trained at that level for service in the rural schools and in classes specializing in music, physical education, home economics, and in some technical schools. Graduates of these institutions may, upon presentation of very distinctive scholastic records, be admitted to higher teacher training institutes designed for training teachers for the preparatory or secondary levels.

The training of preparatory and secondary school teachers is ordinarily carried out at the post-secondary level. A series of teacher training institutes and colleges exist for that purpose at a level parallel to the university faculties.[5] Students enrolled in the university faculties may also become qualified for teaching in secondary schools by

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[4]See the diagram on p. 68.

[5]See the diagram on p. 87.

taking an additional year of study in the Faculty of Education at Ein Shams University in Cairo after they have received their university degree.

Although the preference for a university degree for teachers in secondary schools is similar to practice both in England and in France, the issuing of a Diploma of Education after the additional year of pedagogical studies is more peculiarly English than French. On the other hand, while the early training of primary school teachers was a feature of British colonial practice, it has been a part of the metropolitan French system for a long time. Admittedly, other countries prepare primary school teachers at a comparably early age, but it seems more logical that this is an adaptation of the European-type system prevalent in Egypt prior to 1952. The introduction of the preparatory stage in the schools of the United Arab Republic and the differences in laws specifying the maximum compulsory age for attendance make direct comparisons with model countries difficult. Where similarities do exist, the writer tends to regard them, in most cases, as transitional modifications of former practices.

Structuring the Elite

There is undoubtedly some method of upward screening in the educational system of any country. The extent to which the screening is deliberate, calculated, and enforced varies from one country to another. The variance between countries at the extremes results from a complexity of factors such as the degree of mobility within the social system, the degree of

adherence to national tradition, the extent of industrialization, and the impact of political custom. These factors, combined with economic supply and demand, fashion a sort of educational philosophy which, in turn, is reflected in the manner of selection of school pupils. The extent to which this philosophy is administered or translated into practice by a single level of governmental apparatus determines the degree of flexibility within the educational system and the freedom of access to it. The writer believes that there is a pattern of social selectivity and, hence, educational selectivity which is characteristic of highly centralized governments.

France has often been studied as the prototype of centralized administration. Her administrative structure has been duplicated in some other countries. In still others such as the United Arab Republic, there is a natural history which includes traits of centralization. Often these traits result neither from external influence nor from emulation. As a consequence, the cause of similarities may be easily mistaken, or they may be hard to detect.

Both France and the United Arab Republic possess characteristics which are peculiar to what might be called the centralist syndrome. Such characteristics include a highly centralized system of governmental authority, student selectivity by means of external examination or other governmentally-devised formula, and the concentration of educational and intellectual productivity in the capital city.

As for the matter of selectivity or upward screening, both France and the United Arab Republic display a philosophy of state authority. The attitude is one in which the state, as the supplier of education, has the right to determine whom and how many it shall train. Although the French student seems to have more freedom of choice in his area of specialization than is the case in the United Arab Republic, the French ministry has devised ways in which the activation of student choices can be delayed. In both cases, the selection process becomes more rigorous as the training becomes more advanced. By extending the compulsory age of attendance, France has made less obvious her selection of students at early ages. The process of sorting, however, remains the same. In the United Arab Republic where school attendance is not yet compulsory beyond the age of twelve, the government can make its selection openly and early.

Public examinations are the primary vehicles of selection or rejection, and a percentage of successful candidates is skimmed off at each level for further training. The kind of further training is, similarly, determined by examination results. By making primary education a terminal program for more than four-fifths of the children enrolled, the United Arab Republic appears to commit itself to a continuance of the European system of minimum education for the masses. Likewise, maximum education is assured for "the classes" or at least for those whose success is clearly demonstrable.

Another possible similarity in the structuring of an elite relates to what could be called a technical elite. As mentioned earlier, both the secondary schools of France and of the United Arab Republic have elevated some phases of technical education to a level at least equal to that of the academic curriculum. Furthermore, access to the higher technical institutes in the United Arab Republic (as to the grandes écoles of France) for distinguished graduates of a technical secondary school, seems to guarantee for both countries a highly respected group with technically superior qualifications. This, it seems to the writer, is a very direct extension of the position occupied by the Egyptian higher institutes established under French direction in the 1830's.[6]

The other aspect of the centralist syndrome of significance to structuring an elite has to do with the influence and dominance of the national capital. However well the French have distributed their higher institutions among the numerous academies, the magnetism of Paris has been sustained. The capital city, in custody of great power and authority, becomes in such a situation the intellectual center as well. France has, in fact, often been considered by intellectuals as being composed of two parts, namely Paris and all that is not Paris. With a wide variety of faculties well placed throughout the provinces, the University of Paris still attracts a greatly disproportionate number of students, technically eligible for entrance into any of seventeen universities. That condition

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[6]Supra, p. 45.

persists even though the outlying facilities have been augmented in ways designed to induce greater provincial enrollment.

The United Arab Republic, like France, is a largely agricultural country with great cities. Educational institutions have expanded from Cairo outward, but the prominence of the capital city remains overwhelming. Of six major universities, including the American University of Cairo and Al-Azhar, four are located in the city of Cairo. The more important institutes and teacher training schools are also located in Cairo. University graduates desiring to earn a Diploma of Education have no choice other than attendance at Ein Shams University in Cairo. Alexandria comes second in the number of institutions, as it did in the proposal of 1837.[7] Institutes outside of the two major cities are those which give specialized occupational training for women.

Since the United Arab Republic is governed by a revolutionary government in transition, it cannot be efficiently compared with the government of France. Conditions of political centralism exist in both countries, however, and they have existed for long periods of time. As noted earlier, emulation of the administrative pattern is not necessarily indicated. The fact that Egyptians were accustomed to central government, of a sort, for centuries is, however, important in the consideration of other aspects

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[7]See the diagram on p. 46.

of possible influence. Given the conditions of centralism the ways of France would have been easily adaptable. The capital city as the central organ of government would be regarded as a natural dispenser of law as well as of education. It would be the focal point of national productivity and the place where standards would be set for the whole country. The existence of higher schools only in Cairo must not have seemed strange in 1837. It is doubtful whether the centralization of educational activity and authority in Cairo seems unreasonable to those living in the United Arab Republic now. The point, here, is that whatever French influence may have been exerted or diffused through a century of educational development in Egypt, the conditions of centralized government in both countries made their administrative procedures reciprocally comprehensible and adaptable. Only the adoption of educational methods compatible with centralization would obviate an upheaval of political institutions.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF TUNISIA: AREAS OF POSSIBLE FRENCH INFLUENCE

Administration and Organization

The structure, control and financing of education in Tunisia are highly centralized under the State Secretariat for National Education. The absence of any law making education compulsory, the relatively small size of the country, and the lack of experience with anything other than a centralized system seem to militate against any deviation from present practice. If there is any visible fault in the centralization pattern, it would be in the dependence on France for teachers and inspectors and in the need to coordinate secondary school standards in Tunisia with those of France. This, of course, does not imply decentralization but it does suggest weakness in the amount of control exercised by the central government. At such time as supervisory functions and negotiations for staff are entirely localized in the Tunisian capital, the system through its ministry should be able to carry on in a manner comparable to that of France. The duplication of French practice in Tunisia reflects imitation in the sense that the system was

externally imposed at some time in the past by an occupying power. In that case, the influence was direct and formal. The present system, as a continuation of the one which emerged during the protectorate, may be regarded as an imitation; or it may be considered to result from cultural diffusion in that it is now Tunisian--not French--and in recognition of the adaptations which have been made for the new republic.

The organization of Tunisian education is remarkably similar to that of France. There are some deviations such as reduction in program length to make the system more suitable to Tunisian national life and to the problems arising from independence. In both countries, pre-university schooling lasts for about twelve years. In Tunisia, however, the elementary school program is of six year's duration as compared to the five-year elementary school in France. The seven-year, two cycle, post-primary school in Tunisia has been changed to a six-year, two cycle program.

Although the French reforms of 1958 and later were necessitated partly by extension of the compulsory schooling age to sixteen, the reforms coincide with some of those introduced into the Tunisian system where attendance is not compulsory. The Tunisian system, however, is organized in such a way that when compulsory schooling is introduced, the structure will be readily adaptable to compulsion to age twelve, thirteen, or fifteen. Similarly, although the options are neither so numerous nor complex in Tunisia as they are in French secondary schools, facilities are present

to open the new channels of curriculum at such time as enrollment and demand warrant the addition.

Curriculum

The curriculum of Tunisian elementary schools, relates to the general culture. The teaching of Tunisian history and geography is regarded by the Ministry as an innovation. Also, one or two hours of each week are devoted to teaching of the Koran and other religious subject matter. Perhaps the only other distinctive feature of the Tunisian elementary curriculum is the study and practice of handicrafts.

Curriculum of the terminal schools in the first cycle of the secondary level is presumably geared to local labor needs. The curriculum of the lycées, however, is, of necessity, akin to that of the French secondary system. Particularly in the areas of science, mathematics, classical and modern languages, the courses of study must continue to be comparable to those prescribed by the French National Ministry of Education for French lycées if the Tunisian baccalauréat is to be recognized as equivalent to the French baccalauréat for university entrance purposes. Aside from the body of subject matter itself, there is "a proclivity for theoretic reasoning, memory exercizes and facility of verbal expression."[1] Such practice is regarded as being related to traditional French elite theories. When one

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[1] Education in Tunisia (Washington: American Friends of the Middle East, Inc., 1963), p. 1.

considers that the persons presently responsible for developing and directing Tunisian education were themselves educated in the French system it is not unreasonable to expect that these theories will continue to figure prominently.

The continuation of French influence on curriculum through the medium of language seems to be assured. Certainly the use of Arabic as the primary language of instruction remains a distant goal of the Tunisian Government. One of the reasons for this is that after seventy-five years of the French Protectorate, much of the population, while lacking fluency in Arabic, is French-speaking. That alone has made obstacles for the government's intention to make Arabic the sole language of instruction during the first two years of primary school. In the many French schools, of course, even the first two years of instruction are given in French. The remainder of the instructional program is either mixed French and Arabic or entirely French. Current reforms are aimed at "a mixed French-Arab elementary system with French reserved for modern sciences; Arabic and French mixed equally where both have a significant literature; and Arabic reserved for law, theology, literature, religion and subjects which lie closest to home and heart."[2]

Another reason for continued French influence has to do with the influx of French teachers. This not only compounds the problem of a partially non-Arabic speaking people, but it would appear to perpetuate the problem. Despite earlier efforts

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[2] Ibid.

to provide concentrated Arabic teacher preparation during a single summer session, there is a limit beyond which the government does not want to compromise the quality of its education. Unlike the United Arab Republic which has taken, at times, drastic measures toward expelling foreign teachers, Tunisia has been more cautious and modest in its planning. Officials have often admitted their need and desire for French teachers in order that their system may survive and expand. Mahmud Messadi, the Minister of Education in Tunisia, was quoted in Paris as saying that "we have committed our country to a working bilingualism . . . . It depends on France whether or not this is successful."[3] This was clearly a reference to the supplying of French teachers, recruited both in Tunisia and in metropolitan France. In 1960, about one-fifth of secondary teachers in Tunisia were French while about one-seventh of the primary school teachers were French. In addition, there were over 1,400 French teachers remaining in entirely French schools in Tunisia.[4] In Tunisian lycées, French teachers outnumbered Tunisian teachers.[5] In the spring

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[3]The statement is from an interview with M. Messadi, reported in Le Figaro (Paris), November 3, 1959 (passage translated by the writer).

[4]Brown also reports that 42% of those pupils attending the totally French-staffed and French-financed schools were Tunisians, including 8,000 Muslims and 6,500 Jews as compared to 19,600 of French national citizenship. L. C. Brown, "Tunisia: Education, 'Cultural Unity' and the Future," Unpublished letter from Tunis, December 1, 1960.

[5]Le Monde (Paris), September 19, 1961, p. 16.

of 1961, before the Bizerta crisis, there were 3,300 French teachers in Tunisia.[6] In the autumn of 1961, following the Bizerta crisis, the Tunisian government suffered a shortage of teachers from France. Two weeks before school opened in October, the Minister of Education declared that he not only needed the 1,332 teachers from France who were already under contract with the Tunisian government, but he indicated that he could use 1,000 additional teachers to fill vacant posts.[7]

Franco-Tunisian relations were stabilized during the following year but with significant consequences. In order to retain the French teachers who made up approximately one-fifth of the entire Tunisian teaching force, the Tunisian government had to assure the French Teacher's Union that it would provide education "of the same nature and quality as in the metropolitan homeland."[8] It was proposed that that should be accomplished by the French Mission Universitaire et Culturelle which had functioned formerly as an arm of the French National Ministry of Education for the direction of French education in Tunisia. The Mission was allowed to continue its operations after 1961, but it did so as an agent of the French Embassy in Tunis. Presumably, the work of the Mission, in this new capacity, came under the observation of the Tunisian government. It seems to the writer that the maintainence of a French system of education in Tunisia

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[6] Ibid. [7] Le Monde (Paris), September 16, 1961, p. 16.

[8] Le Monde, September 19, loc. cit.

and the existence of so large a percentage of French teachers in Tunisia would indicate continued, direct French influence.

Teacher Training

Within the method and structure of teacher training in Tunisia, there is evidence of some innovation. Although the training of primary school teachers has traditionally occurred at an earlier level in Tunisia than was the practice in France, the continuation of the scheme may be attributed, in part, to the need for supplying teachers for a rapidly-developing system. Primary teacher training is given during the last four years of Tunisian secondary school. This means that the beginning primary school teachers would, ordinarily, be seventeen or eighteen years of age. The education secretariat, however, places restrictions on the status and the positional advancement of the very young teachers.

Primary normal schools are residential, and admission to them is determined by competitive examination. The training course is given in two sections, one of which is reserved for the preparation of only Arabic-language teachers. The other section is designed for the preparation of bilingual teachers. Candidates who are admitted to the normal schools are committed to teach for ten years in Tunisian national schools. Failure to meet the commitment presumably makes the candidate liable for repaying the cost of training.[9]

Training of secondary teachers for both first and second cycles is given at the University of Tunis or in the faculties

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[9]As in France, there is no clear government policy in the enforcement of the provision.

of France's universities. Preparatory courses at the University of Tunis are three years in length. The training given to prospective teachers for secondary education of the first cycle and for those who intend to teach in terminal schools is more along vocational lines than training for secondary teachers of the second degree. The latter is more like the French pattern. Students take courses in the university faculty representing their particular interest area; and graduates are awarded the licence. The inclusion of teacher training institutes at the University of Tunis is a notable variation from the French practice. While this may have come about as a result of economic and administrative practicability, it may develop into a distinctively non-French practice.

The French system of competitive examinations for graduates who wish to qualify for the title of agrégé still applies in Tunisia. Recognition as part of the agrégation singles out those persons who have demonstrated the most superior knowledge of their particular subject area. The title brings with it higher salary and status as well as special working privileges as it does in France. Agrégés may be assigned to posts in primary teacher training institutes or in secondary schools.

Generally, it is the writer's conclusion that the Tunisian procedures for training teachers reflects significant emulation of the French system. There are, however, noteworthy innovations; or at least there are important adaptations of the French system to the Tunisian scene.

Structuring an Elite

Although the machinery for structuring a Tunisian, educated elite along French lines exists, there are some unique features of the Tunisian system which deserve careful observation during the next generation. At first glance, there would appear to be more opportunity for mobility within the educational structure in Tunisia than in France. It appears to this writer, however, that there are two crucial aspects of the present system which, if changed, might affect the manner in which "the educated class" is determined.

The first results from the absence of any law making education compulsory at the present time. This suggests immediately that those children who go to school are those whose parents can afford to buy the necessary books and materials or who have sufficient motivation for schooling. Even then, school attendance may well be determined by the proximity of school and place of residence. While elementary schools are dotted about the countryside (many of them being one and two class schools), there were only forty-nine secondary schools in Tunisia at the end of the 1962 school year.[10] Schools have been built in the areas with the more dense population and with the highest rates of economic development. In other words, the governorates which line the northern and eastern Mediterranean coast have much higher proportions of pupils in school than the governorates of the interior. In 1960, 43% of all Tunisian children of school

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[10] Education in Tunisia (Washington: American Friends of the Middle East, Inc., 1963), p. 2.

age attended school. In the governorate of Tunis, however, the average was about 65%. The governorates of Sfax, Sousse, and Bizerta all had attendance averages above 50%. In contrast, the records of such inland governorates as Beja and Kef showed percentages under thirty. The governorates of Kasserine on the Algerian frontier had an average primary school attendance of 17% of those eligible.[11] In spite of the relatively small size of the country, it appears that this is another situation in which educational opportunity is greatest in urban centers and where the intellectual activity comes to a peak in the capital city of a centralized country. (All institutions for higher studies are located in Tunis.) If education becomes compulsory, and if the state provides boarding facilities for pupils, public examinations would likely become the primary screening device. If, on the other hand, the law and facilities are not altered so as to make educational opportunity more widespread, other social factors will remain significant in the creation of an elite.

The other factor which merits attention has to do with the ease of mobility in the Tunisian education structure. At the moment, Tunisia is concerned with producing as many competent school graduates as possible. In order to fill the gaps in teaching ranks and in industrial fields, artificial obstacles to candidate selection have not yet been introduced. Examinations are regarded as the major determinant for advancement of those who enter the system. Students are considered

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[11] Brown, loc. cit.

to have passed a subject if their average is above ten-twentieths; and students may pass a grade if the average of all their subjects is above that ratio. Also at the level of post-secondary schooling, the preparatory courses and the preliminary year of study before entrance into a university faculty has been eliminated from the French model. This would tend to encourage students to carry on their education without undue delay. Under these conditions, it seems that movement within the system is somewhat more fluid than in the French system, due probably to the pressing need for trained persons. Since opportunity for school attendance is not yet universal, continued mobility is not assured.

Within the progression of studies as it relates to the making of an elite, lycée education and the baccalauréat still enjoy the highest prestige and the greatest attraction value even though there are other courses of study which last as long as the track leading to the baccalauréat. Beyond the baccalauréat it is quite possible that students returning to Tunisia after study at the University of Paris (or at other French universities) have higher status than those students who have received their training at the University of Tunis. While loyalty to a new national university might be admirable or even desirable, Tunisians may yet ascribe a superior quality to education abroad. The idea that French education is superior to Tunisian public education was certainly fostered in the past, and it continues in the presence of French schools in Tunisia. The fact that French teachers who come to work in Tunisia insist

that their children be placed in something other than Tunisian national schools is some indication of the recognized inferiority of the present Tunisian system. Although this may be a point of view expressed only by French nationals, it seems likely to be shared by some Tunisians as well.

The existence of the Tunisian national schools, side by side with the private French schools, seems to keep the possibility of comparison and contrast in view. Although the private French schools are, presently, more limited in their ability to absorb large numbers of the local community, the attendance of many Tunisians in the French system (run by the Mission Universitaire et Culturelle) is itself indicative of the desirability of French training.[12] While this, in itself, is not, precisely, emulation of the French system of education, it is a continuation of attitudes which were developed under French guidance and training. There is no indication of an immediate reversal or alteration of this attitude.

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[12] *Supra*, p. 127, note 4.

CHAPTER VII

ASSESSMENT

Recognizing that change occurs over an extended period of time, one can best determine the nature of change by evaluating the social or educational situation as it appeared at intermittent times. In reviewing the Egyptian past from the zero-point of French contact, an educational dichotomy becomes increasingly obvious with the progress of history. The existence of the mosque-school system, culminating at Al-Azhar, and operating, as Cragg says, as a closed circuit,[1] was counterbalanced by the formation of a more secular system of education. Since the religious system and the Ulema who directed it remained on the fringe of society, it is the development of the secular system which has commanded preference in this study. Although the two systems have been nominally merged, the act is too recent and the outcome is too uncertain to demand more than careful observation.

Channels of Influence

People as Transmitters.--The social critics and the propounders of "a new way" create a line of influential

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[1]Kenneth Cragg, "The Modernist Movement in Egypt," Islam and the West, ed. Richard N. Frye (The Hague: Mouton Co., 1957), p. 151.

events that extends from the time of Napoleon's landing at Alexandria to the present. The prelude to the nineteenth century attitude may well have been expressed in the chants attributed to the people of Cairo at Napoleon's return from Syria:

> We longed for you O General,
> . . . . . .
> You brought light in Egypt,
> And came in like a crystal lamp.[2]

From Sheikh Hasan al-Attar came praise of the wide range of knowledge of the French scholars among whom he had worked. "Our countries must change, . . . and we must take from Europe all the sciences which do not exist here."[3] His pupil, Tahtawi, after years of study in Paris, wrote:

> Youth from the Orient, coming to schools of the West to draw on European science, take away with them its inevitable corollary---the rational approach, an experimental attitude, a sense of reality, and the impossibility of believing in religious traditions evidently conceived in the absence of any critical taste.[4]

This same Tahtawi who returned to Egypt to help shape the structure of education in 1837[5] is considered by Hourani to "articulate the ideas current among the new ruling group in Egypt."[6]

It was in the next generation of reformers that Afghani and, more especially, Muhammad Abduh began to formulate

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[2]J. M. Ahmed, The Intellectual Origins of Egyptian Nationalism (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 94.

[3]Ibid., p. 5.

[4]Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939 (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 121 Passage translated by the writer).

[5]Supra, pp. 44-57.

[6]Hourani, op. cit., p. 73.

their ideas of European culture and to adapt them to the evolving, modern Islamic state.[7] The educational reforms of 1868 and those of 1880 toward which Abduh worked, were to approach realization in the lifetime of those pupils whom he had inspired. Abduh's often-expressed ideas regarding the formation of a popularly-supported university became part of the thinking of the educated elite. Within three years after Abduh's death, the first Egyptian university was opened as well as a separate school for Shari'ah judges. Both of the institutions were staffed by Europeans or persons trained in Europe.

Two of the younger pupils of that period spearheaded social and political reforms of the 1920's and 1930's. Both men, Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid and Taha Husayn, pressed more in a direction of representative democracy in which the state authority would be checked by responsible parliaments and cabinets. Lutfi, chiefly impressed with the ideas of the French Enlightenment, believed in the basic good of man's character, and in the perfectibility of character. Taha Husayn, the first person to be awarded a Doctor of Philosophy degree from the new Egyptian university, was rewarded for his brilliant work by being sent to Paris. He resumed study at the Sorbonne where he received another doctor's degree, his thesis being written in French.[8] Husayn (sometimes called the young Azharite from the Sorbonne) was concerned with the quality of national

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[7] Supra, p. 61.

[8] Charles Clarence Adams, Islam and Modernism in Egypt (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 254.

life. His strong belief in the power of reason and in the necessity for Egypt's becoming a part of Europe as the only way of attaching itself to the modern world, caused considerable furor both in the government and among the Azhar professors. Hourani notes that the cultural attachment to France was so strong that neither Husayn nor his Wafdist nationalist colleagues took apparent notice of political ideas being expressed in Germany and Italy during the late 1930's.[9] To Dr. Husayn, the reform of national life and the recognition of Egypt as a re-Europeanized nation, was to be accomplished through the study of Egyptian history. His faith in education as a means of demonstrating that Egypt was a part of the West was coupled with the belief that education was a "vital part in teaching the civic virtues and creating the conditions in which a democratic government can exist."[10] At the peak of his career he devoted most of his work to consideration of educational reform. He wanted to make primary education both universal and compulsory, thereby providing the basis of a democratic state. His attitude with regard to the foreign schools was expressed as follows:

> The foreign schools are the best schools in the country, and so long as this is so they are a form of cultural capital. They should not be closed, but should be placed under some control in regard to the teaching of the national language, history and geography, and also of the teaching of the national religion.[11]

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[9]Hourani, op. cit., p. 329.

[10]Ibid., p. 336.

[11]Ibid.

He favored tuition-supported secondary schools with free places for those who were poor but clever. Teaching of the Arabic language should be improved, he thought; and English, French, German, and Italian languages should be taught intensively after the fifth year. His campaign for the reconstitution of higher education stemmed chiefly from his desire for financial and academic freedom for the university. The Azhar, in Husayn's view, should be accorded the same freedom as other institutions, at the same time recognizing the limitations placed upon it by its spiritual function. He proposed that the Azhar should relinquish direction of general Arabic education, and that it should revise its own curriculum to include science and other modern subjects which he considered to be the basis of "real Islam" as opposed to the old idea of religious nationalism.[12]

Not only did Taha Husayn expound his views on education to others, but he came to occupy positions through which he could bring about action. As advisor to the Minister of Education, he was instrumental in founding the University of Alexandria, of which he became the first rector. As Minister of Education from 1950 to 1952, "he set on foot a vast expansion of State schools at all levels: new universities and higher colleges, . . .free secondary education, a curriculum revised along lines he had himself suggested."[13]

If all of the ideas expressed through the century and a half of reform have not come to fruition under the republic, they are at least still alive. The hopes of Tahtawi, Afghani,

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[12] Ibid., p. 338. [13] Ibid.

and to some extent Abduh, for a united Muslim empire under a single ruler who would use his power benevolently are certainly implicit in the aspirations of President Nasser for an Arab republic which embraces all the Islamic lands or Arab lands.[14] The desire of Lutfi for the building of self-respect and national pride are built into the present primary school studies of Arabic history and language. The re-orientation of Al-Azhar, attempted by Isma'il and forwarded by Taha Husayn, has recently gained new impetus.

Aside from the more prominent scholars is the great body of civil servants whose contacts with European schools cannot be doubted. A survey of government organization in the United Arab Republic shows that there are over 57,000 officials attached to ministries and organizations of the main budget who have given more than twenty years of government service.[15] Obviously, great numbers of them must have rendered

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[14]In a published speech, President Nasser says that the responsibility for assuring the progress, consolidation and protection of the United Arab Republic extends to all Arab nations. The Arab nation no longer needs to prove that a genuine unity exists among its people. Unity has surpassed that stage and is now identified with the very existence of Arabs. It is enough that the Arab Nation possesses unity of language which provides the base for unity of thought and spirit. It is enough that the Arab Nation is characterized by the unity of history which forms unity of conscience and feeling. It is enough that the Arab Nation enjoys the unity of hope which is the well-spring of unity for the future and of destiny. Republique Arabe Unie, Department de l'Information, Projet de la Charte (Caire: Presses de la Mondiale), p. 117.

[15]Luther Gulick and James K. Pollock, Government Reorganization in the United Arab Republic, Report submitted to the Central Committee for the Reorganization of the Machinery of Government (Cairo, 1962), p. 72. (Mimeographed.)

their services under the conditions of the monarchy; and many must have, likewise, received their training in French or other European schools.

The upper echelons of government also reflect cross-cultural contacts, often in highly positive terms. President Nasser himself, having been in and out of more than a half-dozen private schools in Egypt, is credited with writing an essay for a school magazine in 1935, at which time he expressed his praise for Voltaire and Rousseau who "paved the way for the French Revolution."[16] Nasser's predecessor, General Neguib, says in his memoirs that "no one who visits France and England can fail to admire the great achievements of their respective civilizations."[17] Wheelock indicates also that some of President Nasser's present cabinet members were educated in the best foreign schools of Egypt.[18] Since the Suez crisis of 1956 and succeeding events, overt admiration of Britain and France has become restrained. It is not likely to have disappeared altogether.

Of the number of Egyptians who have been directly exposed to western schooling over the last 150 years there are essentially two groups. Whether they are involved in government circles, in business, or in professional activities they either received their entire schooling in foreign-type

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[16]Joachim Joesten, Nasser: The Rise to Power (London: Odham Press, 1960), p. 65.

[17]Mohammed Neguib, Egypt's Destiny (London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1955), pp. 80-81.

[18]Keith Wheelock, Nasser's New Egypt: A Critical Analysis (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960), p. 117.

establishments or their traditional Arabic training was followed by studies in the West. Similarly, among the reformers, there were those who wanted to transplant European practices to Egypt (as in the days of Isma'il), and there were those who merely advocated the adaptation of some areas of western thought to Islamic society. The latter group, those who favored the preservation of Islam in revised, modernized form, were the same ones in whom the traditional pattern had been inculcated prior to their western training. The members of that group became the critics of the imitators of Europe and particularly of the Francophiles. Outright imitation of European, and particularly French, society was apparently regarded with as much apprehension as adherence to the religious viewpoint which had disassociated itself with interest in change.

The struggle of the two "Europeanized" groups and the ascendance of the more conservative Islamists had, in the opinion of the writer, significance for the present regime and the Arab community at large. The work of the Azharites with European training has served to bolster national pride and the feeling that national advances have, indeed, resulted from native initiative. The elevation of national figures such as Abduh and Zaghlul represents the more reasonable, compromise course toward modernism. As national heroes, they have helped to formulate national opinion. The source of their ideas becomes obliterated by the ingenuity and the vitality of their ideas in practice. Consequently, the rejection and use of foreign elements can occur simultaneously,

because the foreign elements have, in fact, become internalized. Nevertheless, the matter of actually reproducing a modern, industrialized state while preserving the unique quality of traditional Islamic life continues to be an enigma both outside and inside the Muslim world.

The Language of Communication

Although people and language may be, indeed, inseparable, the means of introducing new language patterns into a society is of particular interest in the case of Egypt. The dependence on knowledge of a foreign language at various times in recent Egyptian history is inextricably related to exertion of external influence.

The interest in Europe, aroused by Napoleon's forces, was followed by a casual and unsystematic pursuit of French language. Many instances are reported of tradesmen and officials studying the French Almanac or the so-called French sciences. The first French works by Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu are said to have appeared in an Egyptian school library as early as 1816.[19]

The sending of educational study missions to Europe marked the beginning of a more formal penetration of foreign language and influence into Egyptian life. Students from Egypt, studying in France or in England had to, and did, learn the language of those countries. The staffing of Egyptian schools with French teachers during the period of Muhammad Ali's military build-up similarly forced reliance on French. Even the work of translating French works into Arabic meant that French language had to be learned first.

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[19]Hourani, op. cit., p. 54.

While French language had gained a position of advantage during the first half of the nineteenth century, other languages gained prominence in the second half of the century. After Arabic and French, English became the next most important language of study. Increases in numbers of foreign businesses and foreign residents in Egypt were accompanied by a significant rise in the number of foreign schools. The percentage of the population of Egypt that spoke either French or English at any given time is not exactly known. It is quite certain, however, that knowledge of English, and especially French, was widespread in urban areas.

While the impetus for foreign study may be considered to have come from outside the country, the large-scale implantation of foreign language in Egypt was accomplished from within. Considerable attention has already been given to the inclusion of foreign language in the contemporary Egyptian national schools and to the foreign schools which increased in numbers over a period of seventy years. The government of the United Arab Republic itself reports that in 1962 there were still nearly 92,000 students in 230 private schools which were either run by foreign organizations or which adopted foreign methods and prepared students for foreign universities.[20] Also, the educational missions from the United Arab Republic to other countries have continued.

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[20]United Arab Republic, Ministry of Education, Department of Statistics, Comparative Statistics of Education (Cairo: Societe Orientale de Publicite, 1961), pp. 67-69.

Gulick and Pollack, in their assessment of government employees have this to say:

> Fortunately for the U.A.R. the country is not lacking in educated persons. . . . Many of the top administrators hold doctor's degrees from recognized institutions all over the world and the technology of public personnel administration is widely applied and understood.[21]

It seems reasonable that one of the considerations in the selection of students for study tours abroad would be their familiarity with the language of the country to which they are going. Such language skill is chiefly obtained through the public and private schools of Egypt.

It might be argued that influence through language of a foreign country is not precisely influence by the country. Nevertheless, mastery of a foreign language gives the student access to the publications, advances, and ideas of the particular country whose language he has studied. If the emphasis on acquisition of foreign language skill continues to be strong, one might foresee continued influence through the medium of foreign or private non-Egyptian schools. With enrollment in foreign schools remaining at a relatively high level, one might also expect that the graduates of those institutions would exert influence in the posts which they come to occupy.

There is no doubt that language is a matter of constant and serious concern to the Arab government. With Cairo being the headquarters for the Arab League and being to some extent the focal point of Afro-Asian affairs (at least within the Muslim community), the government frequently functions as an

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[21]Gulick and Pollack, op. cit., p. 37.

international one with multi-lingual problems. The prominence of German language in the government syllabus tends to confirm the importance of the technician-trainee exchange between the United Arab Republic and Germany. Egyptian university faculties continue to offer medical and science courses in English. Law courses are still apt to be taught in French. As host country to thousands of students from Asia and Africa, the United Arab Republic has been intent upon introducing the study of more non-western languages. This plan, however, has encountered skepticism on the part of the university community. To abandon western languages would be an invitation to regression in scientific programs. Also, it is increasingly apparent that many students representing the Afro-Asian bloc can benefit most through the medium of English or French. Ironic though it may be, the United Arab Republic may have to bolster its English and French teaching in order to assume African educational leadership. That English and French are still regarded as providing major routes to educational and cultural reference works is implicit in the criticism of teacher college graduates for their weakness in those language areas. Boktor reports, however, that "Those who specialize in teaching English and French are exceptions to this rule."[22] Russian has been introduced as a second language in some schools, but it does not seem to be a practical choice. Russian works are not available in many scientific areas, and their usefulness presents further problems. Certainly the 1958 forecast that Russian would replace French has not even begun to be true.

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[22]Amir Boktor, The Development and Expansion of Education

Although the writer has largely avoided mention of French and English language influence in Syria, Lebanon and North Africa except for Tunisia, these are factors surrounding influence in Egypt which cannot be entirely overlooked. (Appendix I gives a chronological account of French activity in the Middle East.) Both the American and French universities have existed in Beirut for nearly a century. Both the French and American press have been operating in Beirut for well over a century. These actualities, along with the French influence in Turkey and the establishment of the North African countries as overseas departments of France are important in the consideration of French influence in the Middle East. French environment was prevalent throughout. Within the business and intellectual communities, the French way of life was a matter of fact. While there may have been some resentment over the Mandate system which assigned Syria and Lebanon to France and Transjordan to England, the matter of being dominated or not being dominated by a western power was not the question. Western civilization was simply imposed, and Arabs could either accept the decision and hope to rise in the social structure, or they could reject it and remain in a condition of inferiority. As Hourani has pointed out, Zaghul himself learned French "not because it was the key to unlock the treasures of modern civilization but because it was essential for the career of an ambitious public man, and later he learned English because he had to deal with Englishmen."[23]

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[23] Hourani, op. cit., p. 217.

The need for these languages has not yet disappeared in the Middle East. The use of French language persists from Iran to West Africa, being most important in Lebanon and the Maghrib. The major change in language patterns is expressed in the desire and drive to re-instate mother tongues. Whether this aim can be achieved along with other goals related to modernization must yet be discovered.

Concerning French influence in the educational systems of these two countries, the writer concludes that influence has been both direct and indirect by nature. Direct French influence was exerted on Egypt beginning with the invasion by Napoleon and the establishment of the Institut d'Egypt. It continued with the establishment of higher institutes for Muhammed Ali and with the supplying of French teachers for them. In the last eighty years before the founding of the republic, French influence was reasserted through the system of French schools in Egypt. The existence of French press and French institutions in neighboring Syria enlarged the opportunities for influence through the inter-relationaships of the intellectual community. Indirect influence may be thought of as having been transmitted through the educational missions and the groups of private individuals who attended school in France and who returned to assume posts in Egypt. The writer believes that these channels of influence, however indirect, were the major cause for present similarities between Egyptian and European practices. Students going to Europe were generally well steeped in Arab ways and education before their departure. On their return they could readily adapt

their new learning to the home scene, emulating those aspects of European civilization which they admired and which could be suited to Egyptian life. Their admiration of western life and technical advances was undoubtedly an important consideration in their assessment of western institutions.

With regard to Tunisia, the influence is viewed as almost entirely direct. The super-imposition of French institutions eventually meant that young Tunisians were educated in the same manner as they would have been in metropolitan France. Even those youngsters who attended the Franco-Arab schools were geared to French higher institutions since there were no others. Furthermore, over a sustained period of two or three generations, the French were able to transform Tunisian society into French colonial society. This, in the writer's view, is a major distinction from the Egyptian experience. Sporadic contacts with two or more countries over a long period of time has resulted in less individual change of character for people of the United Arab Republic. On the other hand, Tunisian contact with a single continuing power resulted in the internalization of French customs and procedures. Tunisians were not only French citizens; they were apt to be indistinguishable from other French people. That may be one reason why it is so difficult for Tunisians and Egyptians, for example, to identify themselves with the same Arab cause.

Within the educational systems, there are similarities which are more readily apparent. Although it may be argued that similarities between the educational system of France and

those of the United Arab Republic and Tunisia do not prove influence, it is the writer's contention that the colonial territories would most reasonably emulate or modify the systems to which they had access and which were known to have operated successfully in their midst. In that context, the present educational systems of Tunisia and the United Arab Republic are rooted in the recent past. There is, in fact, little present in their school systems which did not exist or which was not proposed in the last eight or nine decades. These African countries have simply accelerated their pace toward modernism through education--a goal which was unleashed only under more recent conditions of independence and self-assertion.

The writer concludes that the features of the three education systems which bear the greatest similarity are those of administration, organization of the schools, and the means of structuring an elite group. There is little doubt that all three countries are characterized by a significant degree of administrative centralism. Token efforts made toward decentralization have not altered the authority of the national ministries. As for organization, all three countries aim at a relatively fixed elementary curriculum followed by a choice of terminal education or another type of secondary education which leads to the university or to high institutes. In all cases, post-primary education is divided into two distinct cycles. The second phase typically begins with a year of general studies for academic students. The next two years are reserved for literary or scientific specialization.

As for the structuring of an educated elite, this is done basically through the selection of pupils for each new level of study on the basis of examination results. This means of selection or upward streaming is further reinforced by the government's prescription of percentages of pupils who may be admitted to each type of school at each level. Whatever variations exist in the application of these factors may reflect variations in economic and political circumstances rather than long-term educational and philosophical practice.

Trends

It would probably be both evasive and true to say that it is too early to foretell the future development of either Tunisia or the United Arab Republic. Within the first decade, more or less, these two republics have given evidence of some changes from the earlier regimes. To what extent the changes are permanent is uncertain. The conditions of independence, nevertheless, merit attention for reasons of their present significance as well as for their possible value as indices of things to come.

In assessing post-independence educational developments, four seem to take decided shape as aims or emerging trends in the two countries. These include (1) a clear intention to re-instate Arabic as the language of the people and institutions, (2) extension of educational opportunity, particularly at the primary level, (3) increasing the proportion of girls enrolled in national schools, and (4) placement of educational control in secular hands.

Efforts toward the achievement of the first aim have been more evident and possible in the fields of national literature and Arab history and geography. The reliance on English and French during certain phases of the educational program results in some ambivalence at the level of practice, but the desire to make Arabic the primary language of instruction has been clearly expressed by the two governments. The energy devoted to the accomplishment of the first aim combined with the desire to make education a major plank in the program of national development, resulted in a decline in the quality of education, compared to that provided by pre-independence schools. This was due, of course, to the loss of many foreign teachers and to a schedule calling for rapid school building and marked increase in class attendance as means of reaching the goals. Not only were teachers trained quickly and inadequately in order to meet staff requirements for new schools,[24] but new subject matter was introduced prior to the development of satisfactory textual materials. Neither was there sufficient opportunity to acquaint teachers with the new syllabuses. Such defects must be regarded as temporary, and perhaps necessary, sacrifices in the interests of republican goals.

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[24]For example, enrollment in primary teacher training in Tunisia increased by 61% between 1953 and 1957, while secondary enrollment increased by 93% from 1950 to 1957. Tunisian normal school enrollment more than trebled in the decade beginning 1951.

The enrollment of a percentage of girls nearly equal to that pertaining to boys has often been cited as one of the major contributions of foreign schools. Both countries are continuing to encourage training for girls, sometimes by creating new educational opportunities for them. Although there has been an actual decrease in the percentage of females enrolled in some phases of the educational program (such as in teacher training in Tunisia and in technical secondary schools of the United Arab Republic), the total increase is noticeable. The increased proportion of women, even though expressed as only a small percentage, takes on greater significance when one considers that the total enrollment has increased by even greater numbers and that the closure of some foreign schools has, in some instances, reduced the incentive for female education. Figure 10 gives evidence of the added places given to girls in technical preparatory schools in the United Arab Republic. The bulk of the increase is accounted for in the commercial section.

	1953		1962	
	Pupils	% Female	Pupils	% Female
Primary	1,392,741	37.8	2,754,566	38.3
General Preparatory	348,574	20.8	300,853	28.6
Technical Preparatory	3,260	3.9	42,068	19.5
Technical Secondary	18,838	18.8	74,037	14.0
General Secondary	92,062	14.0	124,607	22.8

Figure 10.--Comparison of school enrollment by level and type, United Arab Republic, 1953 and 1962

Figure 10 also points out the newer emphasis on technical education. The strengthening of technical programs is part of a more recent design to produce more skilled personnel at the expense of the budget for academic education. It is also apparent that pupils are diverted from general preparatory courses into technical secondary schools.

This concentration on technical training seems to be related to the practice of importing technical aides and exporting students to other countries for further technical-practical training. Countries which have played a major role in this type of exchange include the Soviet Union, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the United States of America.

The writer interprets these international involvements as an intention on the part of the Nasser government to identify itself with any available forces for the acceleration to scientific modernism. In this regard, both Presidents Nasser and Bourguiba have taken on the task of articulating the goals of independence; and they have assumed the responsibility for interpreting, and at times creating, the national will. Even the forces of conservatism seem to have been drawn into a position of support for the two national leaders.

Although the trend toward secular education was introduced after contact with the French forces, it has shown a more marked significance in recent years. The dissolution of the Zaytouna system in Tunis has been, in a sense, equalled by the legislated overthrow of religious authority at Al-Azhar.

While the Zaytouna Mosque has lost the little authority it had in educational matters during this century, the Azhar could assume a vital position in the thrust for Arab modernism. This, at least, seems to be a distinct possibility if the state continues to enforce its laws regarding the venerable university complex. Within the national schools, there is a nominal recognition of the need for religious training, but such training is no longer regarded as the major purpose for schooling. On the other hand, there is an air of austerity which suggests either a greater recognition of the importance of Islamic tradition or greater attention to the ingrained customs of the people.

As for the future direction of these two political entities, Tunisia is faced with the problem of creating a new national character. To do this she must apply her western ways and westernized thought to elements which she is able to resurrect from the more distant Arab past. The extent to which she is successful in mating the two cultures may be of great significance to other countries.

In assessing the movement and direction of the United Arab Republic, one is bound to attribute to Egyptians the voice of President Nasser. He, too, is faced with a need to reconcile a glorious past with the quarrelsome present. At times, both periods seem to be eclipsed by his desire for leadership of the Arab or Afro-Asian blocs. Educational matters as well as all other policy are affected by these drives.

SUMMARY

Examination of the ways in which French influence penetrated national life of Tunisia and the United Arab Republic reveal both similarity and differences. The training of North Africans in France and the presence of Frenchmen in Tunisia and Egypt provided a common opportunity for influence in both countries. The presence of French language institutions was also common to both. While such institutions were primarily superimposed on extant Tunisian organizations, French and Egyptian schools and other agencies operated independently of one another. While Tunisia was nearly transformed to a French state, the Egyptian government (under various domestic and foreign pressures) had greater occasion for selectivity. The difference and intensity of French influence might well be attributed to the differing political situations. As a result of a sustained and dominant role in Tunisia, the French position became more secure. In the United Arab Republic where the French played neither a dominant nor sustained role, a greater degree of Egyptian identity has been retained. By means of people and language, however, French influence has penetrated both national systems.

APPENDIX

Chronological Table

A. D.

1798. Napoleonic invasion of Egypt. First Arabic printing press established in Cairo.

1822. First Muslim printing press established by Muhammad Ali.

1826. First formal educational mission from Egypt to France.

1830. The French invade Algeria.

1836. British steamship service extends to Egypt and Syria (followed by France, Austria, and Italy).

1853. French Catholic Printing House established at Beirut.

1856. Cairo-Alexandria railroad line completed.

1857. Cairo-Suez railroad line completed.

1859. Suez Canal started.

1866. Syrian Protestant College opened (American University at Beirut).

1869. Suez Canal opened.

1873. Mixed Courts introduced in Egypt.

1874. Université St. Joseph opened at Beirut.

1875. Egypt's share in the Suez Canal purchased by England.

1876. Anglo-French dual control established in Egypt.

1881. French invade Tunisia.

1882. British occupy Egypt.

1918. End of Ottoman rule in Arab lands.

1920. By League of Nations Mandate, Transjordan, Palestine, and Iraq assigned to Britain; Lebanon and Syria to France.

1922. Egyptian constitution re-defined. Fu'ad becomes king.

1936. Anglo-Egyptian treaty recognizes Egyptian independence.

1952. Egyptian Free Officers Group assume interim governmental leadership by coup.

1953. Egypt is declared a republic.

1954. Colonel Nasser becomes premier; General Neguib is named president.

1956. Tunisia proclaims sovereignty and independence.

1957. Official proclamation of the Republic of Tunisia.

SUMMARY OF LANDAU'S ACCOUNT OF ARAB ACADEMICS

Century A. D.

9th Caliph Mamoun founded a special academy of translators in Baghdad to translate the writings of Aristotle, Plato, Euclid, Heraclitus, and Galen into Arabic. His Muslim, Christian, and Jewish helpers were the first of many who helped to salvage Greek thought.

From Khwarizimi, Europe inherited the science of algebra, the Arabic system of numerals, and the decimal system.

The Arabs discovered "zero" some three years before the Hindus from whom they had originally borrowed their number system.

Battani's astronomical works were in use in the West from the twelfth century to the middle of the sixteenth century. Battani also introduced the sine in trigonometry.

Razi, the first famous Muslim doctor and author of many works on medicine, was the first to diagnose and describe measles and smallpox correctly. His most important work, in twenty-five volumes, was used by doctors and students throughout Europe.

10th Abu Zaid gave the first accounts of India and China. Ibn Fadlan, likewise, gave the first significant account of Bulgaria and Russia.

Ibn al Haytham's book on optics (Kitab al Manazir) influenced scientific thought in Europe for at least six centuries. His discussion of the way in which eyes see, in contrast to that of Aristotle, proved to be correct.

11th Biruni discussed the possibility of the earth's rotation around its own axis; and he accurately determined latitude and longitude.

Ibn Sina's (Avicenna's) doctrines of essence and existence provided the basis of Aquinas' and western philosophical development. Albertus Magnus, Aquinas' teacher, was the first to adopt the so-called "Arabian logic" which was the logic of Aristotle as formulated by Ibn Sina. (Aquinas was also deeply influenced by the work of al Farabi, dating from the early tenth century.)

11th Ibn Sina's Kanun, dealing with the diagnosis and treatment of all known diseases, was the final codification of all Greco-Arab medicine. It is said to have formed half of the medical curriculum in European universities during the fifteenth century.

The astronomical tables developed by Zarkali combined with the earlier, comprehensive textbook on astronomy by Farghani became the foundation for later European astronomical research.

Omar Khayyam's use of analytical geometry anticipated the geometry of Descartes.

12th The world atlas compiled by Idrisi is thought to have been the best description of the world available in medieval times.

Ibn Rushd (Averroes) translated and commented upon many of the writings of Aristotle. The views expressed in the works became the subject of philosophical study at the universities in Paris, Padua, Bologna, and Venice. Since Averroism was deemed a heresy by the Church, it became an incentive for a scholasticism which was intellectually independent from theology.

Abdallah Yaqut attained fame as the author of one of the earliest geographical dictionaries.

Arab influence on western literature was expressed by Ibn Tufail's model for Robinson Crusoe, and the Arabian Nights preceded the romantic theme in European letters.

13th The Arab application of the magnetic needle in navigation is first referred to by Awfi in 1231.

14th Ibn Khatib clearly affirmed the existence of contagion, and he gave a clinical account of plague.

16th Hazzan al Wazzan (Leo Africanus) wrote the first authoritative account of Africa.

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