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

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**THE GLOBAL DIMENSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION**

by

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In the face of growing nationalism and increasing need for global understanding the question arises, whether there are any transnational and perhaps international standards for cooperation

**BEYOND EDUCATIONAL NATIONALISM.**

The paper tries to point out, to what extent 'human rights' can be regarded as an important element for value clarification with regard to international peace and cooperation, and in which way a 'human rights education' may help to counterbalance a narrow nationalism in education.

The 'human rights' are intended to be universal, they suppose a pre-legal ethical consensus and they are defined in international agreements. However, their realization is left to the discretion of the states, they are interpreted in culture- and ideology-specific or religious ways, and often the metaphysical tradition which led to their development is no longer accepted.

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**INTRODUCTION**

When in the late 90s not only the iron curtain in Europe fell apart, but also many civil wars in other parts of the world more or less came to an end (eg Nicaragua, Campuchea, Namibia) and even apartheid in South Africa diminished - then the idea of a 'new world order' spread. This idea implied a peaceful world community guided by the United Nations.

However, the world did not become as peaceful as many idealists imagined.1) Great doubt is certainly casted upon the 'new world order' first of all by the Chinese hard line socialism and the

continuous aggression of the Iraq (lately against Kuwait and its minority of Kurds and Shiits). But also the turnover of many socialist systems in Europe led to many unexpected problems - as for instance:

- In the face of the new liberties many republics of the Soviet Union started to claim for independence, while the Socialist Party, central administration and military power structure are increasingly ready to use force for keeping the Union together.
- Similar problems face the CSFR because the Tchechs and Slovaks have great problems to keep their country integrated. And regional ethnocentrism has led Yugoslavia already close to civil war.
- And finally there are signs of growing aggressiveness against visitors from neighboring countries amongst radical minorities, ia in the boarder region of the former GDR against Poles.

But problems do not only exist in other parts of the world, there are also shortcomings with regard to the realization of the human rights in the Western democracies. While individuals seldom have to fear oppression from the state, many countries have to cope with some form of racism, problematic ethnocentrism and xenophobia. If jokes as the following are enjoyed amongst some adolescents one may feel a strong need for a human rights education. Additional examples could easily be given for all nations:

- What is the rumbling in the trashcan all about? A Turk is wall-papering his home.
- How do you X-ray an Ethiopian? Just hold him against the sun.

And can we pretend to be shocked in the face of such jokes, if a third of our preschooler's have seen at least one obscene video like Zombies, 2) if the daily tv-news present many brutalities to keep the public attention and if social, economic and fundamental injustices are part of our daily life? - In the face of such a

psychological, social and political reality it may not be easy to affirm our commitment to 'human rights'. It is even more difficult to live up to them in daily life and school situations, and it appears almost impossible to educate children to act according to the principle of 'human rights'.

So, can we really expect that a teaching 'about' human rights prevents such jokes and inhuman media presentations or social injustices? A minimal prerequisite for any successful teaching seems to be that school, teacher and home establish some consensus to cope with the following challenges:

- Since children absorb value and behavioral patterns more through life experience than formal teaching, school climate, teacher behavior and home socialization are of utmost importance for a 'human rights education'. It's success largely depends on children's experience of human dignity and justice in school and at home.

- Moreover, if education should help the young to cope with their feelings, interests and attitudes in the light of the 'human rights', it has not only to explain unavoidable conflicts between individual and social 'human rights' and how to cope with them, but has also to reflect which age-related abilities and moral stages have to be taken into account.

- In addition teachers have to be aware of the historical, cultural and ideological context of the development of 'human rights' agreements, in order to avoid affirmative attitudes to national, cultural or time-specific interpretations and caveats.

- And finally, since Western societies suffer from great legitimation-deficits in the face of the increasing value-relativism and the growing value surrogates, a 'human rights education' can only be successful if a 'human ethic for survival' is regarded as a sine qua non for the maintenance of the human species, for peace amongst nations and the realization of the 'human rights'.

*These and many similar problems raise some doubts whether there will be straight forward answers with regard to teaching aims, content and methods in a 'human rights education', or whether the varying circumstances in a culture, school and home demand age-, situation- and competence-specific approaches.*

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## I. HUMAN RIGHTS DEVELOPMENTS

Generally 'human rights circumscribe 'pre-legal' fundamental rights (assuming that man is a responsible individual) - in fact independent of status, religion or race - which neither can be suspended or curtailed by any power. Often however, the term is used with regard to those 'human rights' protected by international legal agreements. The question thus arises whether teaching shall limit itself to the agreed upon rights or whether others could or should be included as well.

The advantage of the later case would be that teaching on fundamental human rights could be introduced prior to international agreements. The disadvantage, however, is that the teaching easily could lead to political controversy.

A teacher might eg plead in favor conscientious objections as a civil right, which is not yet covered by international agreements although the UN Human Rights Commission and the Council of Ministers of the Council of Europe recommended the inclusion of such a right in 1987.

But even if the teaching concentrates on the international treaties, which may be called charters, pacts, covenants or conventions, similar problems can arise. They arise if a country does not fully observe the human rights so that a teacher has to face the following dichotomy. On the one hand he may feel obliged to teach in accord with the human rights while on the other hand he is socialized in national traditions and often expected to support national state ideologies or policies. Moreover shall a teacher withdraw from teaching on certain 'human rights' until international agreements have become legally binding, ie until the national parliament has ratified and a minimum number of other countries has signed them?

In the case of Britain this would have meant eg a ten years delay in dealing with some 'human rights', because the two Covenants on human rights, which were approved by the General Assembly in 1966 did not come into force in Britain until 1976.

So, defining goals for a 'human rights education' and reaching agreement on its content is not as easy as it might appear.

### 1. DIFFERENT DEMANDS OF INTERNATIONAL TREATIES:

Under the impression of the Second World War representatives of some nations initiated, setting up of the United Nations (in 1945), and this ia to secure 'human rights'. The initiative led to the adoption of the UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS by the General Assembly (in 1948). Contrasting some demands of the Declaration with some shortcomings it becomes obvious what prob-

lems young people have to face: 4)

- "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights". (Art.1)

But racial minorities as much as women are discriminated in many societies.

- "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment." (Art.5)

But torture is widespread, and this not only in a few countries.

- "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression..." (Art. 19)

This right is violated in many parts of the world, in 1989 it became particularly evident in China.

- "Everyone has a right to work, to free choice of employment ... and to protection against unemployment." (Art. 23,1)

However, 15.5 Mio people in the EEC are unemployed and in many countries the unemployment rate is particularly high with adolescents. 5)

So, although these examples already offer ample opportunities to touch on 'human rights' in different subjects, how to safeguard that young people can interrelate at least the most important rights, how to avoid that they are not fatigued in the face of all the shortcomings, and how to use the Declaration, which is written in an abstract language difficult to comprehend for many children. - But this is only one international agreement.

European children should also be acquainted with some aspects of the EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS (1950) which is aimed at: " closer unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and realizing the ideals and principles which are common

heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress". The convention tried to safeguard - beyond the earlier mentioned rights in the following ones. 6)

Respect for private and family life, home and correspondence (Art.8) which gains eg considerable importance in the face of data processing. The right to receive and impart information (Art.10) which questions eg whether a state should have a broadcasting monopoly. The right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association (Art.11) which relates strongly to many protest movements. And the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose one's residence and the right to leave any country, including one's own (Prot. 4, Art.2). This definitely is an important corner-stone for mobility in the Common market.

Although most of these 'rights' are accepted in the EEC countries, the Convention includes many caveats, its language is difficult to understand and the protected rights are strongly linked to liberal European traditions which were not only challenged in former Eastern socialist countries but are still perceived with skepticism in many African and Muslim countries.

Moreover, let me draw some attention to two International Covenants, first to the COVENANT ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS (1966). 7) According to this agreement all nations shall have at their unlimited disposal their natural resources - regardless of obligations resulting from international co-operation (Art.1,2).

It nevertheless is quite obvious that several developing



countries have neither the power nor the economic independence to cope with the international political or market forces.

Furthermore, the rights enunciated in the Covenant should be "exercised without discrimination of any kind as to race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, ..." (Art. 2,2).

However, everyone knows that some groups are discriminated if they compete eg in the labor market, they may be blacks in the US, women in Europe and handicapped almost everywhere.

Secondly let me refer to the INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIC AND POLITICAL RIGHTS which proclaimed:

"All peoples have the right of self-determination." (Art. 1,1)

This right is very often used according to a peoples' own interest. While eg the Soviet republic of Georgia claims for selfdetermination to become independent from Moscow, it oppresses its own Ossetiens as well. 8)

Then, "everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, with that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence" and shall be free "to leave any country, including his own" (Art. 12;1,2).

Nevertheless, these rights were not only limited behind the former iron curtain but are still so in some of these countries. And the liberty of movement is also somehow restricted, if South-Korea prohibits visits to North-Korea or if the USA try to close their borders for Aids-patients.9)

Beyond all these shortcomings young people may become particularly skeptical towards international agreements if they realize the many legitimized caveats, eg that the freedom of opinion and information can be limited by legal actions (Art.19,3) or that compulsory work camps may be legalized for certain criminal offenses. (Art.8,3b)

◆◆ On the whole, a 'human rights education' meets with considera-

ble problems. First of all, young people will find it difficult to develop a well balanced overall idea on 'human rights' in the face of the many international agreements (as listed below) and in spite of somehow contradictory rights (eg parental rights to have children vs right of physical and mental well-being - and both in the face of overpopulation). Second, many shortcomings surely discourage some young people to take trust in such agreements. And thirdly, an acceptance of 'universal principles' cannot be easy for the young since the social and educational trend tends to compare and thus make relative different value and belief systems.

**TAB. 1**

**INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS - MAJOR AGREEMENTS 10)**

1941 Atlantic Charter	Forms of Racial Discrimination
1945 United Nations Charter	1966 Intern. Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights	1966 Intern. Covenant on Econ., Soc., and Cult. Rights
1950 European Convention on Human Rights	1969 American Convention on Human Rights
1959 Declaration of the Rights of the Child	1971 Declaration on the Rights of Mentally Retarded
1963 Declaration on the Elimination of all	1975 Helsinki Accord

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**2. NEED FOR GREATER ATTENTION TO 'HUMAN RIGHTS':**

Because it is rather difficult to acquaint young people with the network of major 'human rights' articles, some people favor to start from the many offenses against the 'human rights' in order to make the young really concerned. Certainly, eclecticism can only be avoided, if the 'human rights education' becomes a teaching principle throughout the school subjects. The following examples illustrate that ample opportunities exist to relate the teaching to daily media information and why it is so important to pay more attention to the 'human rights'.

Since 1945 national, ethnic, ideological blood was shed since 1945 in more than 150 wars, respectively in 37 wars and rebellions in the single year of 1986. Often the blood was shed in the name of some 'human rights' although the aggressions and uprisings generally were due to quite different issues and motives as eg:

- to the calls for self-determination respectively independence in the Westbank, Ethiopia or Namibia,
- to ideological quarrels in Angola, Mocambique, Nicaragua, El Salvador, but also in Korea and Vietnam,
- to religious conflicts in Lebanon and India,
- to territorial disagreements eg in the Iraq-Iran conflict with at least 200.000 dead soldiers,
- and even in the name of 'human rights' as was the case of the UN resolution in 1990 leading to war against Iraq.

And, one should not forget the refugees - who either left their countries because of war or with regard to political suppression. The enormous suffering is obvious if we just recall a few data, for instance that about 168.000 came from Indochina to the US per year after 1980, that about 10 Mio were on the move in Africa in 1984/85, and that 7 of the 16 Mio. Afghanistanians became refugees since 1979 because of Soviet occupation.11) Moreover, how many millions of Kurds fled from Saddam Husseins extermination policy in 1991 is not clear yet.

- Although such information is extremely important for supporting international human rights, they are largely a concern of engaged minorities, and the information sources often do not explain the causes and consequences the violations have.

And, many people who cannot flee are often taken political prisoners and treated extremely inhuman. Amnesty International eg

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points out how widespread torture still is.12)

TAB. 2 TORTURE

- The number of political prisoners often can only be estimated and they surely differ considerably depending on whether the government is the source of information of a political opposition.

- And the situation of torture changes greatly according to the political circumstances in a country, and it is particularly difficult to evaluate, where a government suppresses any public discussion on the topic.

Beyond this one should not overlook the inhuman distribution of wealth. The industrialized countries command eg about

80% of the world's wealth and trade, about 90% of the industry and services, and they spent about 85% of the world resources on education. On the other hand approximately 40 millions of people die each year due to hunger. 13)

- If one fourth of the world's population lives below the absolute poverty line and "some 70 Mio are in immediate danger of starving to death", the EEC behavior appears to be irresponsible spending almost two thirds of its budget on farming surplus. 14)

And finally, stereotyping aversions are still widespread amongst racial groups in many countries, hostility towards guestworkers seems to increase in EEC countries.

- For instance, minorities in the suburban areas of Glasgow,

Political System Response to Torture	-Mere Brutality-	Occasional, Selective, Time Limited	Administrative Practice	Adjust to Massacres
Some concern	Colombia Mexico Grenada	India Chile pre-1973 Venezuela United Kingdom North Ireland Sri Lanka Pakistan post-1972 Peru post-1975 Cuba post-1971		
Permits discussion	Salvador Honduras Panama	Ecuador Peru 1970-1975 Spain	Argentina Brazil Philippines/Marcos South Africa	
Represses discussion	U.S.S.R. Paraguay up to 1970 Haiti Poland	Paraguay after 1970	Greece 1967-1973 Morocco Uruguay Tunisia post-1968 Chile post-1973 Egypt Iran Syria South Korea Equatorial Guinea Bulgaria Cuba until 1971	Rwanda Burundi Indonesia Uganda/Amin

Frankfurt, Harlem or Jerusalem are sometimes treated as second class people with less human rights. 15)

Such widespread impairments not only illustrate the need for a 'human rights education' but they can also be used to develop insight in DIFFERENT LEVELS OF VIOLATION.

Many of the different violation forms can eg be illustrated by the example of the Iraq-Kuwait conflict in 1990/1991: After Iraqi troops had occupied Kuwait (and this after many prior outrages by Saddam Hussein) the UN for the first time in its history allowed military power to be used against the invading country to defend 'basic human rights'. Although the decisions of the UN Security Council were considerably influenced by the US and Western interests, the operation 'desert storm' could claim that it was legalized to protect fundamental 'human rights'.

From this conflict and its issues a lot of questions could be raised with regard to the earlier discussed levels of 'human rights' violations. Attention could easily be drawn to the following problems:

- Can there still be 'just' or 'good' military operations in the face of nowadays technology which necessarily leads to large numbers of civilian casualties?
- Why did the UN pay more attention to the 'human rights' violations towards the Kuwaitis than to those towards the Palestinians in Israel respectively towards the Kurds in Iraq?
- How could the UN claim to protect the 'human rights' if not only 150.000 people were killed to reestablish a regime which afterwards uses torture itself but also Saddam Hussein was 'allowed' to proceed with his brutal policies. 16)
- And finally, how else could/should the world have acted on the Iraqi invasion? And which structures and means need to be established that help to safeguard 'human rights' more adequately than just trying to shy away from any responsibility

as large parts of the European public did and in Germany still do.

Beyond such case studies of 'human rights' violations education needs to analyze different causes that lead to conflict and/or hinder international cooperation and peace. Some important dimensions - which probably need to be tackled - are at least the nation concept, the influence of ideologies, and the importance of minority acceptance.

Although the nation-state is the legitimate international norm today and governments of 160 states are spokesmen at the international theater, it is not an optimal structure to safeguard 'human rights', because more or less all national governments favor their national self-perceptions and egoisms in order to channel domestic coherence and to stay in power. 17)

- National aims and majority rights often rank higher than 'universal human rights', as is illustrated eg by the Swiss Lex Furgler, by which guest-workers - even after many years of work in Switzerland - were abruptly sent home in order to decrease the unemployment in one of the richest countries in the world that had quite low unemployment rates.

Then, there are many ideologies which subjugate the public or certain social as well as ethnic groups to a power system as the Rumanian agrarian reform showed quite clearly. 18)

- The policy aimed at the destruction of more than 220 villages with about 43.000 people, most of whom were of Hungarian background.

- A similar problem exists ia in South Africa where the relocation of about 3 Mio blacks was initiated to eliminate 'black spots' from white neighborhoods according to the Group Areas Act (1950) and the Natives Resettlement Act (1954). 19)

Moreover, there are specific minorities in many countries which feel superior, partly on religious and racial, partly on economic

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grounds and thus disregard or suppress 'human rights' of others.

- Such groups may be racists as in South Africa (represented eg by AWB or CP), they may be religious groupings as in India (vs the untouchables) or they may be terrorists' groups which generally have no respect for life.

Beyond this we find some adults in all societies, who have limited concern eg for the 'human rights' of children or generally for life. Even parents and teachers are sometimes either physically or mentally maltreating their children and cover up 'bullying' amongst children. At the same time hot discussions follow if the rights of incurable and malformed people or unwanted embryos are considered.

- On the one hand the problem has to be faced that many societies have legalized abortion by disregarding the rights of the unborn child.

- On the other hand mobbing has become a growing phenomenon at the school level in the light of growing violence in society and the media. In Norway eg bullying is reported for 5% of the 7-16 year old and in the area of the Inner London Education Authority up to 20% of the 10 to 11 year old.20)

- Thirdly with regard to incurable disease "nearly 80% of US physicians favor withdrawing life-support systems from hopeless ill ... if the patients or their families request it".21)

♦♦ Obviously the 'human rights' are not only impaired at the state level but also amongst social groups and even at school and at home. The shortcomings and violations should be part of a 'human rights education' for it helps to prevent shying away from one's own responsibility and local problems by blaming others. Such a problem-oriented approach, however, should never end with a deficit-analysis but lead to positive attitudes towards 'human rights' and encourage practical engagements to safeguard them.

After it has been summarized how difficult it is to offer a somehow integrative overview about the most fundamental 'human rights' and why the 'human rights education' is urgently needed, it shall be pointed out: first, to what extent the interpretations of 'human rights' are culture- and ideology-specific, and second, how national self-concepts and politics influence the 'human rights education'.

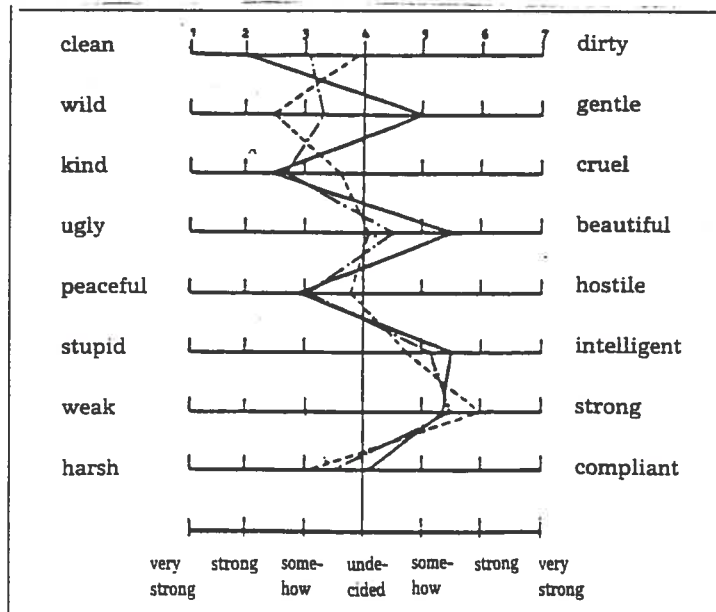
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## II. POLITICAL CONTEXT OF 'HUMAN RIGHTS'

In general, education follows social trends (cf the development of computer and ecological education). It's relevance, however, stands and falls whether it also takes a critical look at social demands, considers the children's needs and abilities, and does not overestimate its own impacts. So, a 'human rights education' simultaneously has to analyze culture- and ideology-specific

perceptions as well as the children's age-related interests and engagements for 'human rights'. This however is not easy to realize.

Analysis of attitudes of 11 year old German pupils towards human beings vs 'negros'. Comparison of means of 8 polarities after a teaching period. (--- 'human being' (pre- and post test); --'negro'(pre-test) \_ \_ (post-test))



The illustration shows:

- how difficult it is for education to cope with culture-specific and national stereotypes that are passed on by different socialization agents



(including the school),

- respectively, how difficult it is to make children really aware that the stereotypes are more fiction than reality, although they tend to lead to trouble. 22)

1. CULTURE- AND IDEOLOGY-SPECIFIC INTERPRETATIONS:

After the Second World War the political engagement for universal 'human rights' was largely led by Western democratic powers. The conceptualization was strongly influenced by their liberal philosophy (cf natural law), legal traditions (from Habeas Corpus onwards) and by the war experiences (NS dictatorship). Accordingly 'self-determination' was regarded as one of the leading goals. Meanwhile however the number of UN member-states has more than doubled and most of the 82 new members are developing countries with other cultural backgrounds and sociopolitical priorities. Accordingly 'self-determination' is now interpreted differently.

While in Europe the individual development was/ is regarded as the highest aim of civilization, the Indian cast-culture demands optimal adaptation of a person to the set of norms and values of it's cast, while many African countries stress collectivism. 23)

In addition the right to 'self-determination' often gets a different interpretation in developing countries after they attained independence, because then they tend to be primarily concerned with 'territorial integrity' as the following example illustrates.

While Nigeria's claim for 'self-determination' achieved universal approval in the UN in 1966, the area of Biafra failed to reach support in the General Assembly when it tried to obtain freedom from Nigeria. 24)

Obviously, the acceptance and interpretation of 'human rights' is not as universal as it appears, and this to a lesser extent the more the awareness for cultural differences increased since the

60ies or ideological perceptions came to the forefront. In consequence at least some 'human rights' are regarded as a somehow Western phenomenon so that additional 'human rights agreements' have been passed by other regional and cultural groups. The CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS IMPLICATIONS become obvious if one compares different emphases of the European Convention, of the African Banjul Charter and the Islamic Declaration. 25)

- The European Human Rights Convention eg focuses on fundamental rights that aim at the protection of the individual against the state. It is self-evident that 'human rights' as the following are quite closely linked to the European history and way of thinking:

The right on personal freedom and security (Art.5,1), the protection of private and family life as well as the privacy of the home and post (Art.8,1), and the right to free expression of thought and peaceful assembly (Art. 10,1; 11,1). 26)

- Aside to these rights the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights includes articles - as the title indicates - which point to more collective rights.

On the one hand the colonial experience led to the stress that all nations have an equal right of existence as well as self-determination in cultural, political and economic affairs (Art.19;20,1) and that they have the right of disposal over their resources (Art.21). On the other hand the Charter demands of the state to encourage and safeguard the moral and traditional values of the community (Art.17,3). Furthermore it demands from the people that they serve the community with all their abilities, strengthen the social and national solidarity and pay their taxes in the interest of the community (Art. 29). 27)

- Finally, the General Islamic Declaration on Human Rights starts from a religious point of view. The preamble states for instance that the Muslims developed a Declaration on 'human rights' in

which all worldly power is regarded as a divine trusteeship because God has given mankind a permanent lawful and moral orientation (via his revelation and his prophet Mohammed).

Accordingly it is regarded as the right and obligation of the Muslims to refuse to obey all orders which contradict the Islamic law (Art.4,5), to strive for knowledge and truth (Art.12,2) and to develop a balanced economy respectively to prevent exploitation of the community. This means ia, that all business is allowed which does not run counter to the interest of the community and does not violate Islamic law and values - although monopolies, profiteering and misleading advertising are prohibited (Art.15,5-7). 28)

The examples indicate that a one-sided European teaching about 'human rights' has to be avoided, ie it has to be pointed out to the young people, how culture-specific many of their interpretations are. In fact, at least a certain awareness is needed, that 'human rights' in the African oral cultures are less detached from the environmental context, that the Islam does not accept a dualism between religious and secular powers, that the 'human rights' in some Asian cultures are not deduced from natural law but related to the cosmic integration of man, or that Hindus believe in natural human inequalities.

But the interpretation and practice of the 'human rights' is not only culture-specific. In addition they differ according to POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES. The ideological impact becomes obvious if one analyses, how some rights (formulated in the Covenant on Civic and Political Rights, 1966) had been realized in both the Germanies, ie the former socialist GDR and the western FRG. According to the Covenant all signatory powers are obliged to safeguard that everyone has a right to appeal even against decisions of

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official authorities, and that institutions for legal protection (including administrative courts) have to be made available (Art. 2,3). How differently these demands were met in a liberal Western democracy (FRG) compared to a Marxism-Leninism protection of its leadership (GDR) is obvious from the following examples: 29)

- Although the GDR originally institutionalized administrative courts in 1949 for the civilian protection against illegal actions of the administration (Art.138) these courts were dissolved in 1952 and in the new constitution of 1968 - ie two years after the Covenant was agreed upon - the whole article 138 was dropped. In contrast a citizen of the FRG can not only appeal to administrative courts but also make complaints about infringements of human rights at the national level and at the European Court.

- Moreover, the Covenant not only requires legal institutions to protect 'human rights' but also independent and neutral courts for protection against political manipulations. However, contrary to the situation in the FRG, where these requirements were and are met, the judges in the GDR were neither independent in a factual nor personal way, since the highest court was responsible to the political representatives (the Volkskammer) (Art. 93,3, Art.74) and since the constitution determined that a judge has to be 'loyally devoted to the nation and the socialist state'. Otherwise he could be dismissed (Art.94,1; 95).

In the interpretation of 'human rights' we found two quite contradictory positions: on the one hand a strong preference for individualism and on the other hand one for overriding state authority. 30) While Western parliamentary democracies generally argue in terms of 'basic rights' transcending the political system, socialist countries stick to the idea that 'human rights' are bestowed by the state on the citizens.

The examples give ample evidence that education for 'human rights' should not limit itself to different aspects of the international agreements or certain of offenses but that it has

to relate 'human rights' to the ideological and legal context in a given country in order to understand the probabilities of their realization.

It can be summarized: 'Human rights' are not as universal as may be expected because their perception and realization depend on the ideological and cultural context. Such an awareness helps to see the 'human rights' more life related, and to see Western criticism of other value patterns in more relative terms. But, although teachers have to be aware of such problems right from the beginning, an epistemological and ethical relativism cannot be the final aim of an educational approach, because an identity diffusion hardly leads to greater tolerance. Therefore teaching has to start from the more universal rights and European perceptions. In a second step, however, young people should be made aware that 'human rights' are interpreted in culture-specific and national ways.

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2. NATION-SPECIFIC GOALS FOR EDUCATION:

After the Second World War 'human rights education' as well as peace education were stressed in the Western world. This was well in line with the United Nations Declaration and the European Convention. This post-war development, however, suffered soon from the cold war in the 50ies. And in the 60ies the NATIONAL VARIATIONS and orientations increased more and more. The national differences become evident if one compares eg trends and aspects of the educational policy of the United States and both German states, and afterwards contrasts the national orientations with

those of the international organizations.

In the USA the 'human rights education' is particularly linked to the historical experience of slavery and the problems of racial as well as social integration. On the other hand it is interrelated with foreign policy since the US - in a certain self-righteousness - often feel obliged to safeguard a peaceful world based on freedom, democracy, and self-determination. 31)

As far as the social dimension is concerned, the 'human rights education' has been related for example to the Civil Rights movement (cf M. L. King) and multicultural education (eg involving disadvantaged parents in educational planning as equal partners). As far as foreign policy aspects are concerned, education is expected to support American international policy for fundamental freedoms (eg the Helsinki Accord) and her developing aid. 32)

But generally, the teaching on 'human rights' - either in 'American History' and 'Government' or in 'World History' or 'Global Education' - seems to focus much more on historical and social dimensions than on international agreements and aspects. Accordingly the passages on international agreements tend to be quite brief in the textbooks and are often concentrating on few aspects such as the rights of minorities or on the holocaust. 33)

The situation has been quite different in Germany. In spite of the common history of East and West Germany till 1945, the development after the Second World War led to extremely different atti-

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tudes towards a 'human rights education'.

- The socialist GDR regarded 'human rights' as attributable to socialist development, focused on collective rights of the citizens and stressed the welfare of the state. As a result of this emphasis, the 'right' to work and for education as well as equal opportunities for women were realized. Other 'human rights', however, are cut back, particularly so, if they could challenge or endanger the controlling power of the party. Thus almost all individual rights (eg of speech, mobility and association) were distorted. How they are distorted with regard to reason of state, is illustrated by the stress put on the 'right to live in peace' - as exemplified:

Already in 1950 a 'Protection of Peace Act' was passed, demanding penalties for any form of war propaganda, revanchisms, racial hatred etc. Simultaneously however the party encouraged an education against the so-called socialist enemies - especially imperialism. This indoctrination happened from kindergarten throughout secondary education, and it also included some military training in the 9th and 10th grade. 34)

So, one wonders, whether the East German public came to the same conclusion as Mr. Honecker who stated in 1989 that "the human rights are reality with us, this is ensured by social facts and legal guarantees". 35)

In the FRG protection of the 'human rights' is part of the basic law (ie the constitution). In addition, a 'human rights education' has been emphasized from the early period of 're-education' till today. In the beginning it aimed against Nazi collectivism

and it's holocaust, respectively favored individual rights against the state. Over the years teachers have been supplied with a considerable amount of information material either by the Central Office for Political Education (Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung), the German Unesco branch or the Cultural Ministers Conference. This information reflects the UN and European agreements, offers didactic advice how to integrate 'human rights' into social studies, history and geography, and it encourages teachers' personal engagement. 36)

The concern for the 'human rights' grew again in the 80ies, on the one hand because of increasing problems with guestworkers, growing numbers of asylants and the expected European mobility after 1992. On the other hand it was stressed to support the dialogues between East and West as well as North and South. In fact Parliament unanimously called for such an education (1980) and the 'Conference of the Ministers of Cultural Affairs' made it a major concern of the schools, explaining how the social as well as international obligations should be related to 'human rights' and peace. 37)

The differences in the three countries shows quite clearly to what extent a 'human rights education' is related to national concerns. Let us now contrast the national concerns with the transnational perspectives of the COUNCIL OF EUROPE and UNESCO.

Since Western Europe regards itself as the fundamental basis to democracy and 'human rights', it has to cope with the following claims: On the one hand it has to face the socialist countries'



plea for social legality and the so-called peoples' democracy; on the other hand it has to cope with challenges as: a growing nationalism, ethnocentrism and racism as well as endangerments by science and modern technologies. 38)

On the whole, 'individual human rights' are not only threatened by the states, but also by certain social groups and perhaps by technology. Thus any 'human rights education' has to foster "attitudes of tolerance, respect and solidarity inherent in human rights" and a critical attitude towards alienating market or technological forces. 39)

The Council of Europe thus not only stressed in its 'Human Rights Convention' (1950) to further the 'human rights' but also initiated in quite practical terms an in-service training program for teachers (European Seminars 1980-85). Since these are to transcend national interpretations of the 'human rights', the Council stressed that they should "go hand in hand with a greater democratization of school life", and deal with economic, social and cultural rights. In particular, attention should be paid in education to emotional aspects, to political controversies, and to cultural diversity. 40)

In comparison Unesco was in a much difficult situation since it's recommendations had to amalgamate considerable cultural and ideological variations. Actually no agreement was reached until the 1974 recommendation, which stressed that education should and could be an important agent to support international co-operation

and guarantee 'human values' accepted by UN. 41) In fact 'guiding principles of educational policy' were developed (Section III.4) - "mindful of..the aims set forth in the Charter of the United Nations..(and)..the Geneva Convention for the Protection of Victims of War". They supported an education "for the advancement of justice, freedom, human rights and peace" and tried to enforce:

"an understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilizations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations";

Furthermore the recommendation demanded planning and administration in the following way (Sect. IV.7):

"Each Member State should formulate and apply national policies ... to the maintenance and development of a just peace, to the establishment of social justice,...and to the eradication of the prejudices, misconceptions,..." etc. 42)

Thus, Unesco recommended that the teaching on 'human rights' should start from national perspectives, because educational policy was at the discretion and jurisdiction of the signatory powers.

♦♦ *The comparison illuminates that international organizations tend to proclaim more or less universal 'human rights' but that the application of the aims depends on national politics. And national attention towards - and support for - the 'human rights is strongly related to socio-political experiences and demands.*

*However, a sensitive and sensible 'human rights education' depends on the teacher's awareness that expectations, interpretations and realizations of the 'human rights' depend on cultural*

traditions and national experiences. Such an awareness helps: to understand discrepancies between curricular priorities amongst the nations and to reflect the national frame of reference. Surely, these implications cannot be touched upon in schools until students are ready for reflective judgments in late adolescence.

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### III. PSYCHOLOGY OF A 'HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION'

If a 'human rights education' shall be effective, attention has not only to be paid to the political context of a given society but also to the awareness and abilities of young people.

#### 1. AWARENESS AMONGST YOUNG PEOPLE:

Children are born without ethnic, national or cultural prejudices. But till the first years of schooling they absorb basic value patterns and cultural stereotypes, they tend to have similar political preferences as their parents and regard their own culture, nationality and race as 'typical' for human life. Many of these stereotypes are reinforced by education because any education-system reflects national traditions, ideals and aspirations. 43) Therefore a 'human rights education' has to examine, how open-minded young people are towards 'human rights' at different ages. Although relevant research is scarce at least some tendencies can be summarized by combining school research with public opinion polls.

International SCHOOL RESEARCH offers some hints about the children's concerns and teaching effects:

- A report from Sweden for instance indicates that children learn - consciously and subconsciously - already at the primary school level that they have responsibility for classmates and other people. 44) Moreover, about 90% of US-American children (age 9 to 13) responded to questions (directly taken from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights): that no law - enacted by a country - could justify actions which violate fundamental rights. Accordingly primary school children seem to have developed a certain belief that human beings have fundamental rights by virtue. 45a)

- In addition a comparative analysis of American, West German and British pupils (age 11 to 19) stated that this age-group expressed considerable concern for fundamental social and political rights. And this concern differed less with nations than with age groups. On the whole the adolescents' support for the 'human rights' increased with secondary schooling. 45b) Similar results are available from the International Evaluation of Achievement Studies which focused on 11 to about 18 year old youngsters in the Netherlands, FRG, Finland, Italy and the USA. According to a sub-analysis of 'human rights' items, a high level of tolerance with little difference amongst nations existed, except with regard to women's rights and with regard to democratic values (which was much lower in countries under political strain). 46)

- And finally, a study analyzing US college students comprehen-

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sion found that 75% to 80% of the students agreed with items as the following: 'Political freedom is a basic human rights and no government should be permitted to abridge it'. 47)

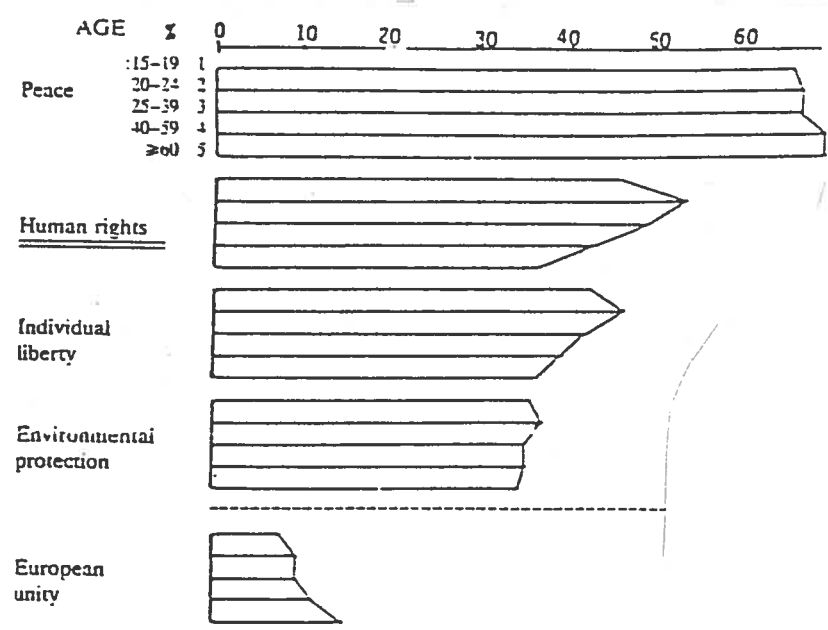
So, a large proportion of young people in the Western countries seem to 'believe' in basic human rights and expect their governments to respect them.

To a certain extent the results are confirmed by European PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS (1982).

- When young Europeans (age 15 to 24) were asked in the early 90s which political problems would encourage them "to take an active part - even if they had to risk or sacrifice something" -

TAB. 4 The great concerns: 48)

they felt inclined to engage themselves: first for peace (65%) and for 'human rights' (51%), then for personal freedom (44%), for environmental protection or against poverty (each 37%), while 'the unification of Europe' ranked second last of 10 alternatives (8%).



But, neither their preferences nor the percentage favoring 'human rights' differed greatly from the general public as table 4 shows.

- However, it has been argued that young people are more geared towards 'post-materialist values' than old people. (In the following table 5 percentages are only given for the 'really decided'.) The results seem to underline the world wide experience that young people often stand up for 'human rights' and social equality with considerable engagement.

TAB.5

	Post-materialism: 49)						Total
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
Materialist	20	25	33	42	43	49	34
Post-Materialist	19	17	12	7	7	4	12

One might conclude: Children are aware of some fundamental 'human rights' as early as in primary school years, their belief and comprehension increases with secondary schooling, and in late adolescence their attitudes are more positive or idealistic than those of the general public.

However, the findings become more relative if other results are considered too. The moment, the same young Europeans were asked in a different way, eg with regard to their personal interest, then they gave first priority to sports and entertainment while interest in international affairs ranked low. And if the factual knowledge of American college students about international affairs was looked upon, their incompetence was striking. Moreover, if the post-materialism of young people is viewed in terms of life-cycle changes then their lead over other age-groups fades away; and finally no empirical information came to my attention, to what extent concern and knowledge of the young or the teaching about 'human rights' corresponded with factual behavior in criti-

cal life situations. 50) Obviously more in-depth studies are needed if the 'human rights education' shall be more related to age-specific learning in order to become more effective.

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2. AGE-RELATED CONSEQUENCES FOR TEACHING:

A 'human rights education' has to cope with the following dilemma: On the one hand it has to start as early as possible, because political cliches are widely inhaled before puberty. On the other hand attitudes of the young are quite egocentric and their ability to cope with abstract values is limited till secondary schooling. Therefore it is no surprise that the timing of a 'human rights education' differs with various learning and teaching concepts.

- Some people argue more in favor of a 'primary principle', ie starting as early as possible since all learning is cumulative and because earlier experiences have more lasting effects. In addition it is pointed out that political relevant attitudes, like empathy and solidarity as well as sensitiveness for justice and injustice are greatly formed in early childhood.51) But, although an early intervention appears to be advantageous, pre- and primary school children are not yet in a situation to handle abstractions. So misconceptions can easily occur. However, if early teaching is intended it has to be related quite closely to the child's experiences, and a situational didactic approach is of utmost importance. 52)

- Other researchers argue in favor of the 'plasticity principle'

when a minimum of cognitive reversibility is available and when interest in interpersonal relations grows - ie they argue for a 'human rights education' for children of about 8 years of age till puberty. A review of the literature and the experience from IEA studies led Torney-Purta to the conclusion, that teaching in the pre-puberty period may be particularly important since the child shows important empathy for others (including victims) and because peer group conformity is not as strong as later. 53)

- And finally there are traditional arguments to postpone a 'human rights education' until the adolescents are able to see themselves and their perceptions in relation to others. Here the education is largely left to late adolescence. The so-called 'recency principle' is generally given priority if the cognitive development is regarded as a condition 'sine qua non' for coping with complex and abstract matters. And in the past new subjects have often been introduced with the same argument at this level (eg computer as well as international and environmental education).

The implicit consequences in terms of teaching content and methodological approaches will become clear, if the aforesaid alternatives are examined in the light of age-specific abilities for moral reasoning. Kohlberg (who follows Piaget's perception that cognitive structures are embodied in ego-structures and related to moral judgment) has differentiated three (somehow age-related) levels of morality: 1. a pre-moral till about the age of 7 a ; then a conventional till about the age of 16, and a post-



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conventional afterwards). These stages comprehend 6 different stages as the table 6 indicates: 54)

According to the table morality at the conventional level (stage 3 and 4) allows to support children's ideas that 'all nice people' should maintain good relations and finally that 'every

one' should behave according to set rules and human standards (mutual self-other perspective). But, not until the 'post-conventional' level (stage 5 onwards) morality in terms of individual rights, of democratically accepted law and of justice for everyone is really understood.

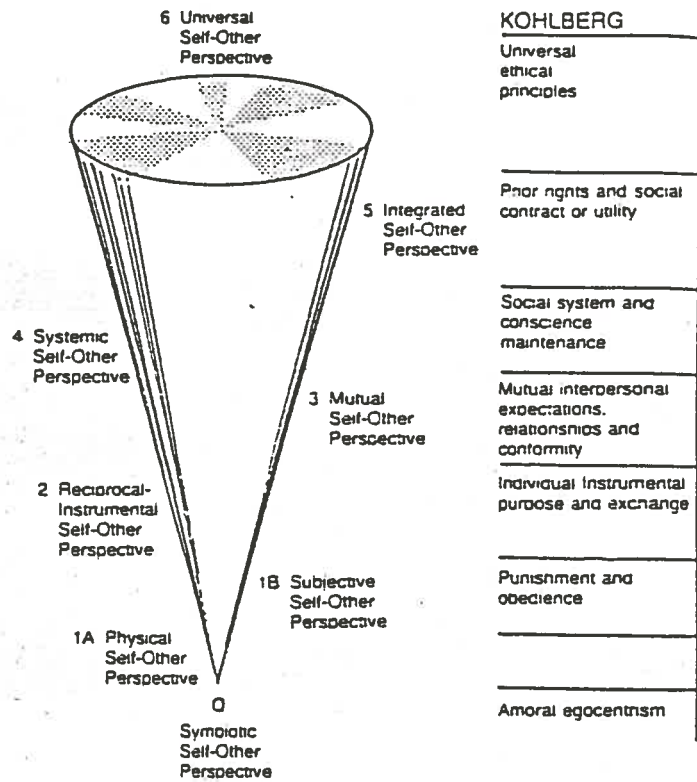
Consequences for a 'human rights education' seem to be:

- Till the first years of schooling, when concepts of instrumental self-other perceptions dominate, the teaching has to be more implicit, it should offer simple models to further development of preferences and it should pay attention to adequate class-room behavior.

TAB. 6

Emphasis on processes of differentiation

Emphasis on processes of integration



- A more direct teaching on 'fundamental rights', however, has to wait until the conventional level is reached in late primary-school age, ie when pupils are ready for mutual self-other perceptions and when they establish communications to the wider community. (It may be discussed eg: What shared needs does a community have? In which way are migrants in your school different and the same as you are? etc.) The moment group relations are developed aspects of law can be discussed in a more systematic way. (For instance, we all have the 'right to a name and a nation', but what about orphans or refugees, etc.) At this level the need for universal 'human rights' (eg starting with 'Red Cross'), special support for minorities (handicapped and children eg) and the importance of transnational agreements can be elaborated upon. 55)

- But, although the puberty period offers great opportunities in terms of the 'plasticity principle' one should not forget that reflective attitudes and concerns about 'human rights' demand post-conventional insights, ie reflections beyond situational and national demands. Not until this level is reached, some ideological as well as political contradictions, the many caveats and the rhetoric use of 'human rights' can be highlighted.

However, a 'human rights education' should not only be concerned with the cognitive level of the learner, since moral judgment cannot be regarded as a function of cognitive development and an acquisition of knowledge does not correlate highly with engage-

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ment in democratic values and reflective judgment.

An American six year longitudinal and sequential study of intellectual and moral development of high school pupils, college juniors and graduate students eg illustrates: Although reflective judgment increases with higher education and correlates with verbal ability it is only attributable but not causal to moral development. Generally reflective judgment appears to be a necessary but not sufficient condition for the development of advanced levels of moral judgment. 56)

Thus, in spite of the fact that learning 'to reason carefully' will surely help to lay the groundwork for moral development, a 'human rights education' should not be reduced to cognitive aspects. Instead additional attention has to be paid to attitudinal components beyond the selection and transmitting of content. Of particular importance for moral development are ia the classroom atmosphere, controversial discussions, and the behavior of the teachers. Standing up for 'human rights' - now and later in life - probably depends less on teaching about them than experiencing that 'human dignity' was wholeheartedly valued (as will be discussed in the next chapter). 57)

◆◆ *So, psychological and school research offers some hints: which age-related aspects have to be considered in the teaching of 'human rights', why information does not necessarily lead to reflective behavior and why considerable attention has to be given to the students' interest, experience and knowledge.*

*On the whole, it appears to be reasonable that a 'human rights education' starts in primary school years in a preparatory way. But not until late puberty, culture- and ideology-specific implications can be touched upon.*

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#### IV. EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT TO 'HUMAN RIGHTS'

Within the sociopolitical and psychological context education can have a considerable influence on the awareness of - and on the attitudes towards 'human rights'. Because 'human rights' are defined in abstract and legal terms, traditional emphasis was and is on the selection of content and methods. Here however the informal dimension will be discussed first, because the 'learning environment' is of great importance even for the selection of the content, because learning is not only a cognitive process and can be more effective if it is related to personal concerns, and because the 'human rights education' should be regarded as a process from primary school onwards.

##### 1. IMPORTANCE OF IN-FORMAL LEARNING:

The importance of in-formal learning had already been stressed in the Reform-pedagogy of the 20s and was later affirmed by psychological as well as socialization research. Accordingly, the cornerstone to 'human rights education' seems to be "the development of healthy self-respect and self-esteem in every child" since these are fundamental: to active participation in civic affairs, to empathy with and respect for others, and at a later stage for the coping with stereotyping and ethnocentrism. 58) What is really needed, is a 'human rights classroom' in terms of an adequate learning climate and an open learning process.

In the face of these demands suggestions of an European Teachers' Seminar on 'human rights education' have been reversed in their order. From a psychological point of view teaching should start

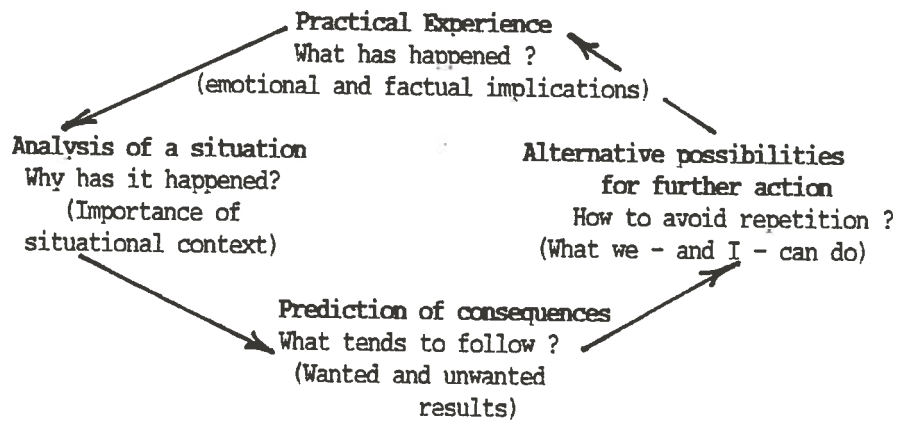
at the primary school level:

- to encourage a readiness for dialogue in order to strengthen self-confidence and tolerance, respectively to reduce the children's timidity towards the unknown:
- to increase an understanding why situations are different, what interdependence exist, and which consequences might follow from a given problem. The task would be to analyze and compare information (as far as possible at this age);
- and finally to start age-related reflections about the equality of people and cultures, about injustices and discriminations. 59)

If these intentions are carefully related to age conditions, the primary school offers considerable opportunities to advance a 'human rights education' by guiding children to develop respect for others, and to care for justice.

However, attention to in-formal learning should also be paid in secondary schools because learning becomes more relevant if the teaching practices what it teaches. "Although little work has been done specifically on human rights education", research in related fields suggests that a 'human rights education' needs a 'human\_rights\_classroom' where the teacher facilitates cooperative learning, values the students' opinions and functions as a 'role model'. 60) Of particular importance is for instance that 'problem-posing questions' are put forward to the students which do not aim at ready made answers but invite a democratic discourse on controversial issues. The teaching should allow student participation in discussions and methodological planning because active methods and open processes are extremely conducive for shaping the student's attitudes.

On the whole it is by in-formal education that students learn to respect different opinions, that they accept special tasks in a given situation and that they are ready for non-violent problem-solving. In most schools ample opportunities exist to train such a practical application of 'human rights' or to reduce conflicts - as the problems of bullying, the needed cooperation with migrant children and necessary improvements in teacher-child relationships etc. show. In which way more open minded and co-operative attitudes can and should be enforced is illustrated by the following graph. It shows how to acquaint pupils with strategies of conflict solving. 61)



Somehow schools need to be model democracies where 'human rights' can be experienced. This however would mean:

- that teachers need closer cooperation (amongst themselves and with the students) in setting aims and organizing the process of a 'human rights education';
- that an open and trustworthy climate exists, in which controversial issues are discussed and in which students can experience that they influence the rules of and the working in the classroom;
- that the student's personality is respected, independent from his/her age;

- and that teachers of 'human rights' practice what they preach:

In this process it would also be supportive if there is some co-operation across the age-groups (eg assigning older adolescents to young children), and if the teaching is strongly related to out-of-school experiences. 62)

How 'human rights' could be made part of a teaching project had been illustrated by J. Bruner in his 'man a course of study'. He interrelated in-formal and formal strategies in the following way: Since intellectual development cannot be isolated from the emotional and attitudinal domain, Bruner regarded 'character education' as a major task in education which had to combine in the following dimensions:

- respect for one's own capacities,
- respect and confidence in the solubility of problems by the power of the mind.
- respect for the capacities of man as a species and for his humanity and intellectual honesty.

Therefore he regarded it as an important educational task, to arrange the child's environment that 'he can learn something with some assurance', that he is activated to use his own capacities to solve problems, and that certain known and unknown aspects become interrelated. Thus in-formal dimensions were made an integrative part of his course 'man a course of study', which strongly touched upon a 'human rights education'. 63)

The course was as much concerned with forming attitudes and intellectual powers as with content. it aimed to develop more open human and global perceptions of the children. Generally it was based on the idea that a culture is a deviser. a repository.

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and a transmitter of a amplification system, which fits young people into social patterns but should not be allowed to reduce their perspectives and hinder multicultural and global co-operation.

On the one hand the course aimed at reducing complexity (eg starting with life of the Eskimos) on the other it tried to convert the learned into procedures and rules. With regard to the later, it illustrates that the fundamental human dimensions of the so-called 'primitive' and developed cultures are the same in terms of: using their intellect, struggling with social groupings, and coping with environmental challenges - and that only the way and means are different.

On the whole the content of the project aimed at better understanding of the human species by analyzing, what is human about human beings and what forces shaped and shape the nature of humanity. By this Bruner tried to show that men at all times and in all cultures have been human and he hoped "to help children achieve detachment from the all too familiar matrix of social life". 64)

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## 2. IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF FORMAL EDUCATION:

The aforesaid made it quite clear that a 'human rights education' cannot be delegated to single projects or subjects and that it cannot be effective if only those aspects are tackled which either meet teachers' interests and curricula or get special attention in a society or by the media. Instead of a variety of different aspects or current problems the students need some methodological reduced, exemplary insights which are well related to his/her life experiences and to political demands. On the teachers' side the selection of relevant problems and materials



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for such insights depends on clarifications what are his/her recognition-, attitude- and value guiding interests. At the heart of such interests surely are - at least in the European frame of reference - the protection of 'human dignity'.

Such exemplary insights can be organized in different frameworks. Here four levels are chosen as frame of reference, which interrelate ethical, cultural and political dimensions and are of fundamental concern to any 'human rights education'. The levels are: individual rights, multiculturalism, the national context and global interdependence.

- On the one hand **INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS** seem to be easy to tackle because they can closely be related to the child's experience. This, however, makes the matter quite delicate on the other hand, because home and classroom situations have to be in line with the teaching, if distrust, double-standards and conflicts shall be avoided. Moreover, egoistic misinterpretations can only be avoided if a strong emphasis is put on 'equal rights for all' which calls for a balance by social arrangements and rights.

Early teaching could start with a biographical approach (from Socrates to Solchenizyn). In the period of 'conventional morals' the horizon could be expanded to legal arrangements (eg preventing corporal punishment - and this also for children) while older students could be introduced to structural conflicts between different individual rights or between individual and social rights (eg with regard to youth unemployment).

All in all, from a European point of view an understanding of individual rights is basic to any comprehension of 'human dignity' and to social rights. 65)

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The next level of concern - close to the children's experience - is **MULTICULTURALISM**. It is much more difficult to comprehend and to accept, since it not only involves ethnic and cultural comparisons but also a lot of early inhaled stereotypes and emotional manifestations. This dimension is urgently needed in the face of increasing migration and limited support for developing aid. To a certain extent multiculturalism becomes an important touchstone to examine to what extent one really accepts 'human rights' for all, since it demands tolerance and acceptance of different living behaviors, cultural norms and racial variation.

Ample opportunities exists in each neighborhood to work on this dimension. eg starting with comparison of eating traditions in various cultures or by looking upon family patterns of foreign classmates. The studies might lead to comparison of different cultures and value patterns, and finally could touch upon culture-specific interpretations of 'human rights' (cf chapter II.1)

If this dimension is successfully handled, it surely will help to support trust in political behaviors, systems and organizations which live up to 'human rights' standards. 66)

In addition any 'human rights education' has to focus on the students' **NATION-STATE** since he/she is at the state's jurisdiction. The state also influences the educational system quite strongly and many teaching subjects (eg history, geography and social studies) focus quite strongly on the own nation. The student thus needs to understand to what extent the country protects the 'human rights' at the national level (eg with regard to conscientious objections), to what extent it allows some curtailments of the 'human rights' (eg in the case of emergencies) and to

what extent it speaks up for 'human rights' in international politics (eg against various forms of suppression). 67)

With regard to the national setting particular responsibility falls upon the teaching of history. It should explain for instance the slow expansion of 'human rights' from individual rights since Magna Charta to social rights in the European Declaration and to material rights demanded by the Covenant of 1966. In addition social studies have to illuminate which sociopolitical and economic circumstances are prerequisites to ensure 'human rights' while religious or ethical teaching could easily explore to what extent the legal framework includes pre-legal ethical codes.

Finally it is of utmost importance for a development of a critical awareness that some national shortcomings are brought to student's attention (eg pointing at individual suits against the national government at the European Court). 68)

Last but not least a GLOBAL DIMENSION is necessary to put the national focus in perspective. On the one hand this dimension is needed because 'human rights' are intended to be universal and international agreements and institutions are set up to safeguard them. On the other hand the interrelatedness of human survival and 'human rights' can only be discovered if insights are gained how overpopulation is related to starvation or in which way monocultures in developing countries are tied to international market forces.

The global dimension can be approached from many aspects, eg by starting with the establishment of the Red Cross or Oxfam, or by working on problems of asymlants, by looking at transnational environmental pollution or by comparing different religions (which will be particularly meaningful at the time children have the right to decide themselves for a religion). 69)

How all the dimensions - from the individual to the global level - may be interrelated in teaching projects, this is illustrated

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by several didactic papers of the German Unesco-Commission.

One of the booklets for example tries to initiate a comparison:

- between Islamic and Western positions towards 'human rights' and what follows from the interpretations for their reciprocal relations,
- between men and women and their different social functions,
- between individual and social rights (eg in terms of economic freedom)
- or between state and religion as sources for legitimizing 'human rights'.

The intention of the didactic publications was: first to inform the public about other life styles and norms, second to help them seeing their individualism, own culture and interpretation of 'human rights' in more relative terms, and thirdly to improve multicultural understanding in daily contact with Islamic guest-workers and the Islamic culture. The papers offers well organized information and practical advice how to set the stage for teaching with regard to critical self-awareness. 70)

◆ All in all a structural framework has been outlined for a 'human rights education'. It was exemplified why attention has to be paid to formal and informal aspects and how important are psychological and ethical dimensions in the teaching of 'human rights'. With regard to each dimension there exists a wide range of material a teacher may choose from (eg children's books as well as newspapers, cartoons as well as horror-videos, and often a great variety of publications from international organizations or of the courts). 71) Such resources should be used according to the 'resources based learning' concept in order to avoid getting standardized answers of pre-packed material. And whatever the subject training of a teacher may be - in my view - 'human

rights' should be tackled as teaching principle throughout many subjects.

The overall success of any 'human rights teaching' however depends whether the formal and hidden curricula correspond somehow with one another. Without giving the learner self-confidence and using an active approach in an openminded school atmosphere no personal integration of insights and attitudes can be expected on the students side.

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### SUMMARY

After all, it may have become evident that a 'human rights education' is one of the most complicated teaching areas. It already poses a problem when the 'human rights' are intended to be universal, that they suppose a pre-legal ethical consensus, and are defined in international agreements. The problem increases since the realization of the 'human rights' are left to the discretion of the states, they are perceived in rather culture- and ideology-specific ways, and the metaphysical tradition that led to their development is no longer accepted throughout the continents.

In the face of these contradictions, it would not have made much sense, if the paper would have started explaining curricular aims or teaching concepts until the underlying problems were explained.

Not without reason this paper therefore started by comparing fundamental demands of different international agreements and

then contrasted them with manifold injuries. (Chap.I)

- ◆ Probably any kind of teaching 'human rights' needs an overview in order to select important examples and to understand the widespread injuries.

On this basis it has been analyzed how culture- and ideology-specific many 'human rights' are interpreted, respectively in which way nations relate them to their own interests. (Chap.II)

- ◆ This illustrates why teachers have to reflect the national frame of reference and their own perceptions quite thoroughly when discussing shortcomings with other people or states.

Furthermore successful teaching depends as much on acquaintance with the 'human rights' as on awareness of the students' perceptions. Accordingly it was sketched to what extent young people are concerned about 'human rights' and in which way teaching may consider their psychological and moral development. (Chap.III)

- ◆ This could help to select content and teaching methods in relation to the students' interests and abilities.

Finally it has been illustrated that a 'human rights education' depends as much on in-formal as on formal teaching and that exemplifying insights need a structural framework.

- ◆ It was moreover highlighted why a 'human rights education' demands a matching of: school atmosphere, active methods and clearly structured information.

The most difficult ethical problem, however, is left here to the teachers discretion, because there are no straight forward and generally accepted access roads. Historically the development of universal 'human rights' resulted from specific anthropological and metaphysical perceptions. According to the implied anthropology, the human being was regard as an 'open being' and as a 'per-

son' endowed with reason. And according to the implied metaphysics something higher than material and political values was envisaged that was regarded as beyond free disposal. But today these implicit value-orientations are largely disavowed in our materialistic, egoistic and hedonistic world, so that teachers are left to cope with the dilemma in their own way.

If these assumptions are correct then a 'human rights education' has to fail if based only on a legal positivism. But how to agree on a new minimal ethical consensus? -- According to my very personal opinion such a consensus can only be reached on the following basis: In the face of man's disposal for self-destruction and of all life-destruction mankind has to recognize that the globally disturbed peace call for an **ETHIC FOR SURVIVAL**. Such an ethic demands an awareness of the conditions by which the human species and its environment can be maintained. It demands insight:

- first, that human norms, aspirations and partial competence are the major causes for all the crises,
- and second, that fundamental changes in human perceptions and attitudes are necessary.

In fact, man has not only to assume responsibility for today's living conditions in his country, his environment and his culture but also for the living conditions of future generations, and this at a global scale. He has to accept: that peace with nature and amongst the cultures is existential for survival. The need for a peaceful survival based on widely accepted rules thus becomes a certain substitute for the traditional metaphysical and

anthropological legitimation of the 'human rights'.

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**FOOTNOTES**

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