

Committee III
Nationalism And World Unity: How
To Educate for the 21st Century

DRAFT--5/15/91
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3-17

**NATIONALISM, REGIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM IN EUROPE:
AN EAST-WEST COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS**

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The Eighteenth International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences
Seoul, Korea August 23-26, 1991

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Schlesinger
Final Version
Revised

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1. Introductory remarks: Challenges on the threshold of a new era

Had I been asked to deal with the present theme even two years ago my conceptional approach must have been entirely different from the following one. It is true that the "European" orientation would not have been as hesitant and cautious as, let us say, it was five years ago. However, I should have had to lay my emphasis more on "possibilities" and "hopes", whereas today I feel stimulated to tackle the theme under the incentive of "challenges" and "perspectives". The peaceful and "velvet" revolutions in Eastern Europe at the end of the eighties and the fade-down of the West-East conflict have paved the way to developing an "undivided" Europe opening new contours for handling nationalism. This prospect is underlined by the progress of the European Community towards the Single Market and, furthermore, by the recent trends towards expanding the community of European nations. In this situation the political conditions for overcoming the anti-humanitarian features of nationalism, such as hegemonial thinking, ideological doctrinairism and chauvinistic attitudes and actions, have never had such a fruitful base in this century, as seems to be given today. This is one side of this coin which sounds optimistic indeed.

Yet, the other side of the coin gives insight into perspectives which are associated with feelings of disillusion and fear. Let me quote a passage from an article written by Dominique Moisi, Deputy Director of the Institut de la Politique Internationale in Paris. I discovered it in the German weekly journal "Die Zeit" of June 8th, 1990..

"The euphoria about Europe's liberation has calmed down. Now the question is on what kind of Europe we want in the future. Will it be a continent of enlightenment, overcoming the positions which are artificially imposed on it and becoming a new alliance of responsibility, welfare and culture - under the motto of democracy? Can Europe regain its former significance on the threshold to the 21st century, overcome its intrinsic tensions and, above all, lend its helping hands to the less favoured regions of the world? Will this humanistic Europe retain its position, protected by liberal and pluralistic values?

The answer is still open, for there exists another Europe. It is marked by the return to the evil ghosts of the past, it feels attracted to the stolid temptations of xenophobia, racism and chauvinism, is in desperate search for its identity and makes use of excluding others in order to smooth its internal fears. The sudden, unexpected emergence of anti-Semitic tendencies in Eastern and Western Europe is only the most actual and visible expression of this dangerous development."¹

Education is essentially involved in the challenge to help turn the feelings of disillusion and fear into moderate optimism. Raising this issue we should be aware of the historical fact that education has certainly played a dubious role in promoting the gloomy features of nationalism in the past. The contribution of education to the march towards an undivided and unified Europe is principally restricted against the developments in the socio-economic and political sub-systems of society. In this, admittedly limited, sense the actual challenge is radically educational. Moreover, it affects the cultural pattern of European nations and regions, and it makes us recall the European inheritance. The brief retrospect I will deal with in the following section is aimed at building the bridge between past, present and future, though in an exemplary and fragmentary way.

2. Unity and diversity: The basic tension in European history

The issue "nationalism versus internationalism" is embedded in the tension between unity and diversity European history has been rooted in since the ancient times. Great has been the number of efforts to bring regions, countries and nations together, and great has been the number of failure from such efforts. Yet, what seems to be most significant is the fact that Europeans have never lost sight of the challenges inherent in that permanent tension. Before explicating this issue let me put forth two anticipatory remarks:

First of all, when speaking of all-European movements we must be aware of differences concerning time and space. For instance, Reformation and Counter-Reformation can be identified as supra-national movements which does not mean though, that they affected all European countries to the same extent respectively at the same period.

Secondly, the frontiers of Europe have always been controversially discussed. It is true that the South West frontier has been definitely fixed since the end of the Reconquista in Spain. Identifying Europe's Eastern frontier, however, has turned out to be much more complicated due to the fact that geography does not offer any "natural" demarcation line. To look instead for the overarching criterion of what constitutes Europe we have to call our attention to the cultural heritage resulting from a synthesis between Greek and Roman antiquity and Catholic Christianity. Humanism, Reformation and Enlightenment were born of this synthesis. Therefore Christianity with its denominations, Humanism and Enlightenment have left their "unifying" impacts upon educational aims, contents and forms of upbringing. In this outline it may suffice to remember the seven artes liberales the clerical and later also the secular core of curriculum contents.

Russia and the Eastern region of South East Europe remained outside during those centuries. Orthodox Christianity had created another code of living and education, and the Tatarian and Turkish conquests had widened the gap between the Western and Eastern part of the continent. Yet, Peter the Great's reforms and the liberation movements of the South East European nations laid the ground for their approach to "Europe" as defined above, which allows us to speak of comprehensive European politics, social developments and educational patterns since the 18th and 19th centuries, although the dichotomy between ideal and reality has always to be borne in mind.

It is the 18th century which has brought about modern education as a concomitant of the emergence of the modern State in terms of comprehensive administration, jurisdiction and military force. Compulsory education has been the visible outcome, addressing all youngsters within a given political unit. The forerunners of this far-reaching initiative in the 17th century, the Protestant princes in the Holy Roman Empire, represented a joint effort between Protestantism and the absolutist modern State. On the other hand the initiators of the comprehensive school enactments of the 18th century, King Frederick II of Prussia and Empress Maria Theresa of Austria bear witness to the linkage between Absolutism, Mercantilism and Enlightenment, thus demonstrating the alliance between economic, political and philosophical motives². While paying attention to the initiatives taken by absolute rulers one must not obscure the similar interest by communities whose political structures were rooted in more participative principles, as can be exemplified by the Presbyterian school policies in Scotland, based on the ideas of the Scottish reformer John Knox³.

The school development issued by the modern State can be regarded as one of the most significant provisions for an all-European education, now also entering Russia and later on South East Europe. This trend, moreover, was essentially reinforced by two

revolutionary events of cross-national character which, at the same time, laid the ground of that variation of the tension between nationalism and internationalism which was to be of great consequences, including its enormous impacts on education. On the one hand we have to think of the Industrial Revolution which underlined the need for compulsory schools and for efficient formal education in general as a tool for furthering technological, economic and scientific progress. On the other hand it is the French Revolution which must be seen as a reinforcing factor, because it effected the alliance between modern State and nation building which entailed the first modern "European division" in terms of regionalisation.

Following the French example, West European countries established themselves as "nation-states" built on the principle of one national language to be exclusively or at least predominantly used in public and official communication. Education was affected by this principle at least at the levels of higher and academic secondary education. The monopolising position of the "national language" was associated with the impartment of those cultural patterns which exerted great influence in leading pupils and students to the acceptance of and commitment to what has been defined as "national identity". The school subjects of history and literature were utilised as the strongest and most effective media in this steering process, long before specific subjects of sociopolitical education, such as Staatsbürgerkunde, civics and social studies were installed. The fact that in these countries national coherence obscured the existence of ethnic minorities with their own vernaculars and cultural patterns, was long considered as a negligible quantity, as became manifest in bilingual Belgium at the end of the 19th century, whereas Spain and finally France were substantially affected by it only in this century⁴. Anyway, the concept of the "nation-state" as conceived by the French Revolution, proved its stability throughout a century and more, and the alliance of the nation-state with political liberalism underlined this stability.

On the other hand, the multinational and multicultural Empires in East Central and Eastern Europe, in particular the Habsburg Empire and Russia, survived their pre-revolutionary composition and were able to modernise it at least to the point as to exist for a further century. As multinational units they were not able, however, to solve the sociopolitical task of constructing viable patterns of coexistence, let alone co-operation, among their "nationalities"⁵. In view of the political structure, two other empires must be included in this group as well, namely the multinational Ottoman Empire and the German Reich founded by Bismarck, although this "latecomer" differed from the others by the fact that it was not multinational in terms of comprising nationalities of - more or less - similar size, but it included genuine minorities nevertheless, namely Danes, Poles, Sorbs and French people.

History of education mirrors the unsolved "national question" in Central and Eastern Europe at the macro-level of central and regional decision-making, that is concerning the enactment of laws, the introduction or revision of syllabi, the use of textbooks, and the appointment of school administrators, headteachers and teachers. Evidence is also provided at the micro-level of how the directives "from above" were transferred to the grassroots of the everyday school practice. The more the State continuing to be steered by authoritarian governance tried to impose its "pre-national" concepts on its minorities, the more their representatives reacted by opposing or at least infiltrating the official directives; the establishment of "underground schools" proved to be the extreme alternative⁶. The conflicts expanded in particular in Germany and Russia where the State authorities found allies in nationalistic movements among the majority populations to be identified as propagators of "Germanisation" respectively "Russification".

In this connection the - frequently ambivalent - concepts of loyalty among teachers, in particular those belonging to minority groups, can be made out as significant factor, let alone the interventions of local communities and ideology-bound associations into school affairs. Archives give ample evidence of conflicts which in many cases ended up in court trials⁷. It was these court trials which bear witness of the philosophical dichotomy determining the restless situation in the Central and Eastern regions of Europe. While the concept of the West European "nation state" was based on the principle of individual rights and later on completed by the democratic principle, ethnic groups and nationalities in the Eastern half of Europe tended to follow Johann Gottfried Herder's philosophy defining peoples as objective and historically determined formations characterised by language, customs and cultural heritage. In the aforementioned court trials as widely documented in the Habsburg Empire, conflicts became manifest by controversies concerning the children's attendance at language-bound schools. While there were parents claiming to send their children to the schools of their choice independent of the language spoken at home, speakers of ethnic associations contested this right emphasising that nobody was allowed to act "against the interests" of his (her) ethnic community, let alone to leave it. They, though without definite success, aimed at achieving the constitution of corporate bodies with specific collective rights, such as the Ottoman Empire had granted to her non-Muslim groups by the "millet" system⁸.

The nation-states following the breakdown of the multinational Empires at the end of World War I, inherited the unsolved task of establishing viable coexistence among their nationalities and of settling the language issue in their territories accordingly. The establishment of authoritarian or semi-fascist regimes in Central Southern and South East Europe - from the Baltic republics to Greece - accelerated the failure of building democracy based the compatibility of individual rights on the one hand and corporate organisation of ethnic groups on the other. It was only Czecho-

slovakia which, according to her historical roots, survived as a genuine parliamentary democracy, provided with constitutionally guaranteed civil rights; however, she was not able to settle the "nationality issue" in her territory either, in particular with regard to the integration of her large German-speaking (Sudeten German) minority.

However, the history of the first Czechoslovak Republic is not void of efforts on both sides to come to terms with each other⁹. The impacts on this issue on the educational situation in the German-mediums schools became manifest again in the subjects of history and literature and, moreover, in the newly created subject "Staatsbürgerkunde" (civics). Should school and, in particular, these subjects pay a contribution to solving the loyalty conflict, in which teachers and pupils were involved, a double task had to be fulfilled, as is mirrored by the following considerations in an exemplary way. Their author is Gottfried Preissler, one of the leading educationists and speakers of the German-speaking teachers' associations. In his article, written in 1936, he begins by identifying "a solid base for discussing the whole domain of questions concerning political culture. This solid base which is meaningful for all detailed questions is given by the problem of civic education of the German youth. We have repeatedly pointed out that the Sudeten German school as a whole takes a specific position and has to fulfil specific tasks within the Czechoslovak school system in view of sociological and pedagogic concern". Continuing this consideration Preissler outlines his conception of civic education:

"This specific position is given by the fact that our school is allocated to the two social forms of "Czechoslovak State" and "German Volkstum (nationality)", and it has to fulfil tasks in regard to both of these social forms. Our school certainly has the whole task to educate the young generation to Czechoslovak citizens who are ready to commit themselves to the State and its democratic constitution, even with the arms in their hands, and who are willing to develop further and consolidate our domestic (heimische) democracy. However, at the same time it has to fulfil the task to educate its

children to Volksbürger (citizen of the people) who - at first within our home country - correctly perceive and comprehend the cultural position and the cultural tasks of the German Volkstum (nationality) and who are willing to fulfil these cultural tasks, for the school prepares for life and must train the youngsters for the tasks which wait for them in their lives."¹⁰

This constructive approach to solving the loyalty problem and, thereby, to developing a common core of identity in a nationality state, never went beyond its conceptual phase. The irresolute and hesitant policy conducted by the Czechoslovak government and, increasingly, the adherence of the majority of the Sudeten Germans to authoritarian ideas and, finally, to Nazi doctrines, proved to be too prevalent to provide fair chances of reconciliatory initiatives. Finally, Hitler's aggressiveness fomented and supported intransigent attitudes on both sides. In this aspect the Munich Agreement (1938) rang the knell of the interim period between the two World Wars and, consequently, of the series of attempts to solve the nationality problem on human and democratic principles. Moreover, the breakdown of the only State which had retained parliamentary democracy, until the late thirties signalled the prelude to Hitler's policy of enslavement and genocide which brought this period to a catastrophic end. The quotation from Preissler's concept has been deliberately chosen not only for its epochal exemplariness, but also for its relation to the actual situation of the nation-state between internationalism and nationalism; let us resume these problematics later.

World War I and its outcome also resulted in the foundation of the Soviet Union. While inheriting her multinational composition from its Czarist predecessors, the new rulers conceived the idea of a multinational community with the right for all ethnic groups to cherish and even develop their mother tongue and to get schools at their disposal for attaining this aim¹¹. The following considerations comprise the - basically continuous - ideological debates in the Soviet Union up to the outset for Perestrojka. Soviet ideologists always defined the integration of its multina-

tional society as a task. It took the relevant norms from the Marxist-Leninist (and for a time also Stalinist) ideology. Clearly neither directives nor political practice justify the assumption of a linear or consistent process. However, central question, which was repeatedly discussed related to the reconcilability of national and cultural plurality with the postulated unity of "socialist society", which should be distinguished not only through the definitive abolition of all class differences, but also through the "amalgamation" (sliianie) of nations and nationalities. Indeed the use of the term "Soviet people" anticipated this goal. As against this the Marxist-Leninist ideology also represented the theory of the "blossoming" (rascvet) of the socialist nations and of the growth of national self-awareness. The content and range of the similarly employed theory of "reconciliation" (sblizhenie) remained unclarified, insofar as in its usage, particularly in all general ideological statements, current analysis was intermingled with future expectations. Regardless the ups and downs of the ideological debate, educational practice did not live up to the ideological goals, and the seeds of discord were sown early, though concealed under the umbrella of ostensible harmony.

Summing up the educational as part of the universal history of Europe during the 19th and the first three decades of the 20th centuries, it seems that the centrifugal forces left the centripetal ones behind. If one only looks at the development of Nationalism from a movement being in alliance with liberty and democracy to an inhuman stream, such an appraisal is not void of evidence, and one feels reminded of the Austrian poet Franz Grillparzer's saying that "there is a direct path from humanity through nationality to bestiality".

However, this is only one side of the medal. The other side consists of the continuation of the "internationalising" trend in Europe, based upon the two aforementioned "revolutionary events" at the end of the 18th century. Above all, we have to study the

Industrial Revolution in its subsequent phases, connected with and followed by the progress of science and technology and the provision of increasingly broader means of interpersonal and intercultural communication. Different and even contrasting though syllabi were in terms of glorifying people's own histories and of discriminating other peoples, convergence can be made out in the advancement of the sciences which necessarily exerted at least certain influence on what knowledge was imparted and how it was imparted in general under the different frameworks of the national education systems. Furthermore, internationalism, though rather latent than manifest, continued to exist, insofar as the ideas of the French revolutionaries survived even under the pressure of right-wing dictatorships and had their impacts on the educational discussions to be observed in journals and other forms of publication.

Finally, there is ample evidence of interactions of teachers and pupils at the grassroots of schools, sometimes in opposition to and, fortunately enough, unnoticed by those acting on the "big political scene". In this context I am able to refer to my own research work concerning the educational relations among ethnic groups in the Habsburg Empire and in the First Czechoslovak Republic¹². Educational "internationalisation" was also promoted by cross-national communication among the representatives of the international reform movement (Reformpädagogik, Education nouvelle, etc.) during the first two decades of the 20th century.

3. Europe under the pressure of the West-East conflict

Hitler's defeat, instead of opening chances for an undivided Europe and the progress of internationalism in European education, laid the ground for a new partition of the continent into two politically and ideologically divided regions. Not only in geographical, but also in philosophical and cultural terms one can speak of the revival of the two historical variations which had

divided Europe in the 19th century into the Western region of nation-states and the Eastern region of multinational pre-democratic Empires. Of course, the new partition has been of a different and, doubtlessly, more radical kind. In Western Europe, now including the Western part of Germany (Federal Republic of Germany), the political order has been based, on the one hand, upon the (re-)stabilisation of nation-states, while on the other hand, attempts at achieving integration have marked the development since the end of the forties, started by the foundation of the Council of Europe in 1948. The development of the European Economic Community (Common Labour Market) into the European Community established in 1957, has gradually promoted the progress and both accelerated and intensified it during the past years. Education has been indirectly affected by this trend in different ways: from the introduction of syllabi, curricula and textbooks to the organisation of exchange programmes for teachers and pupils at different levels. Moreover, due to the increasing opening of schools to communities and the societies at large, nonformal education has been included in the innovation processes.

Contrary to the West European variation, Eastern Europe, including the Eastern part of Germany (German Democratic Republic) was exposed to accepting "proletarian (socialist) internationalism" as the ideological doctrine which should provide the nation-bound "patriotism" with a "higher quality". In fact, however, the propagation of this principle turned out to serve as a means to disguise the hegemonial policy of the Soviet Union in her relations to her Western neighbours and to her own non-Russian nationalities. In the Soviet education itself this policy became manifest in the increase of Russian-medium against "national" schools (i. e. schools whose medium is a non-Russian vernacular language) and in the one-sided manipulation of bilingual education, in that in bilingual situations only the non-Russian pupils had to learn Russian, but not the other way round!¹³

In the "socialist" neighbour countries Russian language instruction was imposed upon the syllabi to be taught at the primary level already, and that as the first mandatory foreign language. Like in comparable bilingual or multilingual situations this policy often attained the reverse effect; pupils were reluctant to learn the "unloved" medium, and the outcome was rather poor in many cases. This must be taken into account, the more so as this attitude had the unfavourable side-effect that the learning of the lingua franca of the region was disregarded in its capacity as a key to economic and social mobility¹⁴, let alone the aesthetic and literary qualities of the Russian language. Commenting this dilemma it seems explicable that the recent revolutionary events in Eastern Europe and the changes inside the Soviet Union herself have brought to light nationalistic feelings and attitudes which had been kept under pressure until recently.

Summing up the history of the past fort-five years, we get confronted again with the dichotomy between nationalism, this time caused by political and ideological conflict and producing segregational policies and activities, and the outset for internationalism. Needless to add that utterances of nationalism were not restricted to Eastern Europe at all, but apart from continuing as a latent trend, resulted in manifest troubles in Western Europe. in particular in binational or plurinational regions, such as in Spain, Belgium and South Tyrol (in Northern Italy). All these conflicts were directly associated with education, resembling those of the preceding periods to a striking extent.

Internationalism, on the other hand, appeared not only as manifestation of the start towards supranational institutions in Western Europe. Beyond this trend on the "big" political scene one must not forget that the common cultural and philosophical inheritance together with the impacts of the Industrial Revolution, has paid its contribution to the maintenance of problems which had to be solved in both halves of Europe. These problems had been focussed, above all, on how the principle of equality of

educational opportunity had to be coped with. Qualification mechanisms at the various levels of the education system had to be tackled in West and East as well. Analogies arising from such common basic tasks explain that the comprehensivisation of secondary education was brought on the agenda of education policies not only in the "socialist countries" due to their ideological doctrine, but also in the West stimulated by the principle of equality of educational opportunity as well as by considerations of achievement and efficiency in education. It is particularly the structure of secondary education that was not going along with the political frontier, but crossed it, with the whole of Eastern Europe and the most West European countries establishing comprehensive schools¹⁵.

The fade-down of the West-East conflict was signalled and even prepared by the following drives:

- the détente between West and East European countries which entailed some relaxation in travelling and communication across the "border" from which, among others, scientists and, though to a lesser degree, students got benefit;
- the - more or less significant - trend towards pluralism inside "Eastern Europe", namely in Hungary and Poland - with particular impacts on communication and travelling too;
- finally, Michail Gorbachev's Perestrojka in the Soviet Union and its impacts on the East European region as a whole.

Nevertheless it has been the masses, the people, who made use of the chances given them by Gorbachev's policy in "breaking the ice" towards pluralism and democracy and, consequently, towards opening chances of a new venture for internationalism.

4. New challenges to education

Europe, on its march to overcoming its overarching division has to cope with some fundamental challenges which, in their turn, are connected with new problems. In a rough categorisation it is legitimate to speak, first of all, of challenges given by the socioeconomic, political and cultural framework of education, while the second category deals with challenges coming from inside the education systems at their macro- and micro-levels. Both categories are linked in their mission to "internationalising" ("Europeanising") education in Europe.

Within the first category the first challenge is directed to what education must do in leading the young generation to accepting and internalising humanistic and democratic values. It seems to be primarily relevant to those countries which have just disencumbered themselves from totalitarian dictatorship. However, needless to add that xenophobia, racism and chauvinism as the gloomy utterances of nationalism, are existent in Western Europe as well, and they have re-emerged in Eastern Europe. I will come back to this point in my concluding remarks. This new challenge affects both formal and nonformal education. As regards formal education (schooling), the curricular strategies must be based on identifying value education as a cross-disciplinary approach which must not be restricted at all to history or civic education. Furthermore, it must combine cognitive and affective objectives and procedures and finally, it must be generally supported by the recognition of value education as a supreme goal in the whole education and upbringing process. Moreover, without including nonformal education in this process, all these efforts are doomed to failure. Schools therefore, have to seek partners outside their walls, from the families and the multifarious youth organisations to the "hidden" educators, as primarily presented by the media.

Generally speaking, value education has to cope with increasing situations where the schools collide with wide-spread changes in moral standards within nation-bound and region-bound societies which even affect the definition and interpretation of values, in particular core values, and their transformation into guidelines for action. In West European countries the public school systems are directly involved in these intricacies since they are considered "neutral" in the sense that they should keep themselves "above" the value conflicts, which in everyday practice can lead either to "hidden" partisanship or to total non-involvement among teaching staffs¹⁶. Anyway, since the breakdown of the totalitarian or authoritarian regimes in Western Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece, Western democracies have been based upon their people's general acceptance of core values, such as human rights, pluralism and democratic decision making. This acceptance does not disburden schools and teachers of the need of coping with conflicts all the more so, as conflicts are a constituent element of democracy in Western conception. Moreover, it lays the ground for substantial consensus.

The breakdown of the socialist regimes in Eastern Europe has sharply illuminated a counter-model which existed before the "velvet revolutions". Teachers found themselves concerned with the task to impart the values which were legitimised by the official version of the Marxist-Leninist ideology to pupils most of whom, at the same time, got associated with alternative or even contrasting value codes in their families and peer-groups or in extraneous engagements in religious communities or even in groupings of an "apolitical" character. In cases, and there were many, where teachers themselves were not committed to the official values they had to impart the interpersonal conflict was reinforced by an intrinsic, intra-personal conflict. This situation resulted in the wide-spread existence of schizophrenic attitudes among teachers and, of course, also among pupils who had to make statements during their lessons which ran against their own convictions. Now, after the revolutionary events, it seems that

youngsters can overcome the dissociation more easily than the teachers including the "intrinsic opponents" among them¹⁷ In this radical constellation the above-mentioned thesis that the value category must be considered to be the basic one, is substantially confirmed.

The second challenge: The former "socialist" countries have got rid of their political systems which, at the same time, were centralised and totalitarian in ideological terms. On the other hand the members of the European Community are on the march to the Single Market which will include the transfer of competencies from national to supranational agencies. Could the tension between supranational centralisation and national renaissance end up in a new dilemma? It seems that this danger is not immanent, as long as the march to centralism at the supranational level is accompanied by the drive to forms of regional and local autonomies which have come forth already in both regions of Europe. For instance, frontier-crossing activities initiated between Baden (Germany), Alsace (France) and the Canton of Basle (Switzerland) have long produced fruitful effects of co-operation in various fields¹⁸. Schools and youth organisations are engaged in various programmes of mutual visits and joint learning and leisure activities, launched under the objective of "intercultural education". Let us hope that analogous activities may result from recent initiatives across the Austrian-Hungarian border¹⁹. Without ignoring the need for national and supranational regulations in the modern European society to be increasingly composed of interdependent networks, one cannot but sympathise with all attempts at decentralising school systems and in this context at delegating competencies to regional agencies to an optimum extent. Regional initiatives support such efforts, insofar as their agents are not provided with full supervisory competencies and sanction mechanisms compared to those of national (or, as is the case in Germany, Laender) authorities.

The third challenge: In the preceding sections I devoted distinct attention to dealing with European diversity in terms of national and ethnic differentiation. This historical variation of "multi-nationality" consisting of the coexistence of indigenous ethnic groups, has not disappeared at all, to come back to Dominique Moisi's comment. On the contrary, we can observe an "ethnic revival", as designated by Anthony D. Smith in his guiding analysis²⁰. In this connection let us look at the drives for autonomy (or even independence) among Basques, Corsicans, Welsh people etc. in Western Europe as examples as well as at the recent manifestations in the Baltic States, Yugoslavia or Romania. On the other hand a new variation of multinationality or, as we have got to say more correctly, "multiculturalism" has developed - mostly in West European countries, but also in the Eastern European region and in the Soviet Union; it is the result of the recent migration of workers and their families.

There are many regions, towns and villages where people of various ethnic descent and ethnic identity live with each other. Unfortunately, however, they often tolerate each other only with difficulty and sometimes are even involved in violent hostility. In many cases their children go to the same schools, and, even, where they attend separate schools, they are affected by some kind of "multicultural" education in a fortuitous way by playing or confrontation in the street with the "other" children of the same age-group. They are also exposed to consumer goods and make use of the mass media (TV, radio, film, video, print etc.). Both variations of "multinationality" (in the widest sense) are liable to segregation on the one hand, and to aggressive nationalism on the other. To a certain extent the observer feels reminded of his (her) retrospect to comparable occurrences in the past.

The historical experience should warn policy-makers and also educators of rousing unjustified expectations with regard to short-term reconciliation or even integration, regardless the accelerating impacts brought about by the new technologies. At any rate,

integration is, in general, that form of coexistence which is not only distinguished by the highest degree of understanding and tolerance between two or several ethnic groups, but also by the greatest potential of promoting a new European culture, thus fundamentally differing from "assimilation" and "segregation", in that it is aimed at merging people through making them accept and appreciate the inheritance of both (or all) partners. Only on the base of this acceptance "multicultural" education which expresses just the existence of different cultural communities beside each other can be raised on the level of "intercultural" education.

In the past such processes have often lasted for generations, or even for centuries, and the various stages have been characterised by great variety. Integration can lead to "national" coherence with the constituent languages being unaffected, as is demonstrated by the "classical" case of Switzerland. In other cases, such as in North America, integration has concentrated on the immigrants' acquisition of the "national" language and value pattern, while certain habits and attitudes have remained more or less intact. However, examples also show that, as a rule, the cultural patterns of the majority have eventually dominated. Nevertheless, even such processes present evidence of successful integration, which is well illustrated by the history of the Huguenots in Germany. In the 17th and 18th centuries the members of this Protestant group had fled from their homes in France; they found new homes throughout Europe, but were particularly numerous in settling in Prussia and other German principalities. There they lived in their own parishes with their own schools and their own language until far into the 19th century - mostly under prosperous, but sometimes also under miserable circumstances. It was only at the end of the last and at the beginning of this century that the Huguenots merged with their neighbours. It should be stated that "German-Huguenot" families had life-styles quite distinct from those of their surrounding environment and that German culture as a whole has been remarkably enriched in many ways by the process of integration with the Huguenot immigrants²¹. This

is why this historical case has been inserted as an example into the present catalogue of challenges.

Living up to this challenge is complex indeed. The solutions are diversified and must react on the given individual situation. "Integration" need not be practised in one classroom; experiences, particularly from Sweden, indicate that under certain social conditions it may be preferable to teach children of different descent in separate classrooms, especially when such measures are conceived as temporary ones. However, the learning processes of children in a multicultural setup, taken as a whole, should follow integrative directives. Schools must give youngsters chances of coming together, exchanging their experiences and thoughts and co-ordinating their lives. Behind the question of multiculturalism at local and national levels, we discern the question of how to harmonise or even integrate basic educational strategies in the European countries and of "Europeanising" youngsters' minds and expectations in an general way. The discussion of this question directly points to the following challenges. Expressing this desideratum does not include any denial of education to national identity or "patriotism", as long as it is embedded in the superordinate values of individual freedom, social justice and democracy and, above all in the respect of human rights.

Let us now turn to the second category determined by challenges coming from inside the education systems. Here the fourth challenge (related to both categories together) deals with the question of how to settle the interrelations between equality or equity of educational opportunity and quality of education. All of us know that the sixties and seventies had been dominated by the equality issue in Western Europe²², while the former "socialist" countries, in principle, gave preference to equality - which did not prevent them from establishing special schools for highly gifted children at the same time²³. The eighties have called people's primary attention to the "quality" issue including the (re-

) establishment of selective schools (gymnasiums, lyceums). Recent news from East European countries tell us about similar tendencies there, stimulated by even greater expectations in regard to reaching thereby greater achievement and efficiency²⁴. The immediate relevance of this challenge to the present theme is given by the recent trend towards internationalism concerning the harmonisation of achievement standards and the mutual acknowledgement of examinations within the European Community²⁵; it seems to be evident that this trend will affect the development in "wider Europe" before long.

It is true that quality had been underestimated in former decades, and the re-awakened engagement in promoting this principle is worth recognising. On the other hand, this thesis could create a dangerous barrier; for it could be misused as an alibi to repudiate reforms aimed at equality of educational opportunity within and across the individual European countries. It is evident that there are complex problems to be solved in creating an equilibrium between the two principles. Yet, there can be no doubt that, as a general rule, all efforts to promote quality will fail unless they are supported by the drive for equality of educational opportunity, as well as by the implementation of this goal in institutional structures as well as in curricula.

It seems in this connection that the struggle for or against comprehensive schools or selective schools has lost something of its radicality. That does not mean that the development of comprehensive schools or school units (in the widest sense) should have disappeared from the agenda. Mentioning the issue of comprehensivisation as a European theme the structure of education systems comes into the picture. Here I want to refer to it briefly, because it is only indirectly related to the present theme. May it suffice to emphasise that the regulation of school structures should be subjected to the regulation of the internal learning order which brings differentiation into our minds. Since the beginning of modern schooling schools have insisted on rigid syllab-

bi pertaining to classrooms and age-groups. The actual challenge concerns giving a greater amount of choice to the individual pupils and their teachers - of course within the framework of national and supranational curricula. Dealing with this problem, I have the European continent in my mind, in this context both its Western and Eastern regions. The British Isles, in particular England and Wales, find themselves on the other side of the Channel (in this connection used in a duplicated way); there the education system has to cope with the opposite task which has become manifest in the enactment of a National Curriculum²⁶.

The fifth challenge: Finding a reasonable equilibrium between obligatory and optional subject-matter directly points to the challenge of autonomy inside the schools which is, of course, closely linked with the balance between centralisation and decentralisation in the administration structure, but must not be confused with it. "School autonomy" has become a topical issue on the agenda of educational policies in most countries of Western and also Eastern Europe. In the "socialist" countries it was Hungary which took the first initiative in this direction already at the beginning of the eighties²⁷. The struggle for school autonomy against bureaucratic narrow-mindedness is hard indeed, and it absorbs many energies. Moreover, it seems that many discussions and also actions are disturbed by deficits in clarifying the criteria of what autonomy should aim at. First of all the levels of autonomy and the participatory procedures want clarification with regard to teachers, administrators, parents, local communities and finally, pupils. Besides, one has to deal with functional areas which are assigned to the various agents of "school autonomy". Here a rough division points to two main stages: advice and participation in decision-making. One has also to think of the contradictory potential inherent in the two preceding criteria; the third criterion is, therefore, related to fields of conflict²⁸.

Sixthly, the most important challenge in the second category is determined by subject-matter and methods as the most relevant

components of - up to now "national" - curriculum development. All the education systems in Europe have developed, - in particular at the culmination of the nation-state in the 19th and beginning 20th centuries, models of obligatory subject-matter to be summarised by the concept of "general education". Under the umbrella of this overall concept we find national configurations which have exerted enormous influence on specified objectives and contents in form of subjects and instructional units, as there are: Culture generale, cultura generale, Allgemeinbildung, obscee obrazovanie etc. It goes without saying that humanities and arts are mostly concerned by such diversification. Yet, mathematics and sciences are also involved in this issue, with special regard to the question of whether priority should be given to theoretical analysis or profession-oriented training. Instructional and learning methods have been affected by these problematics too. The main differences are rooted in the contrast between receptive learning and authoritarian teaching and tendencies towards communicative teaching and learning. Every neglect of "internationalising" contents and methods proves to be a handicap, because of rendering pupils' mobility across the national borders highly difficult. Current trends in Western Europe indicate endeavours to "Europeanising" syllabi and curricula, although they have just started. Martin McLean's study "Britain and a Single Market Europe"²⁹ offers informative and argumentative outlooks in this direction in an exemplary way. Recent publications in the Soviet Union reveal similar orientation³⁰, as current efforts in the liberated East European countries³¹.

Finally (the seventh challenge): The concept of "community schools" indicates acceptance of a challenge which causes special and sometimes painful problems to professionals. The descent of schools from the modern State has entailed the inclusion of the education system in the administrative hierarchy. Therefore in most European countries teachers and school administrators have the status of public service employees or even civil servants. Contrary to predictions which have been made by the "deschoolers"

and their adherents, schools have proved their position as vital institutions in our time. At the beginning of the 1990s it seems that there are no signs of their disappearance. However, schools should give up trying to monopolise youngsters' cognitive affective and social development; they should tolerate and even appreciate the parallel activities of other educational agencies. Families and other small social units can be mentioned here again, as well as churches, associations, clubs, peer-groups and last but not least, the media. Schools should positively respond to this challenge with efforts for both co-operation and competition. It goes without saying that this view includes the re-consideration of the model of the teacher as a "change agent"³².

5. Concluding remarks: Unity and diversity reconsidered

"Europeanising " education can be identified as the authentic contribution to developing internationalism both in schools and nonformal educational networks. To avoid any misinterpretation, this statement includes the postulate that accepting this task must never been considered as exclusive. "Europeanism" must be open to co-operation with the non-European industrialised countries and with the regions and countries of the Third World. It would be disastrous if the end of the West-East conflict resulted in Europe's withdrawal from its obligatory commitment to solving the North-South problems. The war at the Persian Gulf with its unsolved consequences for the whole Middle East Region has drastically demonstrated the interdependence between North and South.

While education in an undivided Europe faces the challenges caused by the march into the future, it has, at the same time, to cope with the revival of Pre-World War II commitments and ideologies. The revival leads us back to the alliance of the modern State and the origin of the modern nations and to the dilemma this alliance got involved in a good part of the European conti-

ment. The recent history of Western Europe has given evidence of its persistence and even of its exposure to violence and terrorism, as the series of detestable plots in Northern Ireland has continually exemplified for the past two decades. It is the recent history of education which demonstrates the fact that "State" and "Nation" can come to congruence with each other only when all members of the "nation" share the awareness of belonging to one community. Needless to emphasise again the importance of the objective factors, first of all language and religion, as reinforcing elements in the nation-building process.

However, in spite of relapses into aggressiveness the recent trend in Western Europe signals progress in overcoming complacent and exclusive nationalism and in approaching supranational integration, above all in the European Community marching towards the Single Market. Furthermore, supranationality provides new chances for autonomy of hitherto "stateless" ethnic groups or nationalities within or across national borders; such as the Basques and Sami (Lapps) and, last but not least, the Romanies. School policies show that the road is far from being straight; compromises are unavoidable, even when they consist of regulations which cannot be regarded as reasonable in view of economic as well as of social and pedagogic considerations.

To give an example: It certainly makes sense to provide children of minority populations with learning facilities in their vernacular. Yet, the question must be legitimate, whether such provision needs to be made in form of entirely segregated schools inside multicultural communities, where children have to put up with inadequate equipment and, what counts much more, where they are deprived of the everyday communication with children of their age-group belonging to the "other" nationality or religion. To give another example, the division of the ancient and prestigious University of Leuven (Louvain) in 1970 certainly was a compromise resulting from an apparently unsolvable conflict, compared to the division of the venerable Prague University in 1882 into a Czech

and a German institution. Whether it has been a "European" solution, may be questioned nevertheless, as may be the failure to found a bilingual, namely Italian- and German-medium, university at Bolzano (Bozen) in Northern Italy, due to the rejection by the authorities of the German ethnic group. Yet, considering the ambivalence of these examples, the observer, after all, has to realise that any peaceful compromise resting upon legal and democratic decision must be given preference to any alternative of unrest and violence.

Stubborn nationalists in Western Europe might get new assistance by the revival of exclusive and intolerant nationalism which has come to light as an undesired side-effect of the democratic liberation movements in former "socialist" Eastern Europe. Let us hope that this counter-movement to European unity and integration may not advance and perpetuate. To come back to what I have pointed out, opposing intolerant and exclusive nationalism does not mean at all denying the rights of ethnic and national groups to shape their cultural units according to their identities. It is the goal of reference which, however, must be taken into serious account.

Education plays an important role in this integration process towards an undivided Europe which entirely lives up to its inherited tension between unity and diversity, while it tries to identify its European dimension at its various levels. Western Europe is moving towards the Single Market. Although the European community has no direct competency in educational matters, the principle of "mobility" and the consensus concerning equivalence of qualifications have already motivated the European Commission (at Brussels) to issue various directives and proposals which are aimed at harmonising examinations and career patterns (including teacher education)³³. It is worth while discussing this many-faceted problem with regard to the "wider" European dimension; it must not be reduced to economic, political and juridical issues. While, in spite of its fundamental importance, education as a

whole can only pay some contribution to the march towards an "integrated" and "internationalised" Europe, its abstention from accepting this task would deprive this process of essential components nevertheless. Europe, furthermore, cannot prosper as a melting pot of regions and nations, but must accept diversity and regionalisation as the fruitful counterpart to unity. Educational research must accompany and scrutinise this process, and Comparative Education has to fulfil a particular task which consists of clarifying the interrelationship between national, ethnic and cultural identities and the universal problems which concern humankind as a whole. This clarifying effort is the precondition of any promising advance towards "global awareness" to be based upon human rights education³⁴.

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**Nationalism, Regionalism and Internationalism in Europe:
An East-West Comparison of Educational Development**

- Abstract -

The peaceful revolutions in Eastern Europe at the end of the eighties and the fade-down of the West-East conflict have paved the way towards an "undivided" Europe. This prospect is underlined by the progress in the European Community towards the Single Market and, furthermore, by the recent trends to expanding the community of European nations. Education is essentially involved in this challenge the more so, as it has certainly played a dubious role in promoting nationalism in the past.

The history of modern education is closely interrelated with the emergence of the modern State and its amalgamation with the concept of nation building. The observation of this progress gives insight into the manifestation of two variations to be allocated to Western and Eastern Europe. West European countries established themselves as "nation-states", built on the principle of one national language to be exclusively or at least predominantly used in public communication. On the other hand the multinational Empires in East Central and Eastern Europe, in particular the Habsburg Empire and Russia, were not able to solve the socio-political task of constructing reasonable patterns of coexistence among their nationalities. The States, following the breakdown of these Empires at the end of the First World War, inherited this unsolved task in full strength. Therefore the "nationality issue" has exerted enormous influence on both domestic and international policies during the 19th and 20th centuries, with language, religion and ideology as the main factors causing conflicts up to outbreaks of violence and war. The history of education mirrors this crucial issue at the macro-level of central and regional decision-making as well as at the micro-level of how the directives from "above" were implemented at the grassroots of everyday school practice.

The end of the Second World War and the subsequent partition of Europe into two politically and ideologically divided regions laid the ground for the survival of the two historical variations, though in a distinctly modified form. In Western Europe the political order has been based, on the one hand, upon the (re-) stabilisation of nation-states, while on the other hand, attempts at achieving integration have marked the development since the end of the forties. Education has been affected by it in different ways: from the revision of textbooks to the initiation of exchange programmes for schools, universities and also for various associations and clubs in nonformal education. Contrary to the West European variation, Eastern Europe was exposed to accepting "proletarian (socialist) internationalism" as an ideological principle which should provide the nation-bound "pa-

triotism" with a "higher quality". In fact, however, the propagation of this principle turned out to serve as a means to disguise the hegemonial policy of the Soviet Union in her relations to her Western neighbours and to her own non-Russian nationalities.

The recent trends aimed at harmonising or even integrating the socio-economic and political systems of the European countries confront education with the challenge to pay its contribution to "internationalising" people's minds and expectations. It is true that such an educational policy does not include any denial of nationalism (or patriotism), as long as it is embedded in the superordinate values of individual freedom, social justice, democracy and, above all, the respect of human rights.

The new challenges affect both formal and nonformal education. As regards formal education (schooling), the curricular strategies must be based (a) on identifying "international education" as a cross-disciplinary approach (which must not be confined at all to history or civic education), (b) on combining cognitive and affective objectives and procedures, (c) on recognising value education as a supreme goal. Moreover, interpersonal communication among youngsters across ethnic and national borders must be given optimum chances.

Meeting the new challenges must be identified as a crucial educational task the more so, as the present-day trends towards internationalism have to cope with counter-currents, which have recently become manifest in Eastern Europe, as a result of the break-down of Stalinist pseudo-internationalism. Western countries are also affected by outbreaks of antihumanitarian forms of nationalism. Educators, therefore, have to cope with "global education" to be based upon intercultural understanding and tolerance.