

An
introduction
to lifelong
education

by Paul Lengrand

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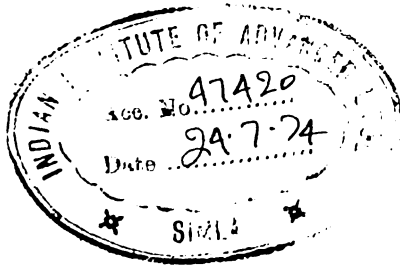


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Preface

The purpose of this study is to throw light on the varying significance of the concept of lifelong education, to show what forces militate in its favour, to explore its dimensions and to define its impact and consequences for the educational effort taken as a whole.

The study fits naturally into the context of International Education Year, since lifelong education was selected by the General Conference of Unesco at its fifteenth session as one of twelve major themes for thought and action proposed to Member States in connexion with the international year.

The author of the study, Paul Lengrand, is a theorist and practitioner in adult education and has contributed, both as a member of the Unesco Secretariat since 1948 and through personal research, to the formulation of the theses of lifelong education. He has also been active in making them known.

The views expressed in the following pages are the author's own and do not necessarily reflect those of Unesco.

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Foreword

Lifelong education is a subject which is exercising many minds, sustaining much conversation and debate, and earning a high priority in statesmen's speeches. What are its fields of application and its significance? Can it be used effectively as a tool for analysis and as a guide to action? These are some of the questions to which the following pages seek to find partial answers. The study is called an 'introduction' deliberately, for in the present state of achievement and thinking none may claim to do more than to introduce a concept and to offer avenues for thought.

In the first part the author attempts to identify a number of challenges in response to which it is important that men of our times should be intellectually, physically and emotionally equipped if they do not want to find themselves on the losing side. But it has never been sufficient to identify a problem, however important, in order to solve it. There must also be a clear consciousness of its nature, there must be men who reject, contest, aspire and take decisions—in other words, there must be forces. This paper describes some of the forces at work; their impact is the dynamic which alone can bring about change.

The study continues with a number of analyses bearing

on the significance, dimensions and objectives peculiar to lifelong education, and closes with proposed elements of a strategy of educational action. It lays stress on the necessity to link together, in both thought and achievement, the objectives and processes of education as applied to children, adolescents or adults.

This study is issued on the occasion of the International Education Year. It is intended not only for educational specialists but for the wider audience for whom the future of education has become a continuing concern.

Challenges that face modern man

Existence has always meant for man, for all men, a succession of challenges: advancing age, illness, the loss of a loved one; encounters, and the encounter above all others of man with woman or woman with man, the choice of a lifetime companion; wars and revolutions, which spare no generations in their sequence; the birth of a child; the mysteries of life and the enigmas of the universe; the significance of a life, the relation of a finite being to the infinite; an occupation, money to be found, taxes to be paid; competition; religious and political commitments; slavery and freedom, political, social and economic; dreams and realities.

Challenges are still with us and have lost nothing of their force, directness or insistence, although in each particular life or given community they arise in a different combination and obey a different order of priorities. But since the beginning of this century these fundamental factors of the condition of man have been supplemented, with increasing sharpness, by a series of new challenges which to a large extent modify the terms of individual or community fate, render the actions of men more complex and involved, and jeopardize the traditional patterns of explanation of the world and of action.

The most important among these new factors—most

of them taking the form of challenges—would undoubtedly appear today to be the following.¹

Acceleration of change

It is not a novelty to say, nor a discovery to proclaim, that the world is a state of constant flux. In his own day the Greek poet-philosopher, Heraclitus, exclaimed: '*Panta rei*' (all things are flowing—B. Russell). Indeed since all time the landscapes of life have altered, ideas, customs and concepts have changed, from one generation to another. The disputation between ancients and moderns is surely one of the constants of history.

What is new, however, is the growing pace of change. Innovations which formerly called for sustained effort by several generations are now accomplished by one only. From decade to decade man is faced with a physical, intellectual and moral universe so vastly transformed that yesterday's interpretations no longer meet the need.

Moreover minds are often behindhand in their race with evolving structures.

The world no longer corresponds to the image that men had built up for themselves since childhood. It becomes incomprehensible to them, and before long hostile. To conceive the universe as it is, as it is becoming, both on the political and on the physical plane, is a constant imperative if equilibrium is to be maintained between the realities of life and the perception of life which every individual must gain. Failing to make this

1. Each of these factors will obviously assume its own particular importance and meaning in terms of individuals, their peculiarities of mentality and vision, and in terms of their environment, calling, level of development, and of the prevailing ideologies and social structures.

effort, men become strangers to the setting in which they are forced to live. They do not recognize the features of their own existence and end up by no longer recognizing themselves. Never before has it been so essential to acquire the agility and adaptability demanded in the interpretation of the shifting elements of this world.

Whatever stress is laid on any one of the factors of our evolving fate, these factors all have this common feature, that they bring education and educators face to face with questions and demands of such scope and variety as to disrupt the traditional edifice of didactic notions and methods. The techniques and structures built up by successive generations to transmit knowledge, and the 'know-how' suited to each society, from the older to the young, from father to son, have for the most part lost their efficacy; and this to such an extent that the role itself and the traditional functions of the educational process are now the subject of critical assessment and scrutiny, and that education is increasingly driven to seek new paths.

Demographic expansion

Rapid growth of population is one of the major problems which most countries now have to face. Among the first consequences is an obvious one of a quantitative nature: the demand for education is continually increasing, all the more in that the consciousness of a universal right to education, which is wholly justified, develops step by step with increasing numbers. Meanwhile the expectation of life is also extending rapidly. In some countries men and women reach and exceed an average age of 70 years, and even where expectancy is

still much lower it is fast moving towards levels of 40, and soon 50, years of average life span thanks to the achievements of medicine.

Not only the volume of education, but also its function and almost its very nature, require change to meet the expansion of populations.

Whatever the speed and scale of achievement of traditional structures might be, schools, universities and institutes can no longer meet the strain. In the developing countries it will take many generations before the educational system can meet the needs of successive waves of children and youths. The work of education will have to be pursued well beyond the school-leaving age to ensure the spread of knowledge and the types of training that individuals and societies will increasingly require. Such action can indeed only be envisaged through large-scale recourse, beyond the traditional functions of education, to all the vast modern media for spreading knowledge and providing training.

Moreover the preservation and utilization of natural resources can only be assured through heavy investments of knowledge and ability aimed at all the inhabitants of our planet.

If we accept the principle that the expansion of our species should be made subject to rational criteria and to equilibrium between needs and available resources, it would seem that only education is in a position to apply effective and lasting solutions to a problem which affects the dignity of man and woman as well as the terms of their survival.

Evolution of scientific knowledge and technology

Scientific progress and modifications in techniques are gradually affecting the totality of mankind. Attention has frequently been drawn to the high speed of change occurring in the technological field. An international group of experts met at Unesco Headquarters in July 1965 to examine problems concerned with the training of engineers. The participants found that discoveries and processes which, only ten or twenty years previously, were in the forefront of scientific progress, had in many cases already become obsolete. The vacuum tube had been succeeded by the transistor, which in its turn was being replaced by micro-circuits.

Hence, concluded these experts, if the object is to train engineers able to adjust themselves to the techniques of tomorrow, the main effort should bear on teaching pupils to learn, since they will have to learn throughout their lives. If this is true for engineers, it applies equally in the case of doctors, economists and, more generally, of specialists in every discipline, whether cultural or scientific. Languages are no longer taught today as they were twenty years ago, and the processes of literary criticism have been completely revolutionized through recourse to characterology, sociology, phenomenism and comparative literature in the study of writings, authors, schools and trends.

A man who does not keep up to date is condemned to be overtaken, and let it not be thought that this rule applies only to scholars or the higher technologists. In numberless sectors of industry or agriculture the need for constant renewal of concepts and techniques dominates at every level of production.

The threat of technological unemployment is in all countries a continuing concern for considerable fractions of the active population; but on the other hand it is one of the main motivations of a whole sector of adult education.

The political challenge

Political reality is without doubt the dominating factor in the lives of increasingly large sections of the world's population.

Changes occurring in the world's social, economic and technological structures are matched by no less frequent modifications in the political structure of the *polis*. Except in a few privileged countries men reaching the age of 50 today have known two or three wars, several revolutions and countless changes of régime. Of the 125 Member States of Unesco, over one-third only attained independence during the last ten years. It is hardly conceivable that the world as we know it should be destined to permanent stabilization in all its current forms. From one year to the next, sometimes from one day to another, men of our present generations find themselves projected into a new kind of society involving different types of political, legal or social institutions, far-reaching changes in the structure of the social classes, the emergence of a new governing class and the creation of new relationships between the citizen and the public powers.

Without doubt the vital political choices are only indirectly matters for education. The cleavage of society as between the drive for progress and the urge for stability, the choice between justice and order, are imposed

upon the individual by factors which lie far beyond his hopes, affinities, likes and dislikes. The masters of the game are self-interest, passion, ideology, revolt and submission. And yet although education does not play a determining role in the march of events it is called upon to contribute to the preparation, the putting to use and the consequences of events in terms of the lives of groups and individuals.

One factor which emerges at the start is of a purely intellectual order: minds are frequently behindhand in relation to the evolution of structures. But the matter does not stop there: changes on the political stage involve at an increasingly rapid pace modifications, sometimes fundamental, in the role and functions which individuals are called upon to play in so far as they are not mere spectators, however knowledgeable and understanding.

Generally speaking the very content of the notion (and role) of a citizen is continually reopened to question. The nature and shapes of power, the number and hierarchy of freedoms, attitudes with respect to administration and government, are none of them fixed once and for all. It is unavoidable that concepts, attitudes, relations between governors and governed, should be the object of constant scrutiny leading to the taking of options and to positions which are not necessarily similar to those to which citizens were driven fifty, twenty or even ten years ago.

Changes occurring in the foundations and structures of the *polis* have as their result that citizens are called—and will increasingly be called—to new tasks and responsibilities which they can only undertake with the desired competence if they have received suitable training. Modern democracy in its political, social, economic and

cultural aspects can only rest on solid foundations if a country has at its disposal increasing numbers of responsible leaders at all levels, capable of giving life and concrete substance to the theoretical structures of society. The trade-union secretary, co-operative manager, member of Parliament, or town councillor can only fulfil the tasks inherent in his functions, with the required authority and abilities, if he is continuously learning; for the administration and operation of the complex structures of our societies leave less and less room for a frivolous or light-hearted approach.

This is true in general, but even more marked and to the point in the majority of countries belonging to the Third World, in which all political problems arise simultaneously and with exceptional sharpness. In many cases the issue is to build up the material, economic and cultural structures that can buttress States of recent birth whose foundations are necessarily fragile. A civic sense must be nurtured, often in the teeth of traditions which run counter to the concept of a modern State. If institutions are not to remain hollow shells, these countries must have at their disposal without undue delay leaders at the higher and intermediate levels able to assure the functioning of undertakings, administrations and services. That is the price of genuine and effective independence.

Countries having recently experienced a revolution not confined to a mere replacement of ministerial ranks but affecting the country's structures in their social and economic aspects encounter problems of a similar character. It is not enough to promulgate a new constitution, to install an administration of a new type: the main effort must be made at the level of minds, *mores* and relations.

Information

Individuals and societies must also face the consequences of the formidable development of the mass media of communication. Through the press, but especially through radio and television, one and all are now associated with every important event in the world. Occurrences such as a war, a revolution, a party congress, an economic crisis, the death of an influential personage, which quite recently only became known across frontiers after delays of several weeks or months, are now immediately perceived, indeed experienced, by viewers or listeners throughout the greater part of the world.

This situation has profound repercussions. We are witnessing the growth of a civilization of a planetary character in which every man is concerned with every other, linked with the other in solidarity, whether he wishes it or not, except only where obstacles of a political nature are placed in the path of the spread of news.

The positive aspects of this interchange are obvious. There is here a decisive contribution to the development of a civilization of kinship. The brotherhood of men, the common character of a great part of the problems they face, emerge steadily despite differences in situations and variety of circumstances. It is as yet too soon to identify and measure the countless implications of this phenomenon, but in the long term, international understanding and collaboration can only benefit.

Nevertheless information can only play a constructive role if it is accompanied by an intense and continuous process of training. The understanding, interpretation, assimilation and use of the messages and data received call on the part of each individual for an apprehension of

language—visual as well as spoken or written—for practice in the reading of signs, and above all for the development of a critical sense and of the ability to choose. Choice is demanded at every stage, whether in arriving at a judgement concerning the importance, degree of truth or credibility of incoming news, or in giving information its due place in relation to the other means by which the personality is helped to grow and strengthen.

Leisure

Another factor which tends to play a determining influence on the condition of a great many of the world's inhabitants is the increase in leisure time, although this phenomenon is probably not as universal as the factors previously listed. Leisure in its modern form, scope and content is a product of industrial society. In traditional societies of the rural type leisure and work—or if one prefers, productive activities and entertainment—are in many cases closely linked. Thus among the Dogons, on the banks of the Niger, the peak periods of economic activity, the fishing and harvesting seasons, coincide exactly with times of festivities and ceremonies. The productive effort and enjoyment are inextricably mixed. Again, even in industrial societies, the distribution of leisure time among the different sectors of the population is far from even. Every degree of variety is found in between the university professor who enjoys six months' leave in the year and the worker on the land, whose life is unbroken toil. Only recently have industrial workers obtained, in many countries, the right to two, then three and finally four weeks' paid holiday. On the domestic

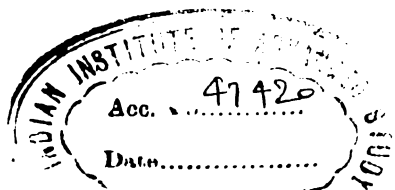
plane, men and women are far from enjoying equal hours of leisure, and it has even been asserted that the leisure of some is in flat contradiction with the pleasures of others.

However this may be, more and more humans are able to benefit from a new dimension of time, and it is essential that they should make appropriate use of that time, in their own interest as well as in that of society considered as a whole.

We must, of course, insist strongly that builders of all types (architects, town-planners, etc.) and those that utilize their services, such as municipal and communal authorities, should engage in no building scheme without having first taken account of the basic needs of human beings both as individuals and as members of communities. The utmost efforts of educators and psychologists, however constructive they may be, will be brought to naught if children, young people and adults have no alternative, in satisfying their need for sociability, to the street, the bar or the nearest cinema.

Yet the main responsibility rests with the educators. The most lavish occasions and opportunities for acquiring culture may be offered, but all this treasure will remain meaningless and without effect if men do not hold the keys which give access to such wealth. Towns, the countryside, human beings themselves are filled with messages which, at any moment of a life, could make every man's existence richer. But these messages must be deciphered, the languages of painting, music, poetry, science and of communication with others must be mastered.

This is the basic task of the educator in the matter of leisure, namely, to help humans to become more fully



themselves by supplying them with the instruments of consciousness, thought and expression of thought as well as of feeling. Those who, through ill luck, lack of will or weariness, do not cross the threshold of the cultural adventure will not know how to make use of the free time placed at their disposal. They will become prey to boredom, and boredom is to the soul as perilous, as fatal an evil as is a virus to the organism.

The crisis in patterns of life and relationships

Patterns of life themselves have been shaken. In earlier centuries men found in their heritage from previous generations broadly acceptable solutions to the main problems with which they were faced in their own lives. Often they did not hesitate, so compulsive were these models; they simply chose between a certain number, a limited number, of types and formulas. Each age of man donned ready-designed clothes matching more or less exactly peculiarities of character, mentality and sensibility but allowing each individual to be the person he was expected to be. Relations between one generation and another, between rich and poor, landowner and proletarian, master and servant, man and woman and husband and wife were to a large extent codified. Ceremonies, *mores* and customs were all-powerful, and although they sometimes imposed burdensome or painful compulsions, by and large they allowed most men to fill the place to which they had been appointed.

None of this exists any more today; none of the traditional types of humans wrought over the centuries by a slow process of evolution now meets our new individual and social situations.

Nowadays all is in question. It would seem as if humanity had cut its moorings and launched out towards an immense adventure of which neither the field of operation nor the objectives to be gained can be perceived with precision. Traditional conjunctions, contexts, age itself are no longer relevant. When does one become adult? When does one cease to be a young woman? Half a century ago a woman of 30 to 40 years of age was on the threshold of old age. Today she begins to assert herself in her full maturity. We are all hard driven to identify ourselves in terms of the images of personality conveyed in books and tales of former times.

A father who seeks to model his conduct towards his sons and daughters on the pattern which governed his own upbringing is in danger of erring gravely. He will not even be listened to. And how even sharper is the difference between the image of woman one or two generations back and that which is emerging in the years we live in! How can woman succeed in finding her true self in this new welter of shapes made up of feminine sexuality, of the relationship of love, of social and professional personality, of novel assertions and self-questioning? How even more difficult is it for woman to identify herself with the image which the opposite sex, sometimes in good faith and with goodwill, seeks to impose upon her? There is a whole range of teachings—on relationships, on emotions, descent, partnership, fatherhood and motherhood—that must find its place in these new contexts.

The body

It would doubtless be giving proof of great naïveté to claim that man has had to wait until present times to discover the body and its powers. In the first place the body's presence is always felt and it is quick to remind us of its existence if it has been neglected. In addition, entire civilizations have given to everything that appertains to the physical in the human being the importance that is due to it, and learnt to make use, in festivals and ceremonies, in dancing and in sexuality, of all the resources that the body provides for man to express his desires, his emotions, his relation to the universe and his need for aesthetic expression.

In past times in the Western world, major civilizations found themselves in natural harmony with this human dimension. But as the centuries succeeded one another this harmony was broken in many societies. A hiatus developed between what was called the body and what was called the soul. Unity of being was destroyed and those values which related to the soul became magnified at the expense of others. Human beings were soon confined, crushed in a tight network of taboos and prohibitions which gradually led to paralysis and to fearsome trauma. In many lands, especially in the West, human culture was for centuries deprived of its normal relationship with biology, physical expression and sexuality. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the body finally rebelled.

Taking advantage of a lessening of the barriers erected by ideologies and customs, and skilfully exploited by trades which find here a source of rich profit, physical realities have burst upon our daily life. The press, the

hoardings, cinema and television screens, popular songs, are henceforward devoted, day in, day out, to the visual and auditory expression of physical existence, with a strong bias towards the expression of femininity. Constant emphasis is given in all these displays to everything relating to sexuality, which now tends to occupy a disproportionate place in the mental and physical universe of our contemporaries.

Whatever religious or philosophical positions we may hold, whatever our preferences or distastes, there is here a fact which constitutes a major challenge for the modern individual, society and civilization. There has been nothing similar even in the quite recent past. What should the reaction be to the intrusion of this blatant and pressing reality in our world?

There is here both an opportunity and a threat: an opportunity to enrich being, to fill up the gaps caused by the disappearance of traditional elements of our culture. We may gain here a valuable means to living experience, to expression and communication. But there is also a grave threat to the balance of being to the extent that these new forces are not brought under discipline and that the riches they offer are not utilized. We have to deal with an ambiguous situation.

It is clear that education in all its forms has the primary responsibility for lessening the harmful effects of this phenomenon and for extracting from it everything that will help men to lead a more harmonious and full life in greater accord with the truths of being.

The crisis in ideologies

A fundamental crisis is manifest not only in the sphere of morals and relations between beings but also in the realm of thought. Our predecessors, whatever the ideology they clung to, had at their disposal an ample and well-nourished stock of replies to any questions they might ask themselves concerning the meaning of life, the principles of conduct, concerning defects and virtues, merits and demerits, sin and its redemption, concerning what should be done and not done, concerning necessary attachments and inevitable repulsions. Every society had its codes and scales of value, stoutly rooted on earth and in Heaven. Parties and churches had little hesitation in issuing dogma, regulations and directives. He who by chance or choice became a Marxist, a Catholic or a Moslem found himself snugly safe in the bosom of his option and in the community of the faithful.

Today it is increasingly difficult and unconvincing to identify this type of faith. Doubtless there are still convinced Marxists, unshakeable Christians, citizens wedded to their parties and convinced of the excellence of their beliefs. But even where positions are strongest, doubt has crept in—not necessarily destructive scepticism but constructive doubt and variety of interpretation. Less and less is there a single mode of belief. Certain historic congresses and councils, disputes and debates, the evolution of ideas and knowledge, and in part the erosion of doctrines, have everywhere introduced a taste for discussion. History as we live it brings us every day a fresh opinion or a contradictory point of view.

This agitation does not spare even those circles in which by tradition the visage of serenity and certainty

was always apparent. How can the average individual member of our societies remain unaffected by such a transformation of the attitudes and bearing of his traditional mentors?

Every man is in fact faced with the same choice: either to adopt an attitude of resignation and surrender, watching the cauldron of doctrines and beliefs without great concern over their contradictions and changes of front; or on his own account to participate in research. Clearly, the second solution is alone compatible with a full and whole-hearted acceptance of the condition of man.

For the right to be man is complemented by the duty to be man, and this means acceptance of responsibility: the obligation to be oneself; to be responsible for one's thoughts, judgements and emotions; to be responsible for what one accepts and one refuses. How could it be otherwise at a time when there are a hundred ways of belonging to a spiritual, religious or philosophical community? In one sense, the modern individual is condemned to autonomy, obligated to freedom. This is a deeply uncomfortable situation, but a stirring one. It can only be sustained by one who is willing to pay the price; and the price is education—education which never ceases, which mobilizes every capacity and every resource of being, whether from the intellect or from the heart and imagination.

To be, or rather to become, an adult in our times calls for the same passion and continuity, the same pertinacity as would the moulding of any work of creation, whether scientific or aesthetic. If one is to succeed in this endeavour it is on the foundation of the consciousness of its imperative character. No one henceforth can be a philosopher, a poet or a citizen by proxy.

The forces at work

Obstacles and resistances

Education in general, and teaching in particular, have a crystal-clear traditional function. Is it not established that we are all, first and foremost, heirs? To link the present with the past and succeeding generations, one with another, to convey to the young what their ancestors have thought, felt and created, not only for themselves but in a universal perspective, to maintain contact with the major creations of mind and man in the fields of poetry, music, architecture, painting or philosophy, to ensure the continuity of the treasure of wisdom and humanity accumulated through the ages—all this is essential, for we know too well to what depths of poverty of being and of expression are reduced those who have not received their share of this common heritage.

Yet this same heritage will only have value, meaning and a true impact if it is integrated with the lived experience of a developing person engrossed in the labours, undertakings and struggles which modern man must face in order to meet satisfactorily the totality of the challenges he faces. To help man to invent, to place him on the path of imagination, of risk and of every kind of research, to make him accept the position that his

beliefs, attitudes and knowledge must constantly be placed in doubt—these constitute the second function of the educational process.

For these purposes education should be constantly renewed in terms of its particular objectives, of its content and methods, in such a way as to take due account of current transformations, of the new problems which arise and of the life prospects which await those involved in the different aspects of the educational quest.

Nevertheless it is clearly apparent that there are few human endeavours in which greater obstacles to progress are encountered than in education. Institutions noted for their stability, such as churches and armies, have been in full flux for decades: national defence is nowadays seldom planned on the parade ground, but rather in the scientific laboratory.

In Rome, at the same moment when the assembled bishops of the world were debating the forms of ecclesiastical power with the Pope, simple priests took their place in the Protestant conclave and demanded the right to participate in decision-making.

Up to recent days, however, nothing similar had been witnessed in the realm of education, at least in those sectors concerned with the teaching of children and adolescents. It is true that teaching, as given nowadays in most countries having a modern structure, has made some advance since the days of the bitter surveys and sombre descriptions of Charles Dickens or Jules Vallès.

Children are no longer beaten, and there is greater skill in developing their intelligence. They are no longer required to learn by heart the names of the tributaries of Rhine or Thames. Light has also been thrown on curricula and methods. Yet the spirit and end-objectives of

teaching have hardly altered at all except in a few countries in which a didactic revolution has resulted from political transformation. The general state of *mores* has made progress, and the techniques of teaching have benefited from several decisive victories of civilization. But the instruments available to society for the instruction and training of its future citizens, the school and the university, still reveal, generation after generation, the same characteristics: fractional links with life, isolation from concrete realities, a rift between enjoyment and education, absence of all dialogue or participation.

The obstacles are easily identified. We have already mentioned the burden of communication, which by its very weight acts as a brake. The difficulties of the undertaking are themselves an obstacle: education is concerned with innumerable aspects of the life of individuals, groups and peoples. Where education is concerned, everything comes into play: philosophy, for we must define the objectives and values to be taken into account; the relations between education and psychological data, both individual and collective; relations with the structures and functioning of societies; the cost of education and its yield; problems of administration; and lastly, the fundamental options relating to equality, efficacy, justice and so forth.

Given the complexity of the educational endeavour, it is almost impossible to act in full assurance of success, all the more since the results of any action in progress will often only become apparent in a distant future. Even countries best equipped to know, and to take decisions based upon knowledge and experience, hesitate before modifying a situation which, despite its defects and deficiencies, has the merit of existing firmly and in

apparent order. With even stronger reason, countries less well equipped from the standpoint of scientific data, of studies and research, understandably shrink from launching into adventures carrying such a heavy burden of risk. Caution prevails over logic and reason.

Another brake on innovation lies in a factor which nevertheless assures the solidity of the school system, namely the principle of compulsion. No one will dispute this principle; but it does act as an element of immobility. Why change, why seek to improve? Why search for formulas which might better meet the needs and hopes of developing human beings when each year the school receives its automatic intake of users? The play of supply and demand, which commands progress, is here absent.

Nor does the teaching profession, as now recruited and moulded, show much eagerness for imagination and invention. Teachers are never, at whatever level of teaching, and by definition, in a position to engage in dialogue. They do not have to justify themselves as between equals; having undergone examinations they move from a status of submission to one of full authority. From this standpoint there is nothing, in the world as it is, to equal the concentration of powers vested in the person of a teacher. He is the instructor, the moulder, and holds the privilege of age and knowledge. He is right by definition; he is judge, virtually without appeal, and executor. He distributes blame, punishment and rewards. We know well that it is not in this fashion that a man becomes adult or acquires possession of his true powers.

The emergence of wisdom, of knowledge of men and situations, in this world closed in upon itself, can only come through the happy chance when some teacher

escapes and makes contact with the greater world, that in which resistance by men and things is encountered, in politics, art, civics—and in adult education.

For their part those in statutory or institutional authority have no interest in change and do not desire change. The aim of institutions, on behalf of the family or of the State, is that education should produce conformity.

Most school and university systems existing today are perfectly equipped to produce a type of individual who will assimilate collective myths and terms of reference as revealed truths. What authority of every kind fears most is the questioning spirit.

Factors of innovation

In these circumstances it is easy to understand that the necessary changes and adaptations can only take place through the impact of forces powerful enough to break resistance and overcome obstacles. Four factors have in our times played a decisive role, and they continue to act effectively. They are political revolutions, users' contestation, development and its problems, and adult education.

REVOLUTION

Among factors that contribute to innovation one that calls for attention in the first place is the political factor. The revolutions that have occurred in the past half-century have all, as is normal, taken the form of breaks with the past. The past was taken to mean economic and social structures, traditional hierarchies and so forth, but also systems of ideas and points of reference. Naturally, education was a weapon *par excellence* for

combating traditional influences and for creating mental structures, attitudes and patterns of behaviour that would favour the new trend of history.

This indeed came to pass, more particularly in those countries which substituted socialist régimes for capitalist or feudal ones. One of the priority aims was to mould the individual in socialist society from the standpoint of production, of the safeguarding of the new institutions and of the concepts of life.

Thus in the Soviet Union, to take one example among others, the content of curricula for children and adolescents is fundamentally different from that of the curricula of pre-revolutionary times, and the cultural background itself has been deeply altered. Whereas under the traditional dispensations culture and labour were kept apart, labour has now assumed the place which belongs to it within the notion of culture, in other words it occupies a central position. The same may be said of all forms of political and social commitment, the cultural content of which has also been recognized and suitably emphasized. A considerable step has been taken towards achieving unity of the factors which constitute and mould the people's intellectual and spiritual destiny.

Particular importance has been attached to adult education. This was historically logical, since there was no question of waiting for generations to grow up before the instruments of the new society were available. It was also logical in terms of the Soviet system, which stresses the utilization of human resources and the equalization of opportunities throughout the life span.

A movement has been launched which should gradually lead to an even more radical reform of educational theory.

Some countries have gone very far in the invention of new educational forms. An example is Yugoslavia, which shows as much imagination in the quest for solutions to educational problems as it does in the political field. The two are indeed closely linked. There are few societies in which educational objectives play so preponderant a part: they are present in the different manifestations of self-administration, in the decentralization of powers, in the application of the principle of rotation of management personnel and so forth. Yugoslavia is also, to our knowledge, the first country to have adopted the principle of lifelong education viewed as a basic link between all the different sectors of education and as the foundation of the new educational laws.

USERS' CONTESTATION

A further decisive contribution to progress in ideas and in the renewal of formulas was made in the last few years by the dissent of students. It is likely that without the emergence of this factor the need for a new departure would not have appeared as clearly as it has. As we all know, dissent on the part of those concerned is, in the last analysis, the determining factor in any advance towards reason, justice and true order. This has been demonstrated in respect of labour, of women, of colonial populations, and of all other categories subjected to any form of domination, whether physical, economic, legal or cultural.

Events in recent years are too well known to call for elaborate treatment. It is enough here to recall the importance of a moment in history when contestation, which has been the leaven of progress in all vital areas

of modern civilization (the demands of workers, of women, of coloured people, of colonial areas), first entered the realm of education, until then fiercely bristling with instruments of defence.

A major breach had thus been pierced, through student action, in the battlement of educational conservatism; and through this breach flowed an irresistible torrent of long-standing issues, swelled by new issues and hastened by impatience and fresh hopes.

As has happened in cases of destitution, oppression or injustice, the victims here ceased to be resigned to their fate. Those who still accept the defects and inadequacies of education as the outcome of a natural order of things are less and less numerous.

Admittedly there is great confusion and much that is abusive in the current agitation. Nevertheless student contestation represents a fundamental and vital expression of that fighting spirit without which one of the necessary reforms can come to pass.

PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT

Yet another determining impulsion has come from the developing countries, and this is doubtless one of the major contributions of the latter to the common cause of all the countries of the world. Through their endeavours the developing countries will assist in building the solid foundations of a modern civilization giving due place both to the global and collective interests of societies and to the natural and justifiable hopes of individuals.

When, after the close of the Second World War, the development problem emerged as a central priority, in the interests not only of the welfare of the poor countries

but of stability and world peace, it became inevitable that the socially and economically less developed countries should turn towards the more favoured lands and seek their guidance as to what makes a country strong, powerful and wealthy. The briefest and most summary analysis soon revealed the importance of educational action. Generation after generation, education has brought forth men capable of imagination, qualified to organize, administer and govern in accordance with the rules of a modern State. Without education there is no knowledge, no competence, no spirit of enterprise, no marshalling of a people's energies. Accordingly every State upon attaining independence desired and gave priority to the creation of those institutions that appeared as the buttresses of development undertakings, namely schools and universities. During the past twenty years we have thus witnessed a spectacular extension of educational structures throughout the world.

The available figures reveal not only the will to progress and the energy of the countries engaged in this effort, but also the extent of international assistance; for the rapid advances made were facilitated, and in many cases rendered possible, through large-scale intervention by the rich countries providing aid either in bilateral or in multilateral form.

While it would be unjust and contrary to the facts to ignore this important external contribution to community development wherever it occurred, it remains that it is through educational activity that the developing countries are gradually achieving true independence. In recent years it is due to the existence of schools and universities that key posts in industry, trade, public

administration and teaching itself are filled by nationals and no longer by foreign incumbents.

Nevertheless, and in spite of this spectacular increase in numbers, education is far from having fulfilled the hopes that had been rested in it. In many cases, the returns from education, compared with other forms of investment, have proved largely negative. Teaching has proved incapable of reaching the objectives set for it, namely to mould individuals to the situations in which they are called upon to conduct their lives in a historical and geographical setting; to prepare them for the concrete tasks and responsibilities of a society in a state of development; to induce them to accept change; and to supply them with the intellectual, scientific and technical equipment which would permit them to take an active part in the evolution of structures, institutions, customs and mentalities.

In this group of countries even more than in others, the effect of the educational effort has been to subject minds to archaic and obsolete patterns of culture and civilization. It is even true to say that in many cases and in a variety of forms education as it now operates has frequently proved an obstacle to development by reason of the gulf it has established between intellectual concepts, the training of minds and the formulation of individual and collective objectives on the one hand, and realities on the other.

This hiatus between quantitative development and qualitative backwardness brings us to the heart of the concern which is felt by all those—theorists, practitioners, administrators and statesmen—who expect education to serve the true interests of man, both materially and spiritually, from the twin standpoints of the individual

and of society. They are led increasingly to criticize the inheritance of the past, a past which in large measure is not their own. Better armed than in the earliest days, they are gradually shaking off the paralysis of settled habits of thought and feeling, that is to say on the one hand respect and admiration for the undeniable achievements of the countries which preceded them and of which they hold the inheritance, but on the other a fear of the vacuum, more or less enduring, which the disappearance of traditional forces may bring about.

For it is a fact that the installation of a new form of education requires a volume of courage, of inventiveness, wisdom and ability which far exceeds what is required by other forms of large-scale human endeavour. But once the responsible circles have acquired the necessary capacities and skills the work of renovation proceeds rapidly. It is sufficient to cast doubt upon one single basic element in the educational system, for example, concepts of culture, to undermine the whole edifice and to make it unavoidable that solutions should be found affecting the system as a whole.

At the present time not only cultural patterns are undergoing scrutiny, but structures, objectives, curricula and methods. In the Ivory Coast for example, a radical spirit of research and innovation governs the reconstruction of the educational system. Indonesia also has tackled the problem in an adventurous manner, while in Dahomey a university is being planned in which the traditional divisions (letters, law, science, medicine, etc.) will be ignored and in which, priorities having been identified, a form of interdisciplinary teaching will be built up on the basis of a series of projects.

ADULT EDUCATION

As it evolved, adult education was led to stress more sharply its points of difference with traditional modes of education. But this affirmation of separateness did not emerge at once: in its beginnings, towards the middle of the nineteenth century, adult education was dominated by patterns, for there was no alternative. The great majority of learners were at that time workmen who depended entirely for their training upon public and private institutions, their managements and staffs; while teachers were themselves subject to traditional patterns of culture, points of reference and upbringing.

Generations of workers attended evening classes because they sought a means, through instruction, to attain better conditions of living and greater security, or because they wished to satisfy a desire for knowledge and understanding, or again because they had to acquire competitive weapons.

Unquestionably many of these adult learners benefited from the effort they made. They acquired instruction, they improved their situations and in one way or another set foot on those paths of modern civilization which call for schooling—but at what a cost in disappointments, misunderstandings and bitterness! The more pioneer-minded of these men and women, the bolder and more open-hearted among them, ran headlong into the wall of cultural concepts. They discovered for themselves that instruction is a powerful instrument of assimilation and conformity. They refused to let themselves be assimilated by a culture of a bourgeois and conservative character which exalted the values of the past, of inheritance, order and security at the expense

of those other values, struggle, innovation and openness. They reacted to the danger of a disembodied culture which claimed objectivity and detachment while it was in fact the chosen instrument for the defence of the interests of the governing class. They rejected the myths and mystifications of a universal reason which was foreign to the circumstances and to the fight for recognition of rights and social justice.

Another cause of disenchantment for them was the operation of the educational system. The teaching they received was modelled on the traditional patterns of instruction as dispensed to children: one-way transmittal of knowledge, exercises, tasks, checking of the learning acquired, examinations and diplomas. There was no attempt at differential psychology, nothing but slavish adherence to the classical structures of apprenticeship.

It is against this background of intellectual, ideological, cultural and methodological structures that a new form of adult education gradually took shape, born and nurtured away from the traditional paths of school and university in peoples' colleges (e.g. Denmark), in organizations for mutual education, in workers' or co-operative educational institutions, in movements or associations for popular education, etc. Through the experience gained in these new-type institutions there arose little by little a novel form of educational relationship. The adult taking part in training or study activities ceased to be a pupil subject to external discipline and receiving knowledge from a foreign source. From being subjected to education—in principle, the situation of every learner—he became the instrument of his own education and resumed command of himself as an

adult. This new individual became a person in the fullest sense of the term, endowed with his own psychological and sociological options, aware of his own individuality and engaged in a series of contests each having its particular objective: the contest for survival, the contest for knowledge, the contest for individual and collective advancement. Instead of being condemned to an inferior status in relation to an instructor who was his 'master', the adult pupil became a partner in a collective undertaking in which he was in a position both to take and to receive: receiving the substance of learning, he could give in exchange the irreplaceable wealth of his own manner of being a man and of accomplishing a man's destiny as worker, citizen or other entity engaged in any one of a multiplicity of situations and relationships. From that moment the emphasis was on being rather than on having, and on having only to the extent that resources feed and sustain the individual in meeting the requirements and succeeding stages of his own development.

The motive power behind this new-style education also differed totally from that which governed the teaching of children, namely compulsion. Willing or unwilling, the child is compelled by law and by his parents to abandon games and distractions for the sake of activities of which the interest and attraction are not always clear to him. The result is a great solidity in scholastic institutions, but at the same time a degree of immobility and conservatism. Nothing of the sort now affects the adult. He may, of course, be subject to indirect constraints or pressures, some of an economic and others of a political character. But an adult is seldom driven by force to take his place on the school bench. As a general

rule he will only sacrifice his leisure and take part in educational activities if driven by self-interest, if aware of the link between what is offered to him and his own ambitions, hopes, inquisitiveness and tastes. Where no such link exists the decision is soon made: the adult stands aloof, or if he should venture, will soon abandon the experiment.

This state of things carries with it a variety of consequences. In respect of adults, education is now compelled to invent, to innovate and to imagine. No curriculum can endure unless it takes into account, not universal and abstract man but the concrete individual in all his dimensions and needs. Hence the obligation upon those responsible for adult education to be on permanent watch, to practise constant self-instruction with particular attention to soundly based findings in the human sciences. Equally essential is it for each one of them to modify the teacher's traditional image and to accept the fact that he becomes an adult among other adults, with his own blend of knowledge and ignorance, of abilities and incapacities. A solid basis of humility of a scientific character, devoid of all arrogance, will permit the development of a form of new dialogue, of a form of education in which the teacher must give a great deal more, and in exchange receive a great deal more, than in any other educational situation.

The results achieved in this sector are of considerable value, not only with respect to the training and teaching of adults but in terms of the whole educational effort. It is to adult education that we owe, *inter alia*, the development of group dynamics, the use of audio-visual teaching methods and research on leisure.

It is also from this quarter that have emerged basic

thoughts and proposals relating to lifelong education viewed as a principle of coherence and continuity. The most percipient experts and those most amenable to innovation have discovered that adult education would inevitably be thwarted in its progress if the earlier stage, the teaching of children and adolescents, remained in its present condition. Starting from the evident—but too often neglected—truth that ‘the child is father of the man’ they have studied the concepts and operation of educational structures and brought to light, on the one hand the lacunas and inadequacies, and on the other the types of reforms which are needed if the human being is to remain in a formative condition throughout his life, if he is to keep intact—or better, to develop—the creative powers which lie in every one of us and which any unifying and conformist system must atrophy, to varying degrees. These pathfinders, through their inquiries and suggestions and on the strength of the experience acquired, are in this way contributing effectively to the formulation of a new doctrine of education far more mindful of realities and of the truth of man than traditional doctrine.

The significance of lifelong education

The totality of the challenges enumerated in the first chapter—some of them traditional or coterminous with the human condition, others relevant to this moment in history—together with the foregoing analysis (previous chapter) of the forces whose impact is aimed at innovation, throw light on the magnitude and complexity of the responsibilities and tasks of education. As thinking and experimentation proceed, there are emerging a number of considerations which may help in understanding the range and significance of the educational process.

The notion that a man can accomplish his life span with a given set of intellectual or technical luggage is fast disappearing. Under pressure from internal needs and as an answer to external demands, education is in the process of reaching its true significance, which is not the acquisition of a hoard of knowledge but the development of being, of a being attaining increasing self-realization as the result of successive experiences.

This being so, the current responsibilities of education may be defined as follows:

First, the setting into place of structures and methods that will assist a human being throughout his life

span to maintain the continuity of his apprenticeship and training.

Second, to equip each individual to become in the highest and truest degree both the object and the instrument of his own development through the many forms of self-education.

Within this general framework the following factors deserve special attention.

Stages in education

If it is agreed that the educational process must continue throughout the life of the individual, then it is impossible to argue that there is an age set aside for education. Nevertheless there may be periods in life when a particular effort in apprenticeship is required. Similarly there may be periods of existence more favourable to study than others.

There is no simple or ready-made answer to these questions. Without doubt certain abilities are vulnerable to the onset of age: it appears to have been demonstrated that beyond a certain age, some sectors of the memory lose their sharpness and elasticity; the absorption of certain branches of knowledge—for example mathematics or a foreign tongue—presents difficulties which in some cases prove insurmountable. The same applies to gaining skill in sports and games, especially where disciplines are involved which run more or less counter to natural motions and where only the suppleness of youth can serve. Instances are dancing, violin-playing and skiing, in all of which skills, reflexes and habits must be acquired at an early stage in life if a given degree of performance is to be attained.

These examples, which are familiar to us all and which would seem to indicate to the unthinking that there is a set age for learning, nevertheless conceal another truth, which is that access to many forms of physical and intellectual existence lies widely open at every stage of the life span.

The learning process is also a habit, and anyone who in his youth has mastered the drills of apprenticeship may at any time become an initiate and a practitioner of new abilities. Certain forms of activity indeed, far from degenerating, tend to improve steadily, on condition only that they are kept in constant use. This is true, for example, of the use of words both spoken and written, and more generally of all processes and actions in which judgement plays an important role.

But the fundamental and true nature of the subject does not lie here; for when we question the ability to learn, we do so in terms of a limited and in part erroneous concept of the educational process.

The prospects of instituting lifelong education, and the need for it, are to be judged not in relation to other people or to a given body of knowledge external to the pupil, but in relation to the personal development of a particular individual.

Nothing is more bewildering and frustrating than the traditional conceptions of culture which underlie most opinions relating to education. Culture in a given individual is not measured by plus or minus signs, by good marks and bad, awarded in terms of the volume and quality of the knowledge and *nous* of another, or of a hypothetical average intellectual model. A man's culture is the sum total of the efforts and experiences through which he has become steadily more himself. These efforts

and experiences, even if he shares them with thousands and millions of other human beings, are his own and relevant only to himself. One man will have greater facility, another will encounter difficulties in fulfilling himself. But such differences in no way affect the fundamental finding that culture only exists to the extent to which it has been lived and tested within the particular history of a man who is leading an existence, who is building a life, who is conscious of the universe and who takes part in its shaping by his own actions.

Viewed in this light any apprenticeship, any research, study or other effort aimed at progress in understanding and in relations with others assumes its place and meaning in relation to a continuous constructive process in which education represents the indispensable instrument.

While the discipline of education has its place, as we have seen, throughout the life span, it becomes more necessary than ever at those critical moments which occur during the life of any individual.

The transition from one age to another—from childhood to adolescence (which itself has several stages), from adolescence to maturity in its various phases, from these to the third stage and finally to the closing period of life—raises problems on each occasion and may even precipitate crises. Each stage has its strengths and weaknesses, its advantages and defects, and in any event a specific content. In order that these moments of transition may acquire their full significance, in order that they should prove, not moments of disintegration but elements of progress on the road towards sharper consciousness, more secure knowledge and greater mastery over the self, a particular effort of education is required on each occasion, as if for a fresh entry into adolescence.

This educational effort must be made in terms of professional skill, psychology and philosophy; it involves choices, sacrifices and resolves which themselves require a complex of training, information and disciplines all forming part of a broad and penetrating concept of lifelong education.

In any event the educational process, if it is to be living and to serve the developing being, must stand in positive relationship to time, viewed as a constructive factor and in no way as a factor of destruction. Accordingly educators must spare no effort to resist any notion of ideas and *mores* as being immutable; they must strive not only to gain acceptance for change, but to foster by every means an intelligent and efficient participation in the various stages of change, whether this takes place within an individual being or in the world with which the individual is in relationship.

Young and old

While it is true that education is a continuous process, it is nevertheless the fact that the forms it takes are not identical for young people and for adults. Quite apart from differences in biological and psychical maturity, the status and circumstances of these two segments of the population vary substantially. There is obligation on the one hand and freedom on the other. The child is subjected to the adult world as personified by his parents or school authorities. He is not in a position to decide for himself and can neither choose what suits him best nor reject that for which he has no desire or taste. In the context of education he is a mere subject. The foundations, contents and methods of the various educational

systems into which he is slotted are imposed from outside; others decide on his behalf what is good for him and what will prove useful later, 'when he grows up'.

Things are very different for the adult. Except in very particular circumstances, no outside authority attempts to compel him to study, to improve his mental equipment, to become a better citizen or a more knowledgeable and understanding head of family. For as long as he has not grasped that a specific benefit awaits him if he makes a particular effort in the professional, civic or cultural field, he will keep out. And when he has gone in, it is always open to him to withdraw.

In these circumstances adult education, and more generally any form of education which is not compulsory, including the out-of-school instruction of the young, provides a favourable stage for innovation. It is in fact within programmes of this type that were first essayed forms of education of which the universal significance is now recognized, in particular group work, organized discussion, participation in productive activities, seminars and study courses, non-directional methods, the full use of audio-visual devices, etc. The future of education regarded in its entirety, and its capacity to renew itself, accordingly depend upon the development of adult education.

Lifelong education also emerges as a possible solution to one of the critical problems of our modern societies, namely that which arises in the relations between different generations. There is abundant proof that communication and exchanges between the young and their elders are in a poor state, to such a pitch that in many cases the duologue between father and son or professor and pupil is virtually non-existent. And yet these exchanges

are invaluable and indispensable both for the reciprocal enrichment of the individuals concerned and for the equilibrium of society.

In the last analysis the main responsibility for this state of crisis rests with the elders, since among other things they for their part were once young, whereas the young have never been adults. It is therefore up to the elders to make the major effort towards understanding, adaptation, renovation and imagination, without which communication will remain impossible.

Above all, the element of authority must rapidly shift from a basis of status and personality to one resting on competence and open-mindedness towards others.

In other words if the adult is to be merely heard, if his stock of knowledge or his directives are to reach the succeeding generation, he must himself be in a state of learning. The adult must pay the price of constant apprenticeship and progress, of unceasing questioning of himself, of his knowledge and experience, if he hopes to gain the attention he seeks. This would seem to be the only path leading to the re-establishment and lively pursuit of the dialogue.

Method and content

'Learning to learn' is now a much-worn formula which has become tedious through constant abuse as representing the perfect solution. Yet it means exactly what it says. Henceforward in any learning process the stress can no longer be laid on a necessarily limited and arbitrarily fixed content; it must bear upon the ability to understand, to assimilate and analyse, to put order into the knowledge acquired, to handle with ease the relationship

between the abstract and the concrete, between the general and the particular, to relate knowledge and action, and to co-ordinate training and information.

In a setting of lifelong education this is tantamount to equipping the human being with a method which will be at his disposal throughout the length of his intellectual and cultural journey. It implies that the essence of the educational activity—whether teaching in the strict sense or, more broadly, instruction and training—must aim at the acquisition of habits and reflexes, of capacities. Hence the emphasis which should be laid on gaining practice, by every means and in every sense of the term.

Here again experience acquired in the out-of-school context is instructive and helpful. Whether we are concerned with the training of the mind, the development of the body, relationships with others, initiation in spoken or written expression, the deciphering of various languages, introduction to music or the plastic arts, we find in out-of-school experience a wealth of achievement, experiment and research from which education in its totality could and should profit.

Training and selection

Development of lifelong education encounters a serious obstacle, that of selection. The situation is well known: through the operation of examinations and diplomas, a sorting-out takes place at the various stages of education, and even more sharply and definitively in its concluding phase, between the qualified and the unqualified, the 'elect' and the 'rejected' of the system. Failure and success are thus institutionalized in a manner which is generally irrevocable.

We are also well aware of the defects of a system which attaches undue weight to an ideology of merit. Under the shelter of merit new privileges are in fact created, even though they are better concealed than in the past, when birth and wealth were the only criteria for success.

Under the existing system—in which moreover luck and chance play dominant roles—the quick-witted are privileged as against the slow in thought, the intellectual type has the advantage over other forms of human expression and other temperaments, the conformist over the innovator, children from elegant districts over those from slums.

Again, rejection resulting from failure in examination leads to an unreasonable wastage of society's resources and investments both in cash and in manpower. Nor can enough stress be laid on the damage and emotional shock caused by failure both to those who endure it and find themselves marginal beings and more generally to all those for whom the approach of an examination at every stage of schooling creates a particularly acute form of neurosis—which, as we are all aware, extends to the parents as well. Lastly, innovation and initiative in the matter of curricula and methods are strongly inhibited by the tyranny of the examination.

Nevertheless it is impossible not to take account of the obligations of selection, of the division of labour and of the distribution of tasks.

This issue lies at the centre of all thinking and action relating to lifelong education. How is the educational system to be maintained in an open condition? How, under the pressure of competition, can we reconcile the demands of industry, agriculture, administration (to say nothing of family ambitions) with the avowed objectives

of equality of opportunity and of the harmonious development of the individual in accordance with his character, ambitions and aptitudes?

We are here faced with a knot of problems the solution of which concerns education in the first place, and within education, the teaching process, but which also affects the spirit, structures and functioning of modern societies. What emerges clearly is that a broadening of the prospects open to men in the matter of study, qualification, training and professional improvement is an integral part of the necessary solution if we are to equalize opportunities in accordance with the principles of true and effective democracy.

Unity and coherence of the educational process

There is a striking contrast between the unitary character of an individual's personality and destiny, and the diversity of means used for his training. There would be no great danger in this if the various approaches corresponded to the different stages of a man's life and to the diverse replies he must give to different situations. This variety is indeed not only unavoidable but can lead to fortunate results.

The problem here, however, is that of the antithesis, which is often deep, between the individual's own trend and the guidance he receives. On the one hand we have the same man, thinking, acting, rejoicing or mourning, developing or losing ground. On the educational side, on the other hand, it is as if a collection of different individuals has been brought together by chance into one mould and required to reconcile as best they could demands which were frequently incompatible. In the

teaching he receives at school, in the family, the factory, the training workshop or the trade union, the individual—producer, consumer and citizen—receives teaching, instruction and forms of training of which the objectives and results do not harmonize.

Lifelong education represents an effort to reconcile and harmonize these different stages of training in such a manner that the individual is no longer in conflict with himself. By laying stress on the unity, the all-roundness and the continuity of development of the personality, it leads to the formulation of curricula and instruments of education that create permanent communications between the needs and lessons of professional life, of cultural expression, of general development and of the various situations for and through which every individual completes and fulfils himself.

In this perspective an effort at systematization cannot be avoided. But the notion of system is here used to indicate research aimed at giving coherence and clarity to the interlocking mechanisms and the interdependence of the different aspects and stages of the educational process viewed in its entirety. Although many elements of lifelong education exist already, either within the orbit of school and institutional education or at the level of out-of-school education, what is so far lacking is an overall view of the problem which would permit a wise distribution of responsibilities and would assist the process of thinking out and preparing for a reform of structures, the need for which is in any event acknowledged. Since the Second World War there have been in various Western countries up to a dozen attempts which have failed, while education has moved from change to change without finding either internal equilibrium or satisfactory

answers to the demands of modern society. It doubtless proved impossible—and would be vain today—to seek answers to these questions without having recourse to a new concept of education in which account would be taken of the constant and universal need of human beings for training, instruction and progress.

In any such concept, in which education would find its place in every sector of existence and would continue throughout the course of the personality's development, a great number of the barriers which now separate, often hermetically, the various orders and stages of educational action would have to disappear, giving way to living and purposeful intercommunication. Education can from now onwards be viewed as a coherent structure of which each part is dependent upon the others and only has significance in relation to those others. If one part is missing, the rest of the structure loses its equilibrium and no other part is in a position to render the specific services for which it was created. We must therefore proceed to a series of harmonizations, both in the field of theory and in that of practical achievements.

Contents, dimensions and objectives

It is thus apparent that lifelong education is not a mere prolongation of conventional education. It involves a number of approaches of a new kind to the vital elements in the existence of every individual, beginning with the very significance of that existence. It enables us to perceive a whole series of fundamental situations in which individuals appear under a new light; and it brings novel solutions to certain crucial problems affecting the destiny of persons and societies.

Education represents the conscious, deliberate and well-equipped aspect of that steady progression which is the law of all human beings. We should of course not over-estimate the place and function of education in the fulfilment of particular or collective destinies. Proper as it is to insist on the inescapable necessity of making this effort, it cannot be too often recalled that there are structures which favour and others which inhibit the flowering of personality. Physical destitution creates and maintains moral and intellectual destitution. Men living on the margin of subsistence are also living on the margin of the human.

Working for the construction of a society that will assure to its citizens a broad and equitable share in both consumption goods and cultural resources also means

working in favour of the spirit. Only Utopians still lost in a falsely idealistic vision of civilization can maintain that there is a separation between material and spiritual values. All values derive from the same noble ambition.

The elements of a policy of cultural development, and within the general framework of that policy of the corresponding strategy, are the following: to provide all inhabitants of a country with decent housing conditions enabling the family to play its full role in the home as well as its educational function; to develop productivity in such a way as to increase the income of every individual and to increase the opportunities for consumption and for the enjoyment of cultural benefits; to increase the number of physical and institutional structures that favour the development of social interchange and every form of intercommunication; to set up in sufficient numbers museums, libraries and cultural centres; and to provide all the instruments of teaching—schools, institutes and universities—required to meet both the thirst for knowledge and the demand for skilled manpower.

Action in all its forms, not excluding political action, is thus the indispensable instrument for establishing structures that will mark the different stages of that conquest of self which is the very purpose of education. This being so, any attempt at setting political action in opposition to cultural experience is sterile and, in the last analysis, doomed to failure.

It is nevertheless true that another illusion would be to imagine that a transformation of material and social structures, even in a progressive sense, would suffice to meet all the demands of the personality. Political action has obligations to meet towards education and towards the fundamental principles which govern the latter.

Ultimately, are not the only sound policy and the only sound administration those which, in their principles, objectives and methods, take full account of what has been termed by one familiar with the subject 'the human scale'?

The argument goes further. Even the best policy, one which goes nearest to meeting the desires of men of culture and of educators, has limited scope. It can, and doubtless must, create the framework within which individual destinies can find fulfilment in favourable circumstances. But it cannot, even under the guise of a cultural policy, claim to take the place of the particular and original effort, unique in direction and expression, which every man is compelled to undertake on his own account.

If, on the other hand, education is to be in a position to help men to live, then it must itself be alive. Many are dissuaded from treading its paths not only because it calls for effort, labour and much assiduity, but also because it has so far failed, with very few exceptions, to draw sustenance from living sources and to meet life's needs.

For nine persons out of ten education means school, an activity of a particular nature expressed in terms of curricula, methods and specialized staff—a world apart which can only be described in an epithet peculiar to itself, 'scholastic'. School is a parenthesis in life, with its entrances and exits. On entry the pupil puts on the garb of the schoolboy, to be shed at the time of departure. We can understand why adults hesitate to play this game, and why the only ones who accept are those driven by need or obligation, generally of an economic or professional character.

If education is to play the part we have described throughout the life of the individual and in all the dimensions of the latter's existence, it is clear that the prime need is to draw it out of the school framework so that it occupies the totality of human activities, relating to leisure as well as work. Education is not an addendum to life imposed from outside. It is no more an asset to be gained than is culture. To use the language of philosophers, it lies not in the field of 'having' but in that of 'being'.

The being in a state of 'becoming' at each different stage and in varying circumstances is the true subject-matter of education. It is accordingly difficult, and perhaps impracticable, to give education its place in any precise way. We find it wherever there is a conscious effort to be made, an option to be taken, a spiritual hurdle to be overcome, a contact of an intellectual, emotional or aesthetic nature to be established. Nevertheless we can identify a number of priority situations in which educational action is particularly desirable. We find them sometimes in an individual context and sometimes in a collective context, but more generally astride the two.

The life span

The first and no doubt the basic difficulty lies in the relationship which man establishes with his own expectation of life. The transition from one age to another is always accompanied by crises and may even assume a convulsive character. According to the manner in which the individual accepts passage into a new phase of his existence, settles down into a new mode of life and continues to keep in contact with the world and with his

fellow beings, so age will signify success or failure, wealth or poverty, joy or distress, wisdom or madness.

The mere passage of years has in itself no significance and does not automatically imply a condition of saturation. Here education is all-powerful, for a man may be moulded and trained to follow the rhythm of his own development. One first victory is not to allow time to acquire a minus value but to regard it as a factor of enrichment. On this solid basis a man may explore the ever new fields open to him and gather the fresh harvests which lie before him. Another important element in this process is that of becoming aware of the beginning and ending of the stage of life one has reached.

Man and woman

The man/woman relationship leads to analogous thoughts. There is no situation which calls for so much preparation, so much intelligent and continuous effort—and there is none in which so much is left to improvisation and chance. A man desires or loves a woman—or vice versa—and because they come together, all appears to be settled: whereas all is at its beginning. *Ars amatoria* reaches far beyond the summary prescriptions of Ovid and his imitators. This is a fundamental and particularly tremulous part of the art of life, and as in every other part of that art, it calls for apprenticeship.

Cohabitation during a whole life, or even during a part of a life, entails a multiplicity of problems for the solution of which mutual attraction and affection are not enough. To say nothing of the indispensable sentimental education, each partner must learn to know the other and his or her individual traits, as a representative of the

opposite sex and as a specific social entity—not only know but accept, realize that the emotional relationship does not rule out the generally accepted laws of sociability and cannot develop satisfactorily except in a climate of friendship. It is worthy of note—and here we anticipate some comments to be made later—that in a successful partnership each of the two plays towards the other a positive role of educator at every level of the personality. The basis of this educational action, as that of any other, is of course reciprocal attention and interest in the diversity of forms of expression of human nature.

Parents and children

Similar problems arise in the relationship between parents and children. An illusion of the same type as that which can spoil relations between the couple is that it is enough to bring children into the world and to cherish them to have known and done for the best. Here again there must be a sentimental education, of a different nature but as exacting as in the previous case. Communication within the family is generally a tissue of incomprehension and misunderstanding. Traditional society did not waste time on subtlety: rituals and customs showed sufficiently clearly and firmly what paths to follow. The father, acting by definition and by convention, imposed respect, while the mother contributed the necessary modicum of warmth and understanding. These at least were the patterns that were generally accepted and only disowned in exceptional cases.

Today on the contrary it is recourse to beaten paths and accepted patterns that tends to be the exception. This is not an occasion for protest, but a problem that

must be squarely faced. We have nowadays as many original and particular situations as there are family complexes. Each demands its own formula, which calls for imagination and invention as well as the use of the broadly recognized tenets of the human sciences. True authority and the ability to guide and help the young can only be won at the cost of an effort in understanding and a search of conscience.

The profession

It is hardly necessary to draw attention to the links which exist between education and the demands of the profession. This is an aspect of lifelong education which stands out very clearly and which is widely recognized. Individuals on their own account, undertakings in the interests of productivity, and society as a whole for motives of both enlightened economics and social justice, all turn towards education as a means of improving professional qualifications. Innumerable forms of labour-promotion are in action in an increasing number of countries.

One element, however, is yet far from having been recognized either in theory or in practice, namely the close and organic link which exists between professional training and general education, or in other words the totality of the individual's educational needs in terms of his development. While a man's profession is no doubt the most important issue in his life, it still remains, in the educational context, at the periphery of his being. From this standpoint the necessary effort of thought and achievement must be directed towards greater integration.

For as long as culture is defined, offered and doled out in a literary, philosophical and artistic context, or as a range of activities appertaining almost exclusively to leisure time, so long will the worker have the utmost difficulty in situating the essentials of his thinking and ingenuity within a true system of values. It is therefore of the highest importance to attribute to the concept of work, both in theory and in fact, its true significance as an activity of culture in the deepest and truest sense of the term.

This naturally presupposes a policy of production in which the conditions and rewards of labour are not inhuman. It is possible in practice, using labour activities as a framework and point of departure, to lead the working man through appropriate methods to a broad and penetrating vision of the main features and problems of the society in which he has his being. Moreover so-called general education, that is to say learning the use of the instruments of expression and of scientific knowledge, acquires its full significance and its strongest motivation when it prepares men to exercise their profession. With the prospect of increasing mobility of labour, the more education becomes generalized in the sense of the development of abilities and capacities, the greater will be its practical results.

Education for leisure

A similar need for education is apparent in the field of leisure. Much has already been written about the place of leisure in the life of individuals, groups and communities. A Regional Conference on Adult Education and Leisure in Contemporary Europe, held at Prague in

April 1965, threw light upon the importance, role and functions of education in the endeavour to obtain that leisure should assist man in his development rather than prove harmful to him. One recommendation of this conference is of particular significance in this context:

‘... adult education is made up of a complex of activities most of which take place during leisure, and ... at the same time it offers a variety of means whereby the use of leisure time, in its totality, may contribute more fruitfully to the development and enrichment of the personality;

‘... [account must be taken of] the variety of the [aspects and] functions of adult education and of cultural development, such as vocational and technical education, study for personal pleasure, the formation of judgement and a greater appreciation of the use of leisure, the dissemination of cultural achievement and the evaluation of forms of recreation ...’.

It must, however, be stressed that the coexistence of leisure and work has to be thought out. One and the same man has to live through these two facets of existence, and the manner in which he reacts to either will have deep repercussions on the content of the other.

Artistic experience

While it is true that leisure time has no monopoly of the cultural experience of individuals, it is nevertheless within the framework of leisure that room is found for most of the activities that have as their object intellectual, moral or aesthetic development. A man may read, talk, stroll, broaden his vision of the universe and his understanding of its laws, go to the theatre or take up acting, make music, paint, sketch, listen to poetry and recite it;

in any of these ways he can on the one hand occupy the free time that is allowed him usefully and agreeably, and on the other, more significantly, to express the fundamental demands of his being. Here again inborn intelligence or responsiveness, or talent, are not enough. Intellectual or aesthetic expression is not content with improvisation: the dilettante will soon reach the limits of his powers of expression, will become weary and will turn away from pursuits that only provide him with mediocre gains. Here again, as in every other walk of life, the price to be paid takes the form of work: to know, to express, to communicate require constant effort. There is no way of avoiding study and persistent application for one who aspires to acquire and master the languages and instruments proper to each intellectual discipline and to each art form.

Physical education and sport

‘A world-wide social phenomenon whose roots ramify deeply into the young and adult lives of men and women—exercise and spectacle, *asceticism* and recreation, profession and education, health and culture—sport is no longer related to the whims of individual escapism. Henceforward it is closely linked—sometimes as cause, sometimes as effect or mere symptom, but always noteworthy—with the major problems upon whose solution the future of our civilization depends: the higher proportion of young people in populations, urbanization, community organization in rapidly developing societies, the building of structures in States that have suddenly become independent, the use of leisure resulting from mechanization of work or from underemployment. ...’

In these words Mr. René Maheu, Director-General of Unesco, defined the role of sport in contemporary life.¹ It could not be better stated that sport today knows neither geographical borders nor social stratification, that it attracts men of all trades and professions, that it provides an opportunity for healthy exercise at all ages and that having broken the bounds of an occupation reserved for specialists, it has acquired the dimensions of universal culture.

This is at the same time a claim that sport, with which are now associated all open-air activities, should take its due place in lifelong education. And this is to be understood in a twofold sense.

In the first place the view must be rejected that physical and sports training is only undertaken during a brief period of life. It is far too often neglected at the primary-school stage, when circumstances are nevertheless favourable for psychological and physiological development; it is most frequently found in programmes at the secondary-school stage; and in certain countries it only plays a very minor role in the activities of apprentices and university students; while it disappears totally at the moment when the individual enters adult life. This episodic and secondary treatment of sport in the educational field is in dangerous contrast with the importance assumed by sport in all sectors of the community and is even breeding unhealthy attitudes among sports managers, the athletes themselves and the spectator masses.

This finding should lead us in the second place to achieve a better integration of sport and lifelong education as a whole, to release sport from its purely muscu-

1. 'Declaration on Sport', Message by Mr. René Maheu to the International Council of Sport and Physical Education.

lar function and from its cultural isolation, to mingle it more closely with intellectual, moral, artistic, social and civic activities. The very conception of lifelong education, humanist and harmonious, is here at stake; it commands the over-all training of educators and the full installation of centres of popular culture in which, within the same precinct, will be found both the library and the sporting facilities.

Not only muscles and nerve, skill and a keen eye, are involved when we speak of physical education. As has been indicated in a recent issue of a pedagogical review, the key problem is that of living within one's body as an integral part and buttress of one's total personality. The body has its own language, which it is as important to master as the languages of the mind or of the heart—all of them indeed closely linked together and interdependent. To fight against the various forms of physical illiteracy is in fact one of the major objectives of lifelong education.

Media of mass communication

Relations between individuals and the major modern media of mass communication, radio, television and the cinema raise very similar problems. There is no question here of taking up a position regarding the respective and comparative merits of audio-visual messages as contrasted with the written word. What matters here is first of all to acknowledge the all-powerful nature of these media and next to become clearly and exactly aware of education's responsibilities towards the media. Only a retarded spirit sunk in a nostalgic and restrictive view of cultural life would deny the determining role that they

play in assuring communication between men and the world, its events and ideas, and the highly diverse expressions of the human genius. For the first time in the world's history any individual at any point of the globe finds himself connected with the life of individuals in other continents and lands. The daily sustenance of hundreds of millions of listeners and viewers now includes Bach, Beethoven, Stravinsky, Armstrong, Shostakovich, Tagore, Shakespeare, Charlie Chaplin and Orson Welles—to pick out a few great names in music, literature and the theatre. For every citizen in the world, awareness of humanity is ceaselessly growing in volume and content.

Whatever reservations may be felt about these innovations—and there are many—they can only be taken into account if we acknowledge the vast and unique advantages of the media, while recognizing that, as in the case of most of the important inventions which mark the history of civilization, they cause disturbance as much as they bring benefit. Their content and message are deliberately ambiguous and appear under various guises. The impact of new images, notions and values, often contradictory, upon traditional cultures, may and often does have an explosive effect. Moreover, while it is true that the media can convey cultural messages, the mediocre and the bad jostle the good and frequently have the advantage in quantitative terms. There is an even more dangerous threat to which attention has often been drawn, namely that through their very power and attraction for the masses, radio and especially television tend to fill up the whole span set aside for leisure activities and thus to exclude occupations of more substance and commitment such as reading, social relationships and

participation in active forms of usage of free time. These are only a few of the numerous evils which daily experience and repeated inquiries have revealed.

There is no doubt that the political authorities have both responsibilities and powers of intervention to curb these damaging effects and to draw from the new facilities placed at our disposal all the benefits that can properly be expected from them. These authorities must, with all the necessary caution, take an interest in the content and value of broadcasts and programmes from the standpoint both of culture and mental health. Recent inquiries have revealed what mental and psychological damage can be done to young children and adolescents by programmes blending stupidity, phantasm, horror and violence. Nevertheless there is a limit to the powers of authority, either because it has itself to give heed to concerns which have little to do with culture, or because 'censorship' is not sufficiently enlightened.

In the final analysis the only effective filters are good judgement, good taste and the intellectual courage of the consumers of these cultural wares. Listeners and viewers must be encouraged and trained through painstaking and systematic education to exercise choice. They must become accustomed from childhood, from the family circle and the school, to choose; they must get into the habit of saying 'yes' to one type of programme and 'no' to another. Choice must also be brought to bear upon the amount of time devoted to this category of entertainment and information. The hardest and also the most essential apprenticeship of man at leisure is undoubtedly that of learning to give his true time rations to work and rest, to participation and solitude, to play and to study.

Education of the citizen

Lastly all due importance must be accorded, in any programme of lifelong education, to the training of citizens. By this term is meant man as a public entity at all levels of his commitment, whether to the nation, the community, the international fraternity, or various groups of a social character such as trade unions, co-operatives, associations for popular culture, women's clubs, etc. Viewed in this light the need for training is universal. The links between education and democracy have often been stressed and illustrated. On the one hand the development of knowledge and understanding promotes the creation and strengthening of democratic forms of power and administration; on the other, democracy can only flourish and operate normally if the country can rely in increasing numbers upon citizens who are interested in the *res publica*, whose judgement is informed and who are capable of undertaking responsibilities within the various structures and at the different levels of national life. The smooth working of the wheels and cogs of such a régime demand from every inhabitant in the land a regular and systematic effort at keeping informed, and beyond this, earnest and sustained study of the problems with which the nation is faced. How else could we hope that the voting will be consonant with the true interests of the country and that representatives will be chosen in the light of their capacities and of their attachment to the common cause?

Much as judgement and competence are needed in the ordinary citizen, they are even more essential, and at a higher degree, in all those who occupy responsible posts such as town councillor, trade-union secretary,

co-operative manager, etc. Acceptance of any public office requires on the part of the individual concerned that he give proof of earnestness and become familiar with all the substance of his task. The alternative to such dedication is frivolousness, and, as a consequence, poor administration.

Again, the smooth operation of a modern democracy presupposes the emergence of a new type of politician and administrator. It is essential that those who govern, at whatever level, should cast off the character of sacredness which attaches, through traditions derived from the ancient past, to any person exercising power. It is well known that power tends to isolate and constantly to corrupt. A man holding power should therefore be particularly vigilant in fighting off the professional diseases that threaten a range of activity which is especially susceptible to them, both intellectually and morally. It is indeed through straight dealing, a natural approach and a devotion to truth that communication can be established between governors and governed. Education of the citizen requires above all that the man in the street should find in his leaders the image of democracy in thought and action, and also in ethics. Only at this price will he feel personally concerned in the problems of the *polis* and will he give intellectual and emotional support to the good working of public institutions.

This aspect of lifelong education assumes a priority character in the developing countries. Quite apart from the intense educational effort which must be directed towards the masses in order that they may shoulder their civic responsibilities and take an active part in the construction of the nation, there is an urgent need, which

will indeed continue to be felt over many years, for the recruitment and training of managerial ranks, and this need is evident at all levels. Industry, agriculture, transport and public services must all rapidly find managers, foremen, specialized workers and accountants. Very particular attention must be given to the training of administrators capable of keeping the wheels of State moving, and in the first place of implementing the measures laid down in development plans. Failing an effort of training and qualification matching the level of these needs, the autonomy of these countries will remain a hollow formula and their economies will not reach the point of take-off within a measurable period.

Suggestions for a strategy of lifelong education

There can be no question of proposing a pattern for lifelong education. Every country has its own structures, its traditions, its inhibitions and its facilities. Moreover, historical evolution is such that at any given moment in a society's history one element assumes priority over all others. We may, for example, imagine—and this has actually occurred—that following a revolution, and for a long time thereafter, a country will devote its chief efforts to adult education, in the meantime leaving other aspects of the educational process more or less in abeyance. The relative scarcity of resources compels selection and sacrifice. This is particularly true of developing countries, where availabilities in terms of qualified manpower and materials are often as deficient as financial resources themselves. Nevertheless the obstacles which impede the realization of ideal plans should not discourage countries from seeking practical solutions, following the main lines indicated by the principles of lifelong education, namely:

- The need to assure continuity of education, in such a manner as to prevent the wearing away of knowledge.
- The adaptation of programmes and methods to the particular and original objectives of each community.
- The moulding of human beings, at every level of

education, towards a kind of life in which evolution, change and transformation can find a place.

A large-scale marshalling and use of all means of training and information, going beyond the traditional definitions and institutional limits imposed upon education.

The establishment of close links between various forms of action (technical, political, industrial, commercial, etc.) and the objectives of education.

Highly diverse formulas can be built upon these principles, taking account of differing aspects but all obeying the same imperative, that is to say to render education an instrument of living sustained by life's contributions and equipping men to face up to the tasks and responsibilities of their existence with success.

At the same time it has been thought useful to spell out below some suggestions of a general character which it is hoped might prove of service to those concerned in identifying their objectives and means of action.

Trends

The foregoing pages indicate the emergence of two major trends, one moving towards adults and the other towards children and adolescents. We add below a few reflections concerning the relation between literacy and lifelong education.

THE TREND TOWARDS ADULTS

The action of non-governmental undertakings is decisive, not only because it is necessary to take ideological diversity and a variety of situations and interests into account, but also because the spirit of innovation and research can only have full play in a climate of independ-

ence and decentralization. Thought and practice in the educational field have constantly benefited during recent generations from the contributions and achievements of a sector in which the forces of self-interest, supply and demand carry weight at all times.

Nevertheless the State cannot remain aloof from a sector which is of vital interest to the nation, and it has already begun to show its hand in a number of fields, even though on a scale which bears no relation to the importance of the problems to be solved. We have only to enumerate a few areas in which the State, in varying degrees and in a form adapted to each particular case, can and must intervene if adult education is to be given the required volume and efficacy.

Finance

In most countries adult education is still a poor relation.

Finance made available to types of education external to the school and the university amounts only to a very modest fraction of the monetary effort made by governments to meet the training needs of individuals. Every official statement declaring the value, importance and urgency of action in favour of adult education is belied year after year by the budgetary evidence. There is of course no question of public authority shouldering the totality of the costs involved in popular education: this would be neither realistic from the standpoint of national resources, nor desirable if it is admitted that adults must contribute to their own education through a variety of initiatives, including that of sharing the cost. But the resources that individuals and associations can bring together are and will always be far below the magnitude of the objectives set up for education. Large-scale

participation by the State is therefore unavoidable, either in the shape of direct investment where government intervention is called for, or indirectly through grants supporting the action of private organizations. This requires from public authority an understanding of a complex situation in which non-governmental bodies carry out tasks of a national character which the State could not undertake with equal competence and authority but for which it is bound to provide financial backing as solid as that provided for other types of educational activity.

Law and administration

The development of adult education meets with all kinds of obstacles deriving from the living conditions of a great part of the population—that part, indeed, which is most closely concerned with such development.

If the new societies which have been forecast are to be capable of taking heed of the fundamental needs of the human being, they will have to pay the closest possible attention to the educational needs some of which have been identified in the foregoing pages.

In so far as the generality of structures is concerned, it will be agreed that the extremely low level of incomes in certain sectors of the industrial and agricultural population must confine the thoughts of the individuals concerned to matters of subsistence, and that in such circumstances it would be largely Utopian to suppose that individuals who can have no other horizon than that of the struggle for existence could be led on to the paths of cultural life. Short of hypocrisy it is impossible to deny the fundamental thought that the struggle for culture, at the level both of individuals and of society considered

as a whole, must be preceded by the struggle for development, for wages and housing, for transport, for health, law and justice, and so forth.

These objectives of the new, modern societies are closely linked, especially if we consider that the installation of a new mode of life calls for the intelligent and competent participation of an ever increasing proportion of the population, and that this involves a great expansion in the number of educational undertakings, professional, civic and cultural.

Nevertheless, and without awaiting a radical recasting of the structures of society, it is feasible and desirable that there should in the near future be a substantial increase in measures of a legislative and administrative character designed to remove some of the obstacles mentioned above. These measures can be grouped under the following headings.

Participation of workers in the management of undertakings. This priority objective has its political and economic aspects, but has also highly important educational implications. The introduction of participation is in itself calculated to develop the sense of responsibility (which is one of the major objectives of adult education) and at the same time to increase knowledge of the machinery of the undertaking and of the economy. Genuine participation is the key to an essential sector of modern man's culture, to the extent that it establishes a link between action and knowledge from the point of view of structures as well as from that of motivation.

Adjustment of work time-tables. Educational and cultural activities are consumers of time. Except in a very few

countries, work is so organized that the miner or the office worker is tied to a time-table which makes excessive demands upon him and is irrational. This is a complex problem having, beyond considerations of efficiency in productive and administrative operations, psychological and other aspects concerned with habits and behaviour. It is sufficiently important to deserve systematic study.

Action within the undertaking. Undertakings are ready to recognize the need to renew the equipment used in production at regular intervals, as one of the measures falling within the normal reckoning of investment, productivity, etc. But pressure must be brought to bear upon them if they are to agree to admit that the refreshment of the staff's knowledge and technical capacity is as imperative a need as the economic drive. The further training of an engineer, technician or official is a form of enrichment of the collectivity, and it is neither fair nor efficient to leave it to the individuals to bear the costs. This is another problem which deserves close study under all its aspects and which should be the subject of legislative and administrative action.

Among necessary innovations priority should be given to a type of measure which is already in force in a number of countries (mostly those with socialist régimes) aimed at including the hours spent on specified educational activities within the normal working time-table. It might also be envisaged that workers preparing for diplomas should benefit from a given number of days (or weeks) annually, to be granted in the period immediately preceding their examinations.

The State might give the example in introducing such

measures in nationalized undertakings, for they provide an answer to the concern for greater equality of opportunities for promotion and access to culture, while at the same time fostering the demand for greater efficiency.

Equipment

Educational action is closely related to the policy of cultural development. While it is true that, as a result of the current transformation of minds and of teaching methods, stress must increasingly be laid on self-education, the fact remains that the adult must be assisted in his efforts at every stage of his educational progression by appropriate institutions continuously supplying the material and the stimulus that he needs.

Two solutions lie open: one is to create new institutions, as comprehensive in scope as possible and open to all sectors of the population: libraries and museums within easy reach of the users, cultural centres, vocational training schools, etc.; the other is to stimulate and facilitate the use for adult education purposes of existing structures such as schools, colleges and universities. Regarding the latter, nations have at their disposal a complex of means and resources which are largely wasted, in the absence of an over-all conception of educational action. Such a conception should henceforward govern all school construction programmes, in the spirit which has inspired such achievements as the 'village colleges' in the United Kingdom or the educational and cultural centre at Yerres in France. The argument is still more valid when applied to the major communication media, radio and television, over which the State frequently exercises a quasi-monopoly and which, if

competently used, constitute powerful instruments of training as well as of information.

Services

Public authorities are in a position to render considerable services, and indeed some have already begun to do so, although on a minor scale. Apart from direct financial assistance, to which reference has been made above, these authorities can take effective action in two priority areas.

Training of staff. Experience and study show that adult education cannot follow the paths laid out by traditional teaching methods intended for children. Programmes designed for adults can only be carried through effectively and reach their objectives if those responsible for the work have undergone psychological, sociological, technical and educational training of a type specifically matching adults' motivations, their absorptive capacities and the demands of their development. These problems are of such magnitude and complexity as to exceed the powers of most private institutions. Only the State is in a position to meet requirements in an appropriate manner.

The way has already been shown in a few countries through the creation of national training institutes; but public authorities are frequently chiefly concerned with sport and physical education, sometimes to the detriment of other aspects of the training of young persons and adults.

Here again there is a need for co-ordination and harmonization between the private and public sectors. While it is true that only the latter sector is able to

mobilize means of action of sufficient magnitude, we should not for that reason disregard the essential, and indeed fundamental, contribution represented by the experience gained in popular education circles, always freer in their action and better placed to give expression to the desires of the adult population in all its diversity of types and needs.

Research. If training is to rest on sound foundations and to meet the needs of society and individuals, it is essential that it should constantly profit from the contribution of the human sciences. Here again the State, through its research institutions and through the universities, is better placed than private bodies to advance knowledge and to promote the use of the psychological, sociological, economic and statistical elements which come into play in this vast undertaking, the continuous education of the nation.

THE TREND TOWARDS CHILDREN

Whatever the volume and depth of any campaign undertaken on behalf of adult education, success can only follow if equally resolute action is taken to amend the structures, curricula and methods of the first stages of education, those designed for children and adolescents. For the chief agent of adult education is the adult himself, with on the one hand his leanings, capacities, hopes and motivations, and on the other obstacles, dead ends and bottle-necks of various sorts. At the same time as he is moulded by the life he leads, the adult is heir to the child that he was. The consequence is that if, in his early years, he received a type of training that made him turn away from study and progress, or that did not prepare

him adequately for the type of persistence and effort that the continuity of the educational process calls for, he is in essence a lost cause in terms of adult education.

This is not the place to undertake a critical examination of the contents of the training currently being dispensed in schools and universities. It is sufficient to say that this training is based on archaic models constructed for the most part in terms of aristocratic societies; and that it has only been tinkered with since, without any attempt to test its spirit and methods in the light of the new objectives of modern societies. The deficiencies of such teaching are becoming clearer and clearer. We need only recall here what has been analysed at greater length elsewhere, namely that it rests upon a truncated concept of personality: the capacity to acquire knowledge is given precedence over all other forms of expression, emotional, social, aesthetic or physical. No consideration is given to differences of character, and those pupils who do not conform to pattern become marginal, as do those whose development is slower than the average rate. The need for selection prevails over the demands of training. Failure is institutionalized at the cost of senseless wastage of intellectual and monetary investment. These are only a few of the more unhappy aspects of a range of systems which shows every sign of exhaustion. The time has come to give unceasing battle in order to arrive at a new form of education based on criteria of reason and efficiency, and so shaped as not to outrage human nature.

In relation to adult education, action of this type aiming at the reform of primary education has both advantages and drawbacks. The main advantage would be the creation of a vast complex of laws, regulations,

constructions and teaching capacities at every grade. Yet the very magnitude of this complex represents an obstacle. How shall we alter solidly established traditions? How shall we change states of mind, professional and career interests? How shall we, for example, reconcile the demands of training and the need for selection? These are questions among others to which there is no ready answer nor quick solution. We are nevertheless faced henceforward with a crisis in education which, despite its negative aspects, allows a clear view of a number of avenues along which exploratory action can be taken with a view to founding the new order.

Personalization of teaching

If education has a meaning, it must enable every individual to develop in accordance with his own nature and as a function of his own leanings and capacities, not in terms of a ready-made model only suited to one particular type of subject, namely the 'gifted' pupil who learns easily and does not question the school order.

Accent on method

Accepting that all knowledge is of a relative character, we are led to concentrate attention, within the educational process, on the acquisition of the tools of knowledge and expression: language, spoken and written, mathematics, the media of artistic expression such as drawing, music, singing, dancing, and physical training.

The function of the school is, through systematic training, 'teaching to learn', by developing the capacities of reflection, of organizing one's work, of establishing a relationship between analysis and synthesis, and by encouraging the habit of dialogue and of team-work.

From a methodological angle there should also be considered the prospect of establishing closer links between various disciplines with a view to harnessing together the scientific and the literary approaches.

Links with daily existence

The task of education is to prepare tomorrow's adult to face the obligations and responsibilities of life, to accept change and all forms of intellectual and cultural adventure, and to adapt himself to rapid evolution in *mores* and doctrines. This implies the following objectives among others:

Inclusion of the values which appertain to labour among the themes of culture in modern life.

Some initiation into the workings of the law and of the economy, by way of explanation and introduction to a rational conception of structures and relations.

Initiation in the use of the major media of dissemination of knowledge and entertainment (film, radio, television).

Constant attention to reading (learning the language of poetry and of philosophy, the problem of fast reading, etc.).

Initiation into the art of living.

Discovery and assimilation of the values of human partnership in all its aspects (duologue, sexuality, complementing one another, etc.).

LITERACY AND LIFELONG EDUCATION

Literacy teaching provides one of the best illustrations of the soundness of the concept of lifelong education. This statement requires interpretation, which is fully supported by the facts. Experience shows that where a

literacy effort has succeeded, it has done so through being considered as a continuing factor in a global framework.

We shall not set out again here the principles of functional literacy teaching. It will be sufficient to recall that the system rests upon a close analysis of the inadequacies and failures of traditional types of literacy campaigns. In the past, and very often still today, the most frequent occurrence has been for illiterate adults to be taught the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic without regard to the social and economic circumstances of their lives and with no thought for the consequences and future use of the knowledge they have acquired, given the personality of each adult taken by himself. Such teaching was often based upon an abstract conception of man cut off from his deep motivations and reduced to a so-called cultural 'dimension' and to arbitrary notions of culture, justice and equality.

With functional literacy solid progress has been made towards meeting man in his concrete reality. The subject of the educational process now becomes the individual in his dimension as a producer, and this marks a tremendous step forward in the theory and practice of education as applied to literacy work. In the first place it implies an acknowledgement of the high priority value of work in any modern and realistic conception of culture. Work is thus recognized as one of the essential factors through which the world attains a human dimension.

An adult acquiring functional literacy is one called to take an active part in the transformation of the structures and living conditions of the world in which he has his place in terms of the general programmes of development of society and of the political objectives which are bound up with the building of the nation. He thus takes

up a position within the effective reality of a collective evolution which both governs and sustains the demands of his own development as an individual.

Yet the definition and the promotion of the notion of functional literacy involves at the same time the development of certain new approaches and the casting aside of various obsolete prejudices and tenets. In contrast to what is often maintained, literacy is not necessarily the first stage in the educational process. It takes its place in a complex of actions and undertakings aimed at raising the level of consciousness in men and at supplying them with the intellectual equipment they will need in order to express themselves, to communicate, to become informed with precision and to penetrate the realms of modern science. Literacy is undoubtedly a privileged and irreplaceable instrument. Without mastery of reading and writing the paths that lead to study and to participation in cultural life are totally barred.

Contrary to a widespread belief, literacy is an instrument of a complex nature which, in relation to other means of transmitting thought or feeling—for example images or speech—lies at an unusually high level of abstraction. The utility of this particular medium as compared with others is not immediately apparent to those who stand to profit from it. Only in the light of an overall conception of adult education, resting upon an understanding of the channels of perception, of the recognition of signs and of the assimilation of messages, and only on the basis of a clear vision of the links and articulations existing between the various elements of the adult's intellectual and emotional experience, will it become possible to bring literacy teaching into play in the educational process, at the opportune moment and with the

full impact of its significance. One cannot give too much weight to the notion that the value of literacy, like that of any other instrument, is only relative, and that literacy will only reach its full meaning and utility as part of a social, economic, political and also educational complex.

Acquiring literacy is neither solely nor basically the process of mastering a means of communication, nor does it imply the mere gaining of a new mode of expression. Its true meaning is the passage from one type of civilization to another, or more explicitly, the passage from an oral civilization, with its accompaniment of traditions and customs, to a written civilization with its own assortment of references, innovations, transformations of the bases of legality, and introductions to rational processes of perception and reflection. It is at the same time the passage from a society closed in upon itself to one which is necessarily open to the world. Its consequences are incalculable, very often in the short term and assuredly in the medium and long term.

The objectives and components of lifelong education accordingly have solid roots in all actions related to a functional view of literacy teaching, and this conclusion is highly favourable to the theses of lifelong education. Put in another way, if literacy is to fulfil its role fully and efficiently, it appears inevitable that it will build up even closer bonds and relations with the theory and practice of lifelong education as applied to adults.

Short- and long-term objectives

In the long term it is more and more clearly apparent that lifelong education presupposes a recasting of the totality of the educational system along lines of thought

and action of which an outline has been given in the preceding chapters. This task will occupy much time, the final objective being a more efficient and more open society in which man, his dimensions and aspirations, will receive greater respect.

It is, however, impossible to wait until all the pre-conditions for such a society are present before taking action, bearing in mind that the realization of all these pre-conditions at the same moment is most unlikely.

Now is the time therefore for taking a variety of measures meeting immediate needs and tending to favour the evolution of the system in the direction of structures assuring lifelong education.

In the short term a rational education policy might set itself the following objectives.

DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION

1. This meets the educational needs which emerge from the list of challenges enumerated in the first chapter.
2. Failing an elaborate network of structures for adult education, no serious reform of primary education is possible, if only by reason of the need to supply the pupils with learning of an encyclopaedic nature.
3. Adult education provides a unique laboratory for finalizing the structures and methods of a type of education not subject to traditional patterns.
4. To the extent that it transforms the mentality and behaviour patterns of its subjects, adult education exerts a fundamental influence on individuals who themselves have a determining voice in the educational field, namely parents.
5. Adult education provides the key to constructive relationships between the generations.

TEACHER TRAINING

The role of the teacher must undergo fundamental change in any system of lifelong education. His function as conveyor of knowledge will diminish in importance and volume, all the more as he will be able to remit this task, to a large extent, to the technological media. On the other hand his role as educator will be strengthened. It should soon be recognized as inconceivable that a subject as precious as a child, with all the complexities of his characteristics and hopes, should be handed over to the mercies of an individual—the teacher—who is not in possession of the competence required for this delicate task. A child is not solely a number on a list, a good or a bad pupil, better or less gifted for arithmetic or grammar; he is above all a human being endowed with personality. He has his own psyche, his sociological significance, he has his place in a series of contexts, his urges and his inhibitions; some roads are open to him and others closed. It is not to be thought of that an adult holding so much power over a child should not be equipped to perceive that child, to understand his coordinates, to guide rather than judge, to draw advantage from every individual resource rather than punish every deficiency. All this presupposes a thorough theoretical and practical preparation including general psychology and the study of intelligence, as well as sociology in the broad sense of society in the mass and in the narrow sense of group sociology. What is needed here is an irreducible minimum of training which should be introduced forthwith in the preparation of teachers for their task, so as to eliminate wastage and build the foundations of lifelong education.

GENERALIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL ACTION

It is also possible and desirable forthwith to mobilize all sectors of human activity in the service of educational responsibilities. The army, industry, trade, agriculture and public administration all have their roles to play not only in terms of action limited to each profession, but in a broad and interdisciplinary conception of the educational process faithful to the principles of lifelong education.

A collective enterprise

Research

If it is true that every life is a perpetual struggle, is it better to start preparing the future adult from school onwards for the coming contests, or on the contrary, at each successive stage and in the various types of training, to stress co-operation and intercommunication? Is it possible to create a state of equilibrium as between these conflicting demands of personality and of fate, and if so, how and through what channels?

This is one of the fundamental questions which every educator must face, whether he is concerned with curricula or with actual teaching, for upon the answer will to a large extent depend the general direction of instruction.

But many other questions arise with equal sharpness:

What is the true equilibrium between individual and collective aims, and in particular how should the training needs of the individual, with all his capacities and hopes, be reconciled with the needs of selection?

How can we equate the demand for personalization of teaching (taking into account all the individual traits of which the importance has been stressed throughout this study) with the universal features of human nature and its need for intercommunication?

What weight should be given to the different contents of curricula once we have rejected encyclopaedic teaching and placed the accent on method? What are the points of reference common to science, literature, philosophy and history that are essential to the development of the personality in its own social, political and historical context?

What balance should be sought between the acquiring of the needed disciplines, respect for the external establishment and the free expression of the personality?

Within a particular training, what proportions should be established between games and study?

Are there optimum periods for apprenticeship, generally or in respect of certain particular disciplines such as languages, mathematics, instrumental skill, etc.?

What laws govern the development of the personality and the stages of growth of intelligence, sensitiveness, sociability, and so forth?

What are the values that underlie each type of instruction and training?

In the educational process what shares should be allotted to school teaching, to out-of-school activities, to so-called 'parallel' schools, to the family, to the workshop, etc.?

To what extent and in what manner should education concern itself with prospects connected with manpower needs?

What attention should be paid to problems of employment opportunities?

Educators know some of the answers, or at any rate find themselves the interpreters of the answers supplied, explicitly or implicitly, by each of the educational systems

now in effect. Every educator, whether he is conscious of it or not, has his own system of values and of points of reference. But what are the foundations of these doctrines, official or personal?

In most cases the corpus of solutions has no other bases than traditions, customs, an inheritance of thoughts and processes and a purely empirical acquaintance with the problems of education. These are no doubt valuable elements, and the value of practical experience, together with the thinking of the craftsmen of teaching upon their own activity, are irreplaceable. Nevertheless the magnitude of the problems involved, the complexity of the factors at work, the necessity to adapt or to conceive new solutions, all call today for more solid foundations than the subjective opinions or experience of individuals can provide. Having taken every precaution as to methods, having brought every needed correction to the urge for system, we cannot, if we wish to build lifelong education on sound bases, elude the necessity of travelling beyond the realm of opinions, and of building a science.

To the varied experience of the teachers must be added the incontrovertible evidence of the human sciences. In defining its objectives, programmes and methods, education cannot dispense with the vital contributions of psychology and sociology. Only the psychologist and professional analyst of character can throw light, for the educator's benefit, on the circumstances and timing of the development of personality. Only they can provide the needed data regarding the psychical forces at work, the mental blocks, the difficulties of adaptation, etc.

The sociologist will for his part highlight the role of education in the evolution of society, both as a product and as a factor. As economist he will make an exact

calculation of the return to be expected from educational action viewed both in itself and in its relations with other forms of investment. The experience of artists, poets, composers, of men of science and of all who have found their vocation in the act of creation, will also have to be fully drawn upon; for they can furnish the most valuable evidence concerning the relationship between the construction of a work, of whatever nature, and the development of the personality.

If the desired new order is to take shape and become a reality it will be necessary to mobilize every resource, intellectual, emotional and practical, and all the forces that sustain the social edifice as a whole.

Experience gained in factories, fields and offices will prove as decisive in drawing up a new educational doctrine as the wisdom of philosophers, the inspiration of poets, and the constructions of scientists, both theoretical and practical.

If the soundness of these reflections is admitted, it becomes less and less thinkable that discussions on education, involving so many aspects of personality and affecting so many elements of the social fabric, can henceforward be left solely to the professionals of education. This is a collective enterprise, and all the circles involved must be associated not only with the work of research, but with the decisions.

The educational function

There will doubtless always be, in any given society, individuals, men and women, whose vocation is teaching. Education will continue to lead the way to professions, and the latter to call for specialized training. To

provide a child's education, to carry through a training course, the teacher must master a number of techniques and possess the necessary qualifications. Teachers, moreover, in addition to their roles as instructors and trainers, render society the signal service of taking charge of children and adolescents while their parents carry out their duties, either professional or domestic.

Nevertheless the transformations which have taken place in educational thought and practice, together with their likely evolution, cannot fail to have repercussions on the function of the educator.

In admitting the notion that education reaches far beyond the limits traditionally assigned to it—in particular those of teaching—we must also accept that any person who, at a given moment and in given circumstances, has responsibilities for instruction and training, is an educator. This is clearly the position of the teacher, but it is also that of the physician, the priest, the foreman, the engineer, the agricultural demonstrator and the man responsible for a political, trade-union or co-operative structure. Parents are educators by priority and will increasingly remain so, and among others who hold this kind of responsibility, even if they are not always conscious of the fact, we must clearly include the managers and prime movers of the mass information media who, through radio, press, television and the screen, contribute powerfully to the making and moulding of minds, hearts and tastes.

All these categories and figures of modern societies constitute a great army of educators and swell the training resources properly so called. But this does not mean that they are automatically qualified to exercise their responsibilities in an adequate manner. There are countless

ignorant and clumsy parents who retard their children's development. There are many physicians who regard a sick person as a medical case rather than as an individual who requires advice and guidance. There are numerous programme directors who adopt the lowest common denominator within their public, which they flatter by appealing to its passions and self-interest and by following the paths of facility.

The marshalling and mobilization of these many resources in the interests of the educational development of individuals and societies accordingly raise problems both of conscience and of competence—the word 'conscience' being here taken in its double significance as both intellectual acceptance or awareness of a state of fact, the educational process, and as moral acceptance or acknowledgement of responsibility with all the consequences implied in different forms of action. But competence is also a necessity: there must be a clear view of the objectives to be reached, of ways of conveying messages, of what is good and what is bad, useful or harmful to men's natures. Should we not deduce from all this that an aptitude to educate should henceforward form part of the training of every individual, if only because every individual, as a general rule, will become a domestic partner and will have children to bring up? More specifically, it would seem clear that educational theory and practice have now become an integral part of the training of any individual belonging to a modern society whose occupation endows him with influence, authority or responsibility towards others.

Within the ambit of this collective enterprise it is highly desirable that all these participants in educational action, whether professional teachers or others, should

remain in permanent communication and consultation, guiding one another and benefiting from each other's specific experience and contributions. Only on such terms can the structures of an authentic and vigorous form of lifelong education progressively take shape.

Towards an educational society

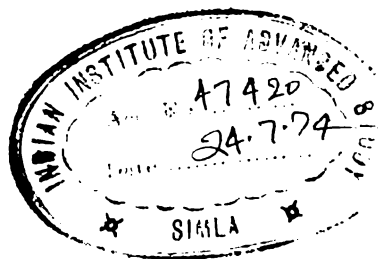
The logic of the development of lifelong education presupposes a transformation of the structures of society in a direction favourable to the growth of the personality. This fundamental aspect of the problem has already been touched upon in various parts of this study, in particular in the chapter dealing with the strategy of lifelong education. But at this point, when the collective character of the enterprise is being highlighted, together with the necessary alliances, we cannot lay sufficient stress on the predominant role of the politician and the administrator. The introduction of lifelong education is an essentially political undertaking, to the extent that the totality of the structures of the *polis* are involved in its realization.


Conclusions

Lifelong education is still at the conceptual stage. As with other principles such as freedom, justice and equality, it will doubtless retain indefinitely that certain distance in relation to concrete achievements which is in the nature of concepts. If, however, the distance is too great, as is frequently the case for the other concepts just listed, scepticism will be aroused. The accusations of vagueness, formlessness and imprecision which are often aimed at this concept are not devoid of reason. If a notion is to emerge from limbo and to appear in its true light, it is essential that it should be reflected in facts and actions from which it can draw strength. For as long as analyses of lifelong education are not backed by a series of references to situations, structures, programmes, in brief, to all that is so aptly called the 'concrete', so long will it be difficult to win mass support for theses of which the foundations have so far been largely theoretical.

There is no gainsaying that lifelong education does not yet exist anywhere in the fullness of its aims. Certain forces are undoubtedly at work, and the world has not waited for theorists to express their views, or for committees to make recommendations, before entering upon the course of a form of education adapted to the becoming of things and beings. The elements with the aid

of which the conceptual framework of the new education is taking shape are found in the solutions that individuals and groups apply, day by day and year by year, to new situations. Lifelong education has become not only desirable but possible only because new avenues have opened up. If, for example, we did not have the benefit of the appreciable contribution made by adult education, and more generally by out-of-school methods of training, if countries had not built up extensive networks of communication through radio and television, and if the means of universal instruction were not at hand, then our thoughts concerning lifelong education would be without meaning and would doubtless not even have begun to take shape. Today, on the contrary, the enterprise lies in the realm of the possible, and lifelong education represents from now onwards a great hope. That hope rests upon faith in man and in his ability to become an adult responsible for his thinking, his feelings and his options—granted always that his creative powers have not been whittled away from the outset, either by a hostile world or by modes of training which pay no respect to man's originality and thrust.



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