



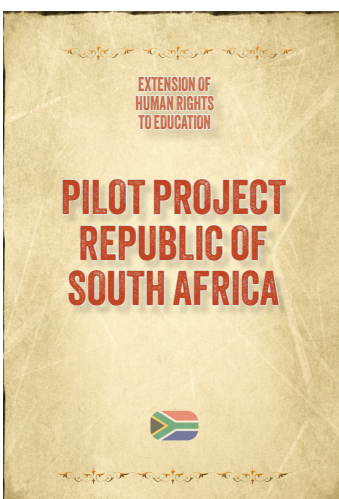
A PoliTeknik Magazine Initiative

Invitation to join the campaign “NEW SISTER CITIES OF GAZA”

Every anti-war individual, every pro-independence person, on a personal or organised basis, is trying to develop a strategy of resistance to stop the destruction of Palestine, which is embodied in Gaza. The resistance of university students in the USA, protests with wide participation in the metropolises of the world, etc. are in a state of fluctuating but continuous action for this purpose.

Like every individual who refuses to be a bystander, we, too, have thought of an action, and we have thought of launching a “SISTER CITIES OF GAZA” campaign, the rules of which can only be determined by democratic mass organisations. In this thought process, we exchanged views on the positive effects of such a campaign. At first, we tried to proceed with the example of a sister city initiative between Antiochia on the Orontes (Turkey), which was devastated by the earthquakes of 6 February, and Gaza.

PAGE 3, 31



A PoliTeknik Magazine Initiative

PILOT PROJECT REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

This presentation was made on 9 August 2024 during an online meeting to discuss the pilot implementation of the Project Extension of Human Rights to Education. The Republic of South Africa was selected for this pilot.

The pilot project will confront us with a dynamic process. As we build a very interesting moment together, we will also be witnesses to this moment. If we succeed, we will have witnessed a rare event in history. Global actors and masses of people with aligned interests will come together to formulate the right to education as a human right in perhaps its most comprehensive sense, and, more importantly, to defend that right themselves. It is not surprising that listening to the first pulses of such a moment in South Africa should have an extraordinarily positive connotation for those who know the history of resistance in that country and are eagerly awaiting liberation.

PAGE 4-7



Khutso Ntseki

The Relocation of the UNO Headquarters. 3rd Consultation for an international campaign

By relocating the United Nations headquarters to Africa and or the global south, we would not only pay tribute to this legacy but also harness the global souths energy, creativity, and dynamism to tackle the pressing challenges of our time. Whether it is climate change, poverty alleviation, or conflict resolution, the global south has a wealth of knowledge and experience to offer, and it is high time we tapped into this invaluable resource.

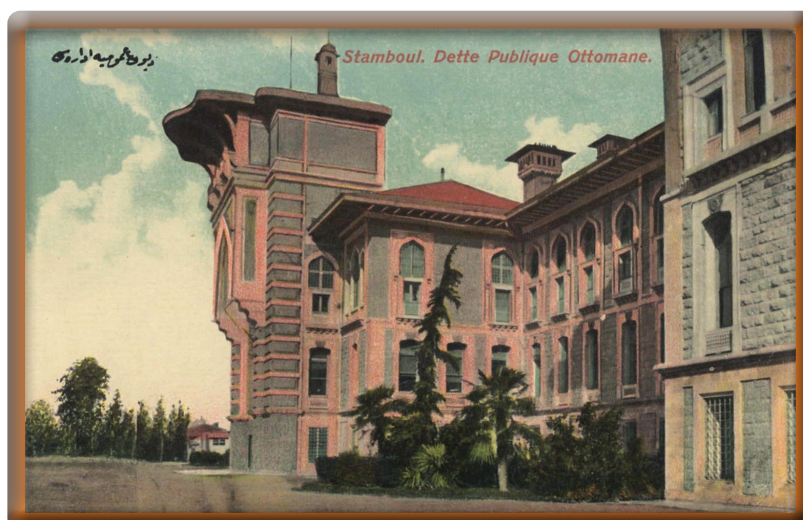
But perhaps most importantly, relocating the United Nations to the global south would send a powerful message of solidarity and partnership to the people of the global south.

PAGE 8

Hüseyin Ozan Uyumlu

FROM BUDGET DEFICIT TO EXTERNAL DEPENDENCE: OTTOMAN DEBTS AND DUYUN-I UMIMIYYE (OTTOMAN GENERAL DEBTS ADMINISTRATION)

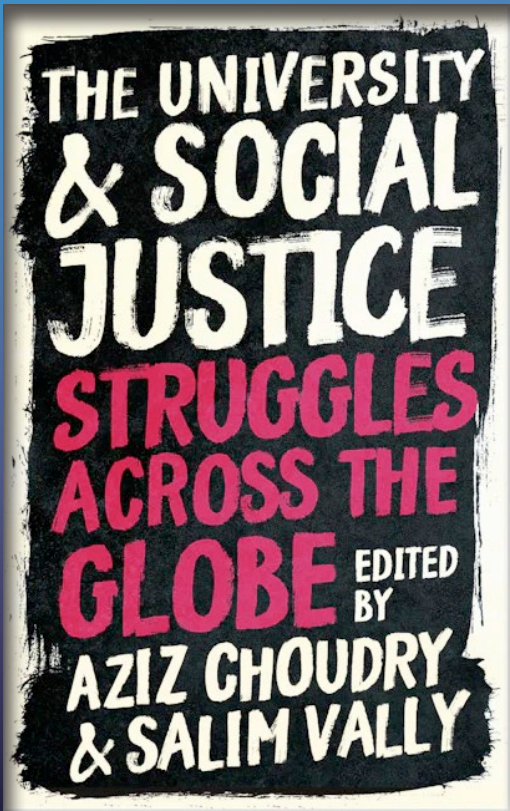
It can be argued that before the Ottoman Empire's borrowing situation, the capitulation practices made the Ottoman economy open to external factors. Capitulations granted to European states did not pose a problem



Wikimedia Commons: Ottoman Public Debt Administration, Istanbul (16033721400).jpg

when the feudal mode of production was generally observed in the world and the Ottoman Empire was economically strong, but the expansion of capitulations in the eighteenth century and the capitalist mode of production that emerged after the Industrial Revolution in Europe turned the capitulations into a Trojan horse placed in the Ottoman country. During the 19th century, Britain and then other European countries gradually established imperialist control over the Ottoman Empire in parallel with their growing accumulation of capitalist wealth.

PAGE 16-19



*The University & Social Justice
Struggles Across the Globe*
Edited by Aziz Choudry and Salim Vally

*Published by Pluto Press in Feb 2020
Paperback ISBN: 9780745340685
eBook ISBN: 9781786805751*

ABOUT THE BOOK

Higher education has long been contested terrain. From student movements to staff unions, the fight for accessible, critical and quality public education has turned university campuses globally into sites of struggle.

Whether calling for the decommodification or the decolonisation of education, many of these struggles have attempted to draw on (and in turn, resonate with) longer histories of popular resistance, broader social movements and radical visions of a fairer world. In this critical collection, Aziz Choudry, Salim Vally and a host of international contributors bring grounded, analytical accounts of diverse struggles relating to higher education into conversation with each other.

Featuring contributions written by students and staff members on the frontline of struggles from 12 different countries, including Canada, Chile, France, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Occupied Palestine, the Philippines, South Africa, Turkey, the UK and the USA, the book asks what can be learned from these movements' strategies, demands and visions.

CONTENT

Page 3, 32 A PoliTeknik Initiative Invitation to join the campaign “NEW SISTER CITIES OF GAZA”	Page 13 Kumar Ratan INDIA Importance of Participation of PoliTeknik in UNGA for Advocacy on Amendment of UDHR Article 26	Page 17 Prof. Rasigan Maharajh Chief Director: Institute for Economic Research on Innovation, Tshwane University of Technology-SOUTH AFRICA The Future of BRICS countries in a Multipolar World: Humanitarian and Long-Term Dimensions	Page 24, 25 Pape Mawade Sylla Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar-SENEGAL INTERDEPENDENCE OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, INDUSTRIALISATION AND NATIONAL PROGRESS: A CASE STUDY OF SENEGAL	Page 31 Joana D’arc Silva International Relations Student, State University of Paraíba (UEPB) Lara Souza Vidal De Negreiros International Relations Student, State University of Paraíba (UEPB) RELOCATION OF THE UN AND REFORM OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL OPINION ARTICLE
Page 4-7 A PoliTeknik Initiative PILOT PROJECT REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA	Page 14-15 Arzu Çerkezoğlu President of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK) - TURKEY SHOULDER TO SHOULDER AND SIDE BY SIDE FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS AND FOR WORKERS' TURKEY!	Page 18-21 Hüseyin Ozan Uyumlu TURKEY FROM BUDGET DEFICIT TO EXTERNAL DEPENDENCE: OTTOMAN DEBTS AND DUYUN-I UMIMIYYE (OTTOMAN GENERAL DEBTS ADMINISTRATION)	Page 26-29 Rama Kant Rai Coalition for Education - INDIA SDG4 and challenges of right to education for unorganized children in India	Page 32 GAZA & ANTIOCHIA SISTER CITIES FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EXISTENCE OF TWO ANCIENT CITIES DESTROYED BY HUMAN HANDS
Page 8-11 Marlies W. Fröse, Michael Winkler THE EXTENSION OF THE HUMAN RIGHT TO EDUCATION - UDHR ART. 26 - A POLITICAL AGENDA - A DRAFT	Page 16 A PoliTeknik Initiative OPINION ON THE TEXTILE TRADE UNION SOLIDARITY AGREEMENT	Page 22, 23 Rosa Cañadell Degree in Psychology. Professor. Columnist-CATALONIA THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS (SDGs) AND EDUCATION	Page 30 Kemal İnal TURKEY TURKEY'S NEW CURRICULUM A BRIEF CRITICAL EVALUATION	
Page 12 Khutso Ntseki SOUTH AFRICA The Relocation of the UNO Headquarters.				

IMPRESSUM

PoliTeknik International
every 4 months
ISSN: 2628-0833

Zeynel Korkmaz (Coordination)
info@politeknik.de
www.politeknik-international.org

Advisory Board Members

Prof. Dr. Michael Klundt • Ramakant Rai
Prof. Santoshi Halder • Prof. Enrique Javier Díez Gutiérrez
Prof. Dr. Peter Rödler • Rosa Cañadell
Prof. Sanjoy Roy • Prof. Dr. Xavier Diez

Publisher
Verein für Allseitige Bildung e.V.
(Germany)

INVITATION TO JOIN THE CAMPAIGN “NEW SISTER CITIES OF GAZA”

Dear Sir or Madam,

The Middle East is passing through a new ring of fire. This geography, where many painful wars have been fought, has entered a period in which the Palestinian national struggle for independence has been pushed to the point of life and death. For the first time in history, a nation is being subjected to genocide on live television.

Every anti-war individual, every pro-independence person, on a personal or organised basis, is trying to develop a strategy of resistance to stop the destruction of Palestine, which is embodied in Gaza. The resistance of university students in the USA, protests with wide participation in the metropolises of the world, etc. are in a state of fluctuating but continuous action for this purpose.

Like every individual who refuses to be a bystander, we, too, have thought of an action, and we have thought of launching a “SISTER CITIES OF GAZA” campaign, the rules of which can only be determined by democratic mass organisations. In this thought process, we exchanged views on the positive effects of such a campaign. At first, we tried to proceed with the example of a sister city initiative between Antiochia on the Orontes (Turkey), which was devastated by the earthquakes of 6 February, and Gaza.

We came up with the following picture:

- The idea of a sister city between Gaza and Antiochia is not an action limited to these two cities, but it represents a starting point.
- The idea of a sister city was quickly welcomed by interested parties in South Africa, Colombia and Turkey.
- The idea of sister cities also applies to countries that do not recognise Palestine, for example Gaza has a sister city in France. This action would therefore support existing protests in states that condone genocide.
- The sister city practice has the potential to spread all over the world, which could indirectly contribute to the process of recognising Palestine as a state.
- For Antiochia, the idea of a sister city could be a moment of solidarity to stand against (human-induced) destruction, as human rights violations are evident in both cities.
- A Palestine Fraternity Day could be organised jointly with cities that agree to become Sister Cities. A day of action on a global scale.
- Sister City status should go hand in hand with the promotion of a permanent ceasefire and the subsequent protection of the Palestinian nation.

These are first thoughts. The democratic mass organisations that will join the campaign to give direction and ownership will be able to diversify these aims together. It is obvious that there is a situation that should go beyond the classical sister city interaction. Therefore, the dimension of solidarity should be much deeper.

With this letter of invitation, we invite you to the sister city campaign we wish to initiate. An online meeting will be organised to determine the stages of the campaign on a date to be notified to you later. We hope you will respond positively to this initiative.

Sincerely yours,

José López Posada
National Executive
Confederation of Colombian
Workers - CTC

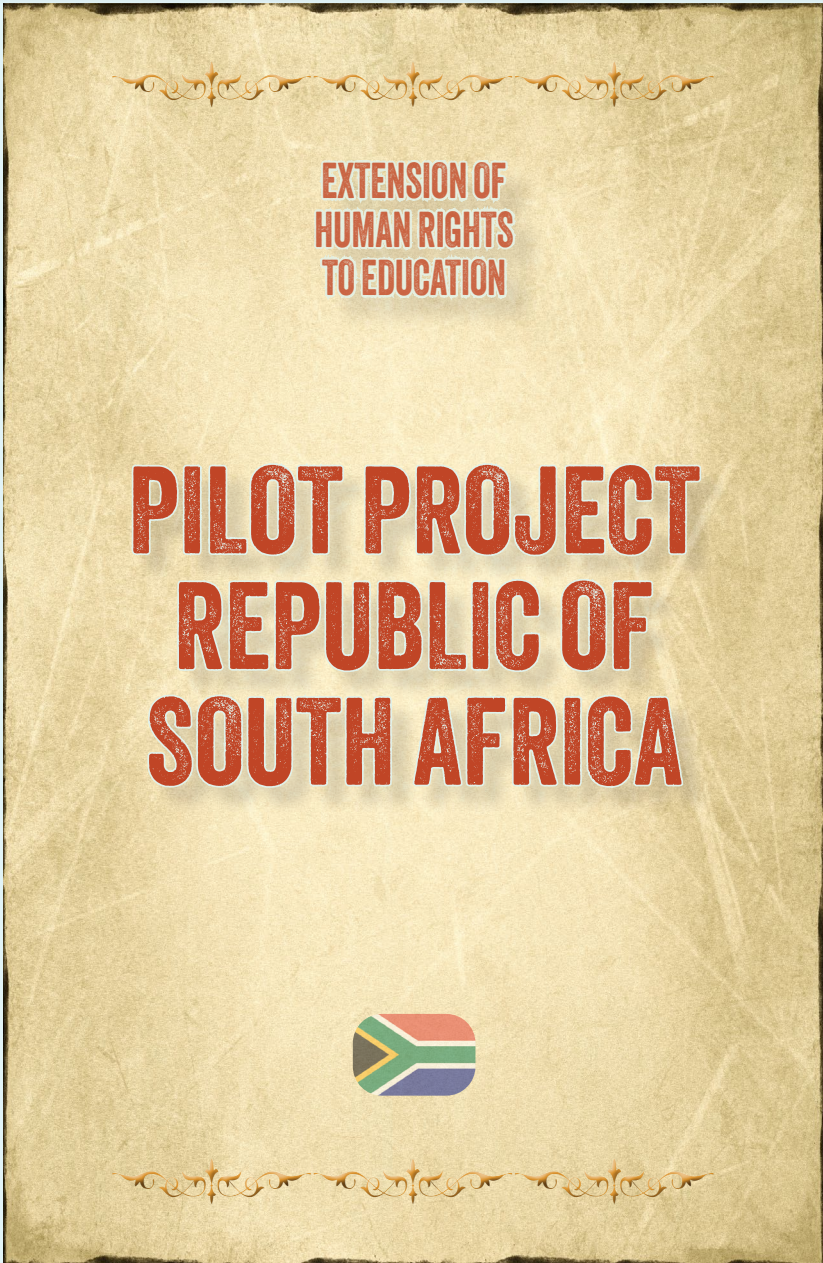
Prof. Luis Bonilla-Molina
OtrasVoces en Educacion

Dr. Rasigan Maharajh
Chief Director of the Institute
for Economic Research on
Innovation at
Tshwane University of
Technology

Prof. Angel Martinez
Antioch University

Müslüm Kabadayi
Researcher-Author

Zeynel Korkmaz
PoliTeknik Magazine



This presentation was made on 9 August 2024 during an online meeting to discuss the pilot implementation of the Project Extension of Human Rights to Education

The Republic of South Africa was selected for this pilot.



UDHR
DRAFTING COMMITTEE 1948

Project
Extension of Human Rights
to Education

Universal Declaration of
Human Rights – Article 26

1.
Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
2.
Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
3.
Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Pages/Language.aspx?LangID=eng>

Dear Participants,

I warmly welcome you all and it is good to be here with you at this important meeting.

It is positive for all of us that the Republic of South Africa has been selected as the pilot project country for our engagement called Extension of Human Rights to Education (PROJECT ARTICLE 26). At the Academic Advisory Board (AAB) meeting in February this year, I presented the idea of the pilot project to the participants, and we were encouraged that the Secretary General of SADTU, Comrade Mugwena Maluleke, was in favour of the idea. We would like to remind you that Comrade Maluleke was recently elected President of Education International. Congratulations once again. We shared this pilot project idea with our main platform as follows:

"The objective of Project Article 26 is to prepare a joint declaration to amend Article 26 of the UDHR. To this end, it is planned that in each country, if possible, our partners will set up an advisory board. These boards will be composed of one representative each from the ministries, trade unions, student organisations, universities, NGOs, etc. in the country in question, who will be elected to the advisory board. If we can start a pilot project in South Africa, could this be important for our partners in other countries? Our relations in South Africa seem very mature and seem to offer potential for such a case study. In this questionnaire we would like to get your opinion and learn about your expectations about the pilot project country experience".

As our partners, we asked for your opinion on this and your answers to the selective questions we posed were in favour of the implementation of the pilot.

Dear colleagues and comrades,

The pilot project will confront us with a dynamic process. As we build a very interesting moment together, we will also be witnesses to this moment. If we succeed, we will have witnessed a rare event in history. Global actors and masses of people with aligned interests will come together to formulate the right to education as a human right in perhaps its most comprehensive sense, and, more importantly, to defend that right themselves. It is not surprising that listening to the first pulses of such a moment in South Africa should have an extraordinarily positive connotation for those who know the history of resistance in that country and are eagerly awaiting liberation.

So how will the pilot project work?

In the first instance, we will take steps to create what we have labelled above as the National Academic Advisory Council (RSA-NAAC) for South Africa. Our sample image is as follows:

Then, together with the RSA-NAAC, we will start to draw the main lines of discussion. Our partners from 45 countries will follow this process very closely and will be responsible for the tasks to be assigned if necessary.

What could be the content of this discussion? Let's list the topics that come to our minds to give an idea:

- *The human rights - are they finally definable?*
- *What is the „human nature“?*
- *Is the market conformity of education not at the same time its inescapable limitation?*
- *Is the human being reduced to wage dependency not already disconnected from „human rights“?*
- *The Link between Unskilled Labour Requirement and Exclusion from Education*
- *Education transformations driven by international organizations*
- *Illegitimate interventions in education policy at national and international level*
- *Right to education in conflict zones*

Change or do we need a voice, vote and veto right of the working class?

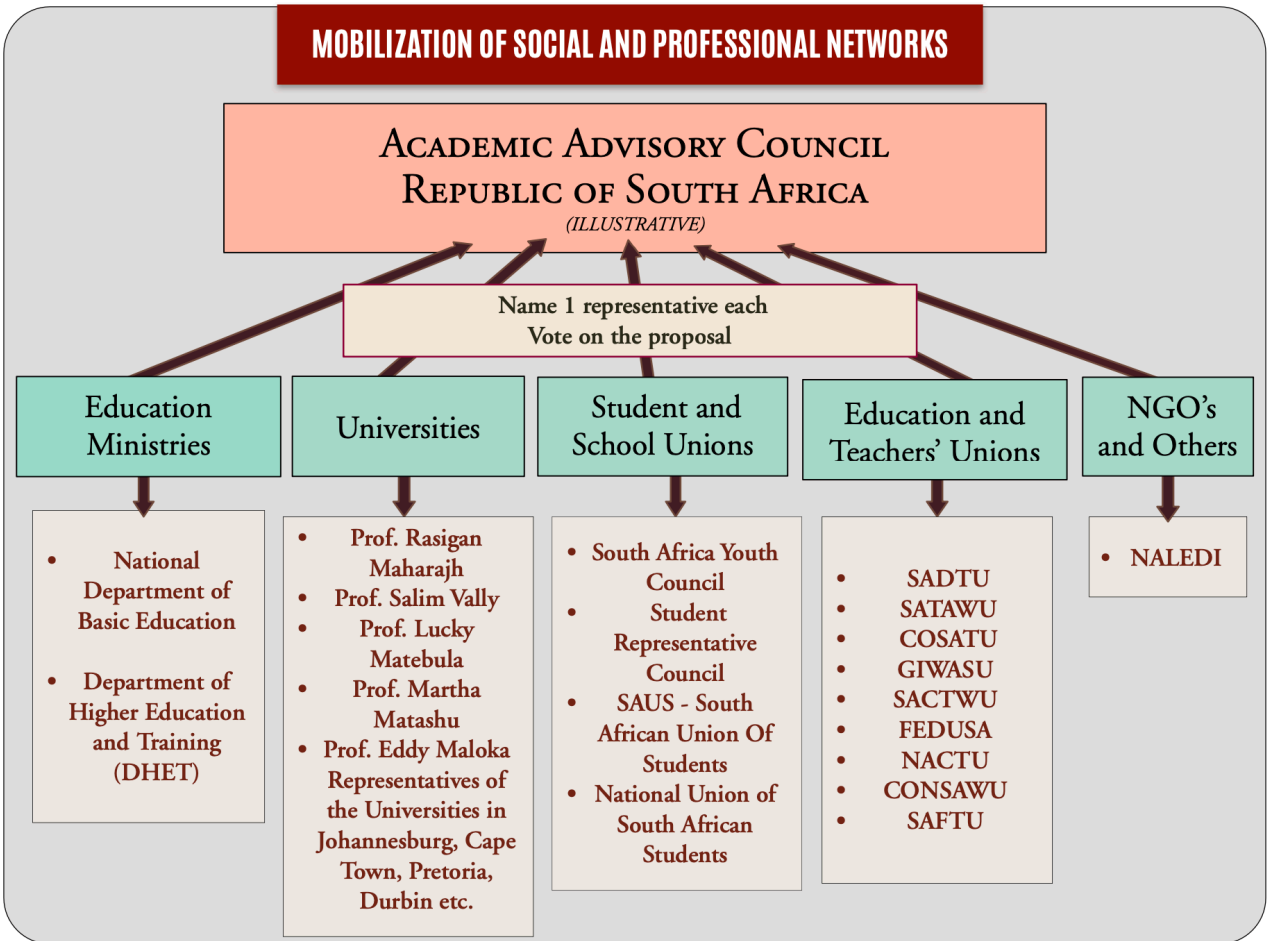
- *The idea of relocation of the UN headquarters*
- *Democratization of the digital world*
- *a) Definition of education b) Quality of education c) Costs of and access to education d) Providers of education e) Duration of education f) Implementation of the declaration g) Other points (max. 10 pages)*

The RSA-NAAC constituents will have the opportunity to put forward their proposals on the above and/or similar issues at different consultation meetings. Depending on the frequency of the consultation meetings, by the end of 2025 or January 2026, a catalogue of proposals for the progressive reformulation of Article 26 of the UDHR will be drafted by the RSA-NAAC.

The process can or should also be accompanied by the ACADEMIC ADVISOR BOARD (AAB), the main working group of our project Extension of Human Rights to Education.

- *Prof. Dr Marlies W. Fröse*
Germany
- *Prof. Dr Eric Mührel*
Germany
- *Rama Kant Rai*
National Coalition for Education - India
- *Prof. Dr Benjamin Bunk*
Germany
- *Prof. Dr Xavier Diez*
Spain
- *Prof. Rasigan Maharajh*
South Africa
- *Prof. Dr Michael Klundt*
Germany
- *Prof. Dr Peter Rödler*
Germany
- *Prof Enrique Diez*
Spain
- *Prof. Martha Matashu*
Sudáfrica
- *Prof. Sanjoy Roy*
India

Let's go back to the image above and show as an example how a catalogue of proposals for the RSA can be based on a strong representation of **universities** and **Congress of South African Trade Unions COSATU**.



So, for example, the formation of an RSA-NAAC, which SADTU and comrades Prof. Rasigan Maharajh and Prof. Martha Matashu will coordinate with our help, will be announced to the nationally selected constituents and they will be invited to participate by sending a representative to the NAAC. Let us assume that this process will last until the end of November 2024. By that date, a sensitisation among national stakeholders will have been achieved and the groundwork for the RSA case study will have been prepared.

- *Economic crisis and its effects on the Right to Education*
- *The erosion of the international law and its effect on the right to education*
- *Interdependence of national independence, Industrialization and Educational Progress*
- *Elite education or qualitative education without competition?*
- *Which interests are absolutely opposed to a "qualitative education for all"?*
- *Democratization of the UNO - Is a Reform Enough for a Substantial*

- MEMBERS (16)**
- *Prof. Dr Michael Winkler*
Germany
 - *Politeknik*
Represented by Zeynel Korkmaz
 - *Mugwena Maluleke*
Secretary General of SADTU South Africa
 - *Prof. Dr. Vernor Muñoz*
Former UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education, Costa Rica
 - *Prof. Dr Heinz Sünker*
England, Germany

The University of the Witwatersrand is one of the leading universities in Johannesburg. Like any university, it has numerous faculties, departments and chairs in social sciences, law, education, psychology and many other disciplines related to our project. A search on the university's website reveals, for example, the UNESCO Chair in Teacher Education and a list of several professors. A letter could therefore be written to the rector, deans and/or chairs informing them of the pilot project and inviting them to participate. In

this way, experts from different fields within a university can be recruited to participate in the pilot study and this method can be replicated in other leading universities in the country: Cape Town, Pretoria, Stellenbosch, KwaZulu-Natal, Western Cape, North West, etc. Reaching out to the student unions in these universities would also be a great achievement, and there are many member unions of COSATU, the Congress of South African Trade Unions. The involvement of COSATU, which encompasses workers from different sectors, would provide an enormous and indispensable opportunity to give the catalogue of proposals a broad base of legitimacy. We can imagine how valuable, democratic and effective a catalogue of proposals reflecting the demands of workers in education, health, mining, energy, textiles, forestry, agriculture, transport, etc. would be.

The Academic Advisory Council (RSA-NAAC) that we will set up in South Africa could be centred in a central location, and could provide an umbrella for representatives of all the structures that it will cover, for example the Headquarters of SADTU.

In addition, different organisations could host academic and organisational discussions based on topics to

The Interdependence of National Independence, Economic Development and Progress of the Education Systems.

For example, in a meeting organised by COSATU, the following topics could be discussed:

- *Is the human being reduced to wage dependency not already disconnected from "human rights"?*
- *The Link between Unskilled Labour Requirement and Exclusion from Education*

The ideas that come to the fore and are agreed upon at the meetings will be formulated into articles for the declaration.

RECOMMENDATIONS CATALOGUE PREPARATION MEETINGS

- Starting with Keynote Speeches on specific topics
- Continuing with: Members of the Academic Council come together to discuss the specific topics from the own point of view. This is itemised and presented to a team that will formulate the catalogue of recommendations. It is conceivable that this team is a local team (RSA-NAAC) and that the task could be carried out with the AAB.

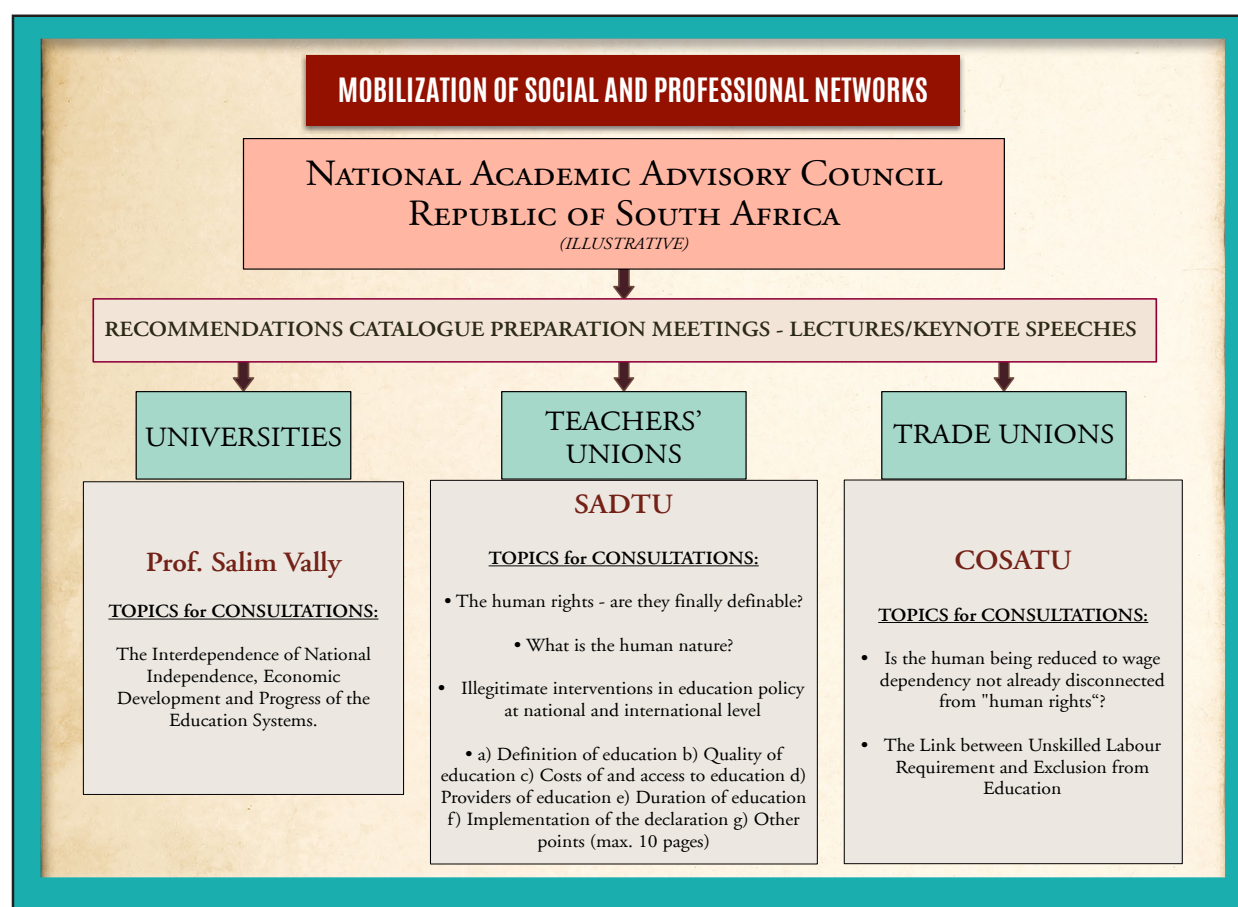
character of an Education Programme/Policy formulated and advocated by democratic mass movements for the Republic of South Africa. This is an important aspect of the pilot project.

• RECOMMENDATIONS CATALOGUE FINALISATION

It is always envisaged that international organisations will be invited to the consultation meetings, for example:

- United Nations, UNESCO
- Education International
- World Federation of Trade Unions
- WFTU
- International Trade Union Confederation
- IndustriAll Global Union
- Building and Wood Workers' International
- International Transport Workers' Federation
- International Union of Domestic Workers
- La Via Campesina International Peasant Movement.

WISHING THAT THE PILOT PROJECT WILL DEEPEN THE UNITY AND SOLIDARITY BETWEEN OUR PARTNERS

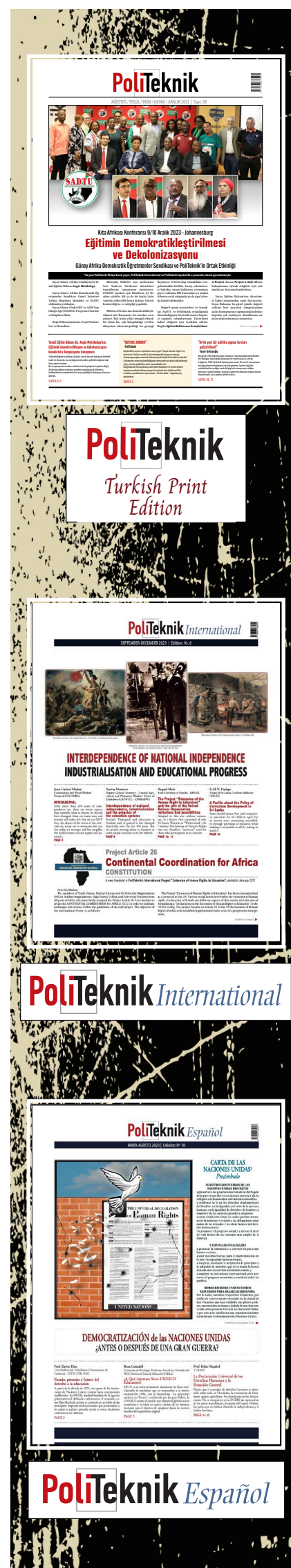


be identified. For example, representatives could convene at the University of Johannesburg at the invitation of Prof. Salim Valley on the following topic:

- The draft text will be submitted to all democratic mass organisations participating in the NAAC for a vote.

** It is important to note that this pilot project for the modification of Article 26 could take on the*

** Presentation by
Zeynel Korkmaz*





POSITION OF
SOUTH AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC
MASS ORGANISATIONS IN FAVOUR
OF A CONTEMPORARY AMENDMENT
OF ARTICLE 26 OF
THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF
HUMAN RIGHTS



SAMPLE COVER

THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE
ON A BROAD LEGTIMACY
BASE IN SOUTH AFRICA
IS REFLECTED IN THIS
DOCUMENT



THE EXTENSION OF THE HUMAN RIGHT TO EDUCATION

- UDHR ART. 26 -

A POLITICAL AGENDA A DRAFT



Framing

The reflections and proposals presented here on the extension of the human right to education are in the context of the project "Extension the Human Right to Education", which has now been established as an international network for almost a decade and connects organisations and individual activists on all continents of the world and brings them into dialogue with each other. The task and achievement of this project and network is to conduct an open dialogue in a radically democratic approach on the conditions and content that should be considered essential for a globally viable understanding of education and at the same time be able to transform this into an ongoing process of joint, democratic debate: Education is not static, but always a process in which all people can and must be involved. Although states and political organisations are responsible for the organisation of educational processes and must ensure that this is possible free of charge, the debates about education and its content must be conducted by all people in free and open discussion.

This draft presented here should therefore only be understood as a suggestion, as an impulse for everyone, not only in the network for the extension of the human right to education. It is an invitation to talk with each other, to develop ideas and perspectives that

can then be presented to the United Nations. Also, in the context of a possible extension and organisational change of the United Nations, it is an attempt to also represent those whose voices have not yet been heard.

Extension of the human right to education

The goal of Education should be enveloped in the essence of Human Rights, it becomes a very important aim of Human Rights to extend its components towards the education scenario. For instance, to protect the right to dignity and optimum development we must ensure that every child gets **Quality Education** which will not only protect their rights but also will promote the need registering oneself in schools and colleges. Therefore, we must need to pay attention to the constant calls of involving Human Rights into the present education curriculum.

Education is an absolute prerequisite for human life. Educational opportunities and educational processes must always be accessible to all, orientated towards the enjoyment of individual life as well as that of the community and society. Education must always be understood as an open and open-

ing process that also includes the debate about education itself.

This requires a fundamental change in awareness and, in some cases, radical changes to power structures and opportunities for participation - as well as enabling these through education. Global problems require global solutions, which can only be achieved through philosophies, ideas, values and norms that are respected by all cultures and societies, as all people have a responsibility to the best of their knowledge and ability to promote a better social order both locally and globally (preamble to the human duties). This requires recognising the diversity of life forms - a diversity that is an enriching moment for humanity as a whole and for each and every individual.

Education means extension the nature given to all people equally through a culture that is directly one's own, but which can and must be opened at any time and in any direction. In the hope of enabling world-encompassing thinking - also and always in critical debate. It is a prerequisite for a life that is lived in freedom and yet is aware

of the commonality in all differences. Seen in this light, education is inextricably linked to human dignity, i.e. also to being able to develop and realise one's own life in freedom and with others as one's own design. With knowledge and skills that relate to shaping the world and one's own self.

States and political organisations must ensure that education is open and accessible to all people. Education is not a private matter, even if it affects individuals and enables them to change. However, this must be ensured for everyone. Education must be freely accessible and free of charge at all stages of life to enable democratic participation.

Education then means:

*Openness of thought and feeling
Knowledge of the natural foundations of our existence, globally and individually. The ability to deal with these foundations, especially in times of a global climate crisis that poses an existential threat to the lives of all and each and every one of us.*

Education means being able to dispose of the cultural prerequisites of our existence, knowing them, including their historical development, being able to accept them, assimilate them and change them. These cultural preconditions must be seen in a comprehensive way; access to scientific and technical knowledge must be given, also and especially to be able to master and control technical developments. In this respect, education always has a democratising dimension.

Education goes hand in hand with openness to other ways of living, to different cultural ideas, to an exchange that enables shared experiences. No culture should be privileged in principle, not even one's own, but should always be understood as a model of living, thinking, acting and feeling that faces up to critical questions.

Education is realised as care by people for each other and around each other, always in the interest of their development and their good life.

Education means being able to speak. Without having a language at their disposal and without practising it, people cannot speak for themselves and their concerns. This means that people's languages must be recognised and legitimate, but that everyone must have the opportunity to acquire one of the politically and legally relevant languages - or to find the opportunity to present their own concerns in one.

Education can only succeed if all people can acquire, assess and apply knowledge. Everyone must be guaranteed the opportunity to acquire at least the basic skills that will allow them to access the available media. Knowledge must not remain exclusive.

Religions are among the central themes that enable human self-understanding and coexistence and propose rules for this coexistence. Religions are to be respected - but education also means that everyone has the opportunity to be critical of religions and to lead a life that is guided by secular ethics.

Political education is the core of education: human dignity, freedom and solidarity always depend on people being able to think politically and act consciously, also in the knowledge that different forms of life can be lived together in the tension between freedom and self-determination, care and concern for one another.

Explanations and justifications

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is characterised by an important peculiarity when it comes to the question of what is to be understood as education - whereby we disregard the extent to which there are linguistic differences in the meaning of the terms used for education.

Article 26 "Right to education, educational objectives, parental rights" states:

1. "Everyone has the right to education. Education must be free of charge, at least in elementary and primary schools. Elementary education is compulsory. Specialised and vocational education shall be generally accessible; higher education shall be open to all on an equal basis according to ability and merit."

2) "Education shall aim at the full development of the human personality and the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial or religious groups and shall favour the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace."

3. "First and foremost, parents have the right to determine the type of education their children receive."

We are therefore aware that Article 26 urgently needs to be modified and expanded. Firstly, we will take a closer look at the categorisation of Article 26. Secondly, we will examine the questions: What does education mean in the current understanding? What must the organisational / social conditions for education be like? What are the contents and topics according to the key problems and key challenges? Thirdly, this then leads to recommendations.

1 Classification of Article 26

Article 26 follows Article 25, which regulates the right to an adequate standard of living and comprehensive social security, and - in the second sentence - lays down special protection for mothers and children and once again emphasises equal social protection for all children. Article 27 in turn stipulates the right to participate freely in the cultural life of the community and to enjoy the arts. (The second sentence of the article also defines the rights of originators.) It is also worth noting that Article 24 establishes the right to recreation and leisure.

Why is it important to emphasise this? One might think that the right to education seems rather subordinate, especially compared to the rights that emphasise the dignity of people, their freedom, their security and the possibility of being able to shape their own lives in safety - including in forms of work that apply to these basic conditions.

On the other hand, Article 26, paragraph 2 states that education "shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms". It is about contributing to and promoting "understanding, tolerance and friendship" through education. This makes it clear that Article 26 occupies a central position in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and sets out what it considers to be the basic prerequisite for a human life. Education is an existential element of human life, indispensable and essential, as the preamble speaks when it states and demands that "teaching and education shall promote respect for these rights".

At this point, it should be noted that the right to education is not at all achievable for many people in the "Global South" or, importantly, that this is also discussed differently in many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, whereby terms such as Global South or North may no longer be appropriate, as the social, cultural and ecological upheavals have long since affected all societies - incidentally, also as a result of refugee movements. The essentials (food, health, access to education) are often not available. More than four billion people have less food available than they would need to reach their natural life expectancy. And more than 11% of people in the world hunger. Over 2.2 billion people have no regular access to clean water. Due to the suicidal overuse of resources, we are not even able to guarantee a decent life for all. In 2020, around 87% of the world's population aged 15 and over had at least basic reading and writing skills. The illiteracy rate was 13%.

The result: there needs to be a fundamental change in awareness and, in some cases, radical changes to power structures and opportunities for participation - as well as enabling these through education. Global problems require global solutions, which can only be achieved through ideas, values and norms that are respected by all cultures and societies, as all people have a responsibility to the best of their knowledge and ability to promote a better social order both locally and globally (preamble to the human duties). This also reflects the fact that it is necessary to understand the diversity of cultures as a common benefit, even if we live according to very different values and truths - but perhaps share more in common than we realise in the current debate; it rightly points to differences that are ignored and at the same time valuable and enriching for all. To differences in common. This could be a groundbreaking image of humanity for the 21st century. And this does not require consensus, but rather a belief in the commonality of being human - precisely in a world of strangers who can always meet and come closer to one another.

If you then add the InterAction Council's Universal Declaration of Human Duties and make a comparison with human rights, you can see that these are far more comprehensive in their analysis. It is about the fundamental principles of humanity, about non-violence and reverence for life, about justice and solidarity, about truthfulness and tolerance, about mutual respect and partnership. Ultimately, it is about a change of consciousness. In Articles 9 and 10, this leads to a redistribution of wealth and the duty to make serious efforts to overcome poverty, malnutrition, ignorance and inequality. And this for a world in which sustainability is promoted in order to guarantee dignity, freedom, security and justice for all people. And this also means that all people have a duty to "develop their abilities through diligence and endeavour; they should have equal access to education and meaningful work. Everyone should support the needy, the disadvantaged, the disabled and victims of discrimination."

Education is the highest good because it is inextricably linked to a human life that is lived in dignity and freedom. This is not a question of exclusivity, nor a utopian consideration, but a statement about a task that makes human life possible as such in the first place - and thus also an obligation for everyone, and for every political community and every individual who must be empowered by the social context of life to be able to lead its own life and that of all in self-determination. Education is about enabling and empowering people to design and fulfil a human life.

2 Questions for education

All of this raises three questions that need to be answered again and again to varying degrees and therefore require a joint dialogue - which already is an extension of the human right to education: this must be a certain one, must not be normatively evaded or restricted. Rather, even the conversation about education must be conducted as a dynamic, open and opening debate in which a habitus of education itself develops. Talking about education is itself an act of education, because only in this way can get social co-operation in understanding and as understanding succeed, starting with getting to know the self and others. Education always means overcoming alienation, including the alienation that is systematically generated in modern societies and economies.

So what does education mean?

Education is a highly complex event, a perpetual process in which people are always familiarised with other people and the surrounding social forms of life and cultural circumstances, including traditional ones, to gain independence and the freedom to deal with themselves in their context.

Education must first be understood as a process that has to do with the nature of people, their natural constitution, in three respects. And this applies equally to all people. On the one hand, they are given the opportunity and task by nature to develop and unfold, to discover talents and to create something from these in interaction with others that the individual can grasp as the unfolding of a person who is perfect for themselves. A development that can be associated with discontinuities and breaks, sometimes with loss of viability in old age or through illness. Secondly, this development never succeeds alone, but always together with other people, literally from the beginning of human life, which no one can master alone. Thirdly, this development is linked to the fact that although people have predispositions, they are at the same time dependent on growing up in a social and cultural environment that they can assimilate, right down to the basic structures of their natural circumstances. They need a milieu that enables them to unfold and develop their talents and potential so that they can accept themselves as educated people.

This education of the self therefore inevitably stands in contrast to the fact that people are dependent on education by others, on being accompanied, supported and encouraged on their path of life and learning, on being provided with materials, with knowledge about the world, about people and ultimately about themselves, as well as with skills that they can practise as abilities. Education therefore means self-awareness in a social and cultural environment as well as awareness of and for this environment, human dignity and appreciation of social and cultural circumstances. An awareness that is meaningful for everyone, the basis of a life as a social being that combines freedom and solidarity and recognises responsibility for the natural, cultural and social world and makes this its purpose in life.

Education in this understanding of human life cannot be achieved by a single person. It requires an understanding that people discover themselves as individuals in a world humanity and experience themselves in this, in the experience with others, which they can understand as a moment of their own existence. However, this presupposes that the community of all in general and always in the very specific context of life can achieve both: to be a good environment, protective and supportive, while at the same time systematically and comprehensively opening up learning opportunities.

Education always takes its starting point in one's own living conditions, in the contexts of one's own upbringing, in familiar ideas and patterns. But education means knowing and appreciating these, yet always working to broad-

en one's own horizons by respectfully engaging with what is initially seen as different or foreign.

What must the organisational conditions for education be like?

Free access for all and in the greatest possible freedom and independence for all is indispensable. States and political organisations are obliged to guarantee this free access free of charge at all stages of life - access that always ensures that good quality, safe and supportive learning and practice that enables independent judgement is guaranteed in all spheres of human life, cognitive, motor, emotional and affective.

Because education is a genuinely human aspect of life that enables and enriches life, it must be ensured that free education is available at all stages of life. The restriction of free education to the elementary sector must be overcome. Free education must be guaranteed as early as pregnancy, then in primary, secondary and tertiary education. Lifelong learning must be made possible, incidentally also as a moment of qualification to prevent unemployment. And that's not all: people in old age must have access to educational opportunities, because this is how they can support and promote the development of societies. As a radical consequence, such a comprehensive approach to education also includes preparation for dying and death.

Good quality learning means that the learning processes are realised in respect and recognition, in knowledge and initiation of individual abilities and performance potential. Good quality learning and teaching also means that the development of each person is made possible in his or her own time, which he or she can achieve through his or her physical condition.

Cancellations and exclusions from educational processes must be prevented - those who fail to meet challenges must always be given the opportunity to choose a different path that makes an educational world accessible to them.

States and political organisations are obliged to ensure these institutional and organisational prerequisites for education by providing all professionals teaching and educating - all nursery schoolteachers, all social educators and workers, all teachers - with a substantive and comprehensive education geared towards a common learning practice. Anyone who teaches people something that contributes to increasing the happiness of all, as well as individuals, and thus serves peace, deserves respect, recognition and support.

All over the world, elementary education should be offered free of charge and access to secondary schools should

be made possible. Privatisation of the education system by the state is inadmissible; states must not withdraw from the task of providing education for all. Private education programmes may be approved under state or municipal supervision if and insofar as they guarantee access for all or offer special services that go beyond the requirements for independent living. In particular, non-governmental organisations or municipal initiatives should be supported, for example if they are active in the field of informal education and can promote communal living. Nevertheless, such initiatives must not be used as justification for restricting state services and benefits.

Educational professionals must have proven their qualifications. At the same time, however, it must be ensured that enthusiasm for education can develop. In everyone, in those who are educated and taught, and in those who, as teachers, make knowledge and skills accessible, provide support in learning processes and give input. The right to education is inevitably also a right to initiate and organise educational processes, to be a teacher. States must open up every opportunity for people to learn to be good teachers, namely those who organise educational processes as an enabler of freedom and self-determination.

Educational opportunities must always be organised in such a way that, on the one hand, they are provided by the state, i.e. free of charge, and meet the basic requirements of quality. On the other hand, regional and municipal responsibility must be given and organised in such a way that all those involved can exercise their responsibility for educational processes. People must be given knowledge about their living conditions and how they can shape them in a way that sustains life. Educational programmes must prevent cultures from disappearing or being damaged. They always include a moment that serves to criticise attacks that could destroy the foundations of life.

What are the contents and topics that can and must be addressed to overcome the key problems that people are aware of?

This is primarily about extending the human right to education, i.e. a process that cannot and must not be completed:

Openness of thinking and feeling

The first key problem is to be found in a methodology of thinking, feeling and perhaps acting. Education means being curious and arousing curiosity, openness to questions and knowledge, a desire to engage with others and with oneself. A dialogue that leads to and results in what can be called a common practice of life. Education goes hand

in hand with thinking in tensions and contradictions, with the willingness to engage with the unexpected, to understand the other and yet not to exclude it. It also means enduring the fact that lost and suppressed knowledge and skills must be scrutinised and not simply discarded, but always bearing in mind the demands that are associated with knowledge, reason and understanding; demands that cannot be enforced dogmatically, by force or even violence. Education has a tendency towards pragmatic serenity, then above all towards solidarity with one another, recognising lifestyles and ways of life. Seen in this light, education today is characterised by recognising the equality of all, but understanding their differences when they are desired by individuals or groups. Strictly speaking, education is characterised by a democratic attitude. In this sense, education means thinking about or organising life in such a way that people can participate in a common community and a cultural project equally and yet in their own particularities. A project that can be described as humanity, as a sensitivity to the fact that people are connected in a common destiny.

The natural foundations of our existence

The second key problem is that their natural foundations must not be destroyed or damaged, the foundations that they find in their environment; natural foundations, as they must also understand them as a moment in their own existence. This indicates that education must provide access to medical and hygienic insight, an understanding of one's own biological processes. Then also knowledge and understanding of the basics of one's own metabolic processes, nutrition, the supply of food, which must not be grown in a destructive form. Education is knowledge about our nature, about water, food and healthy food (which in many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America is often far better than in the northern world). Education combines technical and economic knowledge about the conditions, possibilities and limits of dealing with resources.

The cultural preconditions of our existence

Education means the ability to engage with everything that is given as culture in the broadest sense of expression, and therefore also as forms of dealing with others and oneself - including the long stories that people talk about themselves, their origins and their future. Education is open to social storytelling, and to the idea of putting narrative into practice. It also means developing a feeling for the beauty of life in all its facets, for something good that appeals. Perhaps even for finding beauty. More than that: education means coming to a judgement to recognise beauty and goodness - to preserve

and develop it, in the knowledge that beauty and goodness are different, but are nevertheless shared by many when they exchange ideas with each other.

Education as a concern

Education with a view to the natural, cultural and social preconditions and conditions of our existence requires the development of a mindset of care. Care, starting with compassion for other people and for nature, requires a gentle, protective, nurturing and encouraging approach to others - and obliges people to show special respect for those who care for the lives of others as well as for cultural and social goods. Education is care - as a gratifying achievement for humanity, an achievement that children develop from an early age. Competitive situations aimed at winning can destroy this elementary care; they should only be used with the greatest restraint and caution in all areas of education, with the intention of improving the happiness of all. As a concern for the common good.

This includes enabling people to gain the ability in their educational process to critically understand and assess living conditions and forms of society that jeopardise or destroy their own life conditions and opportunities. Here, too, the idea of care is a guiding principle.

Be able to speak

Speaking and thinking, speaking and feeling, speaking and acting are closely connected. The ability to speak for others and for oneself is the core of all education. Because it enables us to take sides with people, because it allows us to stand up for ourselves, for others and for the human world. Because it allows us to speak out, sometimes to free ourselves from taboos and sometimes to pave the way for reconciliation in conflicts by remaining silent. Learning to speak leads to the most important virtue of human life, to speaking instead of murderous conflict.

Whenever possible, people should have the opportunity to learn many languages, or at least to acquire one that enables them to make themselves understood in wide circles. Knowing a language that is the official lingua franca of a country also means being able to express one's rights and defend oneself - even against the arbitrariness of an authority. It is therefore essential, especially for people in migration processes, that they are able to learn the language of the country that will become their home. At the same time, education means respecting all languages and recognising them both as a means of communication and in the special features and content that these languages communicate. They are part of the cultural heritage of mankind and at the same time enable us to gain a differentiated view of the world.

Gain, assess and apply knowledge

Today more than ever, education means gaining access to knowledge. Above all, however, it means being able to assess and apply this knowledge. This presupposes that all people at every stage of their lives have the opportunity to acquire reading, writing and the forms of maths that are indispensable for coping with life independently and leading a respected life that secures their livelihood. They must be able to acquire this knowledge and these skills not only mechanically, not only at the lowest level. Rather, the learning of these skills and abilities must be organised in such a way that the learning itself, and even more so the application, becomes a joy and a pleasure. In their educational process, people must develop the joy of learning, of knowledge and of their skills, with a view to others, to shared life processes.

Reading and writing, and sometimes arithmetic, are solitary processes, unlike storytelling, singing and playing together. But this loneliness demands that other people become aware of those who read and write, those who calculate, give them respect and recognition, open a space for them in which they can present themselves with what they have read and written, with what they have calculated.

What applies to basic knowledge, skills, and abilities also applies to all advanced knowledge - in all fields of knowledge and learning. All people must have access to scientific knowledge at every stage of their lives in such a way that they can acquire, deepen and expand it. This applies to the natural sciences in all dimensions, it also applies to cultural studies and the social sciences, it also applies to artistic skills - and finally also to the available knowledge about our feelings.

To this end, it must be ensured that people have access to knowledge in all channels of knowledge transfer. The priority should continue to be books; people need libraries because, according to all available knowledge about learning itself, printed books and printed texts are the best way to acquire knowledge. Open access must always be guaranteed for all knowledge resources and yet the question must be asked whether and to what extent human life is being harmed or made contemptible in some channels.

Seen in this light, education involves people being able to communicate about knowledge and what they have read in joint discussions. Education includes the right and the duty to engage in open dialogue. Education has to do with discourse, admittedly in a concrete sense of the term, as dialogue or multilogue, from which no one may be excluded - unless he or she wants to prevent or prohibit this conversation with one another.

Religions

In many modern secular societies, religious orientations play a subordinate role. Religiousness and religions are at times disparaged and regarded as outdated. There is a tendency to banish religions from public life and declare them a private matter because religions appear irrational and far removed from science. Perhaps they are. But education must make this a topic: because people may not be able to live without religion at all, because religions are about providing an interpretation of origins and a horizon for the future. Religions also aim to bind people together and give them the opportunity to understand their own life situation. No one should therefore be attacked because of their religion - but education also includes not wanting to proselytise other people.

Political education

Education requires and includes that people regulate and determine the framework and order of their common life themselves. In this respect, education is always a political process, focussed on both individual freedom and independence on the one hand and on the shaping of a common context of life on the other. For this reason, education must always include the question of how this can be regulated, whether and how forms of rule can be organised in such a way that they remain available to those who submit to an order - if they want to do so themselves. Again, education is a democratic process, even if it remains a process in which each individual experiences him or herself in his or her own particularity and experiences it with others. And this takes place in formal, non-formal and informal education, for which places must always be available and must be made available.

3 Future - Education and freedom belong together!

Article 26 needs to be reviewed to ensure that it also adequately reflects and captures the educational understanding of the "global South", other cultures, societies and in the context of religions. This as well means that we must modify our own neoliberal understanding of education. This is and will be the greatest challenge for the future. It is an essential struggle for education in the face of the massive trivialisation of education and personal development geared towards neoliberal capitalism, global instabilities and the extreme increase in authoritarian societies and existing isms (colonialism, post-colonialism, imperialism, sexism, racism, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia and more). This review is also so urgently needed because education is not only trivialised, its content reduced to the simplest and often meaningless and increasingly often false information and disseminated, but because the necessary and required scientific knowledge and technical modes of action are increasingly less embedded in cultural, social and

ethical considerations. All too often, comparative studies of education systems follow performance indicators in which marketability is perceived as the sole determining factor. Such observations and analyses - which are certainly relevant - must not be carried out in an exploitation-oriented manner but must focus on people's entire way of life.

Ultimately, it is about shaping our societies and therefore also education, which goes hand in hand with freedom. Because education and freedom belong together. These increasing trivialisations could also be evidence in education that it is no longer about people in their "wholeness" (sic!). And this is nothing new! Freire, Illich, Nyerere and others were already calling for this in the early 1970s. There is still a need for historical and contemporary liberation and peace education. Because the main aim of education is to liberate people through education. It is about passing on the wisdom and knowledge accumulated in a society from one generation to the next and preparing people for their future participation in this society in a spirit of freedom. And we must also ask ourselves whether there can really be a universally valid image of education.

Analytical thinking and the ability to make judgements, the knowledge of the complexity of nature and mankind are at the centre of education; this turns away from the destruction of the body and nature and its global exploitation of resources. To summarise, this means that this understanding of education includes education as world orientation, education as enlightenment, education as historical awareness, education as articulation, education as self-knowledge, education as self-determination, education as moral education, education as poetic experience and as passionate education. It is about an educational transformation combined with justice and dignity. This liberal education begins at birth and ends at death, for a lifetime. And that is also the beauty of education. Perhaps it is part of the centre of education to understand it as an aesthetic process, as the beauty of humanity.

**Prof. Dr. Marlies W. Fröse,
Prof. Dr. Michael Winkler
Prof. Sanjoy Roy,
Zeynel Korkmaz,**

India, Turkey,
Germany and Austria,

27th of August 2024

** This is a machine translation of our German draft with DeepL, i.e. the text has been translated automatically and has been checked and confirmed by a friend of us. We ask you to bear this in mind if there are any unsuitable formulations.*



Khutso Ntseki
SOUTH AFRICA

The Relocation of the UNO Headquarters. 3rd Consultation for an international campaign

Ladies and gentlemen, esteemed delegates, and honored guests,

My Name is Khutso Ntseki, a South African, a global citizen.

Today, I stand before you with a proposition that carries the weight of history, the promise of progress, and the imperative of justice. It is a proposition that calls upon us to recognize the pivotal role Africa plays in shaping the future of our world, and it is a call to action to relocate the headquarters of the United Nations and its organs to the African continent.

For decades, Africa has been more than a mere geographical entity; it has been a crucible of resilience, a testament to the human spirit's capacity to overcome adversity, and a beacon of hope in a world often beset by conflict and discord. From the struggles against colonialism to the fight against apartheid, Africa has been at the forefront of the quest for freedom, equality, and justice.

Yet, despite its undeniable significance, Africa and the global South remains under represented and marginalized in the global arena. It is time for us to rectify this historical injustice and to acknowledge the global south rightful place as a strategic player in international relations. Relocating the United Nations headquarters to the global south would be a powerful symbol of this recognition and a tangible step towards rebalancing the scales of global governance.

But symbolism alone is not enough. Africa's importance in international affairs goes beyond mere symbolism; it is rooted in its rich diversity, its burgeoning economies, and its vast potential for growth and development. With a population exceeding 1.3 billion people, Africa represents a significant portion of humanity, and its voice deserves to be heard loud and clear on the world stage.

Moreover, Africa's strategic location at the crossroads of three continents – Africa, Europe, and Asia – gives it unparalleled geopolitical significance. It is a bridge between different cultures, civilizations, and economies, and it has the potential to serve as a catalyst for peace, stability, and prosperity



across the globe.

Throughout its history, Africa has played a crucial role in the United Nations, contributing troops to peace-keeping missions, championing human rights, and advocating for the interests of developing nations. From the pioneering efforts of Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah to the visionary leadership of South Africa's Nelson Mandela, African statesmen and women have left an indelible mark on the United Nations and have helped shape its agenda for the better.

By relocating the United Nations headquarters to Africa and or the global south, we would not only pay tribute to this legacy but also harness the global south's energy, creativity, and dynamism to tackle the pressing challenges of our time. Whether it is climate change, poverty alleviation, or conflict resolution, the global south has a wealth of knowledge and experience to offer, and it is high time we tapped into this invaluable resource.

But perhaps most importantly, relocating the United Nations to the global south would send a powerful message of solidarity and partnership to the people of the global south. It would demonstrate our commitment to working hand in hand with them to build a more just, equitable, and sustainable world for future generations.

Of course, I am not naïve enough to suggest that relocating the United Nations to Africa would be without its challenges. There are logistical, financial, and political considerations that must be taken into account, and there will undoubtedly be resistance from those who cling to the status quo.

However, the obstacles we face are not insurmountable, and the benefits

of such a move far outweigh the costs. By seizing this historic opportunity, we can reaffirm our commitment to the principles of equality, solidarity, and mutual respect that lie at the heart of the United Nations.

I urge you to join me in embracing this bold vision for the future of our world. Let us stand on the right side of history and work together to make Africa the new home of the United Nations. Together, we can build a brighter, more inclusive future for all.

As we embark on this journey towards a more equitable and representative global order, let us remember the words of Nelson Mandela, who once said, "It always seems impossible until it's done." The relocation of the United Nations to the global south may seem like a daunting task, but with determination, courage, and solidarity, we can turn this dream into a reality.

Let us not be bound by the limitations of the past but instead be inspired by the limitless potential of the future. The global south is ready to take its rightful place on the world stage, and the United Nations must lead the way in facilitating this transition. Together, let us write a new chapter in the history of humanity—one of unity, cooperation, and shared prosperity.

Thank you once again for your attention and your commitment to building a better world for all. Indeed, the story of South Africa's role in advocating for justice on the international stage is one that deserves special recognition. Despite not having the veto powers wielded by some of the world's most influential nations, South Africa has demonstrated remarkable leadership

and courage in pursuing the cause of justice and human rights.

One notable example of South Africa's commitment to international law and accountability is its role in bringing Israel before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) over the construction of the separation barrier in the occupied Palestinian territories. In 2004, South Africa, along with other concerned nations, supported a United Nations General Assembly resolution requesting an advisory opinion from the ICJ on the legal consequences of the barrier's construction.

Despite facing diplomatic pressure and opposition from powerful actors, South Africa stood firm in its conviction that justice must prevail. Through its principled stance and tireless advocacy, South Africa helped shine a spotlight on the plight of the Palestinian people and the need for a peaceful resolution to the conflict based on international law and respect for human rights.

This example serves as a testament to the power of perseverance, moral integrity, and solidarity in the face of adversity. It demonstrates that even nations without the same level of political influence can make a meaningful difference on the world stage by standing up for what is right and just.

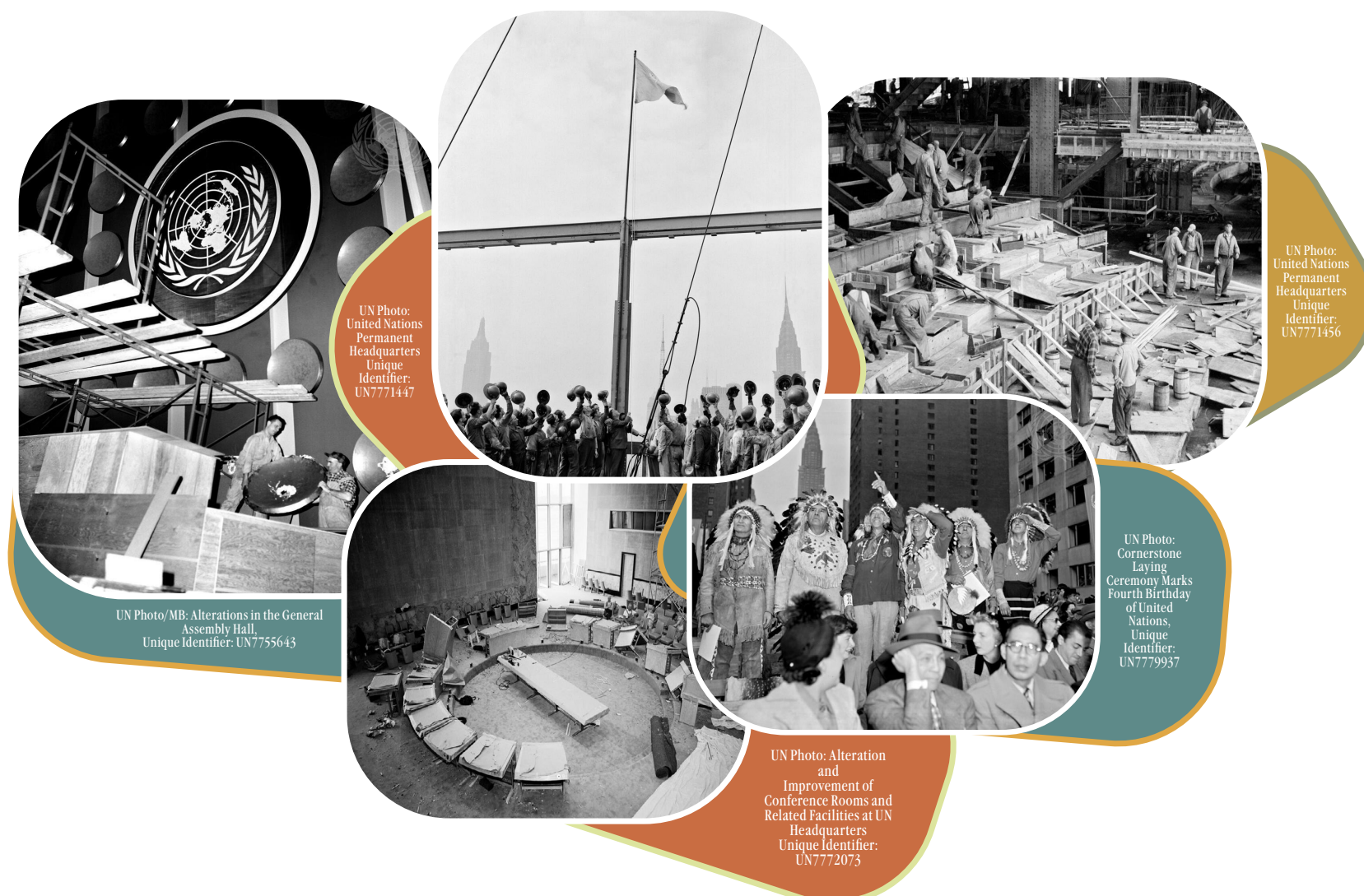
South Africa's actions remind us that the pursuit of justice is not the exclusive domain of a select few but rather a collective responsibility that requires the participation and support of all nations. By standing together in solidarity with the oppressed and marginalized, we can create a world where justice, equality, and human dignity prevail.

As we contemplate the relocation of the United Nations to Africa or the global south, let us draw inspiration from South Africa's example and reaffirm our commitment to upholding the principles of justice, equality, and human rights for all. Together, we can build a world where every nation, regardless of its size or power, has a voice and a seat at the table of global governance.

Yours Comradely
Khutso Ntseki

Kumar Ratan
INDIA

Importance of Participation of PoliTeknik in UNGA for Advocacy on Amendment of UDHR Article 26



PoliTeknik's involvement in the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) is crucial for advocating an amendment to Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Article 26 emphasizes the right to education, which is fundamental for the development of individuals and societies. However, evolving global educational needs necessitate revisiting and potentially amending this article to ensure it remains relevant and impactful.

1. Amplifying Voices of Marginalized Communities

- **Representation:** PoliTeknik represents diverse and often marginalized educational stakeholders, including teachers, students, and communities with limited access to quality education. Their participation ensures that these voices are heard on a global platform.
- **Inclusivity:** By advocating for amendments, PoliTeknik can push for a more inclusive interpretation of the right to education, emphasizing

ing the need for accessible, equitable, and quality education for all.

2. Addressing Contemporary Educational Challenges

- **Technological Advancements:** The digital divide has become more apparent, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. Amendments to Article 26 could include the right to digital literacy and access to technology.
- **Climate Change Education:** With climate change being a critical global issue, education systems must adapt to include environmental education as a fundamental right.
- **Lifelong Learning:** The current educational landscape requires continuous learning opportunities. Amendments could emphasize lifelong learning as part of the right to education.

3. Influencing Global Educational Policies

- **Policy Development:** Participa-

tion in UNGA allows PoliTeknik to influence international educational policies and frameworks, ensuring they are aligned with contemporary needs.

- **Collaboration:** Engaging with other member states and organizations can lead to collaborative efforts, pooling resources and expertise to address global educational challenges.

4. Ensuring Accountability and Implementation

- **Monitoring Progress:** Amendments to Article 26 should come with mechanisms for monitoring and accountability to ensure that member states implement these changes effectively.
- **Best Practices:** Sharing successful educational models and practices from different countries can help in crafting a more robust and practical amendment.

5. Strengthening Human Rights Framework

- **Human Rights Evolution:** Human rights frameworks must evolve with societal changes. By advocating for amendments, PoliTeknik contributes to the dynamic development of human rights, ensuring they are relevant and protective in current contexts.

- **Empowerment through Education:** A well-rounded education system empowers individuals, promoting other human rights such as the right to work, health, and participation in cultural life.

PoliTeknik's participation in the UNGA is vital for advocating discussion for amendments to UDHR Article 26. Their involvement ensures that the right to education evolves to meet modern demands, addresses contemporary challenges, and empowers individuals globally. By pushing for these changes, PoliTeknik helps shape a more inclusive, equitable, and dynamic educational landscape, reinforcing the broader human rights framework.

Arzu Çerkezoğlu

President General of the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions (DİSK) - TURKEY

SHOULDER TO SHOULDER AND SIDE BY SIDE FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS AND FOR WORKERS' TURKEY!



We are facing one of the most serious subsistence crises in Türkiye's history. Millions of workers, laborers, pensioners, in other words, most of the working and productive population of this country is trying to survive under the weight of incessant increases of prices and heavy taxes. Under conditions of high inflation, real income losses are not compensated and an unfair tax system leads to a large transfer of income from the working class to capital, from the poor to the rich. In other words, the most important reason for the subsistence crisis we are experiencing is the enormous increase in inequality of distribution. This means that the working class in Türkiye is not getting poorer because Türkiye is getting poorer; this process of impoverishment is occurring because a small group of people in Türkiye are adding profit to their profits and wealth to their fortunes.

At the 17th General Assembly of our Confederation, we affirmed that this unlimited and irresponsible appetite for exploitation, inherent in the nature of capitalism, has reached a savage phase called "crocodile capitalism" and it is clear that Türkiye is a "model" country in this respect.

For example, while labor's share of Gross Value Added was 36.3% in 2016, it fell to 26.3% in 2022. And the share of capital increased from 47.5% to 53.7%. On the other hand, this decrease in the share of workers in the distribution occurred during a period of rapid laborization, in other words, while the number of waged workers was increasing.

In 2002, when the AKP came to power, salaried employees accounted for half of total employment and the share of labor payments in GDP was 28%. In 2022, the proportion of salaried employees exceeded 70.5%, meaning that the number of workers increased enormously. Despite the fact that Turkish society has largely converted to manpower, the share of labor payments in GDP has not increased, nor has it remained constant: The proportion of salaried employees increased from 50% to more than 70%, while the proportion of employee payments decreased. In short, a massive wave of laborization was accompanied by a policy of strong wage suppression. In other words, AKP governments have been the authors of policies that devalued labor while massifying it.

From agricultural policies to privatization, it is not possible to tell here in detail the story of how the Turkish population has been turned into workers. Nevertheless, it is very important to remember how the largely working class Turkish society was condemned together to a minimum wage, to a minimum pension, in short, to a minimum life, how we were all equalized to the "minimum", in order to find solutions and organize our struggle against these policies that have turned Türkiye into a model country of crocodile capitalism.

The most important "opportunity" to condemn the working class of Türkiye to the minimum wage and the people of Türkiye to the minimum life is our lack of organization. Türkiye has for years been among the 10 countries with the worst labor rights in the

world, due to the fact that trade union rights lag far behind ILO standards and that working life is based on the prevention of unionization in law and practice. Türkiye continues to rank at the bottom of OECD countries in terms of unionization.

Obstacles to union rights and the reduction of the scope of collective bargaining are the strongest basis for the condemnation of minimum living. In Türkiye, collective bargaining coverage is 10.6% and minimum wage coverage is around 50%, while the average collective bargaining coverage in the EU is 60% and minimum wage coverage is 4%.

Since the military coup d'état of September 12, 1980, these policies, which can be considered "state policy," have been carried to the point that the AKP has gloried in banning strikes. As a result of these policies, which consider it a "matter of national security" for workers to have a voice and decision about their bread and their future, an increasing proportion of workers (more than half according to the latest data) have been condemned to minimum wages and wages around the minimum wage.

Along with the condemnation to the minimum wage, a policy of cutting the minimum wage and all salaries in real terms was also implemented. The minimum wage determination process, which was already anti-democratic because of its unfair representation, unilateral decision-making by bosses and the state, and lack of the right to strike, has become more anti-democratic, especially with the transition to the Presidential Gov-

ernment System. The Minimum Wage Determination Commission was disfunctionalized and the determination of the minimum wage was left to the initiative of a single person.

As a result, the minimum wage, and consequently all wages, have been reduced in real terms. When we look at gold prices to show the real decline in the minimum wage, we see that while in 2005 one could buy 31.5 Republic Gold Coins with the annual minimum wage, today one can buy an average of 12.6 Republic Gold Coins. The minimum wage, which was 80.6% of GDP per capita in the 1970s, was reduced to 50.7% of GDP per capita in 2023. And finally, as of April 2024, the minimum wage remained below the starvation threshold, which covers only a family's food expenses.

While the working class in Türkiye is condemned to wages around the minimum wage, while the incomes of tens of millions of our citizens fall below the starvation threshold, the tax burden also falls on the backs of workers, laborers and pensioners. Although every day it is discovered that the owners of big capital, big business and conglomerates have no tax expenditures; while taxes are re-adjusted overnight, new tax privileges arrive every day for businessmen, for us, the workers and laborers who live below the starvation and poverty line, taxes are one of the most important expenses. The largest portion of tax revenue comes from indirect taxes, at 75%, and the richest and poorest pay these taxes equally at the bazaar and in the market. This is not enough, the country's rulers knowingly do not increase the tax brackets and place

us workers in the top tax bracket as if we had enriched ourselves during the year. In other words, injustice in income is reinforced by injustice in taxes.

The struggle is an obligation for all of us in a period when the distribution relations have deteriorated extraordinarily; when a system that takes from the poor to give to the rich, takes from the worker to give to capital; and when the system is secured by an extraordinarily oppressive regime that does not recognize our rights, our law and even the Constitution, and when all democratic means of seeking rights are blocked.

As DISK, we have been waging a struggle under the title "Justice in Revenue, Justice in Taxes" for more than two years. We have raised our voice in workplaces and squares across Turkey, and we will continue to do so. We are reaping the fruits of these efforts and the working class is turning to DISK and joining DISK. As the statistics for July reflect, there is a significant increase in membership and our unions are breaking down anti-democratic barriers one by one.

Of course, these efforts make sense, but the unionization rate remains extremely low. Under these circumstances, we must, on the one hand, accelerate our organizational efforts and, on the other, rapidly build a line of struggle that goes beyond the very valuable struggles for the rights of our own members.

At the 17th General Assembly of DISK, we expressed this need with the following statements: "We need to open a new path, recognizing that the paths we already know, the ones we take by heart, the means and methods of struggle we are used to are insufficient. In the coming period of struggle, we are faced with the need to blaze a new path and even new ways. We need to find a progressive solution to the problems, crises and conflicts we are experiencing in this country today.

Yes, the forces we oppose are applying the politics of their own class. For years we have been told that privatization, subcontracting and precarious forms of work are good for society as a whole. Nowadays, even in the Mid-Term Program, they brag that precarious forms of work will be expanded. They advocated that even taking away our severance pay was a good thing for the working class. The forces we face make their own class politics. First it impoverishes millions of people and then shackles them by offering only crumbs. It prevents working class unity by setting workers against other workers because of their identities, beliefs and origins. It creates the

impression that the blue-collar worker is the rival of the white-collar worker, and that it is the blue-collar worker who impoverishes the white-collar worker. It divides us, it breaks us, it rules us.

It is necessary for us to give an answer. We have to develop working class politics and confront this dominant political plane. The working class must intervene in politics, from which it was forcibly expelled by neoliberal policies and by the military coup of 1980. We have to succeed.

The system does not allow workers to be a class and prevents them from being in the decision-making process as a collective subject. The working class does not consist of the sum total of people who individually sell their labor power. The working class is the subject that will determine the life, politics and destiny of itself and its country. Our duty is to reorganize the working class as the determinant from the social, political and ideological point of view. The working class must be the main determinant of politics for an order in which we will decide how the resources of our country will be used, what we will produce, how we will produce, how we will share and where we will live humanely.

Working class politics is not about someone pretending to speak for the working class. Or to speak about the working class when making politics. Working class politics consists of the working class determining politics with its own demands, its own program of struggle and its own organizations, becoming a collective subject that will shape the future of society.

Speaking in a self-critical sense, today we are far from this situation. Not only the workers, but also the majority of the population, Türkiye's society in general, is in a deep crisis of disorganization. DISK has the experience and potential to change this picture. Yes, to achieve this, our unions must grow. Of course, it is important and valuable to develop our unions one by one, but it is not enough. In a society that is enormously working-class and enormously unorganized, we must have another fundamental task, which is to organize DISK as a "social center of attraction", a "social starting point". Recently, we have seen that this can be reflected in the smallest step we take on various agendas ranging from the pension issue to tax justice. We need to make these efforts in a more conscious, organized and planned way.

The agenda of workers' politics is more or less clear. In a context in which wages are reduced as a consequence of social policy and they are

the most immutable element of the economic policy of the rulers, the wage struggle is one of the most essential programs of class politics. The wage question is not only a question of sharing between workers and employers, but also a political struggle against Türkiye's role as a cheap labor paradise in the international order. The wage issue is a national issue against those who try to devalue our labor and trade it as cheap labor in the international markets.

The struggle for tax justice will continue to be one of the fundamental agendas of labor policy. The struggle we carry on for a tax system in which the top earners and the corporations, banks and conglomerates are taxed more, relieving the tax burden on the backs of workers, laborers, pensioners and the poor, is widely accepted in society as a political and moral struggle.

Any struggle for union rights and freedoms, especially the right to organize and strike, is a directly political struggle. It is a democratic and patriotic objection against the policies that aim to turn Türkiye into a paradise of unlimited exploitation for capital.

Protecting and developing the rights and freedoms won by the working class from the past to the present is possible under democratic regimes. Democracy and justice are essential for the protection of the rights and freedoms of the working class and for the winning of new ones. The struggle for democracy and justice is the main agenda of labor politics.

And our most important issue: Unity of the workers, fraternity of the peoples... In the face of the dominant policies of divide - fracture - exploit, the way to guarantee the unity of the working class is to defend fraternity, peace, secularism and gender equality. Hiring any portion of the working class under worse conditions because of their origin, identity or gender threatens the rights of the entire working class. Therefore, it is our fundamental duty to explain to the entire working class that our destiny is not with those who exploit us, but with all our class brothers and sisters with whom we work together in the same workplaces.

Yes, it is time for the working class, which now constitutes a very important part of the population, to take the destiny of this country into its own hands.

This country needs the voice and the struggle of the working class. And the most important subject that can fulfill this is, of course, DISK, with its

historical experience, the consciousness sifted by that experience and the present level of organization that can be a significant starting point. It is necessary to develop our organization throughout Türkiye and in all lines of work, not only by calling workers to DISK, but also by transforming the current vital struggle of the working class into an all-out struggle against this unjust order.

Starting from the awareness of this historical responsibility, we initiate a new period of our struggle for "Justice in Income, Justice in Taxes". We call upon all workers, laborers, pensioners, youth and women, whether they are our members or not, to gather in the squares all over Türkiye, saying: "This is not the time to fight alone for life, but to raise the struggle for justice together."

We will struggle to broaden the struggle by adding new voices to ours in each "Justice Stop" of our bus "Justice in Income, Justice in Taxes" that will travel through the squares of our country from city to city. We know that in each "Justice Stop" in which the rage and the demands of the workers, the laborers, the pensioners and the people are raised, we will be one step closer to conquering the human quality of life that we deserve.

It is time to go out to the square side by side to hold accountable those responsible for this great impoverishment, for this great injustice. We will make pledges to each other at Justice Stops all over Türkiye and prepare for our great gathering in Ankara. And united with those who produce all the values and beauties of this country, we will speak throughout the country about the importance of being organized, the importance of organized struggle, and we will increase the struggle for the solution of all our problems under the guidance of the following words of our founding General President Kemal Türkler:

"We are workers, we workers are the ones who produce everything in the world, when the workers stop, the world stops, comrades, the plane stops, the ship stops, the factories stop, all the vehicles stop. As long as we, the workers, understand this, we



*Dear Comrades Unionists
from the Textile and Related Sectors,*

This letter is a call for starting consultative meetings to prepare the TEXTILE UNIONS AGREEMENT FOR JOINT ACTION.

After two online meetings on September 2023 and 23 June 2024, comrades from Bangladesh, Turkey, Senegal, Uganda, Malawi, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Lesotho came together and decided to start consultation meetings to build united action and declare it in an agreement.

Following two online meetings in September 2023 and 23 June 2024, comrades from Bangladesh, Turkey, Senegal, Uganda, Malawi, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Lesotho decided to start consultation meetings to build a joint action and declare it in an agreement. At the end of these consultation meetings, the participating trade unions will set concrete objectives on how to organise real solidarity for the winning of rights and common struggle on a global scale.

*All interested textile and supplier unions can contact us with ideas, suggestions and questions about this initiative:
info@politeknik.de*

*Kind regards,
PoliTeknik*

OPINION ON THE TEXTILE UNIONS SOLIDARITY AGREEMENT

These are points which we are proposing for Joint Action plan.

We believe that we all can go forward if we include the following activities as:

1. Solidarity

Solidarity refers to unity and mutual support among individuals or groups, especially in protecting the interests of workers and in terms of the goals and objectives of the organization. Having mutual respect and understanding and unity and support from time to time for labor interests. Recognizing and valuing collective diversity within unions.

2. Solidarity is the main goal.

Engaging all stakeholders regardless of influence.

Support Mechanism: Having a mechanism to provide mutual support such as financial support, resources and manpower during a strike or protest.

Advocacy: A concerted effort to lobby for favorable policies and regulations at the national and international levels.

Education and Training: Organization of study visits and international experience sharing programs along with training to enhance skills, awareness and knowledge among union members may be undertaken.

3. Understanding collective action

Collective action is the act of taking coordinated efforts of multiple groups to achieve a common goal and objective.

SOME PROPOSED ACTIVITIES OF COUNCIL WORK : On common dates:

- Collective Bargaining
- Joint protests and demonstrations
- Presentation of memorandum on coordinated lobbying efforts.
- Campaigns and initiatives in respective countries.
- Seeking international development cooperation to implement common agendas.

4. Elements of collective action

-Strategic planning: developing a unified strategy with clear goals, timelines and responsibilities.

- Resource Sharing: Sharing of resources such as funds, manpower and other support including materials.

- Communication: establishing strong channels for information exchange.
- Crisis Management: Formulating coordinated responses or plans to deal with conflicts or emergencies.

5. Recommendations to increase coordination and establish regular communication:

- Steering Committee: A central body that supervises and directs joint activities comprising representatives of all participating unions.
- Subcommittees: specialized groups focusing on specific areas such as legal assistance, communications and logistics.

- Regular meetings: Scheduled meetings to review progress, address challenges and plan future actions (eg, quarterly and semiannually).

- Communication tools:

- Regular newsletters or bulletins

- Online platforms for real-time communication (eg, email, chat groups, video conferencing)

- Shared database for documents and resources Advance preparation of joint action

- Agenda Setting: Clearly outline the objectives and topics for discussion at each meeting

- Participatory engagement: Ensure that all trade unions are informed and involved in the planning process.

- Documentation: Prepare and distribute materials such as contract drafts, informational briefs and background documents.

- Feedback Mechanism: Establish a system to collect and incorporate feedback from all participants.

Best regards

Md. Towhidur Rahman

President
Bangladesh Apparels
Workers Federation - BAWF

Prof. Rasigan Maharajh

Chief Director: Institute for Economic Research on Innovation, Tshwane University of Technology



THE FUTURE OF BRICS COUNTRIES IN A MULTIPOLAR WORLD: HUMANITARIAN AND LONG-TERM DIMENSIONS

Many thanks to the organisers of this International Futurological Forum for your kind invitation to contribute to the discussion on the Future of BRICS Countries in the Multipolar World.

This Forum is taking place at a time in world history that is characterised by geopolitical tensions, international conflicts and global contestations.

It is precisely within this context that the need and demand for us to collectively and critically reflect upon our past and present circumstances that will afford us the opportunity to “jointly develop a philosophical basis for a peaceful multi-civilizational development of humanity” (Smart Civilization, 2024).

It is also relevant to our discussions that the preceding session of this Forum was moderated by Sergey Krivalyov, who is one of approximately 643 people that have ventured beyond the Kármán line of 100 km above our mean sea level of our home planet, Earth.

Our entire human population of over 8.1 billion people must benefit from the insights gained by those that have heroically ventured into space and seen our blue planet in its location in the cosmos.

Most of the cosmonauts, astronauts, and taikonauts have variously reported experiencing an ‘overview effect’ and that cognitive shift is of critical importance in our discussions about our long-term prospects on our home planet.

At the level of our species-being, our evolutionary success has been facilitated and augmented by our innate capacities and capabilities to better understand our circumstances and derive appropriate solutions to our existential challenges.

This process of cognition and communication has afforded us a ‘global knowledge commons’ that has served our collective interests over millennia.

The contemporary rise of multipolarity in world systems is also taking

place at a time when developments in our scientific and technological competencies are also providing us with better and deeper appreciation of the biophysical processes that underpin life on our home planet.

The most recent global assessment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change affirmed the dangers associated with Global Warming of average temperature increases above 1.5° centigrade (Celsius scale), whilst also showing how anthropogenic greenhouse gases are causing unprecedented damage and concluding that if ‘business as usual’ continues, then many parts of our home planet will become unliveable in the next few decades.

Such dire warnings require and demand a more coherent and coordinated global response than what is currently available.

The learning achieved by those who ventured beyond our atmosphere are now even more prescient and important.

For us to collectively gain from their insights, and to maximise the potential benefit for all of humanity, it is crucial that we defend multipolarity against hegemonic threats of unilateralism.

It is also important that we advance the knowledge frontiers seeking a better understanding of our circumstances and exploring potential solutions and remedies.

By working together, in the BRICS+ format, and in other multilateral fora; some aspects of revising the future is beginning to become clearer.

To move from cogency to coherence however requires further collective effort. Amongst the core tasks include the intellectual liberation from the mental slavery () of centuries of combined and uneven development.

Much of the ways of seeing the world have been maligned though the inhumane experiences of colonialism, imperialism, slavery, and other forms of unfree labour regimes.

We must place more emphasis on re-writing the narrative of our common and shared humanity through decolonising the curricula through which intergenerational knowledge transmission is realised.

Some of these tasks may seem menial but they are not trivial as capturing the mind is crucial to ensuring world systems that work for all and especially the global majority.

It is also important that efforts be made in a more tangible and practical way to bolster our common humanity should we seek a shared destiny.

Humanitarian aid and support is therefore also of critical importance and should therefore feature more prominently in all our efforts at global development.

Drawing upon the uneven distribution of knowledge competences, it could prove useful for the BRICS+ to utilise their capacities and capabilities in science and technology to provide information and technical solutions on a more socialised basis.

Examples of such interventions could include more cooperation on near-earth observation systems that would provide improved and enhanced information to countries currently lacking such competences-

Sharing weather estimates and improving our capacities for predict changes would also enhance and improve the lives of many of the peoples of the world.

Being able to forecast disruptive change also delivers the mandate for better preparedness for impending calamities and disasters.

Our shared maturation as a species being must encourage us to provide the necessary solidarity and cooperation to those amongst us in most need.

Our invocation of the concept of civilisation is underpinned by a love of humanity and a desire to see us all prosper and thrive rather than become victims of zero-sum games where some gain on the basis of other losses.

We must remain steadfast in our determination to oppose all forms of hegemony and its various violences including the continuing genocide in West Asia.

Our contemporary conjuncture, our pushing against the biophysical planetary boundaries that sustain life, and our nurturing of a multipolar world system demands that we rise to our generational challenge of redressing the inequities inherited from the past and redefine our present in terms of diversity, complementarity, and coordination.

In conclusion, let us be reminded of a quote attributed to Nelson Mandela: “It always seems impossible until it is done” (Nicholls, 2001).

Never in our past have we had the opportunity as presented to us today to co-create on a equitable basis the community to advance the prospects of a shared future for humankind.

Let us not fail in this mission-critical task.

I thank you for your attention.

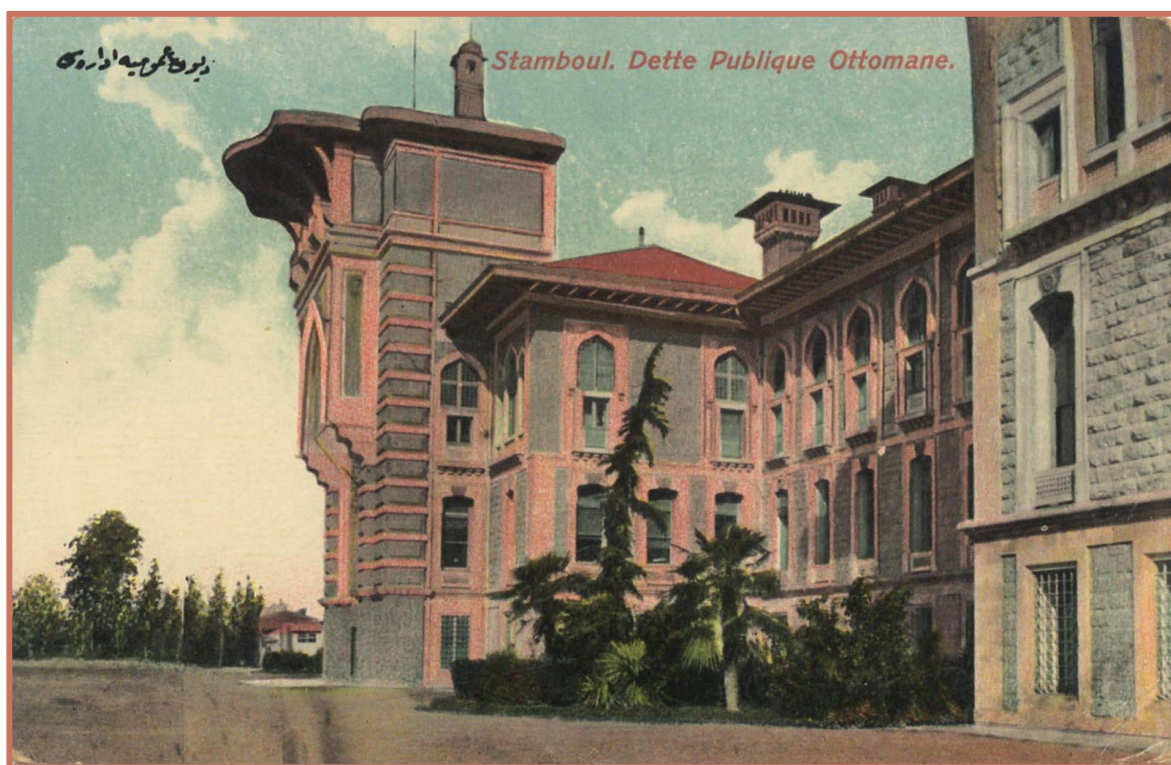
References

- IPCC. 2023. Synthesis Report of the IPCC Sixth Assessment Report, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, World Meteorological Organization, Geneva.
- Jinping, Xi. 2023. Full text of President Xi Jinping's 2024 New Year message, Beijing, 31 December.
- Maharajh, R. 2017. Sustainable Development (Goals) for Us All, Paper delivered to the Second Session of the Ninth Academic Forum of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa on Areas for Deepening BRICS Cooperation and Related Innovation held in Fuzhou, Peoples Republic of China, 10 June.
- Maharajh, R. 2021. Advancing Sustainable Futures for All: 21st Century Public Engagement and Mission-orientated Research, Global Research Council, London.
- Maharajh, R.; and Tivana, S. 2023. Ecocide or Socialism: Ecological Challenges and Neoliberal Capitalist Constraints on Radical Transformation, in Balfour, R.J. [editor] Mzala Nxumalo, Leftist Thought and Contemporary South Africa, Jacana, Johannesburg.
- Nicholls, K. 2001. Sailor's course one of success – Birds an inspiration, Illawarra Mercury, 21 April.
- Putin, V. 2024. President of Russia Vladimir Putin's speech at the meeting with senior staff of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Moscow, 14 June.
- Smart Civilization. 2024. The BRICS Humanitarian Charter, Moscow.



Hüseyin Ozan Uyumlu
ozan4477@gmail.com - TURKEY

FROM BUDGET DEFICIT TO EXTERNAL DEPENDENCE: OTTOMAN DEBTS AND *DUYUN-I UMIMIYYE* (OTTOMAN GENERAL DEBTS ADMINISTRATION)



Wikimedia Commons: Ottoman Public Debt Administration, Istanbul (16033721400).jpg

External indebtedness is the process by which a state or a public organization obtains revenue from various external sources. Indebtedness can also be defined as the dependence of the borrowing country on the lending country. (Şeker, 2007, p. 115-134). Increased external debt makes countries dependent on creditor countries. The period between 1854 and 1923 was a period in which the Ottoman Empire borrowed intensively from Western countries and gradually became a colonial empire. The Ottoman Empire paid the price of external debts by giving up its independence and territories (Dikmen, 2010, p. 137).

The economic structure of the Ottoman Empire, which had been dependent on foreign countries since the 19th century, was abandoned due to the Republic of Turkey's prioritization of economic independence, but the situation was reversed again in the 1950s due to various political reasons (Keçeligil, 2019, p. 103). The strict relationship between indebtedness and

external dependence normalizes the expectation of both economic and political interests of states or institutions that provide debt financing. For this reason, while analyzing the issue of borrowing and the General Debts Administration, an evaluation will be made in its economic and political context.

The economic situation of the Ottoman Empire began to worsen as a result of the consequences of the mercantilist economic system that emerged with the Age of Exploration reaching the Ottoman Empire. After the geographical explorations, world trade over the oceans gained momentum. This situation caused a decrease in the revenues of states that dominated traditional trade routes, such as the Ottoman Empire (Yüksel, 2020, p. 24). The precious metals flowing to Europe entered the Ottoman Empire, leading to an abundance of money in the market, and the continuous increase in government expenditures caused the country's economy to be

dragged into a rapid inflation environment (Keçeligil, 2019, p. 112-113). With the effect of price increases and due to the difficulties affecting the economy, taxes, which are the largest source of revenue, have become nominally inflexible against price changes, resulting in a significant decrease in treasury revenues (Eser, 2021, p. 35). Ottoman Empire encountered the phenomenon of "inflation" for the first time during the reign of Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror, which is seen as one of the most politically powerful periods of the state (Shaw, 1994, p. 96).

The Ottoman Empire, postponing the crisis through military victories despite the enrichment of its rivals and the change in the economic parameters in the country from the 15th century onwards, realized the problems as of the 17th century and tried to make improvements in the economy and military order by introducing reforms. Despite the resistance, cutting palace expenditures was one of the

most important economic reforms. The Ottoman Empire, which did not close its borders to imports due to its understanding of "provisionism"¹ one of the three economic principles of the state, began to surrender to global capital. The Ottoman Empire first turned to "domestic" capital to get out of the financial crisis and started domestic borrowing in 1775 with the practice called "*esham*". This practice also laid the foundation for the use of banknotes.

In the late 18th century, Ottoman finances were facing a major crisis due to the defeats in wars and the reparations paid. When war broke out in 1787 with Russia, one of the most powerful states of the century, the Ottoman government turned to domestic borrowing by the state in order to cover the costs of the war, but was unable to raise as much money as it wanted. Subsequently, he tried to borrow money from the Netherlands and Spain, but could not reach an agreement (Yüksel, 2020, p. 125).

It can be argued that before the Ottoman Empire's borrowing situation, the capitulation practices made the Ottoman economy open to external factors. Capitulations granted to European states did not pose a problem when the feudal mode of production was generally observed in the world and the Ottoman Empire was economically strong, but the expansion of capitulations in the eighteenth century and the capitalist mode of production that emerged after the Industrial Revolution in Europe turned the capitulations into a Trojan horse placed in the Ottoman country. During the 19th century, Britain and then other European countries gradually established imperialist control over the Ottoman Empire in parallel with their growing accumulation of capitalist wealth (Öztürk and Keskin, 2011, 118). The capitulations not only prevented the adoption of customs protection measures, but also shattered the traditional production structure and started the process of collapse of the domestic industry (Yıldız, 2007, p. 116). The Ottoman Empire was transformed into a more dependent country with these regulations and was condemned to an economic system that melted into the wheels of capitalism. This economic system has completely turned the state into a semi-colony of capitalism (Eser, 2021, p. 40).

The Industrial Revolution, first seen in England in the late 18th century, changed the course of world history. European states, particularly Britain, started to produce with machines in factories, enabling the production of a new model commodity at a cheaper price. Even though the Ottoman Empire made attempts to industrialize, reforms remained stalled because it did not have a holistic structure. The Ottoman Empire, unable to have competence in the fields of education and science due to reasons such as the removal of science courses from madrasas from the 17th century onwards, the disallowance of the studies of scientists such as Hezarfen Ahmet Çelebi, Lagari Hasan Çelebi, Takiyüddin Mehmed and the exile of some of them, could not provide the scientific and technological infrastructure, which is one of the basic building blocks of industrialization.

The Industrial Revolution created the need for raw materials and markets in the world. Industrializing countries have looked for ways to find large markets to sell the commercial goods they produce in abundance. The Ottoman Empire was considered an appealing market for European states as it was one of the countries with the largest population of the period. When we look at the indicators of the Ottoman Empire's integration with the world economy that emerged in the 19th century, the primary event

that draws attention is foreign trade agreements (Yıldız, 2011, p. 319). The Balta Liman Trade Agreement signed with Britain in 1838 is one of the most unfavorable treaties in the history of Ottoman diplomacy. The Balta Liman Trade Agreement introduced the rule of a very low and uniform tax on goods coming from the UK to the Ottoman Empire. Britain's import rate to the Ottoman Empire was 19.0% between 1830-1832, while this rate increased to 29.3% between 1840-1842 after the trade agreement. In other words, there was a sudden growth of 10%. (Yıldız, 2007, p. 118). In 23 years, Turkey's imports from the Britain increased by more than 400% in value terms, while Turkey's share in total British exports rose from 1.9% to 4.9% (Kurmuş, 2007, p. 86). The same privileges granted to England were granted to all large and small European states within a year (Keçeligil, 2019, p. 113). As a result of the trade agreements signed with European states, there is an increase in the amount and composition of foreign capital entering the country (Yıldız, 2007, s. 117). The Treaty not only made the foreign trade tax nominal, but also amended the internal trade tax. Local merchants had to pay the 8% internal trade fee, but it was abolished for European merchants (Yıldız, 2007, p. 117). Goods produced cheaply in Europe were unloaded at Ottoman ports by paying very low taxes and transported to various markets of the country without paying domestic trade tax. European commercial goods, which were sold cheaper in the market than Ottoman domestic goods, forced local tradesmen to close their businesses, and Ottoman domestic production came to an end. For example, before 1847, 32,000 kg of silk was produced on a thousand weaving looms in Bursa, but with the entry of European goods into the country, only 75 weaving looms remained in Bursa and annual production dropped to 5200 kilograms (Yıldız, 2007, p. 117). The Ottoman country was dominated by foreign goods. The money of the Ottoman citizens went out of the country through consumption, and the Ottoman Empire became dependent on foreign sources. The period 1838-1864 was a time when the Ottoman economy was completely opened to foreign influences through trade and financial agreements and turned into an open market. In this period, economic imperialism dominated the Ottoman economy in all its dimensions. With this treaty, the economic exploitation of the Ottoman Empire, which had been going on for many years, was legalized in the international arena (Yıldız, 2007, s. 117).

Another significance of the 1838-Balta Limanı Free Trade Agreement for Ottoman society was that it enabled the introduction of capitalist relations

of production into the Ottoman homeland. The capitalist system of Western Europe entered and settled in the country first as "trade capital" and then, after 1854, as "financial capital" (Keçeligil, 2019, p. 115). The entrepreneur who invests his capital has the most important objective of making a profit. Although the main objective here is profit, there are some factors that foreign capital pays attention to when making its investments. The market attractiveness of the country in which the investment will be made comes first in the preferences of foreign capital. In other words, excess demand in a country is of great importance. Another factor is the abundance and cheapness of production factors and natural resources. One of the important issues that the entrepreneur who invests his capital pays attention to is the economic and political stability of the country in which he will invest (Yıldız, 2007, p. 115). The establishment of the General Debts Administration was influenced by the desire of the European capital power, which entered the Ottoman Empire effectively after the Balta Liman Trade Treaty, to ensure the "economic stability" of the Ottoman Empire and to make decisions in line with its interests. Economic stability means "manageable" resources for European capital, guaranteeing property rights, enabling foreigners to acquire immovable property and increasing transportation facilities (Kurmuş, 2007, p. 71).

European states, enriched after the Industrial Revolution, started to lend money to countries in economic distress in the second half of the 19th century. As the debts continued, European capital poured into these countries and they were almost colonized.

Countries incur extraordinary expenditures to finance losses from extraordinary events such as wars and natural disasters. Extraordinary events can greatly increase public expenditures, and if domestic resources are insufficient for public expenditures, external resources are used (Dursun, p. 27). The Ottoman Empire was obliged to use external debt for the first time in 1854 as a result of the increased expenditures caused by the Crimean War that started in 1853. What is critical here is that before this loan was taken, in other words, from the 1840s onwards, European capital owners and representatives of European states had been constantly pressuring the Ottoman central bureaucracy to use foreign loans as a solution to economic problems (Yıldız, 2007, p. 119).

European imperialist countries had the opportunity to market their commercial goods, which increased with mass production, in the Ottoman

country, as well as to utilize their increasing cash capital in the Ottoman country. The Ottoman Empire was already in need of this cash capital as it could not increase state revenues due to its failure to industrialize. As a result, a situation of complementarity and mutual dependence emerged between Europe and the Ottoman Empire in monetary and financial matters (Gürsoy, 2011, p. 26).

The first external borrowing attempt was made by Mustafa Reşit Pasha, the grand vizier of Sultan Abdülmecid. In 1851, the first foreign debt agreement was signed with the justification that even salaries could not be paid, but considering the dangers this would pose, this agreement was terminated by paying a cancellation indemnity (Adiloğlu and Yücel, 2021, p. 70).

Since the Ottoman Empire was in desperate need of cash capital, a period of borrowing and lending between Europe and the Ottomans began, which accelerated and grew in a short time. Even before the Crimean War, the Ottoman Empire's debt to the Galata Bankers had risen to 16 million liras. Europe, where banking or borrowing systems had been developed since the Middle Ages, began to constantly knock on the Ottoman Empire's door to lend money through its powerful financial centers. While the Crimean War, started in 1853, was continuing, the Ottoman Empire took the first external debt from Britain and France, which it considered as allies, upon the need arising in 1854 (Eser, 2021, p. 43).

From 1838 onwards, the Ottoman trade volume expanded, but the current account deficit increased due to imports rather than exports. In addition to this, there has been a massive inflow of foreign capital into the country. Between 1850 - 1913, at least 166 British companies were established in London to trade, operate mines, open factories, etc. in Turkey. The capital of these companies varies between £10,000 and £1,000,000 (Kurmuş, 2007, p. 69). From 1854 to 1873, when the European economic crisis hit, there was no disruption or irregularity in the inflow of foreign capital into the country. During this period, Britain was in the lead in foreign capital inflows both excluding and including external debt. It should not be forgotten that foreign capital inflows increase external debt (Yıldız, 2007, p. 113-114). In the process leading to the establishment of the General Debts Administration, the increasing inflow of foreign capital into the country through both trade and debt relations was influential.

At the outbreak of the Crimean War with Russia in 1853, the Ottoman Empire's budget was 75 million liras,

while the war expenses were estimated to be 18 million liras. For this reason, the Ottoman Empire borrowed 3.3 million Ottoman liras from Palmer & Co and Gold Schmitet Ass. companies with the agreement made on August 24, 1854 (Yüksel, 2020, p. 125). The repayment period of the debt was 33 years, the annual interest rate was 6% and the payment method was the repayment of 1% of the capital each year. The issuance price of the bonds is determined as eighty percent of the nominal value. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire received 2.640.000 Ottoman Liras from this debt. Moreover, it is not possible for the Ottoman Empire to spend this money in line with its own plans. According to the agreement, the Ottoman Empire will use this money for war purposes (Adiloğlu and Yücel, 2021, p. 70-71).

The external debts that would have been used to cover the budget deficits and to repay the debts borrowed became unrecoverable in a very short time. The Ottoman Empire's method of encumbering budget revenues for bond sales led to the complete destruction of the country's regular budget revenues. While 17% of budget revenues were used for foreign debt payments in 1863 due to the growing foreign debts, in 1873, 55% of budget revenues were used for this purpose (Eser, 2021, p. 43-44).

The Crimean War, in which European states supported the Ottoman Empire due to their own interests, did not result in an Ottoman victory. The Treaty of Paris signed after the war had consequences against the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, in the aftermath of the war, new foreign debts were taken on the one hand and European capital began to invest in Ottoman lands on the other. The debts were borrowed at high interest rates, were not used efficiently and thus the debt burden increased (Ünlüönen, 1988, p. 315). Apart from the amount of borrowings and the negative interest rates, the number of borrowings is also striking. Between 1854 - 1874, 15 loans were taken. From 1865 onwards, the amount of loans borrowed increased (Yıldırım, 2001, p. 319). Since the loans taken were not used in areas of activity that would increase production, but in areas such as war expenses, palace expenses, palace construction, navy construction and salary payments, the payments of existing debts were made by borrowing new debts (Kurnaz, 1989, p. 64).

The financial indicators of 1874 clearly show the gravity of the situation: While the Ottoman state budget was 25.104.958 liras, the debt installment to be paid reached 30 million liras (Fişek, 1967, p. 160). The Ottoman finances were burdened by the debts and interest, and by 1875 even the ins-

tallments of the debts could no longer be paid.

The state's budget balance has worsened as a result of debts borrowed at heavy interest rates that could not be diverted to resource-generating areas. Under Abdülhamid II, on October 30, 1875, a plan for the bankruptcy of the finances and the payment of debts was announced with the Ramadan Law Decree, and it was declared that half of the principal and interest of domestic and foreign debts would not be paid. This announcement was in a sense an admission of a situation that could be called financial bankruptcy or moratorium. As of April 1876, debt repayments were completely suspended. The Ramadan Law caused a great reaction among creditor states. The announcement of the bankruptcy came as a shock to holders of Ottoman bonds in the capitalist center countries (Aybudak, 2022, p. 677). European newspapers began to publish articles such as *"Turks defrauded us, they spent our gold for the sake of luxury"* (Akt. Adiloğlu and Yücel, 2021).

Following the Ramadan Law, one of the most important regulations was the establishment of the Rüsumu Sitte Administration (Six Tax Administration) in 1879 and the allocation of six types of taxes to the Galata Bankers in the country. However, the arrangement drew foreign reaction and a new agreement became inevitable. After negotiations between the British, French, Italian, Austrian and German creditors and the Ottoman Empire, the Düyün-ı Umumiyye (General Debts) Administration, in its full name "Düyün-ı Umumiyye-i Osmaniye Varidat-ı Muhassasa" administration, was established with the agreement signed on November 20, 1881 (28 Muharram 1299). The treaty was referred to as the "Muharram Decree" because it coincided with the month of Muharram (Adiloğlu and Yücel, 2021, p. 73). Evaluating the function of the General Debts Administration only in terms of allocating the receivables of creditor states and its effects on the Ottoman budget would not be sufficient. Assessing the period together with the political power balances, crises, conflicts, partnerships of interest, and the economy-politics nexus will create a holistic perspective on the subject. According to Gürsoy, the General Debts Administration was an outpost of European capitalism (Gürsoy, 2011, p. 25). The introduction of a foreign private administration into the state finances led to a structure similar to that observed in colonies (Kartopu, 2012).

The General Debts Administration was composed of seven people. France, Austria, Italy, Germany, the Ottoman Empire and the Galata Bankers were represented by one member

each, while the United Kingdom and the Netherlands were represented by a joint member. The General Debts Administration was authorized to collect and spend the taxes levied by the Ottoman Empire on salt, alcoholic beverages, fisheries, silk, tobacco, and the stamp tax (Adiloğlu and Yücel, 2021, p. 73). In this sense, this meant the privatization of the state, and as a result, the economic life of the country came under the domination of colonial capitalist countries (Eser, 2021, p. 45).

The establishment of the General Debts Administration should be considered in the political context of the period. In 1878, at the Berlin Congress, countries such as Britain, France and Russia, which had lent money to the country, agreed that the Ottoman Empire should be divided. In the period following the Congress, the General Debts Administration, which provided the process of sharing the country economically, if not territorially, emerged as the most important tool of the capitalist exploitation method (Eser, 2021, p. 44-45).

Financial institutions such as the Ottoman Bank and Deutsche Bank were also instrumental in the entry and mobility of Western capitalism into the Ottoman Empire. For example, Deutsche Bank undertook to sell a new Ottoman debt on the German stock exchanges in order to accelerate the granting of railways concessions. Therefore, the German-French rivalry in the period leading up to the First World War was largely in the form of the Deutsche Bank-Osmanlı Bank rivalry. It is not surprising that after railways, banking is the second lar-

tion in 1912 was 5,500, the number of personnel employed by the General Debts Administration reached 8,900, including 3,200 temporary and 5,700 permanent positions. (Adiloğlu and Yücel, 2021, s. 74).

During the years of the establishment of the General Debts Administration, there was an increase in foreign capital investments entering the country. In this respect, General Debts Administration is similar to the Balta Liman Trade Treaty. The total amount of foreign capital investments that entered the country between 1888 and 1896 exceeded 30 million pounds sterling. This amount corresponds to 40% of the total foreign capital investments made until 1914. During this period, more than £17 million of foreign capital was invested (Yıldız, 2007, p. 122-123).

With this administration, the Ottoman Empire was economically under the control of foreign countries, and some states increased their political influence within the empire and ensured that decisions were taken in line with their own interests (Dayar and Küçükaksoy, 2009, p. 34). The fact that the General Debts Administration has the power to seize assets for collection when necessary is an indication of a partial loss of sovereign independence. The General Debts Administration limited the authority of the Ottoman Empire to use and allocate its own resources and undermined its sovereign rights. The institution had effects on the Ottoman Empire beyond its own structure and function. The fact that the members of the board of directors of the General Debts Administration



Wikimedia Commons: Ottoman_Bank.jpg

gest area of investment. The share of banking in the sector in 1914 was 12% (Yıldız, 2007, p. 123-124).

The most important function of the General Debts Administration, which weakened the economic independence of the state, was to control one-fourth of the state revenues. To understand the effectiveness of the organization in the state, it may also be useful to look at the number of employees. While the number of employees of the Ottoman Finance Administra-

also held positions in various companies investing in the Ottoman Empire, such as railways, created relations of interest and contradictions. Besides, an intelligence network was created that controlled the independence of the country with its officers working in places such as railways, ports, post and telephone administration (Adiloğlu and Yücel, 2021, p. 75). Furthermore, this intelligence network was established not only by their own appointed administrators, but also by Ottoman statesmen. A high official,

perhaps a minister, who signed his signature as "British" saw no harm in reporting even the most confidential parts of the meetings of the Council of Ministers to the British ambassador in regular reports (Kurmuş, 2007, p. 72).

The Ottoman Empire, which took the developments in the West as an example for the first time in the eighteenth century, tried to become a part of European politics from the beginning of the 19th century and wanted to avoid being a target in the Eastern Question projection of Europeans. The European political plane, to which the Ottoman Empire tried to join at the expense of making concessions, kept the Ottoman Empire, which was at the bottom, outside the plane as an expected result of the law of unequal development, made it open to influence in accordance with its interests, and came to the point of sharing the territory of the country when the time came. The Ottoman Empire, still possessing vast and geopolitically critical territories despite its weakened political power, began to fall under the hegemony of Western capitalism in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Despite the administrative interventions, the high crisis level of the Ottoman Empire's situation made the option of collapse dominant. European capitalism also managed to implement its own interests through the Ottoman service sector. The Ottoman Empire borrowed a lot of money for the construction of railways, which it badly needed for military and administrative reasons. Besides the weight of external debt, he assured the companies of revenue per kilometer in the contracts he signed in railway construction. The General Debts Administration, which played a role in mitigating the risks of foreign railway investments, was a reliable institution for international capital investments (Ergüder, 2020, p. 470). In case the companies that built the railways incurred losses, these losses were paid by the national treasury. The General Debts Administration provided guarantees to the companies that requested assurance for the payment of the remaining amount. This situation has given the General Debts Administration the characteristic of being an institution above the state. The country was looted with a new type of colonialism through these foreign-funded companies that functioned autonomously like a state over the state. Railway construction was mainly based on the proposals and demands of foreign capital investors. This is because the materials needed for the construction of railways were imported from the investing country. After the construction of the railways, the same European countries entered the region with their economic and commercial capital and started to increase the production of raw materials and foodstuffs for export. This

means a transfer of income from the periphery to the center (Yıldız, 2007, p. 120). It can be seen that a significant portion of foreign capital investments are focused on railways. The railways sector's share of the total is approximately 63.1% (Yıldız, 2007, p. 123). The reason why foreign capital preferred the construction and operation of railways more was both the coverage of possible operating losses by the Ottoman treasury and the concessions granted to the companies, such as the right to operate the mines along the route of the railways.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British Ambassador to Istanbul, delivered a speech at the groundbreaking ceremony of the Alsancak station on November 16, 1858, which clearly reveals the purpose of foreign capital's entry and activities in the Ottoman Empire:

"We hope that this railway would be a useful capital investment to facilitate the entry of our industrial products into Turkey. As you all know, Europe has more than ever an interest in the revitalization of Turkey. Western civilization has arrived at the gates of the Levant. I want everyone to know that if these gates, which we have not been able to pass through so far, do not open wide, we have the power, and even more power, to open them by force, in our own interests, and to impose our will." (Kurmuş, 2007, p.55).

As can be seen, the General Debts Administration was not established with the innocent intention of putting the Ottoman budget structure in order and paying off its foreign debts. The establishment and operational objectives of the General Debts Administration can be summarized as follows:

- 1.To organize the Ottoman economy according to the interests of creditor states,
2. To provide intelligence to European states on strategic areas (railroads, ports, post, telephone, etc.) concerning the Ottoman economy, institutional structure and the independence of the country,
3. To export raw materials and resources, especially of strategic importance, from the Ottoman lands,
4. To have the right to manage the commercial enterprises of the Ottoman Empire,
5. To transfer money from the Ottoman treasury to their own coffers by means other than debt collection.

The existence of the General Debts Administration did not prevent the Ottoman Empire from acquiring new foreign debts. In the 27 years between 1881, when the General Debts Administration was established, and 1908, when the II. Constitutional Monarchy was proclaimed, 63 million Ottoman

Liras were borrowed in 16 different loans. In the following years, another 46 million Ottoman Liras were borrowed in 8 different loans until the First World War in 1914. Some of the 63 million lira borrowings were used for the construction of the Eastern Railways, some for military expenditures, some for the restructuring of old debts, and some for the closure of budget deficits. Because of the high cost of the Tripoli and Balkan Wars, the 22 million Ottoman Liras loan taken from the Ottoman Bank in 1914 was the last stabilization of this long borrowing adventure.

The Ottoman Empire lost its territories outside Anatolia as a result of the First World War, and the Entente Powers tried to condemn it to the Sevres Peace Treaty. The independence struggle that started with the Kuvayi Milliye (National Forces) resistance in Anatolia evolved into the National Struggle (War of Independence) under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and the new Turkish state was built at the end of three years. The Lausanne Peace Treaty (July 24, 1923), which was the deed of the new state, divided the foreign debts left over from the Ottoman Empire among the states that emerged within the borders of the empire, and tied the part related to Turkey to installments. During the peace negotiations, the creditor states wanted the debt to be paid in gold or sterling, but it was decided to pay the debt in Turkish currency or francs, as requested by the Turkish representatives (Kili, 2006, p. 149). As a compromise was reached on the payment of foreign debts, the General Debts Administration was closed. In this way, the General Debts Administration, which had assumed the role of a control mechanism over Turkish finance, the Turkish economy and even Turkish politics, and which operated with the logic of a "state over the state", disappeared. The Republic of Turkey completed the repayment of its Ottoman foreign debt in 1954.

In contemporary world economies, many countries are struggling with very large deficits in their budgets. Bütçe açıkları ile mücadele etme yöntemi olarak birçok ülke borçlanmayı seçtiğinden bu ülkelerin borç yüklerinin de günden güne arttığı gözlemlenmektedir (Eser, 2021, s. 26). Today, the evaluation of the relationship between external indebtedness and economic dependence of countries, in other words, the relationship of undermining economic independence through indebtedness, and the similarities between General Debts Administration and today's institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank should be addressed as the subject of another article with their historical contexts.

¹ In accordance with the principle of provisionism, it was desired that the goods produced in order to meet the needs of the cities should be cheap, abundant and at the same time of high quality and that production should be at high levels (Çetin, 2018, p. 236).

REFERENCES

- Adiloğlu, B., & Yücel, G. (2021). Düyün-ı Umûmiyye Osmanlı Devlet Borçları İdaresi. *Muhasebe Ve Finans Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, (21), 67-78. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/1889369>
- Aybudak, U. (2022). Kapitalist jeokültürün taşıyıcısı olarak Düyün-ı Umûmiye. *Akademik Yaklaşımlar Dergisi*, 13(2), 668-689. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/2639512>
- Çetin, E. C. (2018). Düyün-u Umumiye ve Osmanlı dış borç tarihi genel bir bakış. *Balkan Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 7(14), 234-249. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/516330>
- Ergüder, B. (2020). Düyün-u Umumiye İdaresinin borç yönetiminden bir kesit: İkramiyeli tahviller. *Tarih Ve Gelecek Dergisi*, 6(2), 470-485. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/1160638>
- Dayar, H., & Küçükaksoy, İ. (2009). Düyün-u Umumiye İdaresi ile Uluslararası Para Fonu'nun karşılaştırılması. *Manas Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 11(21), 33-48. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/843281>
- Dikmen, N. (2010). Osmanlı dış borçlarının ekonomik ve siyasi sonuçları. *Atatürk Üniversitesi İktisadi Ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi*, 19(2), 137-159. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/30059>
- Dursun, B. (2019). *Türkiye'de dış borç gelişimi ve ekonomik etkileri*. [Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. Sivas Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi. <https://acikerisim.cumhuriyet.edu.tr/xmlui/bitstream/handle/20.500.12418/12382/10254658.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Eser, M. (2021). *Türkiye'nin dış borçları*. İksad. <https://iksadyayinevi.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/TURKI-YENIN-DIS-BORCLARI>
- Gürsoy, B. (2011). 100. yılında Düyün-u Umumiye İdaresi üzerinde bir değerlendirme. *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 40(1-4), 1-4. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/8321>
- <http://www.genel-is.org.tr/42-yillik-cokus-24-ocak-kararlari,2,47083>
- Kartopu, S. (2012). Düyün-u Umumiye İdaresi ve idareyle ilgili görüşler. *Global Journal of Economics and Business Studies*, 1(2), 32-40. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/84080>
- Keçelgil, H. T. (2019). Başlangıçtan günümüze Türkiye'nin borçları ve kırılan beşi. *Ufuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 8(15). <https://www.ufuk.edu.tr/uploads/page/enstituler/sosyal-bilimler/ensdergi/say-15/4-balan-gtan-gnmze-trkiyenin-borlar-ve-krlgan-beli.pdf>
- Kili, S. (2006). Türk devrim tarihi, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür.
- Kurmuş, O. (2007). *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye girişi*, Yordam.
- Mete, M., Pekmez, G., Kıyancı, C., (2016), 2008 finans krizinin kırılan sekizliler üzerindeki etkisi: Teorik bir inceleme. *Elektronik Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 15(57), 689-709.
- Shaw, S. (1994). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve modern Türkiye*, Birinci cilt, e.
- Törel, T. (2020). Düyün-u Umumiye Genel Sekreteri Vital Cuinet'in 1891'de Malatya sancağı üzerine tespitleri. *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 22(2), 763-769. <https://doi.org/10.16953/deusosbil.728598>
- Ünlüöner, K. (1988). Cumhuriyet dönemi devlet borçları. *Dicle Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, 4(4), 313-335. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/duhfd/issue/22983/246304>
- Yaman Öztürk, M., & Ertürk Keskin, N. (2011). Osmanlı'da yabancı yatırımlar Düyunu Umumiye ve Tütün Rejisi. *Memleket Siyaset Yönetim*, 6(16), 116-150. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/2965136>
- Yıldız, A. (2007). Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun borçlanmasında yabancı sermayenin etkisi. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, (37), 113-125. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/5342>
- Yıldız, A. (2011). Osmanlı Devleti'nin borçlanmasında Osmanlı Bankası'nın rolü ve önemi. *Elektronik Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 10(36), 318-330. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/70281>
- Yüksel, Ç. (2020). Osmanlı borçları hakkında İngiliz Lordlar Kamarası'nda yapılan 21 Mayıs 1924 tarihli oturumun incelenmesi. *Kayseri Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2(2), 123-133. <https://doi.org/10.51177/kayusoder.831833>

Rosa Cañadell

Degree in Psychology. Professor. Columnist - CATALONIA

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS



The United Nations (UN) defines the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as "an action plan for people, planet and prosperity, which also aims to strengthen universal peace and access to justice". The UN General Assembly - composed of Member states - approved unanimously this plan in 2015, which contains the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

These **goals** include the eradication of poverty, the end of hunger, the promotion of health and well-being, education of quality, gender equality, access to safe drinking water and sanitation, access to affordable and clean energy, and the promotion of inclusive economic growth.

One of the key goals of the SDGs and the 2030 Agenda is to engage new generations in sustainable development. We always say that young people are the future. And, unquestionably, the children of today will play a decisive role in designing the world we will inhabit tomorrow.

All these statements would be a good move forward to confront the great inequality, poverty and wars in

today's society, as well as to combat climate change and its consequences. Nevertheless, the very same governments that committed themselves to these objectives are the ones that maintain policies that go in precisely the opposite direction and that are, in many respects, totally contradictory. Therefore, goals which are completely necessary and desirable, become totally useless.

1. Contradictions

More industrial growth is proposed to reduce poverty, which implies more extraction, production and consumption, which is totally contrary to stopping global warming. What we need is less consumption and a greater distribution of wealth. What we need is less consumption and a better distribution of wealth.

It points to growth to reduce **poverty**. However, growth does not reduce poverty, but rather increases inequality, and inequality is the greatest source of poverty. They suggest no further regulation of banks or markets and **refuse** to call for debt cancellation, despite the fact that the debt is worth more than \$700 billion a year to develop-

ing countries, money that could be spent on poverty reduction.

It is recognised that we are facing a **climate emergency** and that stopping global warming would require a 6% reduction in CO2 emissions from fossil fuels, but every year it is increasing by 1% instead of decreasing.

People talk about the need to save forests, but in the Amazon 17% of forests have already been lost and there is no talk of any measures to stop it.

It also proposed an increase in **extensive agriculture**, forgetting that this is one of the biggest emitters of CO2. Agro-exports also mean that some foodstuffs travel over 4,000 km from the farm to the fridge, we have to think about the energy involved in doing so.

New Technologies are used as a salvation, without mentioning the water and energy consumption they entail. It is estimated that two Data Centres alone consume the water consumed by 28,000 households. This is also the case with the so-called **"energy transition"**, with

electric cars needing a large amount of minerals (lithium, cobalt, etc.) for their manufacture and their large batteries. These minerals are only found in some countries, where children are already dying in the mines, as in the Congo.

The **"ecological injustice"**, which tells us that we are not all equally accountable, is ignored. In fact, the richest 1% emit as much CO2 as two thirds of the poorest. So the richest 10% emit 50% and the poorest 50% emit only 8%.

All of this has negative consequences, especially for the poorest people, who are also the ones who suffer the most. Global warming reduces precipitation, and without rain there is no water, and without water there is no food.

It is proposed to **strengthen the peace**, but military budgets are being increased, weapons are being sent to continue the war in Ukraine and the countries with the most power are not capable of stopping genocide such as that which is happening in Palestine and in some African countries.

2. Goals in education

The SDGs agenda places great importance on education and argues that better education leads to an earlier exit from poverty. They also stress that education is the key to achieving the other goals: poverty reduction, peace and sustainability.

But in reality, very little progress has been made and in 2018 there were still 260 million children (mostly girls) out of school. More than half of the world's children are not meeting the literacy and numeracy standards, and if things continue as they are now, by 2030 there will be 84 million children out of school and 300 million without the basic skills to thrive.

It is obvious, and we all agree on this, that education is basic, the problem is:

do not eradicate inequality? How to educate about gender equality and against gender violence, if the right-wing parties (increasingly in the majority) deny it, if the social networks are full of sexist videos and messages and children watch pornography from the age of 8?

3. What to do?

What can education do in such a situation? What are the consequences of education? How can we encourage ideals and attitudes in our young people that can help achieve some of the goals outlined in the SDGs?

It is necessary to educate, organise, fight and provide an education in values. Because, as stated by Paulo Freire, "education cannot change the world, but it can change the people who will change the world".

critical spirit, and social networks increase isolation in our young people, isolation, dependence, rapid access to pornography and false information.

- To transmit knowledge that helps to understand how the world works and gives tools to be able to change it.
- Educating for peace, talking about the inhumanity of war and helping to prevent violence and discrimination. It is necessary to explain to them that wars are not fair, that they are always in the interests of a minority, but that the vast majority of those who have less money and less power always pay.
- Educate individual behaviour that implies respect for nature, re-

4. In conclusion

It is important that boys and girls graduate from high school and university with the conviction that it is necessary to fight against all types of violence and that human rights must be defended, that they do not get used to the idea that wars and massacres are normal, that they do not become insensitive to the pain of others, that they are concerned about the destruction of the planet and its consequences, and that they are capable of becoming indignant in the face of injustice and violence. They should feel solidarity with people who suffer and want to get involved in stopping all types of aggression, wars and violence.

This should be the ethical mandate of all people involved in education. Because the goal is not to educate so that tomorrow, our students will



In a world of constant war and cruel genocide in Palestine, how are we to educate for peace? How can we hope that our students will learn to resolve their conflicts without violence if the world tells them that violence is what resolves conflicts.

How can we educate to stop climate change if there is no action against the corporations and the richest people who are causing the environmental disaster? We cannot mislead our students by telling them that if they consume less water and throw plastics in the recycling bin they will stop global warming.

How can we educate for equality and cooperation if those in power

We must fight privatisation, school segregation and lack of equal opportunities. We should fight to decrease arms budgets, which promote war, death, pain and destruction, and increase budgets for public education. And we should provide education that promotes peace, equality, non-discrimination, solidarity, indignation in the face of injustice and the conservation of nature.

To this end, it is necessary:
- Less screens and more teachers. Presential education allows socialisation, learning through interaction and teaching content that helps to understand the world and to improve it. Screens make it difficult to learn and acquire a

ducing consumption, increasing recycling, and opting for a healthy and ecological diet. Make them aware that the world belongs to all of us and that if we do not take care of it, a future full of disasters awaits us. Infinite growth on a finite planet is quite impossible.

- To transmit values of solidarity, anti-racism, feminism, cooperation and indignation against all kinds of injustice and violence.
- To encourage involvement in society, participation in actions and organisations fighting for a better world and to put pressure on governments and companies.

"adapt" as well as possible to an unjust, violent world, full of injustices and inequalities, but so that they will have information and knowledge that will allow them to understand how the world works and have the elements and the will to improve it.

This is the only way we can help meet the goals set by the SDGs for a better future.

Pape Mawade Sylla

Dr. in English Literature Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar, docsylla@outlook.com - SENEGAL

INTERDEPENDENCE OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, INDUSTRIALISATION AND NATIONAL PROGRESS: A CASE STUDY OF SENEGAL



Introduction

The school, in its present form, is not the product of the internal development of African societies. In the case of Senegal, the creation and development of the school network followed the French penetration. Far from reducing the distance that separates the dominator from the dominated, the school has, in most cases, helped to make it impassable in order to maintain the colonial order. With the interdependency and national progress a new order is promoted to the young state, among other challenges, that of building, with an extroverted school, an identity and a sense of belonging to the senegalese nation based on the promotion of history, cultures and national languages. A system of education and training that is equitable, effective, and efficient, in line with the requirements of economic and social development and more committed to the care of children, and based on inclusive governance, increased accountability of local communities and valuable citizen. To grasp the mean-

ing of this case study, an overview study of the Senegalese's educational system should be done at first then we will shed light on the context for training development programs and educational progress.

I. Description of the education system

The Constitution of the Republic of Senegal stipulates that the State is responsible for the education policy defined and implemented by the Ministries in charge of Education and Training namely, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry Technical Education, Vocational Training, Literacy and National Languages and the Ministry of Family and Early Childhood. The state provides a public service mission at this level. To this end, the Orientation Law 91 22 of February 16, 1991 defines the orientations of the national education which tends to: - prepare the conditions of an integral development assumed by the whole nation - to promote the values in which the nation recognizes itself - raising the

cultural level of the population The education system is structured in two sectors: the formal and the non-formal. Formal education concerns several levels and types of education. It is composed of pre-school education, elementary education, general and secondary general education, technical education and vocational training, and higher education. At each of these levels, there is, alongside public education, a private education that has diversified and developed in recent years. Inclusive education and girls' education occupy an increasingly important place in the system's ambition to reduce the disparities created by disabilities of all kinds. Indeed, the care of children with specific educational needs and the massive enrolment of girls in school are now seen as strategies for providing a more equitable and democratic education service.

The non-formal education sector, under the responsibility of the Ministry of Technical Education, Vocational Training, Literacy and National Lan-

guages, includes literacy, basic community schools, schools of the 3rd type and Franco-Arab schools. The ambition displayed for the development of this sector is commensurate with the challenges of sustainable development, which must necessarily be based on the quality of available human resources. At the central level The Education and Training Sector is organized around 13 national directorates, 6 of which are dedicated to the different levels of education, in addition to the specialized services attached to the various ministerial cabinets. At the decentralized level At the level of the eleven (14) regions, one finds Inspections of Academy (16 IA) in charge of coordinating the educational action. At the departmental level, there are national departmental inspectorates of education (59 IDEN), responsible for the implementation of the education and training policy in their constituencies. In order to understand this educational progress setting out the context for development of education is necessary.

II. Context for development of education and training development programs

The educational policy of Senegal was inspired by the conclusions and recommendations of the international conferences (Jomtien 1990, Dakar 2000) and regional conferences (MINEDAF VI, 46th general session of the CONFEMEN, Panafrican Conference on the education of girls ...). At the national level, the proposals of the National Commission for Reform of Education and Training (CNREF), formalizing the conclusions of the Estates General of Education and Training held in January 1981, are the basis of the law. Education Guideline No. 91-22 of 16 February 1991, which defines the profile of the new type of man to be promoted through education. The various sectoral consultations organized by the State since 1993 have been occasions for strongly reaffirming the aims and guiding principles of the educational system recommended by the Orientation Law. At each of these consultations, a non-complacent diagnosis of the state of the education system was made, and relevant recommendations were made to operationalize the CNREF's proposals while adapting them to changes in the internal and external environment. The general policy options have recently been operationalized by the sector's general policy letter and implemented through the Education and Training 10-year Program (Development), which has been developed over the years. years, by expanding the frame of reference. The Ten-Year Education and Training Program In the continuity of the Education Reform, the Government of Senegal has formulated a new "General Policy Letter of the Education / Training Sector" for the period 2000-2017, which specifies the development policy options selected for the formal and non-formal subsectors, as well as the strategies for their implementation. . Education policy is now focused on strengthening the system, primarily on basic education, technical education and vocational training. In this context, the universalization of elementary school enrolment by 2010 is the overriding objective of the Government. Moreover, this educational policy is implemented through the Ten-Year Education and Training Program undertaken as part of the United Nations Special Initiative for Africa. This program defines the major axes around which the State of Senegal intends, with its technical, financial and social partners, to give a decisive impetus to the quantitative and qualitative development of the education system for the period 2000-2010. In addition, the State and its financial partners have agreed to commit, in the future, all the financial resources of the sector in the PDEF, which constitutes the instrument for implemen-

ting Senegal's educational policy. The education system thus enters a phase of reform relative to the mode of management of the sector, by passing from a logic of project to a logic of program, of a subsector approach to a systemic approach which articulates the various sub-sectors. Education sectors by better managing student flows from one cycle to another. The reform of the Education and Training Development Program in the management of the education system has also been deepened because of decentralization. The transfer of skills in the planning and management of the education system to local authorities The decentralization process initiated in 1972 was consolidated in 1996 with the establishment of regions in local authorities with legal personality and financial autonomy to the local authorities. same as municipalities and rural communities. For this purpose, the State transferred to them nine areas of competence. With regard to education, the decision-making powers of local elected representatives have been strengthened: the region receives the general responsibility for planning the development of education at the local level. The municipality and the rural community receive skills in the management of educational services in basic education and the promotion of national languages. Through the development of the various planning instruments, such as the Regional Integrated Development Plans (PRDI), the Municipal Investment Plans (PIC) and the Local Development Plans (PLD), the local elected representatives now have the appropriate means. to consider endogenous perspectives of development by integrating educational concerns. Thus, in the framework of a partnership involving local authorities, decentralized school authorities, the private sector and civil society will be prepared, regional, departmental and local plans for the development of education, which will form an integral part of the partnership.

To develop and improve all aspects of early childhood care and education, including the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children; Ensure that by 2015 all children in difficulty and those belonging to ethnic minorities have the opportunity to access compulsory, free and quality primary education and to follow it to completion; To meet the educational needs of all young people and adults by ensuring equitable access to adequate programs aimed at acquiring knowledge and skills needed in everyday life; Improve by 50% the literacy level of adults, especially women, by 2015, and ensure that all adults have equitable access to basic education and lifelong education programs; Eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005

and achieve equality in this area in 2015, including ensuring girls have equitable and unrestricted access to quality basic education with the same chances of success; Improve in all its aspects the quality of education in the interest of excellence, so as to obtain recognized and quantifiable learning outcomes for all.

Conclusion

For education and training to be a real vector of development, they must be understood in their individual and collective dimensions. The human rights approach has been relevant in reflecting the multi-dimensionality of the right to education. For the Government of Senegal, the education system must better contribute to the provision of quality human resources, able to adapt to scientific and technological developments, capable of innovating. The state therefore has the ambition to create a school of equity and equal opportunities, a school that can carry its ambitions for emergence. Also, the new options, such as PACKET-EF 2013-2030, will focus on the correction of disparities further more, the professionalization of college-to-higher education, and the training of young people in demand-driven sectors. In this way "*if access to school is a prerequisite for the acquisition of school knowledge, it is not a sufficient condition. Students must not only go to school, but acquire the knowledge that will help them stay and progress*" (Henaff & Lange, 2011). For a better educational progress, the authorities should put the emphasis on technological fields at early age and built strong profile of scientific students in order to reach national independence industrializa-



REFERENCES

- Bressoux, P. (2007). La contribution des modèles multinationaux à la recherche en éducation. Education et Didactique.
- Diouf, A. (1991). Directive d'éducation n°91-22. Retrieved September 04, 2018, from <http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/senegal-loi.htm>.
- Centre Population et Développement. (2006). Défis du développement en Afrique subsaharienne: l'éducation en jeu. Retrieved September 04, 2018, from http://horizon.documentation.ird.fr/exl-doc/pleins_textes/divers0903/010038536.pdf
- Forum civil (2011). Gouvernance dans le secteur de l'éducation au Sénégal. Retrieved September 04, 2018 from

http://www.osiwa.org/wpcontent/uploads/2014/12/osiwa_ourstories.pdf

Henaff, N. & Lange M.-F. (2011). Inégalités scolaires dans le Sud: transformation et reproduction, 59, 3-18. Retrieved from <http://www.dri.gouv.sn/loi-12-février-2007-07>

MEN / DAGE. (2009-2010). Rapport sur la performance du secteur de l'éducation et de la formation. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/education/sites/education/files/document-library-docs/etmonitor-report-2018-france_fr.pdf

Michaelowa K. (2000). Dépenses d'éducation, qualité de l'éducation et pauvreté: l'exemple de cinq pays africains francophones. Document technique n° 157 Centre de développement de l'OCDE, Paris.

Programme décennal de l'éducation et de formation. (2005). Perspectives documentaires en éducation N° 62. Retrieved from <http://ife.enslyon.fr/publications/editionelectronique/perspectives-documentaires/RP0>

République du Sénégal J.O. (2007). [Loi n° 2007/07]. Retrieved September 04, 2018, from <http://www.dri.gouv.sn/loi-12-février-2007-07>.

République du Sénégal, J. O. (2013). [Loi n° 2013-10 du 28 décembre 2013 portant Code général des Collectivités]. Retrieved September 04, 2018, from <https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/97262/.../F.../SEN97262.pdf>

République du Sénégal. (1977). [Loi n° 77-67 du 4 juin 1977 portant loi de finances]. Retrieved September 07, 2018, from www.atddlgeoucad.org/documents/memoire_2011/fatoumata_signate.pdf

Seye Djité, S. (2019). Organization of the senegalese educational system. MLS Educational Research, 3(1), 79-92. Loi: 10.29314/mlser.v3i1.86

Soumaré, C.H., & Wade, A. (2008). [Decret n° 2008-209 du 4 mars 2008] Retrieved September 04, 2018, from <http://www.jo.gouv.sn/spip.php?article679>

Unesco. (1971). [Loi d'orientation de l'éducation nationale N°5401N° 5401, J.O. P107.N°71-36 du 03 juin.1971]. Retrieved September 04, 2018, from <http://www.unesco.org/education/edurights/media/docs/7e634d754261abefab501f386836f84bb36fcaa4.pdf>

Rama Kant Rai*
National Coalition for Education - INDIA

SDG4 and challenges of right to education for unorganized children in India



1. Introduction The SDG agenda:

India is a signatory of many international instruments and covenants to safeguard the right of children, particularly the unorganized sector. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development represents the highest aspirations for a bright future for the world's children and is a crucial opportunity to realize the rights of the child worldwide. It provides a clear framework for implementation and aims to improve children's lives through a universal agenda with clear goals and targets. Fulfilling children's rights is a prerequisite for realizing the 2030 Agenda¹.

Leaving No Child Behind A critical element of the 2030 Agenda is the commitment to "leave no one behind," especially those in vulnerable situations. This includes children in difficult circumstance. By pledging to leave no one behind, States committed to ensure equality and reduce inequalities, including through eliminating discriminatory laws, policies and practices. This principle is grounded in the human rights principles of non-discrimination, equality and dignity, and provides an entry point for protecting and promoting the rights of the child. The 2030 Agenda reaffirms States' obligations regarding children's rights by framing implementation in line with obligations to respect, protect and fulfil human rights. The application of human rights standards and principles,

including the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and its Optional Protocols, are also a crucial means through which the SDGs can be achieved.

It's a matter of serious concern that despite constitutional guarantees and international covenants a significant number of children from migrant labours are being deprived of education and schooling in India. Covid-19 led lock down made it more difficult to children of vulnerable migrant labours to realize the right to education in public schools.

Census 2011 highlights the massive challenge in ensuring seasonally migrant children from around 10.7 million households in rural India to complete elementary education. The three states of Bihar, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh account for half of the 12.82 million children who have never enrolled in schools; and eight states—Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal account for two-thirds of the 35.62 million children who have dropped out².

Unfortunately there is no exact number of migrant labour and their children out of school as the identification and documentation of such migrants are not done either in home state or host state of employment. It was a great deal of disastrous upheaval during Covid-19 outbreak when millions of unorganized labours

were pushed to their village. On 14 September 2020, Labour and Employment Minister Santosh Kumar Gangwar stated in Parliament that information collected from state governments indicated an estimated 10 million migrants had attempted to return home as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic and consequent lockdown. He later stated in Parliament on 15 September 2020 that no data was maintained on the number of migrants in the country who had either died, or become unemployed, as a result of the pandemic, "while state wise data was "not available on assistance provided to migrant workers,". India as a nation responded to the "unprecedented human crisis" through the various governments, local bodies, self-help groups and non-governmental organizations and professionals³.

Hence this internal policy envisages a road map for All India Primary Teachers Federation (AIPTF) for taking proactive initiative by it teachers, union leaders, volunteers, CSOs SMCs and parents to ensure the identification and mainstreaming the migrant children in schools and also to do advocacy for creating awareness and interfacing the welfare schemes to such families.

2. The Unorganized /Migrant labours:

It is grossly estimated that there are 44 Crore labourers working in unorganized sector in India. Unlike organised sector the migrant and unorgan-

ized labour faces many difficulties like irregular employment, minimum wages, and lack of safety measures, employer-employee relation, intermittent wages and exploitation like bonded labour. The living condition of migrant /unorganized sector labour are always unhygienic unprotective and unsafe to live.

Despite of the fact that there are many statutes and laws for the unorganized workers, they are still not provided with social security benefits.

Under section 2(m) of the Unorganized Workers Social Security Act, 2008, the term unorganized worker' means a home-based worker or a self-employed worker or a wage worker in the unorganized sector. It includes a worker in the organized sector who is not covered by any of the acts pertaining to welfare schemes as mentioned in Schedule II of Unorganized Workers Social Security Act, 2008. Unorganized workers take over the Indian labor market and represent 90% of the total Indian workforce.

Supreme Court on the right to work across the country: In 2014, the Supreme Court in Charu Khurana v. Union of India (Civil Writ Petition No. 73/2013) held that the concept of domicile/residence had no rationale and was in violation of Articles 14 and 15. This reasoning was based on extending an earlier decision on higher education to the present case involving access to employment. In the earlier case, in 1984, a Bench of three judges of the

Supreme Court held in Pradeep Jain v. Union of India (Civil Appeal 6392 of 1983) that in case of admission to higher educational institutions, classifying candidates based on their place of residence would be in violation of equality guaranteed by Article 14. The court concluded that residence requirement within the State shall not be a ground for reservation in admissions to post graduate courses. This was affirmed by a Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court in 2004 in Saurabh Chaudhri v. Union of India (Civil Writ Petition No. 29/2003).

In another case in 2014, the petitioner, who was a make-up artist, was denied membership of a trade union (Cine Costume Make-up Artists and Hair Dressers Association) on the ground that she was a woman and had not resided in the state (of Maharashtra) for five years. This affected her ability to work as the union had a monopoly over accreditation of make-up artists in the state. She challenged the membership rules of the union as being in violation of Articles 14, 15 and 21 of the Constitution. The Court held that the provisions of the rules relating to gender and domicile/residence requirement were in violation of Articles 14, 15 and 21. It quashed the impugned rules and directed the Registrar of Trade Unions to ensure that the petitioners were allowed to register as members of the said trade union.

3. Categories of Unorganized/migrant labours:

Unorganized workers have no formal employee status and their workplace is scattered and disintegrated. They are subjected to indebtedness as their income does not meet with their living needs. These workers face exploitation, harassment, discrimination by the rest of the society.

As per the Economic Survey 2007-08, 93% of India's workforce include the self employed and employed in unorganized sector. The Ministry of Labour, Government of India, has categorized the unorganized labour force under four groups in terms of Occupation, nature of employment, especially distressed categories and service categories.

3.1. Under Terms of Occupation:

Small and marginal farm labours, landless agricultural labourers, share croppers, fishermen, those engaged in animal husbandry, bee-di rolling, labeling and packing, building and construction workers, leather workers, weavers, artisans, salt workers, brick kilns and stone quarries, workers in saw mills, oil mills, etc. come under this category.

3.2. Under Terms of Nature of Employment:

Attached agricultural labourers, bonded labourers, migrant workers, contract and casual labourers come under this category.

3.3. Under Terms of Especially Distressed Category:

Mahauts, scavengers, carriers of head loads, drivers of animal driven vehicles, loaders and unloaders come under this category.

3.4. Under Terms of Service Category: Midwives, Domestic workers, Fishermen, Barbers, Washer men, Vegetable and fruit vendors, News paper vendors etc. belong to this category.

In addition to these four categories, there exists a large section of unorganized labour force such as street shoe-makers, tailors, Handicraft artisans, Handloom weavers, and physically handicapped self employed persons, Rickshaw pullers, Auto drivers, Carpenters, Tannery workers.

- Though the availability of statistical information on intensity and accuracy vary significantly, the extent of unorganized workers is significantly high among agricultural workers, building and other construction workers and among home based workers. According to the Economic Survey 2007-08 agricultural workers constitute the largest segment of workers in the unorganized sector (i.e. 52% of the total workers).
- As per the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO), 30 million workers in India are constantly on the move (migrant labour) and 25.94 million women workforce has been added in the labour market from the year 2000 onwards. All the more every day 13000 Indians turn 60 years and they are expected to live another average of 17 years. The problem is that the existing social security laws cover only 8% of the total work force of 459 million in India.
- The latest report of the NSSO uploaded by the close of May 2011 about the casual workers in India between 2004-05 and 2009-10 compared to that of the period between 1999 - 2000 and 2004-05 very clearly shows that there is significant increase in the number of casual workers and decline in the number of regular workers⁴.

4 The Migrant children:

In India every citizen has a right to migrate to any part of country in quest of better job opportunities, education, leisure, marriage and for any prospects. The Constitution of India guarantees all citizens the fundamental right to move freely through the territory of India. The principles of free migration are enshrined in clauses (d) and (e) of Article (19) (1). However all migrations are not for better prospects

and by choice but many times the challenges of living conditions and survival threats, natural disasters, riots and epidemics etc are the factors which push the vulnerable people to rush to other places for jobs and survival.

As per NSSO-64th round, out of the total migrant households, 62.7 percent of migrant households have at least one child aged between 0-18 years. Amongst migrant households, 56.6 percent and remaining 43.4 percent households are from urban areas. This indicates that more migrant children reside in rural areas as compared to urban areas. The need to focus on the situation and vulnerabilities experienced by migrant children becomes critical given the magnitude of the child migration⁵.

5. The increasing trend of migration:

As per Census 2011 data, every fifth migrant in India is a child tallying a total population of 92.95 million migrant children. Studies indicate that migrant children between the age of 6-18 years are more vulnerable with higher probabilities of child labour and discontinued educational opportunities. 22.1 percent of migrant children between this age group are not enrolled in any educational institution. Education department's official documents identify migrant children as the ones who are more prone to dropouts and are often the 'hardest to reach' or 'the most vulnerable category'. Unfortunately the identification of migrant children have never been a priority either by local authority, Labour department or Education department⁶.

As per Census 2001, child migrants (0- 19 years) form around 13 percent, (60.25 million) of the total population of children while it has increased to 18.9 percent (92.95 million) in Census 2011. Analysis of Census 2011 data reveals that nearly every fifth migrant is a child. Moreover, the decadal growth in child migrants for the Census period 2001 to 2011 is significantly higher (54.3 percent) than the growth for the Census period 1991 to 2001 (35.9 percent). It is also evident that the growth of child migrants was significantly higher than the growth of child population during the same period i.e. 18.5 percent between 1991-2001 and 6.3 percent between 2001- 2011. According to Census 2011, a majority of child migrants (0-19 years) were enumerated in rural areas (56.0 percent) compared to urban areas (44.0 percent), similar to Census 2001 (59.9 percent child migrants enumerated in rural areas).

6. Education level amongst Child Migrants

Contrary to common belief, both migrant boys and migrant girls (0-19

years) have higher literacy rates (58.7 percent as per Census 2001 and 63.4 percent as per Census 2011), compared to non-migrants (49.4 percent as per Census 2001 and 57.7 percent as per Census 2011). While literacy amongst child migrants in the age-group 0-14 years is greater (52.3 percent) compared to non-migrants (48.4 percent) as per Census 2011, the literacy rate amongst 15-19 years old migrant children is lower (87.5 percent) compared to non-migrants (89.2 percent). However, more migrant children (22.5 percent) are completing secondary schooling in comparison to non-migrant children (15.0 percent) according to Census 2011 analysis⁷.

7. Reasons of migration.

As per Census 2011, 0.26 percent of all migrant children in the age group of 0-14 years are engaged in work/ employment while an additional 0.05 percent is engaged in business. Though this appears to be a small percentage, this equates to significant number of children (i.e. 1,97,64,550) working in this age group of 0-14 years. Data from Census 2021 might be able to present the latest picture and the impact of the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Act, 2016 on the incidences of child labour⁸. (ibid)

8. Fact sheet on migrant labour

- As per Census 2011, there are 455.78 million migrants in India. Women form a large majority of migrants (67.9 percent) and marriage is a prominent reason for their migration.
- India is home to nearly 92.95 million migrant children (Census 2011).
- Across India, every fifth migrant is a child (Census 2011).
- More girls constitute child migrants (50.6 percent) as compared to boys (Census 2011).
- Five out of 10 migrant girls constituting 6.39 million, in the age group 10-19 years, were reported to be married in Census 2011.
- Rural to rural migration is the most common stream of flow for child migrants, while urban to urban migration has emerged as a second preferred movement by child migrants in Census 2011, contrary to rural to urban migration in Census 2001.
- Larger number of migrant children are located in rural areas (56.0 percent) compared to urban locations (44.0 percent) in Census 2011.
- Vast heterogeneity exists amongst migrant households and migrant children.
- Young migrant children (0-5 years) are less likely to be stunted, underweight and less likely to suffer from diarrhea compared to non-migrant children (NFHS 4, 2015-16). (ibid)

Rama Kant Rai

National Coalition for Education - INDIA

9. IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON CHILDREN

The impact of migration on children of migrated families is a serious policy concern for the authorities involved in child welfare and development. Migrant children may be affected by poverty, poor living conditions, isolation from mainstream society, break in continuity of education and low self-esteem related to trauma of moving from a known environment to an unknown one. Migration has differential impacts on children of different age groups, such as;

- i. The Children of migrant labours in 0-6 years of ages are deprived of health, nutrition and pre-school education. They lack birth certificate, immunization, health facilities etc., resulting in acute malnourishment, sickness and mortality. They also lack access to Anganwadis, crèche, safe drinking water, sanitation, etc.
- ii. Children of 6-14 years are increasingly school dropouts having no access to schools in the place of work, and denial of schooling leads to engagement of children in various other activities that include work on site with the members of the family causing health hazards, exploitation and abuse.
- iii. The migration workers generally stay at the site of the work along with their family for limited periods of time varying from three to six months and then move to another construction site. In this field the general pattern of migration is that "women and children have always featured as 'associated' migrants with the main decision to migrate having been taken by the male of the household".
- iv. Migration has hardly any connection with academic calendars of school education and migrant children can be admitted at any time in the schools.
- v. Frequency of migration varies on a large scale based on the skill sets of parents and their requirement at the sites of construction.
- vi. Geographic scope of migration for the construction workers vary widely and can be intra or inter-state in nature.

With increased mechanizations the work at the sites is restricted mostly to the male members. The women folk usually either stay at home or sometimes even work within the local community outside the construction site. All these constraints contribute to manifold challenges. Mid-term admission of any child in any school becomes extremely difficult. Escorting the children to school and ensuring regular attendance is problematic. All these challenges ultimately result in failure of the RTE Act, 2009 in most cases for this segment of society⁹.

10. CHALLENGES OF EDUCATION OF THE MIGRANT LABOUR CHILDREN

After the formation of the National Policy on Education (NEP) in 1986, serious attempts were made for the Universalization of Elementary Education (UEE) in India. Flexible schooling options for disadvantaged sections of children in the form of the Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) and Alternative & Innovative Education Scheme (AIE) under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) were initiated. The traditional reasons for exclusion from schooling, such as caste, gender, remoteness of location etc., have been attended by these schemes. But another category of disadvantaged section of children who have not received proper attention even under these schemes is the migrant labour children. Due to drought and other environmental issues the rural livelihoods collapsed in many parts of India and hundreds of thousands of families are being forced out of their homes and villages in search of work every year. The migrants are forced to take their children also along with them. They become drop-out of school ending their opportunity for education. As a result of large-scale enrolment drives the names of many migrant children are now on school rolls, but in reality they are often out of school, migrating to other work places with their parents. The environmental degradation and drought have led to more migration from North Indian states to states like Kerala, where there are more employment opportunities. The education of children is one of the most important issues related to migration. Most of the migrant labourers shift their place of employment from one to another. On account of this mobility in employment these children are difficult to trace, and are therefore easily left out of the standard systemic intervention of the education system.

In India the Right to Education is a fundamental right after the 86th Amendment to the Constitution in 2002. Through the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) programme, the government is working to achieve Universalization of Elementary Education (UEE). In spite of all these developments one category of children who are not being properly attended is migrant labour children. The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) and the state education departments do not even have sufficient data with respect to this category of children. Urgent steps are thus needed for uplifting their education¹⁰.

11. EDUCATION AS A HUMAN RIGHT

In all societies and throughout human history education has been regarded both as an end in itself and as a means for the individual and society to grow. The recognition of education as a

human right is the outcome of the realization that education is indispensable to the preservation and enhancement of the inherent dignity of the human being. Several international, regional and national legal instruments recognize the right to education¹¹. (ibid)

11.1. The National Policy for children 2013

Declaring its children as the nation's "supremely important asset" in the National Policy for Children, 1974, the Government of India reiterated its commitment to secure the rights of its children by ratifying related international conventions and treaties. These include the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its Covenants, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and its two Optional Protocols, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Women and Children, the Hague Convention on Protection of Children and Cooperation in respect of Inter-Country Adoption, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

The National Charter for Children, 2003 adopted on 9th February 2004, underlined the intent to secure for every child its inherent right to be a child and enjoy a healthy and happy childhood, to address the root causes that negate the healthy growth and development of children, and to awaken the conscience of the community in the wider societal context to protect children from all forms of abuse, while strengthening the family, society and the Nation.

To affirm the Government's commitment to the rights based approach in addressing the continuing and emerging challenges in the situation of children, the Government of India adopted the National Policy for Children, 2013.

11.2 National Education Policy 2020.

Principles of this Policy: The purpose of the education system is to develop good human beings capable of rational thought and action, possessing compassion and empathy. However, at the same time, there must also be seamless integration and coordination across institutions and across all stages of education. Alternative and innovative education centres will be put in place in cooperation with civil society to ensure that children of migrant labourers, and other children who are dropping out of school due to various circumstances are brought back into mainstream education.

The second is to achieve universal participation in school by carefully tracking students, as well as their learning levels, in order to ensure that they (a) are enrolled in and attending school, and (b) have suitable opportunities to catch up and re-enter school in case they have fallen behind or dropped out. For providing equitable and quality education from the Foundational Stage through Grade 12 to all children up to the age of 18, suitable facilitating systems shall be put in place¹².

12. INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states, "Everyone has the right to education." In addition, it says that it shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit, and technical and professional education shall be made generally available. The UDHR also stipulates that education should be directed towards the full development of the human personality and the enhancement of respect for human rights. Finally, it acknowledges that parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children. Education is both a human right in itself and an indispensable means of realizing other human rights. As an empowerment right, education is the primary vehicle by which economically and socially marginalized adults and children can lift themselves out of poverty and obtain the means to participate fully in their communities. Education has a vital role in empowering women, safeguarding children from exploitative and hazardous labour and sexual exploitation, promoting human rights and democracy, protecting the environment, and controlling population growth. Increasingly, education is recognized as one of the best financial investments States can make. But the importance of education is not just practical: a well-educated, enlightened and active mind, able to wander freely and widely, is one of the joys and rewards of human existence¹³.

According to United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), a child is defined as "a human being below the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to child majority is attained earlier." In India also, a child attains majority at the age of 18 years. However, the definition varies in the address of various legal provisions. The working age group of 15 to 59 years as defined by the Census of India is the most commonly accepted and it clearly indicates that the population below 15 years (0-14 years) is treated as "child". Different Acts under labour laws declare different age criteria but the Factories Act 1948, the Apprentices Act 1961 and the Child Labour Prohibition and Regulation Act

1986 declare 14 years as the upper age limit of a child¹⁴.

Recommendations

The unorganized migrant children Out-of-School, Dropped-out, or Never-enrolled Children

To make right to education a reality for all in India, examining and addressing the issues surrounding migrant children, dropped-out, never enrolled, and Out-of-School children is essential. Here are some key aspects to consider:

1. **Making schooling available in all settings:** Ensuring access to education is crucial for all children, regardless of whether they have dropped out, never been enrolled, or are currently out of school. Efforts should focus on identifying and reaching out to children who are not enrolled or have dropped out and providing them opportunities to enter or re-enter the education system.

2. **Identification of children and enrolment drive** Emphasis should be placed on increasing enrollment rates and ensuring that children stay in school until they complete their education. Strategies should target communities and groups with low enrollment rates, addressing factors such as poverty, gender discrimination, and social barriers that hinder enrollment and retention.

3. **Equity and Inclusion:** Achieving universal school education requires addressing disparities and promoting equity and inclusion. Efforts should focus on marginalized communities, economically disadvantaged families, girls, children with disabilities, and other vulner-

able groups. Particular attention should be given to removing barriers that prevent these children from accessing education.

4. **Quality Education:** Universal school education is not just about enrollment numbers but also the quality of education. Efforts should be made to ensure that children receive high-quality. Improving teaching standards, infrastructure, learning materials, and curriculum relevance is essential to quality education.

5. **Multi-stakeholder Collaboration:** Addressing the challenges related to dropped-out, never enrolled, and Out-of-School children require collaboration among various stakeholders. The Government, educational institutions, civil society organizations, community leaders, parents, and teachers must work together to identify barriers, implement effective interventions, and monitor progress toward achieving universal education.

6. **Implementation Gaps:** Inadequate infrastructure, lack of qualified teachers, and bureaucratic inefficiencies hinder the effective implementation of educational policies and programs.

7. **Strengthening Infrastructure:** Expanding the reach of schools, improving facilities, and providing safe transportation options.

8. **Teacher Training and Recruitment:** Enhancing teacher training programs and ensuring adequate recruitment and retention of qualified teachers.

9. **Article 26 of UHDR:** Massive campaign should be organized to influence UN to amend article 26

so as to make right to education as state responsibility only.

10. **Research and Data:** Ongoing research and data collection are crucial for understanding the factors contributing to the dropout, never enrolled, and out-of-school rates. Regular monitoring and evaluation of programs and policies can provide insights into their effectiveness and guide future interventions.

11. **Regulatory activities:** State should oversee the implementation of RtE 2009 and be responsive towards regulatory role.

12. **Adequate resources:** Adequate resources should be made available for accomplishment of SDG 4 goals within the stipulated time.

* The Author is convener at National Coalition for Education (NCE) India and can be accessed (cosar.lko@gmail.com) (m)+91 7011255324

⁴ Unorganised labour force in India. <https://vikaspedia.in/social-welfare/unorganised-sector-1/categories-of-unorganised-labour-force>. Unorganised labour force in India. <https://vikaspedia.in/social-welfare/unorganised-sector-1/categories-of-unorganised-labour-force>.

⁵ ibid

⁶ Pandey Pooja in voices India, TOI , Always on the move: The troubling landscape of the right to education for migrant children in India, April 19, 2021(Always on the move: The troubling landscape of the right to education for migrant children in India (indiatimes.com))

⁷ Understanding Child Migration in India, Research Brief 2020, Young Lives Research to Policy Centre, UNICEF for every child.

⁸ ibid

⁹ The Human Rights issues related to Right to Education of the children of Migrant Labours in Kerala, National Human Rights commission, Major Research Project, Final Report MANAV ADHIKAR BHAWAN, C-BLOCK, GPO COMPLEX, INA, NEW DELHI - 110023, INDIA November 2018.

¹⁰ ibid

¹¹ ibid

¹² National Education Policy 2020, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Govt of India, New Delhi.

¹³ UNIVERSAL Declaration of Human Rights, United Nation 1948.

¹⁴ UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), UN 1989

The "PROJECT EXTENSION of HUMAN RIGHTS to EDUCATION" invites you to join

a special democratic experience for the humankind



The Project "Extension of Human Rights to Education" has been conceptualized as a COUNCIL. Various social actors involved in the extension of human rights to education will work out different aspects of this matter with the aim of formulating a "Declaration on the Extension of Human Rights to Education" to the UN for voting. The project focuses on Article 26 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights which is to be modified/supplemented in the sense of a progressive enlargement.

The project is designed to take on board concerns of affected and interested parties around the world, and to meet needs that are new or neglected.



Kemal İnal¹
TURKEY

TURKEY'S NEW CURRICULUM A BRIEF CRITICAL EVALUATION

The new curriculum model prepared by the Turkish Ministry of National Education, which applies to all formal levels of education, has been widely discussed by the public². The debates generally focused on a criticism of values education from the left, based on secularist concerns. The new curriculum, which is against secularism, science and civilization, is a religious social engineering project to raise a new Muslim people through a values education that is articulated within the framework of various Islamic concepts. The view of the future in the curriculum was declared “outdated” for allegedly containing a retrospective perspective in the context of a conservative glorification of the past. Here, “era” or “modernity” roughly refers to the values of Western civilization, that is, a universal perspective (a perspective that transcends all national, local and ethnic affiliations). The leftist public opinion actually placed the new curriculum in an anti-Western category, claiming that instead of this universal scope, it contained a narrow perspective based on Islamic values. Here, the West is actually understood as a line expressed by many other sociological concepts (universality, modernism, secularism, human rights, pluralism, multiculturalism, etc.). In this context education is seen as a “line of resistance” against the Western world, and it is used as an Althusserian ideological state apparatus and put to work as a comprehensive Islamic social engineering tool. In a sense, this can be interpreted in the context of Samuel Huntington's “clash of civilizations” as a “clash of culture”, which refers to Islam's war against the West, primarily using religious symbols (the crescent's war against the crusader). AKP (which can be read as Erdoğan), in its first new curriculum two years after coming to power in 2002, envisioned education as a line of ideological resistance against any threat from the West. Thus, in the “national education system” (basic education), which was treated as a “flagpole” (the symbol of Turkish nationalism), the thick part of the flagpole which is closer to the ground/soil symbolized primary education, which would be resistant to the winds of globalization. The Islamic and Turkish nationalist values education was to take place in this very first part. The

upper parts of the flagpole would be thinner, making it less vulnerable to global winds and therefore more flexible. In other words, the lower part of the flagpole would be more of an ideological education zone, while the upper part of the flagpole would be a zone for higher education (universities, scientific studies, etc.) open to the world.

However, in the 2024 curriculum, the old metaphor was changed and the flagpole was replaced by a “rooted tree”. The main point in the metaphor of the “rooted tree”, so beloved by conservatives and nationalists, was that the roots of the tree, the Islamic-national values, were grounded on Turkish soil. Accordingly, all technical aspects of the primary and secondary curriculum (knowledge, skills, abilities, technology, various qualifications, etc.) were to be based on these values. This meant that the technique of the West would be overlaid on Islamic values, but this was not a synthesis or hybridization, but rather the establishment of Western civilization on Islamic values. In this context, the fact that Islamic values, in the form of roots, foundations and so-



Wikimedia Commons: Osman Hamdi Bey - The Tortoise Trainer - Google Art Project.jpg

lidity, are embedded on the soil of Turkey/Anatolia is considered as a trait or virtue, applauded and transferred to the curriculum as a form of social engineering. Even though a bridge is being built between the technical reason of the West (rationalization) and the deep insight-based imagination of Islam (spirituality), this bridge is actually an instrumentalization rather than a dialogue, interaction and cooperation: The virtues of the West (human rights, technology, technical intelligence, rationality, etc.) are both underestimated and instrumentalized as they do not contain any essence, value or virtue. So there is a cultural reflex here that dates back to the Ottoman Empire. In this view, the salvation for an increasingly weakened Islamic/Ottoman/Turkey is to return to its essence in a more authentic manner, to preserve its old identity and to preserve its past values. This tendency, clearly visible in the background of the new curriculum, in fact contains a so-called “prescription for salvation” after the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the collapse of Turkey under Erdoğan in every field. The belief that Turkey can be saved by returning to Islam and religious values leads to education being treated as an Islamic ideological state apparatus rather than a rational pedagogy. For official education to encircle the civilian sphere, education must play a role as the ideological apparatus of a statist Islam.

During Erdoğan's administration, since 2002, many policies such as increasing the number of religion lessons from one to four, removing Darwin's theory of evolution from the curriculum and textbooks, selecting all school administrators from among graduates of religious faculties, opening religious mosques in every (secular) school, and introducing the teaching of religious values at all levels of education have been significant strikes against the secular character of education. The new curriculum seeks to further reinforce anti-secular education in the context of Islamic social engineering and the raising of conservative generations. Erdoğan's government has failed to respond to Turkey's social and economic crises by improving democracy, law and the economy, and has chosen to respond

to the material crisis with a spiritual solution, namely the spread of Islam in education like an octopus. It is very meaningful that the new curriculum is referred to with an old/Ottoman term like “*maarif*”. The term “*Maarif*” is based on a traditional understanding of upbringing that does not accept the concept of the ‘modern individual’ as it is ‘wise human’, that is, ‘Muslim human’. Seeing the state/government, the imam, the authoritarian father, and increasingly the main guide, God, as the basic education within a paternalistic philosophy indicates a move against the emancipation of the individual. Therefore, the new curriculum does not aim at the freedom of the individual, but at the upbringing of the (religious) believer. The national education system, which is assigned the task of raising a “religious generation”, does not accept the category of citizen, a product of the Enlightenment, for being based on universal, that is, rootless and contextless values. The citizen is a concept of the modern individual who prioritizes his/her emancipation. The opposite of this is the “believer”, the obedient person. Therefore, a believer-based spirituality criticizes citizen-based materialism as rootless, atheistic and corrupt.

In conclusion, the religion-oriented references in the new curriculum represent a culture war against secular education. In this context, education has lost its liberating characteristic and has been reduced to the tool of Islamic social engineering that emphasizes obedience, allegiance and conformity. Using the metaphor of a tree and basing all knowledge, skills and abilities on Islamic values indicates that the aim of the new curriculum is not education but Islamization.

¹ Affiliated Researcher at Helmut Schmidt University, Hamburg

² I participated in these debates with a long report on the new curriculum. You can find this report as a book chapter in my new publication: Kemal İnal, *Capitalist Curriculum. Criticism of the Education Policies of AKP*, Ankara, Töz Yayınları, 2024.

Joana D'arc Silva

International Relations Student, State University of Paraíba (UEPB), joanadarcilva12357@gmail.com

Lara Souza Vidal De Negreiros

International Relations Student, State University of Paraíba (UEPB), laraSvidall@gmail.com

RELOCATION OF THE UN AND REFORM OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL

AN OPINION ARTICLE



The United Nations Charter is intended to serve as a forum responsible for international order, committed to upholding the fundamental principles that govern sovereign states. Its purpose is to transcend legal norms, representing a manifesto of hope and commitment to peace, security, and global cooperation. However, when we observe recent history and the actions of the United States on the global stage, we are confronted with a disturbing irony that calls for reflection and critical analysis.

Geopolitical reality reveals an alarming contradiction. The United States, one of the world's leading powers and a founding member of the UN, has a history marked by military interventions, wars, and geopolitical interests that often clash with the purposes enshrined in the United Nations Charter. It is ironic that the U.S. presents itself as a defender of peace and global stability, yet is often perceived as a protagonist in conflicts around the world. From interventions in the Middle East to disputes in Latin America and the African continent, U.S. military presence is frequently seen as a projection of

power and influence, largely misaligned with the universal values of peace and justice.

It is indeed true that since 2001, the American government has promoted the War on Terror in the Middle East with the aim of controlling the region and its resources. In doing so, the Americans have led numerous interventions in the region. These invasions ignored the underlying causes of terrorism, resulting in significant human losses and substantial costs to society. Furthermore, it is imperative to remember that during the Cold War, it was the U.S. that trained and equipped the Taliban terrorist group, as it was in American interests to enable the local population to fight against the Soviets, who at one point occupied Afghanistan. Due to this, it is necessary to put the U.S.'s participation in various international conflicts over time into question and to assess whether there is coherence between its actions and the UN's purposes. Can a state that generates so many conflicts be honored as the headquarters of the world's largest organization for peace and cooperation?

The role of the UN in international relations has always been highlighted for its multifaceted nature and for what is expected of it. Since its inception, the organization has not experienced prolonged periods of stability. Institutionalized during wartime, and with the objective of maintaining international peace, the UN faces criticism regarding the imposition of Western values and norms. Often, its political initiatives are influenced by the objective of promoting Western values, such as liberal democracy and free markets, without taking into account the cultural diversities and different realities of various regions.

Additionally, the United Nations Security Council, composed of the U.S., Russia, the United Kingdom, France, and China, defines the rules of the game for the UN and is considered the most powerful body in the international system. It was created to serve the post-Cold War scenarios, that is, it was created in an international context that no longer accommodates the current global landscape. The UNSC is an example of how the bodies within the UN were institutionalized with objectives

aligned with the power game, aiming to continue the global dynamic wherein the permanent states dominate global economic and political mechanisms, with the intent to impose models of democracy on other countries without considering local relativities.

Finally, we reaffirm our full support for the study and dedication to the relocation of the UN, a project that should be considered with greater relevance. Moreover, we emphasize the importance of potentially relocating the UN to marginalized regions. Establishing the UN headquarters in countries on the African continent, in South America, or even in Asia, would have a profound impact on the history of the organization as an essential actor in the international arena, and in fulfilling its objectives of peace, security, and global cooperation. Additionally, the physical presence of the UN in these regions would significantly impact societies by enhancing the perception of different global realities and increasing visibility for potential solutions to controversies.

GAZA & ANTIOCHIA SISTER CITIES

FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EXISTENCE OF TWO
ANCIENT CITIES DESTROYED BY HUMAN HANDS [AN IDEA]

GAZA & ANTIOCHIA SISTER CITIES

FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EXISTENCE OF TWO
ANCIENT CITIES DESTROYED BY HUMAN HANDS

[AN IDEA]

GAZA Y JOHANNESBURGO CIUDADES HERMANAS

POR LA RESISTENCIA DE LAS DOS CIUDADES EN LA
LUCHA CONTRA EL CHOVINISMO SIN FRONTERAS

[UNA IDEA]

GAZZE ve FINDIKLI KARDEŞ ŞEHİRLER

İNSANLIK ONURUNUN DİRENİŞİ İÇİN
İKİ ŞEHİRİN DAYANIŞMASI

[BİR FİKİR]

GAZA Y GUANTANAMO CIUDADES HERMANAS

Cultivo una rosa blanca, En julio como en enero, Para
el amigo sincero, Que me da su mano franca.

[UNA IDEA]

انطاكية-غزة المدن الشقيقة (حملة)