

A Brief History of Modern Education in Jammu and Kashmir: A Study into the Government Initiatives (1947-1975)

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Abstract: *This paper chronicles the history of modern education in Jammu and Kashmir between 1947 and 1975. This period has witnessed extensive growth of educational institutions in the region. Due attention has been paid to the Political and policy environment in which the educational policies were framed. It offers a selection of documented material on the evolution of modern education in the state. An effort has been made to offer, within the boundaries of this small article, a composed variety of all important aspects of the history of modern education in the region culled from numerous sources – reports of the officially selected committees and commissions, government resolutions, yearly plans, and the state constitution. This document caters to the need not only of academics or those directly associated with the educational problems but a larger group of people who are concerned with the post-independence history of J&K. This document endorses that the government has made successful efforts for the growth of modern education in the state and also that the problems in the education system have remained same throughout the post-independent history of the state.*

Keywords: Education, Jammu, Kashmir, Education Reorganization Committee

India as a nation, since its independence in 1947, has been committed to the creation of a secular, democratic and socialist society based on freedom, justice, equality, and the dignity of the individuals to provide a reasonable and satisfying standard of living for all. The creation of this new society needed the total effort of the nation, i.e., of its government and people. In this regard, the government, since the very beginning, undertook various initiatives aiming at the socio-economic transformation of the nation. Among other spheres, the development of education was a major focus of the overall policy formulation in the post-independence period. Many schemes and

programmes were initiated and a significant amount of energy and finances were spent to meet the educational needs of the country.

Jammu and Kashmir State, after it acceded to the Union of India, too received the benefits of this transformation. Nevertheless, due to the emergence of a 'territorial dispute,' in the state in 1947, the pace of its progress was critically hindered to a larger extent. The political instability, which is a combination of various factors like misgovernance, corruption, and institutional decay, loomed large in the region, and significantly mired the overall progress of the state. Furthermore, four wars between India and Pakistan were majorly fought within the geographical limits of the state—hampering socio-economic progress in the state.

However, the emergence of such an 'imbroglio' had both positive and negative effects. With the 'dispute' over the region making rounds in the global discourse, the ideas of 'development' and 'progress' in the state were used as the instruments of legitimacy in the state. This focus on the narrative of 'developmentalism' made J&K receive, in the early years of post-partition history, what many other states of the Indian union could not, benefitting it in the longer run. The other benefit of the globalization of this 'imbroglio' was that the state reaped a significant global scholarship. Nevertheless, much emphasis of these writings was on the political developments in and outside the state that too in the context of the partition of the subcontinent. While this proved advantageous, nonetheless, due to it many historic developments lapsed into oblivion. The burden especially fell on social and cultural developments—the development of modern education being one of these.

It is in the backdrop of these two above happenings—the state's emphasis on the narrative of 'developmentalism' and lesser focus of scholars on socio-cultural developments—this paperwork out the growth and development of modern education in the region after 1947 and highlights the role of government initiatives in this regard. The paper is divided into four parts, each listing the developments made during a particular era in the state up to 1975 A.D. First, a brief historical overview of modern education under the Dogra government (1846-1947) is given and it is argued that how the Dogra state took lesser efforts in educating the masses in the region. The second section highlights the efforts of the first National Conference government led by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah between 1947 and 1953 and discusses how the government, amid partition trauma, created a network of schools in the region and tried to work out the programme of 'Naya Kashmir', envisaged by 'National Conference' during its struggle against Dogra raj for all-round progress of the region. The third segment gives a summary of developments made under Prime Minister Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad between 1953 and 1963. The paper observes that under Bakshi the narrative of 'developmentalism' had reached its zenith due to Sheikh Abdullah's detention and dismissal on August 9th, 1953, and hence education, like other spheres, witnessed large-scale growth and expansion. The last segment covers the

progress made in the education sector between 1964 and 1975 under Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq and Syed Mir Qasim.

Modern Education in J&K (1846 to 1947): A Historical Overview

The state of Jammu and Kashmir came into existence after the signing of the Treaty of Amritsar (16 August 1846) between the British East India Company and the Dogra Chieftain Gulab Singh. The orientation of such a state on an operational level was Hindu rulers and Muslim subjects.¹ The state to the rulers was an acquired property and they ruled it 'as a master rules the slave'. (Bazaz, 1954: 122) Muslims, the majority of the population, were not treated at par with the ruler's co-religionists only for the reason that they were Muslims. (Bazaz, 1941: 250) For a longer period the government of Maharaja, like other fields of development, was not willing to educate the subjects principally because they 'disliked the idea of making their subjects politically conscious'. (Bazaz, 1969: 265) However, many happenings transpired in the state which brought some major shifts in the state society and polity—the coming of the Christian missionaries and the role of the Pan-Indian Muslim organizations being the major ones.

Before the advent of Christian missionaries, there was the least developed sphere of modern education in the state.² All that can be said is that early Dogra rulers followed the policy of non-intervention in educational matters. However, it appears that Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1856-85), encouraged classical learning, particularly Sanskrit, and the revitalized old system of education on the pattern of madrasa and *Pathshalas*. *Pathshalas* for learning subjects like Sanskrit, Hindi scriptures and law, grammar, logic, science, and medicine were established at Jammu and Uttarbehani, on the principles of ancient *Mathas* and *Ashrams*. (Chark, 1985: 243-255) However, with the emergence of the 'Council of State', under the British Resident in 1889, there was a dramatic turn in the educational history of the state. Education now turned out to be the central component of the State's drive towards centralisation and bureaucratization along the lines of 'British India'. But importing the colonial principle of 'downward filtration' regarding the education of the masses and also because of the process of importing bureaucracy from Punjab and Bengal, the Dogra rulers were still hesitant to extend education beyond the reach of some elite classes in the state. (Zutshi, 2003: 173)

Even decades after the advent of the missionaries and British officials in the state, there was still a lesser amount of development in the educational sphere. Until 1907, the state had no organised educational policy and it was only after the establishment of an education department, that the state began to witness several educational reforms. (Kaul, 1907: 279) From 1907 onwards strenuous efforts were made to increase educational institutions of all types in the state. But owing to the inadequate infrastructure, inefficient training, and personnel staff these institutions were not much popular among the masses. (Kaul: 279) Nonetheless, from the very inception, these educational institutions, though rudimentary, were highly appreciated by the Hindus,

who formed the minority in the state, while the attitude of the majority community *i.e.* Muslims, was indifferent. (Administrative report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1893-94) Statistically speaking, in the years 1891-92 out of 1,585 boys who were enrolled in schools, only 233 were Muslims. Furthermore, at the beginning of 1911, there were only 15 educated Muslim males as compared to 453 Hindu males per thousand of the population in Kashmir. (Khan, 1912: 169) By 1921, this number had jumped to a mere 19 for Muslims, while going up to 508 for Hindus. (Bahadur, 1922: 121) It has been argued that such educational backwardness among the majority section of the population was not only because of orthodox views but because of their economic conditions which did not allow them to think beyond fulfilling their basic needs (Abdullah, 2016: 27) The 'Sharp Commission'(1916) which was appointed in 1916 to look into the problems of the education system of the state also spoke in similar colonial rhetoric about the educational backwardness of the Muslims of the state. Significantly, the recommendations that were made by it were not only ignored but were kept secret from the public. (Bazaz, 1954: 251) Other than the attitude of the state, what contributed to the educational backwardness of Muslims was the outlook of Hindus. The local Pandits who, like the administration, had monopolized the education department, acted as a major barrier to the dissemination of modern education among the Muslim masses. (The Riots Enquiry Committee, 1931) This in turn explains the demand of the Muslim intelligentsia, as well that of the 'Sharp commission' and 'Glancy commission' (1932), for the appointment of the Muslim teachers and officers for the growth of education among Muslims.

Among all the Dogra rulers, it was Hari Singh's reign that the much-applauded step of the legislation of free and compulsory primary education in certain specific areas was taken (F. No. 19/S-120/1930). Although in relative terms, this step was extraordinary, the act was based on class and gender prejudices. (Educational Reorganisation Committee Report, 1939: 71) Though, numerically speaking, the educational facilities increased during this period, there were numerous problems that the education system faced. Problems like wastage and stagnation, unavailability of teachers, training, congestion in schools, lack of systematic inspection, etc., did not allow normal literacy to develop. (Educational Reorganisation Committee Report: 10-24) The following table illustrates the various problems faced by the Education department till 1938:

Table-1

Total population of the state in 1938	3850000
Number of schools in the state	1106
Number of teachers in the education department	2290
Finance of the education department	Rs. 2051897
Number of institutions for the training of teachers	1
Number of high schools in the state (both government and aided)	23
Number of primary schools in the state (both girls and boys)	977
Number of Middle schools in the state (both girls and boys)	107

Source: 'Education Reorganisation Report' 1938

However, with the appointment of the 'Education Reorganization Committee' in 1939 things changed positively. The Committee, for the first time, investigated the complex problems of school education like the problem of inspection, pay anomaly of teachers, the problem of teacher training, and so on. But, the Committee laid stress on manual labour and made students more attracted to craftsmanship than academics. (Educational Reorganisation Committee Report: 5)

So what can be concluded is that the educational sphere did not witness any significant change during the Dogra period of Kashmir history and the majority section remained backward. Factually speaking, in the year 1941, among the Muslims, which constituted 77.11 % of the population (31 lakhs) only 17497 (1.9%) were receiving education. While among 76,868 (Wreford, 1912: 38) Hindus which constituted 20.12 % of the population, 26798 were receiving education (Administrative Report, 1944: 12). Between 1846 and 1947, notwithstanding the contribution of government and non-government agencies, the situation was thus that the literacy rate of Jammu and Kashmir was mere 5%. (Report of the Committee on Economic reforms, 1998: 245)

Contribution of the First National Conference government (1947-53) towards the Development of Modern education in J & K.

At the time of the partition of the subcontinent in 1947, the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir had got a special significance—both India and Pakistan wanted the state to accede for their geo-strategic and other benefits. However, the state acceded to the union of India on October 26th, 1947. This accession, signed by Maharaja of the state, in the backdrop of the tribal revolt, was 'temporary' and its finality depended on the choice of the people of the state, to be established through a plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations Organisation. Since the dispute of Kashmir had entered the global arena and was being debated in the UNSC, it severely impacted the proper functioning of the government in the region.³ However, amidst this post-partition trauma, the first National Conference government (1947-53) under Sheikh Abdullah keeping its pledge to shape a 'new Kashmir' underwent a process of rebuilding the state on modern lines. Among the other spheres, it was modern education that received impetus and many endeavours were made to overhaul the entire education system. This reorganisation of education was based on the principles and ideals enunciated in the "New Kashmir Manifesto"⁴ adopted by National Conference in 1944. As the first Prime Minister of the state, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah believed that mass education was imperative if the people of the State were to attain prosperity and enlightenment. (Wani, 2018: 86) So the attention of the Government, therefore, was on creating a network of schools across the State, extending the educational infrastructure, providing educational access to the refugees, and establishing colleges and teachers' training centres all across the state.

Table-2

Year	Number of primary schools (Both Government and aided)	Number of middle schools (Both Government and aided)	Number of high schools (Both Government and aided)	Number of colleges	Expenditure on Education.
1948-49	975	103	44	6	3210719
1949-50	985	103	54	8	3754322
1950-51	940	146	55	14	4277000
1951-52	1050	158	58	11	5238000

Source: Education Jammu and Kashmir development series no 2, 1966

The state government under Sheikh Abdullah also fastened the process of re-writing the textbooks to be commensurated with the new syllabus (Jammu And Kashmir Today, 1953: 6). Accordingly, a 'Textbook Advisory Board' was set up in November 1948 under the chairmanship of Sheikh Abdullah with Moulana Masoodi, Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, Freda Bedi and Dr. Phil Edmonds as its members. (Sharma, 1951: 3) The Committee was successful in printing and promoting its textbooks. 96 books on different subjects were compiled in different languages and around 3, 00,000 copies were brought out every year. (Administrative Report, 1952: 93) Furthermore, to implement the psychologically sound principle that education should be imparted through the mother tongue, the government set up an expert committee on the subject called the 'Script sub-committee, with G.A. Ashai, G.H. Beigh, Prof. J. Kaul and SK Toshakhani as its members. The committee recommended a new script that adequately expressed the characteristic of Kashmiri phonetics and wrote the first book in the language. In April 1949, it was made possible to introduce Kashmiri as the medium of instruction and a subject of study. (Administrative Report, 1952: 94) Considerably, with the snapping of the links with the Punjab University Lahore, due to partition, the need for the establishment of a University in the State was strongly felt as the Schools and Colleges were left without affiliation. Thus, the 'Jammu and Kashmir University Act' was passed under which a university was established on 2nd November 1948 with G. A. Ashai as its first Registrar (Seru, 1973: 142) and the first convocation address was delivered by the President of India Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

The major progress in education during this era was made after the appointment of Assadullah Kazmi as the Director of the Education department. With his appointment, the complete overhauling of the entire education system was on the anvil (Jammu and Kashmir Today: 1953 p7). Kazmi instituted several experiments related to the reorganisation of schools, checking wastage in education, and assigning refresher courses for the teachers. He started new educational experiments like ' Multi-purpose

Schools', 'social education', 'infant schools', and the building of schools through 'community self-help'. (Administrative Report, 1952: 91) Furthermore, to introduce new experiments in the education system, educational conferences were organised at various places to acquaint people with the importance of education. On August 1st, 1949, an 'Educational Officer's Conference', the first of this kind in the state, was organised in Srinagar. In pursuance of the decision taken by this educational conference, the scheme of 'social education' was introduced in the state in October 1949 with 40 social educational centres, 20 in each of the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir respectively. (Administrative Report, 1952: 90-91)

Moreover, to integrate textual knowledge with practical training and also to counter the lopsided growth of textual education, vocational instruction was commenced in several schools. Industrial classes were also opened in 2 girls' high schools, where they received training in important crafts like knitting, weaving, and dressmaking. (Sharma, 1951: 5) The Government also experimented with multi-purpose schools and established two such schools in Srinagar and Jammu. These schools were designed to provide secondary education suited to the aptitude of the pupils. Many subjects like agriculture, spinning, weaving, embroidery, paper-mâché, wood carving, and crafts like smithy and carpentry were introduced as optional subjects for the matriculation examination. (Administrative Report, 1952: 94)

Since there was a total absence of a Kindergarten system of education in the State which resulted in the wastage of precious years of a child, in 1949, on an experimental basis, three model 'infant schools' were started, which admitted children to the age of 3 and kept them in schools for 2 years. The experiment was successful and during 1950-51, 120 infant classes were started throughout the State. (Sharma, 1951: VII)

In August 1950 an Educational Reorganisation Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of Asadullah Kazmi, Director of Education, and fourteen other members. The terms of reference for the committee were;

1. To define the aims and objectives of education at its various stages in Kashmir with special reference to the changed conditions and urgencies of modern times.
2. To survey Primary, Secondary and post-secondary education in the State.
3. To recommend measures to bring education in closer touch with the socio-economic order.

The Committee began to work on the 18th of August 1950 with the inaugural address delivered by Prime Minister Sheikh Abdullah. The committee submitted its final report in January 1951 and made various recommendations which included:

1. Kindergarten to be a two-year course (from age of 3 plus to 5 plus years).
2. Primary School which was to be called the Central School and its duration was to be 7 years from age 5 to 12. The crafts and

handiworks were to form an integral part of its syllabus.

3. Secondary education was to be a 4-year course (age 12-16) to be organised as a self-sufficient unit. (Education Reorganisation Committee Report, 1950: 8)
4. The committee also made other important recommendations regarding physical education, social education, curricula, and syllabi reformation, an increase in facilities for the training of the teachers, and higher scales of pay for the teachers. (Education Reorganisation Committee Report: 8)

The government, without wastage time, prepared itself to implement the scheme in letter and spirit and the state witnessed an increase of 188 schools, both government and aided, in the state from 1950 -1951 which included 140 primary schools, 43 middle schools, and 5 high schools. Furthermore, to revitalise the primary schools numerous 'mobile training squads' were set up. On the recommendations of the Committee increase in the salaries of teachers was sanctioned which not only led to improvement in the efficiency of teachers but also enhanced the social prestige of teachers which *inter alia* became an encouraging factor for the people to educate their children.

Likewise, to stimulate Higher education, Sri Pratapand Amar Singh College of Srinagar which functioned as an Intermediate and Degree College since 1942 was converted into a 4-year full-fledged Degree College. At Gandhi Memorial College Jammu post-graduate courses in Geology and Economics and B.Sc. classes for Botany were started in the session of 1951. (Administration Report, 1953: 27) The establishment of a separate Women's Intermediate College at Srinagar with Music and Domestic Science as special elective subjects was the most significant achievement of the era. (Administration Report, 1953: 27) As a result of these relentless measures undertaken by the Government, there was a visible increase in the number of Schools, Colleges, and Vocational Centres.

Nevertheless, despite the increase in enrolment and growth in the number of educational institutions, the standard of education was still to reach its greatest success. Among the other reasons responsible for it, the 'popular' government's least attention towards the growth of Private enterprise in education was a major one. Other than this, what also is to be added is that the government charged hefty fees from the students which became a hindrance in the expansion of education with the people like Prem Nath Bazaz calling it a 'new taxation'. (Bazaz, 2003: 502)

1953-63: 'Naya Kashmir' in Practice and the development of modern education

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was dismissed on August 9th, 1953, and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Sheikh's close aide, became the Prime Minister of the state. However, since Abdullah was much popular leader in the state, Bakshi had a meagre chance of acquiring public approval for his government. Therefore, to earn public support Bakshi took some socio-economic measures

to win over people to his side. The politics of subsidization and universal free education are examples in this case. During his era, the idea of 'developmentalism', growth, and prosperity played a crucial role in earning the people's sympathy towards the government and was also a means for the state to wield its authority. Since this idea of developmentalism required strong financial backing, therefore, during the era, the central financial backing was so much robust that when most of the states of the Indian Union were having insufficient funds, J&K had a surplus budget. (Puri, 1959) By the end of the rule of the Bakshi in 1963, Kashmir's total income had risen by 40% and per capita income by 26%. Between 1950 and 1970, almost ninety percent of the states 'Five Year Plans' were funded by the centre. (Prakash, 2000: 2053) While these measures on the one hand calmed the atmosphere of anger against Bakshi after the arrest of Abdullah, on the other hand, these acted also as tools for manufacturing the 'consent' of the masses in favour of the accession of the state to India. Therefore, the region witnessed some greater changes in various sectors and education was no exception to it.

When Bakshi assumed charge of the Prime Ministership of the state on August 9, 1953, in his first broadcast from Radio Kashmir, he announced a series of reforms that his government intended to implement. Measures for Educational reform and development were included in the list of his priority areas. (Ali: 1954: 17,18) The government promised enhancement of salaries of the teachers, abolishment of fees from the primary to university level, providing textbooks, spreading female education, development of national languages (including Kashmiri, Dogri, and Bodhi), and promoting education among the backward classes— including Kashmiri Muslims, Harijans, Sikhs, Ladakhis, Gujjars and Bakerwals. Immediately education was made free and tuition fees were abolished right up to the university level. This was an epoch-making development as it benefitted nearly 1.25 lakh students. The significance of this policy lies in the fact that Kashmir was the only state in the Indian union to take such a step. (Jammu & Kashmir, A review of Progress 1961:25) In doing so Bakshi government showed acute political awareness as the increase in tuition fees under the Abdullah government had resulted in discontentment. (File no1651 Ed 726-US/1948) of Education, the number of educational institutions rose drastically. There was an increase of 26% in the number of educational institutions and above 30% in the budget for education in the first year of Bakshi's regime alone (A review of Achievements of Bakshi Government: 12). 520 new educational institutions of different nature were established by the government from August 1953 to 1955. In Baramulla, the Saint Joseph's School was reopened and promoted to a degree college. The cut of 25% imposed by the first NC government on the grants payable to certain institutions was restored. Pertinently, in contrast to the past, Muslims of Kashmir now were very anxious to receive modern education but their enthusiasm was frustrated by the gross poverty in what was still an economy where the majority of parents had little cash to spend. Thus Bakshi's

step of making education free was a revolutionary step and a major barrier towards mass education in the state was removed. As a result, while the number of students attending educational institutions in 1951-52 was 131003, by 1954-55 it had risen to 148790. (Seru: 159, 167)

On April 4, 1955, Bakshi announced the preparation of a 'New Education Policy' for the state to be prepared by a committee headed by Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, Minister of Education and Health in the state. The policy laid stress on having a 'progressive' educational policy that would primarily meet the economic needs of the state to build a progressive and prosperous Kashmir. As a consequence not only was primary education universalized and education made accessible to the broad section of the population, but the budget for education went from being nearly 6.3% of the state's total revenue in 1950-51 to 11.9% by 1956, and the total cost on education went from 35 lakhs in 1950-51 to almost 71 lakhs in 1955-56. (Seru: 158, 168) A major share of the budget was spent on building primary, secondary and higher secondary schools both in rural as well as in urban areas throughout the state. Several Mobile schools were opened for the benefit of the children of Gujjar and Bakerwals and other nomadic tribes of the state. Not only in urban centres like Srinagar but the state opened schools all over the region. The result of these efforts was that the number of educational institutions shot up from 1330 in 1950 to 3653 by 1960. (Seru: 176) To man these institutions with suitably qualified staff, a larger number of teachers were deputed to foreign countries for receiving higher education. Alongside it, qualitative and vitalising instruction was given adequate attention in these institutions. The State also provided scholarships to students belonging to the marginalised sections of society. Equal attention was paid to women's education so that it progressed along with that of the boys. The number of institutions for girls increased from 229 in 1950 to 671 in 1961. (Seru: 176) To remove the backlog in the sphere of women's education many schemes were implemented which not only provided for the reorientation of women teachers but provided them residential, accommodation, stipends and scholarships. Moreover, to entice more people to teach, the government raised the salaries of teachers. Through these policies, education became much more accessible to a larger number of people throughout the state and also became available to both Muslims and females. (Kanjwal, 2017: 121) In 1947, only 4 to 5% of people could read and write, and in 1961, close to the end of Bakshi's rule, this increased to 10.06 per cent. (Education in Jammu and Kashmir, Development series no 2, 1966: p 3)

It is important here to mention that between 1953 and 1963, the government also paid attention to the growth of higher education. A polytechnic college was established in 1958 in Srinagar and another one in Jammu with courses in mechanical, civil and electrical engineering. (Review of Education in India 1947-1961: 12) The Jammu and Kashmir University which was initially a merely examining body was by 1963 a full-fledged university with 21 departments. To produce technologies at a higher level a

regional college was started in 1959. Likewise, a medical college was started in Srinagar with a capacity to train 90 Doctors every year. Similarly, two agricultural colleges one at Sopore in Kashmir valley and another at Ranbirsingpora in Jammu were established in 1960 to give a flip to the agricultural Sciences in the state. (Review of Education in India: 12) By 1962 there were 13 degree colleges in the state giving instructions in both science and arts subjects besides two teachers training colleges and a commerce college. There were also two separate colleges for women students.

Table-3

Year	Number of institutions	No of students	Expenditure on education
1951-52	1277	131003	32,27951
1952-53	1256	116639	3913588
1953-54	1668	127353	43,93,000
1954-55	1822	148790	60,89,500
1955-1956	2282	181545	7077000
1956-1957	2493	195379	1467211
1957-58	2726	243412	2939780
1958-59	3031	261763	13971100
1959-60	3653	276351	16286285
1960-61	3676	302712	19462000
1961 -62	4446	387569	25041400
1962-63	4860	408535	27818100

Based on the administrative reports from 1950 to 1963

Progress in the educational sector under G.M. Sadiq and Mir Qasim (1964-75)

In 1963-64 the agitation on the issue of a holy relic from the shrine of Hazratbal brought major shifts in the politics of the state. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was replaced by Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq. In his very first Press conference detailing his policy as the Prime Minister of the State, Sadiq promised that the fundamental rights guaranteed to citizens under the constitution would 'become a reality (Sadiq, 1964: 1). As a result, what can be observed in the long decade rule of Sadiq is that overall development occurred in the region, even though there were various shortcomings too.

Sadiq continued with the special focus which had been given to education by his predecessors and introduced long-term reforms that brought greater changes in the state. Under Sadiq, by the end of 1970-71, the total amount of

funds that were spent on the progress of education in the region had reached almost Rs 90 million (Jammu and Kashmir on the road to Progress, p45). It was the result of these efforts that by the end of 1972-73 the number of primary schools had increased from 1,145 in 1950 to 5,363 in 1972, the total enrolment at the primary stage from 78,000 (or 16.7 per cent of the age group) to 4, 35,000 (or 64.1 per cent of the age-group). During the same period, the number of middle schools increased from 189 to 1,408. (Development of Education, 1973: 65) In 1971-72, the total enrolment in I-VIII was 5.56 lakhs. The average annual additional enrolment in classes' I-VIII was about 35,000 by 1973. The number of high and higher secondary schools had increased, from 1947-73, from 55 in 1960 to 557 in 1972, and their total enrolment had increased from 5,600 (or 2.7 per cent of the age group 14-17) to 66,000 (or 22.6 per cent of the age group). (Development of Education, 1973: 69, 70).

The expansion of higher education during the same period had been even more phenomenal. The State had two universities with 31 teaching departments and an enrolment of 1,780; 19 colleges of general education (against 9 in 1950) with an enrolment of 18,436 boys and 6,913 girls (against only 2,527 boys and 252 girls in 1950); and 11 colleges of professional education (against 1 in 1950) with an enrolment of 2,400 boys and 415 girls (against only 50 boys and 20 girls in 1950). Between 1950 and 1972, the annual output of B.A.'s had increased from 207 to 1,518, that of B.Sc.'s from 42 to 1,035, and that of M.A.s, M.Sc. from nil to 591 and 210, respectively. Women's education was given special focus. During the 25 years, the State had shown tremendous progress in this field. The number of primary schools for girls had increased, between 1950 and 1971, from 175 to 1743 and the enrolment of girls at the primary stage from 12,000 (or 5.4% of the age group) to 145,000 (or 44.5% of the age group). The number of middle schools for girls increased from 37 to 363 and the enrolment of girls at the middle school stage from 2,000 (or 2.2% of the groups) to 37,000 (or 27.8% of the age group). The number of secondary schools for girls increased from 7 to 126 and the enrolment of girls at the secondary stage from 300 (or 0.3% of the age group) to 14,000 (or 10.2% of the age group). In higher education, there were now 525 girls in the universities, 6,913 girls in colleges of general education (against 252 girls in 1950) and 415 girls in colleges of professional education (against only 10 girls in 1950). What was important was that several private institutions had grown up in the state working towards the progress of education in the region. According to the government information, these numbered 186 and included Muslim Private institutions (27), Jamaat-i Islami (106), Arya Educational Samaj (7), Sanatan Dharma (6), Khalsa (3), institutions Christian (8) and others (28). The State had promulgated an Act (Act XIX of 1967) to grant recognition to those institutions. Most of these received grants-in-aid also. (Development of Education: 70, 79, 85).

However, with all this progress in the state, there were still a lot of weaknesses prevalent in the educational system of the State. It lacked a mass base: only one out of every five adults could read and write, and the provision

of universal primary and middle school education in the age group 6-14 was still a long way off. The system was largely traditional in the sense that it continued to create an elite that strived for white-collar jobs while the bulk of the producers of wealth received little or no formal education. It separated education from work and the training of the brain from that of the hand. On the one hand, there was a considerable dearth of people with necessary and important skills. There was too much of an emphasis on the mere imparting of knowledge and too little attention to the teaching of essential skills and inculcation of values. And as a consequence of all these weaknesses, there was an increasing general dissatisfaction with the system, considerable discontent among teachers, and growing unrest and unemployment among students. To overcome these weaknesses a commission was set up to examine the problems in the education system and recommend suitable policies and programmes. Shri Bhagwan Sahay, governor of the state, was appointed as the Chairman of the Committee in 1972 (Notification Dated 1st April 1972. No. GD (ADM) 71/Misc.—IV (Adm) Dated 1-4-1972). This commission submitted its recommendations covering the entire set up of the education system in the state ranging from primary school to university education in the state and included the following:

1. Strengthening of secondary education through careful planning of the location of secondary schools, lengthening its duration to four years, transfer of PUC and the first year of TDC to secondary schools, and the development of a large-scale programme of diversification and rationalisation.
2. Revision and upgrading of curricula at the school stage with special emphasis on work experience, provision of opportunities for participation in community service and national development and the teaching of science, mathematics and English'
3. Starting three-year honours courses at the undergraduate stage.
4. Improvement of standards of school education through a package programme which will include the adoption of a new calendar for the school year, planning the proper location of schools, institutional planning, improvement in general education and training of teachers etc.
5. Provision of universal education in the age group 6-14 in a phased programme by 1980-81 through the adoption of a two-point entry system and a large-scale programme of part-time education ;
6. Development of a programme of informal education for non-student youth in the age group 15-25.
7. Special emphasis on the education of girls and women
8. Intensive use of television ;
9. Enacting an Education Act and a Code (Development of Education: 2-5).

Significantly most of its recommendations were later to turn the bedrock of the modern education system in the region. It was the effect of this

commission that correspondence courses got a flip and private study got encouragement. There emerged a greater focus on not only the teaching of Science and Mathematics but also physical education and games and sports.

The system prevalent in the state in the current era is completely based on its recommendations where the school system covers eight years or the age group 6-14 or class I-VIII divided into two sub-stages: (a) the primary stage which covers classes I-V or the age group 6-11; and (b) the middle school stage which covers classes VI-VIII or the age-group 11-14. The drop-out rate got much diminished. Secondary education consists of three years or classes IX-XII. At the higher education level, the modern system of education consisting of honours courses of three-year duration was its contribution. Postgraduate courses and part-time courses of modern times too flow from it. The adoption of NCERT textbooks in the state also flowed from it. Introduction of M. Phil degree in Universities too only started after it.

In the same way, since there was a large rush, especially in the professional colleges of the state, especially medical and engineering colleges and the number of applicants was always higher than the number of seats available, there were a lot of grievances with the minority communities and socially and educationally backward communities in the state, and therefore a commission under former Chief Justice of India Dr P.B. Gajendragadkar was set up in 1967. It was after implementing the recommendations of this commission, that Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq provided reservations to the backward regions and classes. Furthermore, the loan provided by the state amounted to Rs 1500, 2500, and 2000 respectively for diploma courses, professional courses and general courses. (Gajendragadkar Commission Report, 1968: 66) Special scholarships were given to those students who belonged to the lower rung of society especially scheduled castes and backward communities. (Gajendragadkar Commission Report: 66)

Education is essentially a three-fold process: (a) it imparts knowledge and stimulates the desire to pursue it continuously; (b) it teaches essential skills; and (c) it inculcates basic values. Judged based on these criteria, the educational system of Jammu and Kashmir up to 1975, like that of the Indian Union on which it was broadly modelled, was deficient in several aspects. These deficiencies had been identified for quite some time, but for some reason or the other, the radical and vigorous steps needed to transform the educational system had not been taken. Meanwhile, owing to the pressure of public demand, the educational system has grown tremendously in size. While this was necessary and had its great social advantages, it cannot be denied that the stresses and strains of the system have also increased in proportion so that the effort required to transform the system has also become more complex, more difficult and more costly. A stage has, therefore, been reached when a transformation of the educational system has become a programme of the highest priority which can be ignored only at great national peril. At the same time, it is neither possible nor desirable to halt further expansion. We, therefore, recommend that the Government should

develop a programme for the radical transformation of the educational system side by side with its further expansion.

Notes

1. Mridu Rai has contended that the Dogra State was not the case of a Hindu king ruling a Muslim-majority state only. Rather it was a Hindu State trying to legitimise itself in terms of Hindu idioms, customs, and traditions, see (Rai, 2004: 1-4).
2. Like other parts of British India, the Christian missionaries were the pioneers of modern education in Kashmir. The 'Christian missionary society' of London started its activities in Srinagar in 1860 but its effective educational work, however, commenced in 1880 owing to serious hostility from state authorities. See (Holmes, 1967: 164)
3. On 1 January 1948, the Government of India formally approached the United Nations Security Council to intervene in the Kashmir Issue. It was followed by long and arduous discussions by the Pakistani and Indian delegations and the consequent internationalisation of the Kashmir Dispute. See, (Varshney, 1992: 194-95)
4. On September 29, 1944, leaders of the National Conference, an anti-monarchical, secular nationalist Kashmiri political party adopted the party's manifesto called "Naya [New] Kashmir". The manifesto was drafted with the help of prominent leftists in the subcontinent. It was intended to be a progressive project of state and socio-cultural reform for the independent state of Jammu and Kashmir.
5. This was revealed by Indian Home Minister Gulzarilal Nanda to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in his meeting in Delhi in 1964. See, (*The Statesman*, May 3, 1964)

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