POLITICAL EDUCATION OF THE YOUTH (*)

A universal problem

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1. Socialization - Inoculation of culture : In every human society of whatsoever level of development, it is essential to inoculate the new generations with the rules of conduct (norms) with the credos and values, It is essential also to secure the integrity of the members of the society with such norms; credos and values, and to realize the harmony between the social structure and culture.

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The lack of harmony between the political structure and the political culture indicates that there exist certain disorders and troubles which can result in the collapse of the political structure within the society.

2. Rapid change - Age of crisis : Every society changes. The change in economical and social life causes also changes in common norms, credos and judgements of values. Since the speed of change in 20 th century is very high, the socio - cultural change becomes clearly sensible even within the period of life of a human being, thus causing our century to be called as the age of crisis (Ortega y Gasset).

3. Competition between the political systems : Another distinctive mark of our century is competition and rivalry between politico - economical systems, observed in every field.

The sole study of civics appears not to be sufficient and the ensuring of a political culture as well as its development and the political education become more and more important, because of the speedy change within the society, the rise of the standard of education of the people and the active role played by them within social life, the wider recognition of the human and civil rights, the competition and the struggle between the political systems.

4. Important period in actions of inoculation of political culture : First period of the action of inoculation of political culture is related with the childhood and youth period of the individual. The said period is the one for an intensive inoculation of culture to the individual. According to a point of view, the citizens who are not of full age completely acquire their political conduct at this period, and later on, they remain faithful to it (Hyman, as cited by Duverger p. 157). No doubt, it is exaggeration to say that the political culture obtained at the said period will never change. However, this point of view indicates the importance of the first period as regards the political life and political education. Another reason why the target in the political struggle is the youth and the political propaganda is directed toward to children consist of the fact that it is easier to influence human beings at an age where their intellectual life is not sufficiently developed and where they are rather dominated by their feelings.

5. Relation between political order and inoculation of political culture : There is a close relation between the political structure of the society and its political culture as well as the action and problems of

inoculation of such culture to the members of the society, especially to the ones who are not of full age yet. The ways and methods of utilization of language, family, school, and of social groups in the inoculation of the political culture (norms, credos, values) and various questions resulting thereof vary according to the particularities of the political structure.

The dual division of the societies from the point of view of political structure, that is to say, as a monist society or a pluralist society, causes the birth of important particularities regarding the inoculation of the political culture.

6. a) **Monist society** : Since there is only one world view in a fascist or communist system, and since this monopolist view does not allow to exist the contrary views and cultures and it does not even tolerate the deviations from the orthodox view, the political education is arranged according to this unique view of world.

In Soviet Union, there is no field left outside of the politics from the point of view of political education. The main target of such education is to educate the society according to the «Codex of Ethics of the Founders of Communism» especially to inoculate it with socialist patriotism, sense of duty, love of working, collective conscience, to create a new man for a new "classless" society and to protect the society from harmful ideological influences and deviations.

Political education in Soviet Union begins before the school age of the children and intensively continues at school where the lessons on are determined accordingly. Children between the ages of 10 - 15 get their political education out of school at the organizations of «pioneers»; and the young men between the ages of 15 - 28 at organizations of youth («Konsomol»).

In socialist countries, counter - views and political opposition groups came into existence in spite of the monist and monopolist education, and political struggle continues within the internal structure. *Revisionism* has been growing up notwithstanding the intensity and unity in political education. The birth of a political culture against the period of Stalin, the Cultural Revolution in the Republic of China, a completely different political current after Mao, and the latest events in Poland indicate that the political education can be influential up to a certain degree, and that the changes in society disturb, more or less, the unity of orthodoxe views to be obtained with political education.

7. b) Pluralist society : In societies of multi - parties there is no monopoly on the conception of the world. Even in such societies there is a dominant system of norms, beliefs and values. The deviations from this system, the degree of tolerance concerning the formation of adverse cultures and the flexibility of the political culture depend on the authority and self - confidence of the dominant culture and on the concept of liberty in the society.

An opposite view is developing in Western societies alleging that education in such societies is a "class" education, that the aim of the political education is integration, that all peculiarities of that kind education should be eliminated. The aim of the political education should not be "integration", but "emancipation". It is noteworthy that partisans of this philosophy are not aware of the fact that one of the aims of political education in a "classless" society is to keep safe the society from deviations and the harmful ideological trends.

In pluralist societies controversies on the contents of political education are mainly based on the ideological differences.

On the education of the young people should *a domain «free from politics»* exist and should it be contended with an education aiming solely that these people be an active member of the society? In the political education of young people should the principle of "depolitisation" be accepted or should the ideological struggle between the dominant culture and the opposite political cultures be extended over this area?

The Western society, i. e. the liberal, tolerant and pluralist society is under the menace of a monist, monopolist courant not recognising the right to exist to divergent, opposite views.

8. A proposal in the Council of Europe : Five years ago, on June 10 - 11, 1976 the Committee of Educational Research (Council of Europe, Council for Cultural Co-operation) has discussed the proposals to be taken into agenda of the Committee.

My proposal was the following :

«There is an overt uneasiness in the political lives of the so-called 'open' societies. Because of the competition of the politico - economic systems, civic and political education have an important function in these societies. Putting into agenda of the Committee the organisation of a symposium in order to discuss the functions and problems of the political education of young people will be beneficial to all countries. A comparison with the problems of the

so - called socialist countries should also be envisaged. Such a seminar will be a multipurpose project at the service of all countries interested. Educational research is necessary not only for the micro - problems, but also for the macro - problems» (From the report dated June 17, 1976, submitted to the Ministry of National Education).

Belgian Professor *G. de Landsheere,* Chairman of the Committee said my proposal was very interesting, but at the same time spiny, dangerous and explosive, that works on civic education in the Council of Europe were under press and that conditions were not favourable for putting the political education into the agenda of the Committee.

. **9. Universal problem :** With respect to political education of the children and young people the problems of the monist societies and that of the pluralist societies differ from each other. The political sturucture and social changes are the sources of different problems.

Relations between society and individuals, problems of political education are studied in "Republic" by *Plato* (407 - 347 B. C.) and in "politics" by *Aristoteles* (384 - 322 B. C.).

These problems analysed 24 centuries ago have become more serious because of the unprecedented speed in social change and of the competition and dispute among politico - economic systems.

Political education of children and young people is a universal problem. At the second half of the 20. Century new dimensions and problems came into being.

Is a common and universal political education possible and recommandable for both societies, monist and pluralist?

Is it not necessary an education to foster consideration to all human beings, to respect the other's rights, to eliminate all kind of fanaticism and to create open - mindedness for debating peacefully the problems of the society?

10. Foundations of a society - Political education is not a panacea : The social order is composed of four elements, every element being a *"conditio sine qua non"* of the society.

a) *Political order :* The political machine, main political organisations such as legislative body, executive etc. should be functioning smoothly, adequately and properly.

b) *Economic order :* Satisfaction of the economic needs of the individuals and the society is the aim of the economic order.

c) *Legal order :* Just, equitable and appropriate legal order and legal values can only be maintained by efficient legal sanctions.

d) *Moral order :* Moral values are transmitted to the successor generations by education.

Political education is only a mean in safeguarding political and moral order of the society. It is not at all a panacea, a remedy for everything. If the economic order is unsatisfactory, if the legal order is inefficient and unjust, if the political machine does not work well, these failures cannot be remedied by a succesful political education.

Neither the Constitution and the statutes, nor the civic education cannot prevent changes in the political structure of a society. According to the art. 148 of the Weimar Constitution, civic education was compulsory in all state schools. The works of the great educationist, *Kerschen-steiner,* were unable to prevent the rise of Hitler regime in Germany.

11.   The case of Turkey : In Turkey the «education for democracy» was discussed in the 4 th National Education Congress in 1949, 3 years after the adoption in 1946 the system of multiparties. In the report of "education for democracy" (p. 55) the attention is drawn to the fact that for safeguarding the society from despotism and anarchy a certain balance is necessary between *freedom* and *authority,* the one is the basis of the existence of human beings, the other is the basis for the survival of the State.

Anarchic disturbances, wind of terrorism, political fanaticism which is a substitute of religious fanaticism, educated people closed to any kind of free debate, categoric refusal of other's rights to survive showed clearly that there was something wrong in the political education of young people in Turkey.

On this area, political groups took the place of families and schools. For these groups; young people, even children were subjects for political hunting; the main purpose was their politisation. Politicised teachers also have contributed a lot in this way.

Turkey has suffered much from the lack or the unsuccess of the political education. By September 12, 1980 over 5000 people was killed for the sake of political fanaticism and anarchism. Turkey was very near of a civil war.

This was almost a total failure. But this cannot be attributed solely to political education; all main elements of the social order were failing.

On September 12, 1980 Turkish Army prevented civil war and assumed the responsibility of restoring in Turkey the State authority and the political, legal and economic order.

Now, political education in Turkey is more important may-be than in any country in the Western world.

I think that the case of Turkey can be a deterrent lesson for those countries suffering from anarchic disturbances.