G.N. FILONOV (USSR)

EDUCATING YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE SPIRIT AND IDEAS OF INTERNATIONALISM AND PEACE

The present stage of development of the socialist world system and the international working-class and youth movement provides convincing proof of the vitality of the idea of socialist internationalism. Public ownership of the means of production, scientific management of socio-economic life, the politically and ideologically unanimous way the workers support the communist and workers' parties, the comprehensive development of the people's social activities, the rise in material prosperity and the cultural standard are becoming decisive factors in promoting an almost completely international way of public life for socialism.

This applies particularly to the Soviet Union itself, within whose boundaries a large number of different nationalities live together. "The more vigorous the social and economic development of each of our national republics is", said L.J. Brezhnev in his speech on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the USSR "the more evident the process of internationalisation of our whole way of life will become. Take, for example, the rapidly growing Soviet-Kazakhstan. Besides the Kazakhs, there are millions of Russians, several hundred thousand Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Belorussians etc. The cultural life of Kazakhstan is growing and being enriched, thanks to the fact that it absorbs the best from Russian, Ukrainian, and other cultures. Is this good or bad? We communists will reply with conviction: it is good, very good!"

The dynamic and therefore complex process of internationalisation comprises extremely varied forms. Specialisation and cooperation in production create the conditions required for a true division of labour throughout the entire country and it is this that guarantees the successful development of the whole of the socialist economy. The forms of communication and links between the nations are made all the more diverse by the mutual exchange of material and cultural assets and of specialist personnel. What also becomes evident is the rapprochement of the nations, the evolution of common features and traditions, while each nation continues to develop its own progressive traditions and cultural values.

The invigorating force of internationalism is embodied in the joint, creative efforts of the working population of all the Union Republics and Autonomous Republics, in the

self-sacrificing work of the Soviet people in the various fields of economic and cultural development. The continuous growth of the economic potentiality and the boom in science and culture of every single republic provides a real basis for the union of the working populations of every nationality through their having the same goals, the same interests and the same ideas. As practical experience has shown, the fixing of these ideas in people's minds, the establishing of deep internationalist convictions promotes the workers' activities and social responsibility for the punctual fulfilment of industrial orders and of socialist commitments, the growth of productivity and the optimum use of the country's reserves in order to guarantee a general boom in the rate of socialist production and to perfect its organisation and technology.

Our socialist society is free of class and national antagonism. Strengthening its social uniformity by upholding the leading role of the working class means that new possibilities arise for developing the international awareness of the Soviet people of its being a new community in the history of the world. Rooted in the solid foundation of Marxist-Leninist ideology, of a uniform way of socialist life and of broadly based international cooperation, the workers of every nationality are able to demonstrate through the concrete results of their work the high degree of their socialist awareness - an awareness permeated by a deep realisation that they are participating in the task of creating a communist society. Some of the features which characterise the spirit of the true socialist are his concern for the interests of his native country, his ability to sacrifice his own interests to those of society, his irreconcilable attitude towards national and racial prejudice, the international class solidarity he feels with the workers of other countries, his active support of their attempts to defend peace and democracy.

All these features together can be regarded as characteristic of the nationalities and peoples in our country. This fact indicates that the international awareness of the working population in general and of youth in particular, has attained a qualitatively new level, on which the ideals of internationalism have become deeply ingrained and are now embodied in the practical activities of millions of working people in the socialist countries. "Does it not seem strange and marvellous", writes A. El'vel't, a worker in the excavator factory in Tallinn, "when one realises that one's own work is needed both locally and in distant parts of the country and that one is being helped in one's work by friends here and far away? How broad the term native country becomes when one knows one has brethren and friends who live hundreds and thousands of miles away."

The socialist society strives continually to increase its material prosperity, to improve the cultural life of its people and to raise the level of education of young people. For socialist countries to accomplish these vitally important tasks of socialism means they are fulfilling their international obligations. In this respect, much of what was laid down in the directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU has already been carried out.

In the years 1971 and 1972 about 4.5 million flats were built in the towns and villages. We should mention here that during the last decade some 110 million Soviet citizens have moved into new accomodation. Expenditure for improving welfare facilities for mothers and children has been increased again and again in our country. Each year about one and a half million rubels are spent on maternity allowances, on child maintenance and on subsidising unmarried mothers and families with many children. Mothers are granted paid maternity leave before and after delivery, as well as additional unpaid leave every year. They retain their previous jobs and there is no break in their earnings based on length of service. Besides this, they can claim various subsidies and special services, and can use sanatoriums or health resorts free of charge.

Some 10 million children are being brought up in our country's pre-school institutions. If one recalls that the parents pay 94 rubels p.a. for a nursery school place and 78 rubels for a creche place it becomes obvious that the state pays most of the maintenance costs. In 1972 alone, some 5 billion rubels were spent on this, as well as on maintaining children in pioneer camps, children's homes and other institutions for out-of-school activities. In the same year state expenditure on maintaining schools of general education and boarding schools amounted to over 7 billion rubels.

The essentially international policy of the socialist state guarantees every young person, whatever his nationality or race, the opportunity to receive full secondary education. In the fifty years since the foundation of the Soviet multi-national state there have been decisive changes in the quality of the education of our peoples. Dozens of nations and nationalities have jumped from a state of complete illiteracy to a truly flourishing primary, secondary and further education. This can also be vividly demonstrated by reviewing the statistics. In the two decades preceding the last war 60 million illiterates received instruction, while in the last twenty years 71 million people have finished the incomplete secondary school and 32 million the complete secondary school. In the fifty-five years of Soviet Power 16 million people have received specialised secondary education and 10 million a university education. Teaching is done in the mother tongue of whichever nationality is being taught. The overall number of pupils attending general secondary schools has risen by at least one fifth

during the years of Soviet Power and there are now at least 46 times as many pupils in the 5th to 10th (11th) classes!

Just recently the Communist Party and the Soviet Government have laid down concrete ways of achieving the final transition to full secondary education for all young people. To promote this, particular emphasis is being laid on developing and expanding the general secondary school as a polytechnical labour school, the main type of school at which young people are to receive secondary education; plans have also been made to decisively improve the work of evening, shift and correspondence secondary schools, to create the conditions necessary for providing secondary education for young people already in employment and to guarantee a high level of general education in the secondary professional-technical schools and secondary specialized schools.

In the struggle to attain the ideals of peace and social progress the world youth movement has an increasingly important role to play. The active participation of young men and women at world festivals, their work in the movements supporting revolutionary Cuba and the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam, their condemnation of the attempts of reactionary circles in many countries to place obstacles in the way of social progress - this is all convincing proof of the growing resoluteness with which the progressive youth of this world, and in particular the younger generation of the countries of the socialist community, are challenging the forces of aggression and reaction and actively defending the principles of peaceful coexistence, friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the world. The Xth World Youth and Students' Festival in Berlin has demonstrated afresh quite clearly the unity and indivisibility of the youth movement, passing the torch of peace and friendship on to the 1973 Universiad in Moscow.

The meeting of the world's youth was overwhelmingly successful. It was all the more significant as it took place on the eve of an extremely important occasion, the World Congress of Peace Loving Forces in Moscow. "In the course of the incomparably widespread struggle of the nations of the world for clear, peaceful skies over our planet", said P.M. Masherov, first secretary to the C.C. of the Communist Party of Belorussia, "the young generation has produced a large number of brave and steadfast defenders of the cause of peace and social justice. In this struggle youth has been gaining maturity and acquiring political and moral experience, and it has also been learning the lessons of class struggle and internationalism."

True to the ideals of internationalism, peace and friendship among nations the young Soviet generation has been making a considerable contribution to the implementation of the peace programme evolved by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. Hand in hand with the older generation young people are working steadily to increase the economic and cultural capacity of the highly developed socialist society. They have concentrated their gifts and creative talents on the main spheres of scientific and technical progress, on increasing productivity and on envigorating the economy. Thanks to key work done by the Komsomolites, a large number of construction sites have been set up for vast industrial projects under the ninth five year plan. Truly heroic work is characteristic of the young constructors of the enormous hydroelectric power stations on the Angara and the Yenisei, of the founders of the mighty chemical works in Mogilev and Novopolotsk, the petroleum town on the Pripyat and many other projects of immense economic importance. Youth's desire for innovation and its enthusiasm, its own particular patriotism and its deep realisation of its international obligations help every young person to scale the heights of modern knowledge and ideological maturity, and to contribute befittingly to the common cause of the struggle for peace and social progress.

The future of this world of ours depends to a large extent on educating the young generation in the spirit and ideas of socialist internationalism and peace. Aware of the historical necessity of this task the Communist Party and the Soviet State, the educational institutions, the children's and youth organisations all constantly devote their attention to educating young people for internationalism. In socialist schools this is done by integrating it with all aspects of the teaching process. Even today the words of that significant educator, N.K. Krupskaya, have lost none of their relevance: "International education should be a concern of daily life and not merely limited to international meetings and special occasions. The whole work of education should in fact be pervaded by it."

In the process of school instruction the pupils acquire knowledge about the nationality policy of the socialist state as well as a deep understanding of the principles of socialist internationalism. In school, in extra-curricular activities and in the Pioneer and Komsomol organisation pupils are shown how the Socialist October Revolution, under the leadership of the Bolshevist Party, represented the greatest international achievement ever. For the first time in history the chain of imperialism was broken, the basis for the first socialist state in the world was created and all over the world the conditions of the workers' struggle for freedom were radically changed. The very first mother country of the working man became the stronghold of the world's revolutionary process, a vast economic power which supports the

development of national, anti-imperialist movements.

The work of the Pioneer Organisation (for children) and the Komsomol Organisation (for adolescents) plays an important role in the system of the international education of children and young people. The All-Union V.I. Lenin Pioneer Organisation unites in its ranks about 26 million children and is at present working in conjunction with children's organisations in more than 80 countries. It actively participates in international actions and campaigns to protect peace, and it educates children in the spirit of internationalism, of fraternal solidarity and friendship between peoples, of class hatred of the enemies of peace, as well as in the spirit of social justice. During the period they have been in existence, Soviet schools and the children's organisations have acquired considerable experience in the sphere of international education. One of the numerous examples of this is the experience of the 21st school in Moscow. Bonds of friendship link the pupils of this school with 21st schools of other towns, not only in the Soviet Union but also in the socialist countries, e.g. in Berlin. The children know a lot about their friends in the other 21st schools; they learn about each other, they share their experiences and help one another. After the earthquake the 21st school in Tashkent received parcels from 21st school in various towns of the Soviet Union, including Moscow. The Pioneers and Komsomolites sent their friends in Tashkent money they had earnt by working in the country. Such efforts provide opportunities for developing creative, progressive types of work in as many educational collectives and Pioneer groups as possible, no matter in what district, town or republic they are situated, and thus contribute to the cause of international education.

In the last few years many new forms and methods of international education have been developed. Many schools have a collective membership in the Friendship Associations of various countries. Some schools have "museums" and corners devoted to international friendship. In Moscow, for instance, there are museums such as the "Young Anti-Fascist", "The Storm Bells of Buchenwald", "Venezuela's Struggle". The contents of the museums and their extensive correspondence have a powerful influence on education, promoting the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship among the nations. The Pioneers in the USSR have received a reply to their letter to Gustavo Machiro, Secretary of the Communist Party of Venezuela, who writes from prison, "Dear Pioneers, Your letter has made me very happy ... Long years of fighting, exile and prison have taught us to appreciate human solidarity and, more particularly, international solidarity. And, although there is a big difference in ages between the Pioneers of your country and us political prisoners, that does not prevent us from saying: Up with peace and happiness on earth. Up with friendship between all children in the world."

The All-Union Pioneer rally "Always prepared" and one of its routes under the motto "Peace and Solidarity" are components of the world campaign "Youth unmasks Imperialism" and they have become an important stimulus for developing international work and educating children for feelings of friendship and solidarity. The Pioneers who follow this "route" react to world events with lively interest, learn about the struggles of foreign children of their own age and, together with adults, participate in campaigns supporting other nations in their legitimate struggle against imperialism. There is no international event, whatever its significance, to which the children would not act appropriately. An example of this are the political mass demonstrations demanding freedom for Angela Davis and the end of the war in Vietnam, which is now constructing a life in peace.

Clubs of international friendship have become the most widespread form of international education. They have important tasks to fulfill; they acquaint the children with the international traditions of the Soviet people and with the lives and struggle of outstanding representatives of the international and communist movements and of famous champions of peace. They know of the valorous deeds of young anti-fascists and study the heroic acts of their fellow-country men who have taken part in freeing the peoples of Europe from the fascist yoke. The clubs reconstruct the course of these deeds, thus adding new aspects to the annals of friendship of many republics and countries.

Other important ways of promoting international education are political studies and socially useful work. All that is undertaken in this direction helps to form a class-conscious approach when evaluating international events, convinces the young generation of the absolute necessity of international solidarity among the workers, develops the feelings of friendship and respect for people of all nationalities and also teaches young people to be intolerant of the enemies of peace and socialism.

Efficient ways of achieving this are: political fact-spreading, various types of work on children's newspapers and magazines, the use of slides, films, radio and television broadcasts, the organisation of meetings and demonstrations, discussions, talks, conventions. This work develops the child's interest in socio-political events and in the international policy of the Soviet state, as well as increasing the Pioneers' and Komsomolites'engangement in international work.

In numerous schools in our country so-called universities and schools of young internationalists have become extremely popular among older Pioneers and Komsomolites. In lectures and seminars teachers assist the students of these "universities" in studying questions of home and foreign policy of

the USSR and countries abroad, problems of economic relationships among the countries of the socialist community, and questions of the international youth movement. The students of the University of the Municipal Pioneer and Student Palace in Moscow took an active part in the celebrations held on the 25th anniversary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and took the initiative in collecting for New Year presents for children of political prisoners in Greece, Spain and Portugal. However, youth's political convictions are not only formed by acquiring knowledge of political affairs.

The task is far more a matter of combining this work with the organisation of practical international activities for young people. In the last few years the youth organisations of the USSR have sent material aid to Vietnam to the value of many hundred thousands of rubels: medicine, school and sport equipment. The action "Medicine from nature's chemist for the children's hospital in Hanoi" was enthusiastically supported by the Pioneers. Pioneers and school children from many towns and villages collected hundreds of pounds of medicinal herbs, mushrooms and berries, hold sponsored concerts and sent the money to the peace fund.

The enormous capacity for change, which is so characteristic of the ideas of internationalism and peace, is clearly manifested in the socialist nature of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State. "It is directed towards creating favourable external conditions for the construction of communism in our country", said M.A. Suslov in his speech on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the 2nd Congress of the RSDLP, "as well as towards consolidating the fraternal unity of the countries of the socialist community, supporting the working class movement and the national liberation movement and strengthening peace, the safety of all nations and the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social orders."

The strengthening of the fraternal alliance of the countries of the socialist community has been a remarkable achievement. In its attempts to consolidate this alliance the Communist Party has been consequent in exercising a truly international policy by increasingly integrating the socialist countries economically and by ensuring all members have equal rights. This had met with genuine understanding and full-hearted support in the countries of the socialist community."Without the slightest exaggeration", writes Comrade E. Gierek, First Secretary of the C.C. of the Polish United Workers' Party, "we can say that our friendship with the USSR, our fraternal feelings for the Soviet people are now elements in the awareness of our people and in our modern Polish socialist patriotism that we cannot imagine being without. These feelings are firmly

established in the minds of Polish workers and we shall continue to develop them."

The implementation of the peace programme drawn up by the 24th Congress of the CPSU is stressed by numerous important facts of foreign policy carried out by the Party and the Soviet State. Amongst these, the visits of the General Secretary of the C.C. of the CPSU, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, to the Federal Republic of Germany, to the U.S.A. and to France rank particularly high, as they are convincing proof of the great success of the policy of peaceful coexistence, an expression of its decisive and increasingly positive influence on the development of international life.

The humanist ideas and the high-minded goals of the peace programme comply with the interests of the Soviet people and the expectations of the whole of progressive mankind. There is no doubt whatsoever that success in the struggle for peace and the international solidarity of all workers will depend to a large extent on the young generation, on its perseverance and creative energy in engineering the most favourable conditions possible for a complete triumph of the ideals of peace and social progress.

SUGATA DASGUPTA (India)

EDUCATION FOR A NON-VIOLENT SOCIETY

I

System maintenance has been the main function of education. It is true that this important social institution has many publicly listed purposes. But its foremost concern has been the perpetuation of a society and the reinforcement of its structure and role. To the extent that such a society has been concerned with the preservation of peace and with the development of the general well being of all its members, education has naturally contributed to the process.

Even a most 'non' doctrinnaire approach to the understanding of society would,however,reveal that the latter's primary function has been different. Its priorities were neither the 'people' nor their 'welfare'. On the contrary until now it has been the creation of an elite ruling class and a pyramidal structure of relationships among its members. Naturally,peace for a few and the perpetuation of a continuous state of peacelessness 1) for others have been the society's main concern. Despite the fact that human civilisation has passed through multifarious stages of evolution, this central ethos has remained unchanged. Bureaucracy, industry, meritocracy, modern science, managerial system, army and such ennobling ideals like democracy, nationalism, peace socialism,and planned development have all contributed to the process.

Education which helps people to accept this system thus in fact also helps the relentless perpetuation of an oppressive social set-up, one that militates against the development of the individual. Exploitation of the masses, the dominance of a minority over the great many and also the concentration of power and profit in a few hands provide its essence. It is not necessary to subscribe to any formal 'ism'

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1) For a fuller treatment of the subject see Sugata Dasgupta "PEACELESSNESS AND MALDEVELOPMENT", published in International Peace Research Association Proceedings, Vol. II: Poverty Development and Peace, Netherland; Koinklijke Van Gorcum and Company, 1968.

"India, as many other countries of Asia, had in fact known of wars before their independence. Yet, the fact remains that the people of the States of the Eastern World have never been in peace . Far from it, poverty, both economic and psychological, predominance of traditional stereotypes of economic and institutional framework

to understand this basic exploitative character of the society. Gandhi calls this schema 2) of exploitation 'violence' and finds that the society, both in history as well as in the contemporary period, has always been violent. 'Domination' is its central theme and exploitation of men by men, of women by men, of the weak by the strong, of the age and sex groups by each other , of men by systems and of the systems by men its main ethos. If the society thus represents a linear mode of stratification, education more than wealth provides its main lever. In the ancient society as well as in the modern, in the developing countries as well as in the developed, education has thus always served the interests of an exploitative social class.

II

The roots of such a society can be found everywhere. Histories of all cultures and continents of the world in fact testify that systematic violence is not of recent

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had always made life in this part of the world peaceless; 'nasty, brutish and short'. Although the wars were infrequent in the East, there was at the same time no peace at all for the vast masses of its people. The nearest definition of the state of life from which they suffered could only be described by the new term, I choose to use namely, the concept of "Peacelessness". The horrors of life and the dimensions of peacelessness in a country where average per capita expenditure for quite a large section of population is six annas a day (1/20 of a dollar) can hardly be imagined.

2) For a fuller treatment of the theme see Sugata Dasguta's THE REAL THEME: The Seminar (October 1969) New Delhi, and FOR THE PACIFISTS by M.K. Gandhi (The Introduction) Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa (The Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad).

origin but has existed all throughout the ages. Yet nowhere has it probably been so evident, so early in the day, as in India in the evolution of an extremely well-developed and sophisticated elite framework. The establishment of a Brahminical order in India provides the beginning in recorded history of that early exploitative society of pyramidal shape 3). An Italian traveller reporting his experiences in an Indian village a few years ago provides the proof. He writes that he had met a Brahmin 'Pandit' in an Indian village. "What is a Solar Eclipse?" the traveller had asked the Pandit. The Brahmin gave him a scientific explanation, one that the traveller has recorded and still remains valid and authentic as of this day. But something interesting happened thereafter. A layman , a worker, a black untouchable, came to the Pandit and put him the very same question "Pray, tell me what is a Solar Eclipse". The reply was ready, "A demon called Rahu" said the Pandit "eats up the Sun God". As the man lefts, contended with the answer , the bewildered traveller enquired of the Brahmin, which of the two theories he propounded was true and why he had a different theory for each of them. The Pandit replied without any hesitation. "The one that I have given you is the real explanation; the other is not. Knowledge is not for all, and that is why there is a different theory for the common man".

In ancient India, when a woman or an untouchable had dared to read the "Vedas" 4) the punishment was severe. It was to 'pour' melted metal in their ears. Only a few, the Brahmin by caste, were to hold the key to knowledge : no others were entitled to it. For knowledge was power and so was the knowledgeable, the Brahmin, who was even to control the king and the state. If the rational of society in ancient India was thus provided by the Brahminic mould, the same holds good even today all over the world.

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3) Vide:"Caste Class and Occupation" by G.S.Ghurye - Popular Book Depot, Bombay 7, Chapters III & IV for a fuller understanding of the significance, structure and function of Caste system which provides the mould of the Brahminical order. The Brahmin as a hereditary self perpetuating group was at the apex of the society and 'Sudra' at the base. The Brahmin is the ruler who, according to Manu, the law giver; is the lord of the whole creation' (page 88) 'The whole world is his property' . As compared to this the Sudra is a non-person in society. According to Kautilya 'A Sudra calling himself a Brahmin shall have his eyes destroyed by poison. If he defiles a Brahmin woman he shall be burnt to death (page 90)."

4) The early Aryan religious book of verses providing the terms of reference of Hindu religion.

Education in the Third World is thus used not only as an exercise in pyramid climbing but for raising the class 'stature' of all those who belong to the lower rungs. They take to education in search of prestigious jobs and for entry to emerge ,'elite' subsystems comprising the upper 'class caste' strata of the respective countries 5). The school has, thus, at once been a ladder for social mobility and for social desintegration. All in all, education has been a disquieting experience,often leading to the creation of a 'neo-colonial' class of decision-makers in the Third World. Thanks to education, politics and money they thus succeeded in stepping into the positions of the former rulers 6) who had been forced to give up their colonies, for the reasons that are repeated again.

Not that these facts are not known. Even so their full implications are often forgotten. This is due to a growing feeling that the results of education listed above are really the products of underdevelopment and not so much of the system of education. The contention is that the disabilities will disappear in course of time as the standard of living of the Third World rises. How fallacious the assumption is will be clear to all those who care to look at the countries and regions where development is taking place in rapid strides. It has, in fact, been the finding of the 'development decade' that throughout the Third World the gains of growth have been eaten up by a few and that the two reasons for this great human catastrophe are provided by the type of technology and the pattern of education that development needs. The role of education has thus been no more glorious in developing societies than in the poor countries.

It is a well known fact that these nations live in two cultures - one of the developed elite; the other of the so-called underdeveloped masses. One is educated in the formal sense of the term;the other is not. Consequently,there is often very little communication between the two and very little communication of interests. The developing nations are in fact facing serious internal crises today as the two groups stand poised for a bitter show down. Education has indeed been dysfunctional to development, dysfunctional to the growth of an equitable society and dysfunctional to the emergence of a peaceful order.

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5) As an award the Indian Penal code provides a higher and more comfortable class of custody for a convict with a B.A. degree.

6) For a fuller treatment of the theme see Guy Hunter's "Modernising Peasant Societies" O.U.P. pages 24o - 259 the chapter on education.

If this is the situation in the developing countries, it will be wrong to think that the developed societies do not follow a similar pattern. In Great Britain, for example, education still helps to tilt the balance in favor of an elite society. Only 16% of the people go for higher education, and out of these 80% come from the non-working classes 7) . Universal literacy was similarly introduced in Great Britain to serve the interests of the rich elite. It came first in the factory where the worker was to be made literate in order to ensure that the writ of management could reach all the workers quickly through wall posters and notices. Universal literacy, unlike universal suffrage, thus came to Britain primarily for stepping up production and not so much for the purpose of enlightenment. The main function of education, even in that early day, was thus to help serve the interests of the capitalist producer who owned the industry (even now one per cent of people in Great Britain controls 45 per cent of capital). Naturally the plans for universal education, of which literacy provides the base, were never taken up seriously in the U.K. Although 98% of people in Great Britain are thus formally declared as literate, 80% of them can only read banner headlines.

British society, consequently, still comprises several classes of people who are the products of different school systems e.g. Public Schools, Grammar Schools, Comprehensive Schools, etc. Since 77% of people in Great Britain give up education at the age of 18, the handful of those who go to the universities certainly form a separate coterie. They occupy prestigious positions, wield power as decision-makers and determine the destiny of the masses, not so well educated or knowledgeable. As with developing societies so with the developed: it is the handful of the educated that wield the real power everywhere. I will explain what I mean.

There was a time when the feudal lords and the army ruled all lands. Then, with the rise of capitalism, the businessmen came to occupy positions of real power. Gradually the emphasis changes and as technological society rises from the ashes of its predecessor, new power groups come to the forefront. A technological society requires an army of trained manpower and specialists of various types to run it smoothly. Those who have had the benefit not only of higher education but also of specialised knowledge and skills then became all powerful. A Kissinger is thus important in the White House, not only because he is an intellectual himself but because he can influence a large number of others in favor of State action. Many of

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7) Vide: Urban Studies (U.K.) Volume 6 No.3, Nov. 1969 Trends of Urban Change: Oliver & Boyd Ltd. and Rudolf Kin on "Education" in Observer 29th March 1970.

the 3500 8) full professors in Italy acclaimed as 'barons of the lecture halls' still control the Italian Parliament in their respective fields of interest . It is the intellectual elite at New Delhi especially the economists of a particular school, who, together with the professional politician hold the real key to power in India. Prime Ministers in all countries have thus increasingly to depend on the intellectuals of their choice in matters of policy - making and government. Since specialised knowledge is so crucial today - it is the knowledgeable and especially all those who are coopted in administration that wield the real power in the world.

IV

Monopoly of knowledge - a monopoly that apparently seems so harmless - is thus as dangerous as the much-decried monopoly of wealth and rank. What is worse is that a small coterie of people who hold this monopoly know well that they owe all their power to the specialised knowledge they claim to possess. Accordingly, one makes every effort to preserve the prerogative. As mass-education programs develop , especially in welfare states and communist countries, and the special status of the 'knowledge' monopolists seem to be threatened, the efforts for self-preservation become all the more pathetic. This is revealed by the development of extreme forms of specialisation in every branch of knowledge, be it social sciences, literature, or painting. The purpose is to make any explanation unintelligible and make the common man the 'Sudra' of the day. Development of ridiculous jargons by twists of languages otherwise simple provides the device for it. Poems, short stories, and paintings also similarly assume forms and structures that become more and more abstract. This obscurantist development of knowledge is a conscious attempt to retain a monopoly that helps the perpetuation of inequality, inequity and violence in social structure.

Simultaneously the practice spreads 'uneducation'. All those who are well educated by all known standards but have no specialised knowledge of any discipline are now declared 'uneducated'. Naturally the new 'uneducated', ignorant of the complexities of the specialised branches of knowledge, are not to be trusted with any decision-making role in production, politics and society. They have therefore to conform to the 'ruling' of the coterie. Norms, mores, rules, ways of social living are thus all tailored by the leaders of the society who keep their 'mantras' 9) and the 'formulae' as hidden preserves. While this happens, extreme forms of specialization naturally keep its recipients confined to grooves. The narrow limits of their knowledge lead to a blunting of natural intelligence. It damages intuitive capacities and curbs rational faculties. Education is therefore destructive in two ways. It destroys

8) Vide: Herald Tribune (International) Saturday-Sunday

those whom it is denied, it destroys those whom it reaches.

V

The dysfunctionality of such a system is clear today. It has indeed led to considerable rethinking about education. One idea has been a call for linking education to employment. The concept keeps a two-fold function of education in view. First of all such a view of "education" declares all those who are "uneducated" as unemployable (Vide the recent call of the Sweepers' and Scavangers' Union of New York Municipality not to allow any person to be recruited as a sweeper unless he possesses a school leaving certificate and the decision of the Tagore University Santiniketan, taken sometimes back not to allow anyone to take a course in painting unless he has a similar certificate), and consequently creates a vast number of unemployed. The other prescribes that the educated must have the first claim on employment, that is, a preference over all those who do not belong to the "caste" of the "educated". But such a philosophy is self-defeating; the point of destruction is reached when the rank of all those who seek education swells and education, because of the huge explosion, fails to offer employment even to those who are "educated".

This formula of linking education to employment and its natural failure to produce results has led to serious violence on the campus. The increasing volume of educational explosion has however made it evident that education can no longer be the sole criterion for employment. It is also clear that providing employment to all those who are not educated or are half-educated, in the technical sense of the term, will have to receive as much priority.

The students, the clients of education, have thus, due to its lamentable failure, become totally disillusioned with the system itself. Agitating for a thorough change in the scheme of things which vests all control and 'power' only in a few and doles out some 'jobs' to others, the students of the West are now on warpath. In the Third World, as in India for example, the students who go for higher education have likewise reacted adversely to the system. Discovering that education can no longer offer security, they seem to have decided to ignore it altogether . Their chief concern now is for political power which alone, they think, can provide recognition and affluence to them and strengthen their position in the elite framework. All in all, the system that education maintains, the consequences that it leads to, spills much blood and leads to much violence. Such an endeavour can verily be called 'education for violence' - using the term violence both in its literal sense as also in the man-

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9) An Indian word denoting sacred key verse, an aid to worship, whose meaning are known only to the priest.

ner in which Gandhi used it.

As the aspirations of the masses develop through extension of universal education, as the coterie of the knowledgeable close their ranks, as the rising level of general education delinks itself from employment, as the class barriers between the 'educated-privileged' and the 'under-educated - underprivileged' increase, the situation is bound to become worse confounded. Marx had opined that the final struggle for liberation will be a fight between the economic classes. It is easy, however, to perceive that in the changed situation the real struggle in India, if not in the Third World as a whole, is going to be between the 'educated employed', unproductive people on one hand and the vast number of self-employed, productive 'small' producers on the other. The recent innovations in the name of socialism, nationalisation, and the development of state capitalism are nothing but endeavours in the same direction. They are the devices to ensure that the educated, unproductive, employed intellectual class control all the capital that finances production and generates employment. If these efforts succeed, the results will be disastrous. For that will not only increase the quantum of systemic violence but may well lead to a breakdown of the structure.

If education has thus been a product of an elitist mode of society and has led in turn to further elitism, inequity and violence only drastic remedies could help the situation. What shall we do, then? Start again from the beginning or go forward to reach a new highway ? A review of the total process is at least necessary so that a scheme of restructurisation of the contents, forms, and functions of education can emerge clearly.

VI

The question is 'how?' How are we going to formulate a new educational policy and what will be its aims and objectives ? If the answer is to be derived from the foregoing analysis the aim of education should be system 'building' rather than system 'maintenance'. It should lead to a non-elitist society and to what Gandhi calls a non-violent order. Education must in effect lead to the uplifting of the downtrodden , to defusion of power and its deconcentration as well to the evolution of a culture of non-accumulation and equity. The present mode of education, which we wish to reject here and now, serves the purpose of a particular society. That society is based on competition, conflict, exploitation, overorganization, greed, power, and profit. To the extent the welfare societies of the West and the Communist societies of the Eastern Europe have tried to obtain basic comforts for as many of their citizens as possible they have certainly helped to blunt the edges of the system. But neither of these societies have tended to curb the monopolies of power at any time in human history. Do we want such a society any longer? The profile of the new system of education can only be clear when we are able to draw a

picture of the alternative. While we shall have an occasion to return to this subject of profiles and pictures later some of the specific steps which may help in the step by step restructurisation of the educational system are enumerated below.

Education must make a vigorous effort to uplift the poor and to abolish all monopolies and privileges. Gandhi had sought to achieve this end by ensuring that all the curricula of education provide for productive manual labour and other activities rather than the mere scanning of books. The aim was to pull down the classes - the conscious non-productive, book-oriented, employed, intellectual to the level of the productive, self-employed, small producer. Gandhi accordingly wanted the elite to soil their hands and break the barriers that separate them from the masses. The purpose was to 'declass' the elite as well as to make every consumer a producer.No one in such a society was to remain a parasite exploiter thriving on his neighbor's labor. The other aim - the main aim of the Gandhian schema - was, however, the development of a non-elitist, non-exploitative, non-violent social order. That aim still remains valid and should provide the objectives of peace education in all modern societies of our day.The plans for reconstruction provided by Gandhi will, however, need to be further strengthened in the light of the growing power of education and its all embracing dysfunctionality that we have described before. Some fundamental steps of far-reaching significance are therefore necessary to implement the Gandhian schema as well as the goals for new education described earlier.

A non-elitist society would obviously require an equitable mode of education. What is important in this regard is not to confuse 'equality' with 'equity'. 'Equal opportunities for all' is thus no longer a valid slogan. For equality of opportunities offered to 'unequal' individuals cannot and have not in the past led to equitable results. What is needed in this context is a definitive recognition that there exist specific classes, castes and groups in the society who have reached unequal standards of growth and who enjoy privileges of different orders.Conscious efforts should therefore be made to bring these various groups up to the same level of educational accomplishment. It would accordingly require that certain special advantages are given to the backward,and these are of a revolutionary order. In India, this would require among others a special medium of instruction for different sub-cultural groups and exposure to different school systems. India has sixteen main languages spoken by about 80% of its people. They are the people who, having been educated through the medium of English, are now developing their mother tongues known as'regional' languages - the respective mother tongues of 80% of the people along with the provision that a foreign language be taught to all those who go for higher education. The 'elite' among the elites of the society will thus alone have the benefit of the latter.

There are about 2o% of people in India 1o) who, however, do not as yet speak any of the regional languages. Neither do they know a foreign language nor have they been able to reconstruct their dialects into well-developed languages. In general they belong to the peripheral structure of the Indian society. Lying in border areas, the inaccessible hills, desert tracts and forests, they do not belong to the mainstream of culture, power and the decision-making process of the land. It is held that they too should be educated through the regional languages of the areas. Although they are not the languages of the peripheral groups, an overwhelming majority of the people of the area, where these groups live, speak those languages. Borrowed, in fact, from the literature of a sophisticated coterie, the languages are of those who have already reached a more advanced level of development and represent the dominant culture of the area. The peripheral groups belong to different subcultures and speak different dialects. It is insisted, that both the groups, those who speak the regional language and those who do not, should learn through a common medium, are provided in the name of 'equality of opportunities'. But will such equality lead to equity or turn the 'peripheral groups' into mere second class citizens of the area? While the groups that have developed languages would do well to learn through their mother tongues, the peripheral population, the remaining 2o% of Indians, should be given opportunities to learn through any medium they choose, especially English, a foreign language that still opens up a vast vista of opportunities and privileges to its recipients. It is obvious that such a special privilege granted to the underdog will go a long way to over-turn the pyramidal structure of society upside down. The recent experiments in China to teach the masses a foreign language, English in this case, and that of Rumania where learning of two foreign languages is now compulsory for all, is a definite measure in this direction, calculated to bring real equality to all sections of their populations. The example is worth emulating in India. The tribals, the Harijans 11), the poor, the backword, the downtrodden should therefore be given the special privilege of learning through the medium of a foreign language, whereas all others may learn through their own mother tongues of which they are justly proud. That would give an additional advantage to the weaker sections over all those who already have had greater opportunities and occupy a more advantageous position in the mainstream of a competitive society.

A similar effort should be made to give special opportunities

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1o) Calculated from Indian Census report 1971 which says 8 per cent of the India's population does not speak her sixteen major languages.

11) 'Harijan' is a new word coined by Gandhi for the untouchables. It literally means Gods own men.

to the non-meritorious - the students who are the rejects of the existing educational system and fail to reach a standard. Others, who score high in terms of academic accomplishments, are entitled to go to better colleges in order to be tutored by better teachers. In the new mode of education, one that has to guarantee an equitable opportunity to all sections of the population, the reverse shall be the case. The poorer the merit of the student,the higher should be the level of the teacher called upon to attend to him. Conversly the lower the standard of the tutor, the higher could be the level of the student. For one who is meritorious and is already advanced does not surely need much of guidance as compared to those who are naturally backword. Such a policy will,however,require a completely different set of indicators for the evaluation of educational programmes.A measurement of the success of the educational policy should thus under the new scheme be judged not by the number of students that go to school but by the social background of those who are allowed to benefit from educational inputs. A system will thus be reckoned as more successful only when a larger number of students, born in the lower strata, take their seats in the class rooms and when the non-meritorious and all those who belong to the periphery occupy same places of pride along with the advantaged, the sons of the 'mainstream' culture of the country.

VII

Education must, in the changed context, be decidedly disconnected from employment.While the latter should be a function of the total system and of specialized 'vocational' and professional institutions every employer could devise his own criteria for recruitment and hold examinations accordingly. Education would then aim at the enlightenment of the recipient's mind and be value oriented. Its task will not be to turn out managers, administrators and mechanical hands as the main products of an educational pressure cooker but to ensure that the virtues that create a coterie of academic, managerial and administrative elite reach the mass of the people and become universal in their projection. That will mean that education should provide to every one the wherewithall to obtain attitudinal growth and intellectual maturity. It is not the contention of this paper that education should be dysfunctional to employment or to academic, managerial and administrative developments. The aim of the educated should on the other hand be to create employment opportunities not only for the recipient but for others as well. The purpose is to ensure that every country should first have a high level of average education for all, before it seeks to develop special elite moulds.

The real purpose of education is to create the culture of the new society, and to give to all its members enough education to live up to it.Such culture would emphasize harmony, spirit of service, sharing and non-violence, rather

than competition, exploitation and violence. It should try to build a new typology of institutions, develope technologies and experiment with 'sizes' of industries that do not lead to aggrandizement and exploitation. Education should accordingly reorient people to consciously endeavour for the establishment of a non-domineering, non-competitive society, and likewise for the rejection of the existing order.

Seventy per cent of the people of the world lie submerged in poverty today. The efforts now in vogue in every country aim to raise the standards of living and to defeat all others' in the race for affluence. While relative rates of growth provide interesting criteria of development, it should now be evident that the world as a whole will never be able to revel in affluence and that an increase of productivity in one part of the globe must account for a corresponding fall somewhere else. It is therefore not possible to reach the high standard of living enjoyed by some people in the northern world on a global basis. Peace in the world or a non-violent equitable society can only be built by a thin dispersal of the world's resources and on the basis of a limited standard of living.

Education should prepare people to accept that reality. It should enable them to see in the future of the world a place where one lives at a 'near' poverty standard and does not aspire to the impossible. A zero rate of growth and an agricultural society, where production and not only consumption is everybody's responsibility is to be the mainstay of that system. There, prices and wages do not chase each other; there,development takes place without growth by merely removing in its stride the basic obstacles to the conduct of a healthy social life. Such a system, non-acquisitive and non-elitist,is ruled by consensus and not by dictatorships,either of the majority or of the meritorious oligarchies.As centralized large scale monoliths collapse in that milieu and a stable social and economic life emerges, the new system of education will help to remove the last vestages of violence by its roots.

As we have given above the outlines of the new society, two more observations will be necessary before we end. First of all, it is to be clearly understood that the increasing volume of educational explosion is going to change not only the functions of the system but also its structures and forms. Even today there is only one seat available for every eleven student that are admitted to colleges in Italy 12) - a country that spends 2o% of its budget on education.

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12) Vide Herald Tribune (International) Saturday-Sunday November 4-5, 1972 Paris Ed. Claire Sterling Writes From Rome (page 8).

In India, which spends only 3% of its budget on the subject, no institutional structure, however carefully devised, will ever be able to cope with the rising demand for schooling in the coming decade. The pressure will then act in the reverse gear. It will demolish standards, introduce strikes and lock-outs, preceipitate violence and create catastrophes of different dimensions. Education, in the new set-up, will therefore have to be transmitted through written and the spoken words , through correspondence and the mass media to every home in that society.

The home, the cottage of every family, should then be the real centre for education with the parents playing the main role of the teacher. The new curriculum will naturally have to be enriched by drawing from the books of life and also from organized community programmes of different description such as manual labour, social services and specific developmental activities. The guardian at home, now assuming the role of the teacher, will also help to develop a new form of relationship in the modern home of the atomised society. The design for such a schema of cottage education will have to be made with care. It is needless to say that the state will also have to play an important role in enriching the contents and methods of the new system. Yet education in the new set up will mainly be a private enterprise, As the responsibilities of the state grow and the public sector of economic enterprises expand, this new private sector of cottage education will help in more than one way. It will save democracy. It will kindle the flames of freedom. In nations where the state controls most of the individual's life and business, the mind will now be free. It will be rescued from subservience to any overpowering system and allowed to function in a new haven of freedom.

ELISE BOULDING (USA)

THE CHILD AND NON-VIOLENT SOCIAL CHANGE

Any design for a non-violent world must take special account of what happens to children, and what they are prepared for. Since in any case they are shapers of the future, we cannot avoid an examination of the nature of the child and the impact of various socialization experiences on her capacity to act non-violently on a changing social order.

The socialization model developed here draws on several different disciplinary frameworks and research areas that have not been brought together before in just this way. Included are (1) animal and human ethology, with emphasis on both genetic and developmental aspects of animal-man potentials; (2) a variety of social learning theories; (3) a delineation of the social spaces within which the individual receives her social shaping and acts out the roles she takes for her own; and finally (4) a review of studies on altruism and non-violent activists in recent protest movements.

The Situation of the Child in Today's World

The bind that children are in - and they recognize that they are in it, to an extent that would astound most adults - is that they know they are being trained for role performance to maintain the society in which they are growing up and they realize that adults somehow expect them to make a system work that the adults themselves have had great difficulty with. They are to pull off this miracle after having lived a childhood segregated from the system. To further compound the difficulty they are in, all the training they receive in society's nurseries is for performance on yesterday's patterns - all socialization is for the past - while the social rhetoric to which they are exposed is couched in terms of "far-reaching social change". How do children deal with these dilemmas?

The rhetoric of rapid change which is such an all-pervasive part of the child's environment has, like all social rhetoric, a sharply uncomfortable empirical referent the words cannot obscure - though they try. Children really do need socialization for the role of change agents. It is to society's interest to prepare its new members for non-destructive change behaviours, since this enables necessary and inevitable change to take place with a minimum of hurt to the

society and its individual members. When no provision for the development of innovative role-taking is made, then the stage is set for a necessary resort to violence to disrupt and destroy inflexible structures. Are there, in our sharply age-graded socialization process, any experiences available to children which can trigger perceptions of the possibility of creative change instead of defensiveness or aggression in situations where old behavoirs are inadequate?

An even more basic question is, can a healthy normal human being respond non-agressively to situations of tension and rapid change, or are aggressive tendencies so powerful in human beings that there is no socialization process that can effectively rechannel them without doing harm to the human temperament? Can drastic social change only be brought about by violence? For a few decades the doctrine of the infinite malleability of the human infant has held away, and social theories of learning have blossomed in this period. Now we are back, however to historically recurring ideas about the killer instinct in man, the "Cain-tendency" as in Szondi (1969) and Ardrey (1962). In the eighteenth century Rousseau championed the doctrine of the natural good in human nature against the Hobbesian view of man as beast. At the turn of the twentieth century it was Kropotkin who championed the good (1903) against Thomas Huxley (1888). Once again today the capacity for human goodness has a champion (Eibl-Eibesfeld, 1972) to face the supporter of the man-as-beast view (Ardrey, 1962).

Eibl-Eibesfeldt suggests that there are innate bonding drives which counterbalance innate aggressive tendencies, and that careful attention to both sets of drives will enable humans to use their genetic resources to the maximum on behalf of social order. As a human ethologist he utilizes human societies for his research, rather than generalizing from animals as is usually done.

Marshalling photographic evidence from a wide variety of geographic and cultural settings from tribal pre-literate to urban western, he makes a serious case for pre-programmed behavior that is set in motion by innate releasing mechanisms in specific stimulus situations, independent of social learning. While these can be culturally modified or repressed, the transcultural similarity of greeting, nurturant and protective gestures of adults toward children and towards one another in situations that call for this behavior, and of threat gestures in hostile situations, points to a behavioral repertoire of inherited coordinations. The presence of such inherited coordinations is clearly significant for the learning of social behaviors. It means that in given situations some behaviors will be more easily learned than others.

Since the term "behavioral programming" lends itself to an excessively mechanistic interpretation, I will use the

term "predisposition to learn" as the operational equivalent of behavioral programming. An understanding of the stimuli which will release bonding behavior in a threat situation could be of great importance in trying to understand the potentials for training for non-violent behavior. The innate discharge controls releasing aggressive or bonding behavior have through phylogenetic adaptation in humans been reduced to secondary status, but the drives themselves remain intact, Eibl-Eibesfeldt suggests (1972:32). The enormous gain in adaptability in this replacement of innate controls by cultural ones is clear. The Eskimo needs different arrangements for diversion of aggressive or sex impulses than a Masai or urbanite, and rigid innate patterns would be of little use to her. The fact that any kind of response structure at all exists, however indeterminate, is significant both for learning theory and for socialization, however.

Ingredients for a Socialization Model

In our search for a descriptive model of socialization that will throw light on how some children come to perceive themselves as creators of alternative futures, and can remain unthreatened and non-violent in the face of changes and tensions that bring out aggression or withdrawal in others, we will look at a variety of inputs to the socialization process. The genetic resources for behavioral response will be given substantial attention, because our knowledge of developmental and learning processes is only useful to the extent that we are aware of the genetic substrate of these processes. The social spaces and the socializing agents in a child's life will also be given particular attention.

Figure 1 shows schematically eight sets of inputs to the socialization process chosen for their relevance to our problem, grouped according to whether they are internal or external to the child. The internal factors are (1) the genetic substrate, (2) developmental and maturational processes, (3) learning processes, (4) accumulating knowledge stock, and (5) accumulating social skill stock. The external factors are (6) cultural requirements, (7) socializing agents, and (8) situational and event spaces. We will explore the nature of the interplay between these factors.

I suggest that the life experience of persons committed to a belief in and action on behalf of non-violent social change includes the following features:

1) optimal opportunities as a child for development of emotional, cognitive and intuitive capacities in home, school and community, in settings that allow for maximum expression of a wide range of innate behavioral repertoires;

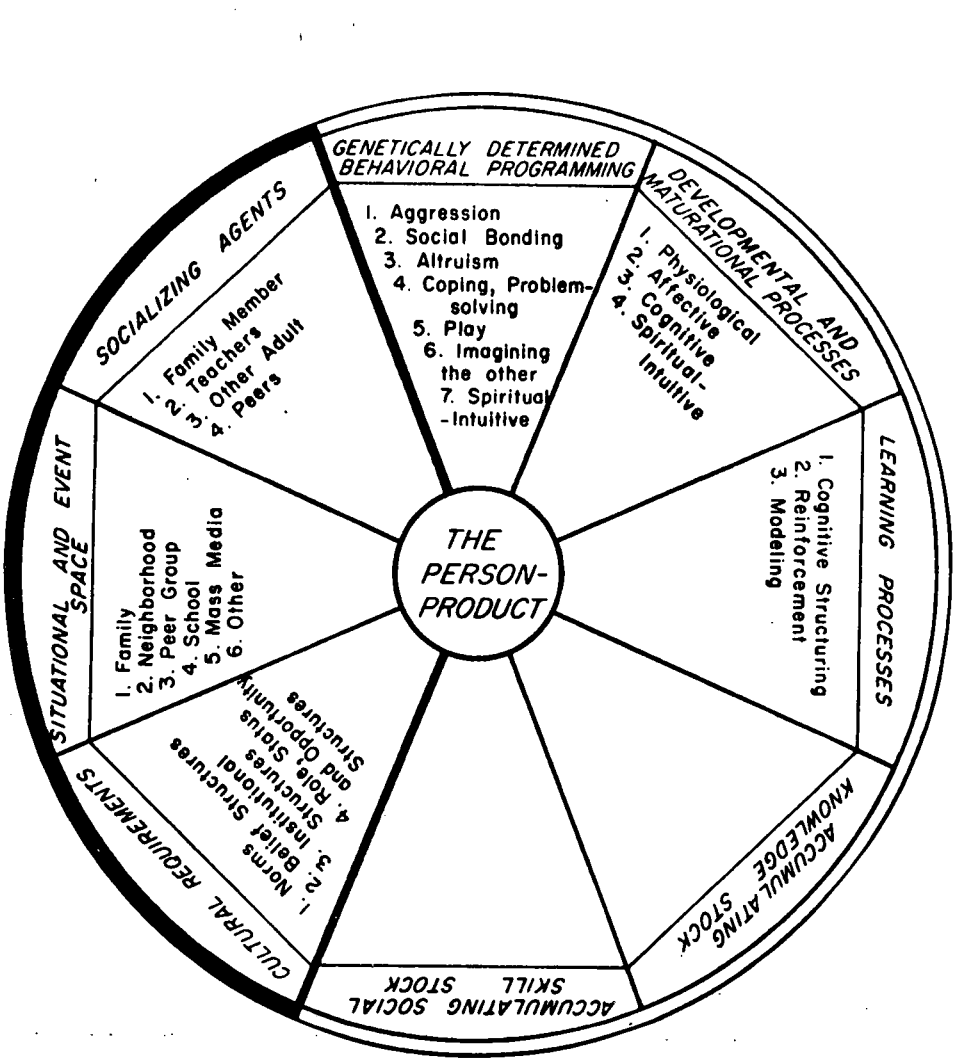

Figure 1. Inputs to the Socialization Process

2) substantial exposure to events in the larger society, and the knowledge stock of that society;

3) substantial exposure to a variety of adult and peer role models in different kinds of social settings;

4) opportunities to play out a number of different social roles in childhood and adolescence, and to deal actively with problem-solving situations; and

5) experiences of rewarding social feedback in the playing out of roles and solving problems.

We will now examine each of the factors proposed for the socialization model, beginning with the genetic component.

The Phylogenetic Substrate of Behavior

One unifying theme in a great diversity of literature on personality characteristics of leaders, activists and change agents, is that of the presence in these individuals of basic feelings of optimism, competence and self-esteem. Change-agent roles are selected by persons who feel they can effectively act on society to change it for the better. Non-violent activists, while often alienated from the society they are in, display a capacity for social trust which is sometimes very marked (Escalona, 1968:25-29). These feelings may be established in the neonate, in part determined by the genetically given neural thresholds of the infant. The high neural threshold infant can take a lot of brusk handling and bumps without any discomfort, while the low neutral threshold infant may feel pain from even gentle handling. This presence or absence of physical discomfort at being touched is independent of the handling parent's felt and expressed tenderness.

Beyond this generalized responsivity to the environment, there are according to Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1972) a variety of phylogenetic adaptations which take the form of pre-programmed response capacity for a variety of situations. While this theory is bound to be controversial, it seems too promising to be ignored in the light of the present controversy about the degree to which children can be socialized to non-violence. Using his work as a point of departure, I am suggesting seven areas in which there may be behavioral programs, or predispositions to learn, for the human being that provide the basis for response repertoires in situations of tension and change.[x] These areas are (1) aggression, (2)

[x] There is no attempt there to suggest what the full range of behavioral programs might be. We are here discussing only those relevant to our topic.

social bonding, (3) altruism, (4) coping, problem-solving, (5) play, (6) creation of the other, and (7) spiritual bonding.

I will provide a definition of each behavioral area, and indicate research that relates to the possibility of some type of behavioral predispositions. The material which follows is intended mainly to be suggestive and to provide a basis for some new ways of thinking about socialization.

Aggression. Human aggression, the stumbling block on which so many theories of human betterment fall, has been defined by Feshbach (1970:161) as "any behavioral sequence or subset thereof, which results in injury to or destruction of an animal, human, or inanimate object." Aggression has been difficult to use as an analytic concept because it has been treated as a catch-all phenomenon covering a very wide range of behaviors. Corning (1972) draws attention to Moyer's work of separating out eight functionally different types of behavior, each differentiated by the stimulus configurations that trigger them (Moyer, 1971). Although hard evidence for the existence of specific neural and endocrinal substrates for each class of aggression is still rudimentary, there is relevant research on humans as well as animals (Moyer, 1969). The most important thing is the classification scheme itself, which provides an entirely new way to think about aggression. The thinking of Moyer and Corning also converges in a remarkable way with that of Eibl-Eibesfeldt. Each sees the neural and biochemical mechanisms as a product of phylogenetic adaptations in the evolutionary process, and each emphasizes that the actual behaviors are "partially programmed by the indivudal's interaction with his social and ecological environment (Corning, 1972:7)." The proposed types of aggression, classified by the triggering stimulus-configurations, are predatory, inter-male [x], fear induced, irritable, territorial,maternal, instrumental and sex-related. These are not all mutually exclusive; territorial and inter-male aggression, for example, may overlap.

The Corning-review of aggression studies makes it clear that aggression is not spontaneous or pleasure-seeking, as it is often described to be. Eibl-Eibesfeldt points out that there is no evidence of any vertebrate forming a bond with a conspecific primarily and exclusively via aggression. The innate inhibition against the pursuit of aggression to the point of killing, widely noted in the animal world, exists in the human in the impulse to pity. This impulse is of course subject to social programming, and in fact became progressive-

[x] Having recently been the horrified witness of (and intervener in) an attempt by one woman to kill another in a hotel corridor, I would add inter-female here.

ly more useless as an inhibitory device with the invention of weapons that killed at a distance (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1972: 98-102). The history of the failure of this inhibition to serve humankind in conflict dates back to the invention of the first prehistoric flint hand-ax.

While the failure of inhibitory responses in group conflict is a serious matter, the understanding of aggression as a series of highly differentiated, situation-specific responses allows much more scope for social reprogramming, or socialization. Furthermore, aggressive response patterns must be considered in the broader context of the whole repertoire of response patterns, including bonding responses, which will be discussed next.

Social Bonding. Using Eibl-Eibesfeldt's work as a point of departure, I will define social bonding as the development of reciprocal expectations of sympathy and supportive, nurturant and aiding behavior between two or more individuals through ritual and non-ritual acts of recognition, affection and nurturance. Eibl-Eibesfeldt suggests that the mother-infant's behavior is clearly genetically programmed as is the mother's nurturant response. The infant sucking at its mother's breast has its fists tightly closed, a reminder that among our primate ancestors babies had to hold on to mother's coat for survival.

> Man is by nature a parent-clinger, "Elternhocker" as Wolfgang Wickler (1969) calls it. We are not only programmed to these conditions by numerous behavior patterns, we are also equipped with appetitive behavior for restoring contact - to begin with by crying out and later through active seeking. Our drive activities of clinging and snuggling are adapted to the mother as object. It is this appetitive behavior for contact that is the true root of the bond between mother and child (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1972:212-13).

All spontaneous adult gestures of greeting, reaching out with the hands to help another, or comforting another, and of fleeing to another for protection, as well as sexual caresses, all derive from the infant's clutching and the adult's nurturant response. In spite of the heavy cultural overlay of bonding behavior among adults, the spontaneous gestures of nurturing and seeking nurture are startingly similar in all societies, as Eibl-Eibesfeldt's photographic research demonstrates.

Research on the determinants of reciprocating beneficent behavior on the part of another (Goranson and Berkowitz, 1966; Brehm and Cole, 1966; Schopler, 1970) indicates that activities such as food-sharing are much more likely to take place in a context where the food donor has previously been the recipient of a clearly voluntary act of beneficence from his partner. As soon as compulsion or constraint enters the pic-

ture, reciprocated sharing is reduced. While this is hardly evidence for a genetic basis for nurturance, it is suggestive. Eibl-Eibesfeldt suggests that the adequate development of these bonding capacities depends very much on the character of the environmental influences in the earliest stages of ontogenetic development.

> In man's development there are sensitive periods in which certain basic ethical and aesthetic attitudes become fixated as in imprinting, as for example "primitive trust" (Urvertrauen). If such a period is allowed to pass unfulfilled, then this can lead to lasting damage (Eibl-Eibesfeld, 1972:27).

Socialization theory has worked hard to free us from excessively deterministic views about the role of early experience in later development. This notion of fixation of attitudes at a critical period should not be taken too seriously, but may be taken as one of the ingredients in the early socialization process that may have to be dealt with again in later stages of adult life.
In any case, the bonding experiences of infancy, and the parenting experience in adulthood, may be considered as very valuable resources in meeting unfamiliar and stressful situations.

One of the least likely candidates for pre-programmed behavior is altruism, yet precisely because of its unlikelihood and its relationship to social bonding, it is challenging to examine this type of behavior for possible pre-programmed dispositons.

Altruism. A distillation of work by E. Midlarsky (1968) and Justin Aronfreed (1970) on aiding responses and altruism suggests the following definition of altruism: A subset of bonding behavior oriented towards desired outcomes for another with minimal or no expectations of reciprocity; the behavior is undertaken at some cost to the initiator, with little or no gain relative to the magnitude of the investment. The prototype of aiding behavior undertaken at some cost to the self is parenting, on both the human and the animal world. The presence of this kind of aiding response in all cultures points to a stimulus-specific predisposition. Lois Murphy (1937) established some decades ago that children under four react sympathetically to the stress of others, and Chester Pierce (1972) has observed in a recent publication how nursery school teachers thwart spontaneously helpful behavior among children by stepping in to replace child helping behavior by adult helping behavior. Empathy is a necessary but not sufficient condition of altruism, since it may or may not lead to distress-alleviating behavior (Aronfreed, 1970).

Another important resource, to be discussed next is the predisposition to explore and cope with the unusual.

Coping and Problem-Solving. Exploratory problem-solving responses to unfamiliar situations, and coping behavior in the face of difficulty or stress, as opposed to freezing up in the face of the unfamiliar and threatening, are contrasting responses that have long interested social psychologists. M. Brewster Smith describes the competent self as a self which

> ... is perceived as causally important, as effective in the world - which is to a major extent a world of other people - as likely to be able to bring about desired effects, and as accepting responsibility when effects do not correspond to desire (Smith, 1968:281).

Competence is accompanied by feelings of self-esteem and optimism, and an "array of knowledge, habits, skills and abilities that are required to translate hopeful expectations and active orientations into effective behavior (Smith,1968: 282)."

Can one conceive of a genetically-based predisposition to engage in coping behavior? Piaget, watching the young infant "construct" his world through his early sensory-motor explorations, evolving behavioral schemas which

> ... are pre-symbolic action-patterns, the achievement of which involves mastery of the instrumental resources of the body and stabilization of a world of objects as two sides of the same coin (Smith, 1968:293),

would say yes. Kavanau's mice, who consistently prefer altering their environment to leaving it in the experimentally arranged state, whenever the choice exists, and who choose the harder tasks in their little mouse world rather than the easier ones, also seem to say yes (Smith, 1968:292). x

In fact the drive to engage in exploratory behavior for its own sake and to do things competently is a human trait frequently commented on by sociologists, psychologists and economists alike. This is one of Thomas' four wishes (1961: 741-744), and it is also Veblen's instinct of workmanship (1918). It would be extremely difficult to determine stimulus-specific neuro-chemical substrates for varieties of coping behavior, and yet perhaps no more difficult than for bonding behavior or aggression.

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x These enthusiastic little explorers seem to give lie to Berger's poetic presentation of homo sapiens as the only creature who comes into an unfinished world and must, by his very nature, actively engage in continuous creation (Berger, 1969).

Studies of aiding behavior will be discussed later under socialization, but one curious characteristic of a certain kind of aiding behavior will be mentioned here. In the Fellner and Marshall study of kidney donors (1970: 269-281), the decision to become a donor was instantaneous and preceded the long educational process medical teams insist on with potential donors. Once the decision was made, it was never subsequently questioned, and the "official decision time" from the point of view of the medical team came long after the actual decision time. It appears as if there had been some kind of internal triggering mechanism that set off the original instantaneous response. Along the same lines, one characteristic feature of all aiding behaviors studied was that the recipient of aid was clearly perceived by the aidor to be dependent on her. The capacity for this kind of response is clearly relevant to dealing with stress and change.

Another predisposition which no one will challenge as genetically programmed, and which may have special relevance for non-violence is play.

Play. Drawing on a synthesis of Huizinga (1955:13) and Simmel (Wolff, 1950:42-43) I will define play as behavior which involves the removal of social forms and physical materials from the instrumental contexts of ordinary use and engaging in more or less patterned recombinations of these forms and materials as a free exercise of mind and body for the mutual delight of the participants. Homo sapiens freely empathizes with animals at play, so it is one of the few activities in which we take delight as a member of the animal world. No matter what the cultural overlay, we have no difficulty in recognizing play activity. Its significance in terms of behavioral repertoires is the resource it provides of free energy and spontaneous variability, which may be drawn on in unsuspected ways in times of environmentally imposed stress.

Imagining the other as a possible predisposition overlaps somewhat with both play and coping behavior, but the act of projection into another time gives this behavior unique properties.

Imagining the Other. I define the imagining of the other as the construction of alternative models of some or all aspects of the social order in a deliberate effort to reorganize reality in terms of a conceivable other state placed either in the past or the future. This definition covers a range of activities from social planning through science fiction fantasy to conceptions of heaven and hell. It covers both utopianism à la H.G. Wells and counter-utopianism à la Orwell. All societies imagine an other condition, though some imagine chiefly a past, which is why this category is not labelled futurism. It is by no means clear that the imagining of the other is in any way stimulus-specific, but a well-developed

capacity to imagine alternative futures would clearly be an asset in dealing with stress and social change. Kavenau's mouse rearranging his mouse world (Smith, 1968) hints at imagining the other, as do the nest-building activities of birds, though there is no reason to believe that they imagine what they are preparing for. Fred Polak has analyzed the human capacity to envision the other in The Image of the Future (1972) on the basis of historical materials from all the major civilizations. A quantity of related literature on achievement motivation (McClelland, 1961; McClelland and Winter, 1969) and aspiration levels (Kausler, 1959) bears on this theme of imagining the other, but is couched entirely in terms of socialization practices. The neurochemical substrate for this activity, if any, has yet to be identified.

Spiritual bonding as a pre-programmed response capacity may seem like an odd concept to introduce into a study of socialization for non-violent social change. Extensive reading in recent months on the mystical experience in several of the major cultural traditions in human history has made me aware of a body of knowledge not incorporated into behavioral science research. Since a certain number of references to the possibility of development of as-yet-unrealized potentials, or evolutionary emergence of new potentials for homo sapiens as suggested by John Platt (1966), Lecomte du Nouy (1949), Teilhard de Chardin (1959) and others, does creep into future-oriented social science (see John McHale, The Future of the Future, 1969), it seems useful to try incorporating a spiritual-intuitive response capacity into the socialization model being developed here. While the spiritual refers to the transcendent, its relevance to the social order is the theme of all the great religions.

Spiritual Bonding. I will define spiritual bonding as the development by the human of a relationship with the divine involving both reciprocity and surrender: reciprocity of love and responsibility as reflected in the teachings concerning a divine-human convenant, and surrender of will as required by the recognition of the omnipotence and beneficence of divine wisdom as contrasted with the fallibility and ambiguity of human understanding. The divine-human bonding involves a reordering and reconstruction of all human identities and relationships as the human comes in contact with a cosmic order that works back on and transmutes the social self and all social relationships while incorporating them in a trans-specific [x] evolutionary process. This definition draws on Evelyn Underhill (Mysticism, 1955), Sri Aurobindo (The Divine Life, 1965), Teilhard de Chardin (Phenomenon of Man, 1959), Walter Nigg (The Great Saints, 1948), and William James (Varieties of Religious Experience, 1902).

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x In the sense of trans-species

This type of bonding is not ordinarily engaged in by the average homo sapiens. Nevertheless, it is a recurring event in all cultures, and William Sargant in Battle for the Mind (1957) presents evidence for a patterned sequence of build-up of stress that leads to conversion experiences (both political and religious). Conversion experiences are by no means synonymous with mystical experiences, but they are usually the precondition for them. William James and Evelyn Underhill present similar evidence relating more directly to the mystical experience. One could at least hypothesize a neural-chemical substrate for mystical experience, triggered only by a very specialized set of circumstances. As a kind of super-bonding capacity, it may well have long-term relevance for the survival of homo sapiens.

The material we have introduced on genetic predispositions to learning suggests a major resource for creative and peace-making responses to be taken account of in the socialization process. We will now go on to examine developmental and maturational processes in the socialization context, and link these with the genetic substrate when we are ready to put the model itself together. One of the most interesting uses that has been made of developmental theories has been in the area of political socialization drawing on the work of Piaget. Researchers in this field have tried to answer the question, "What shapes the child as an actor on the political and civic scene?"

Developmental and Chronological Sequences

Piaget's work (1951) has enabled other researchers, notably David Easton (1969), Lawrence Kohlberg (1966) and Judith Torney (1970) to focus on certain maturational factors as having particular significance for the child's ability to take on creative political and social action roles. These include the ability of the child to view situations from more than one perspective, to make abstract conceptualizations independently of concrete situations, and to use abstract moral principles in arriving at decisions or judgments. Clearly these maturational phenomena have something to do with the fact that the tendency to confuse God and the President of the United States, and to confuse the Lord's prayer with the pledge of allegiance to the flag, disappear in the early elementary school years. They also have something to do with the increased capacity of children by eighth grade to engage in more analytic discussions of the political system than they could in kindergarten.

Cognitive maturation has probably been given more explanatory loading than it can carry, however, and the question of how emotional maturation is linked to the cognitive has been largely ignored. Adequate maturational studies on the de-

velopment of empathy and altruism are still to be undertaken. The work of Hartshorn and May (1929) and Lois Murphy (1937) laid a foundation which was for a long time ignored. E. Midlarsky (1968) in a recent review identifies two studies done in the 1950's relating age and altruism (Ugurel-Semin, 1952; Handon and Gross, 1959), and she herself has used age as a variable in studying altruism (E. Midlarsky and Bryan, 1967). All the indications are that the capacity for empathy and social warmth mature along with the cognitive capacities, but how they interact in the maturing child's perceptions of self and society we do not know. The subject has apparently not been of interest to educators. When we discover findings such as that of Lambert and Klineberg (1967) that American children's interest in foreigners and persons very dissimilar to themselves peaks at age 10 and then declines [x], we would like to know what mixture of cognition and affect produces that result.

A third type of maturation, related to the capacity for spiritual bonding, can be labeled spiritual-intuitive. In cultures that give the same careful training to the spiritual-intuitive faculty as to the socio-emotional and cognitive in the child, social behavior is given another dimension because it is conceived in what might be called a nonspheric context (Teilhard de Chardin, 1959). Gandhi's satyagraha (Bondurant, 1955) and some traditions of training within catholic and non-catholic religious orders are good examples of a complex of thought, feeling and behavior that draws in this third capacity as well as on the emotional and the cognitive. In our model, a balanced continuing development and training in all three of these capacities is seen as contributing to the growth of the creative peace-maker.

The development of social role-taking skills goes hand in hand with the development of cognitive-emotional-intuitive capacities. This is not maturational in the sense that these other capacities are, but rather represents the building up of a kind of repertoire with which the maturing child can work more and more effectively. These social skills are partly a result of complex Meadian "taking the role of the other", (Mead, 1934), which depends on the role models present in the individual's life space, partly the product of extended social play in the peer group as children "try out" different social roles as they perceive them, on each other - and at times on adults.

If we do not understand the interrelationship of cognitive and emotional maturation, we understand much less the complex four-way interrelationship between physiological ma-

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x "By the age of 14 these same young people appeared less open to positive views of foreign nations (Torney, 1972."

turation and the other processes. Eibl-Eibesfeldt's (1972) suggestion mentioned earlier that certain ethical and aesthetic attitudes become fixated at early stages of development and are highly resistant to later change needs to be systematically explored in longitudinal research. Cross-sectional research cannot possibly deal with this problem. If the development of a healthy capacity for social trust is critically affected by the four-way interaction of these factors at an early age, it would be helpful to know about this.

In addition to developmental sequences there is another, chronological sequence which is of great importance to the life of the growing child: the succession of historical events in the child's time stream. As she "survives" event after event in the world "out there" - wars, elections, assassinations, technological break-throughs - she builds up an "event stock" on which she can draw in constructing her image of the world and her role in it. The event stock is part of the objective environmental reality. Growing with it is her own "knowledge stock", compounded of her perception of events and of information acquired via teachers, books, TV and all other sources of information to which she is exposed.

The child's personal-social maturation interacts with the event streams in a way that is crucial for determining the style of that maturation. Children who have had first-hand experience of war have different images of the world, and different responses to it, than children who have not (Haavelsrud, 1971). Critical public events in the time-stream during childhood help set a world view that persists through life. The Munich trauma determined the attitudes of a whole generation of citizens and policy makers. The war in Indo-China is having an equally potent, but very different, effect on today's children. The view of the earth from the moon which is now a basic ingredient in the feeling about the planet for the children of the 60's, provides a context for all the information we impart to them about the world with effects we cannot begin to imagine.

Figure 2 provides a diagrammatic representation of the relationship between the developmental sequences we have been discussing and the social or event spaces in which learning takes place.

Up to this point we have viewed the biologically maturing child with her genetically given predispositions to learn as acquiring on the one hand a set of perceptual and analytic skills based on her developing emotional-cognitive-intuitive equipment, with a set of behavioral, role-taking skills to match, and acquiring on the other hand a stock of "survived historical events" and an accompanying knowledge stock.

The interaction between developmental processes and learning is a complex one. Inhelder and Sinclair (1969) point out that

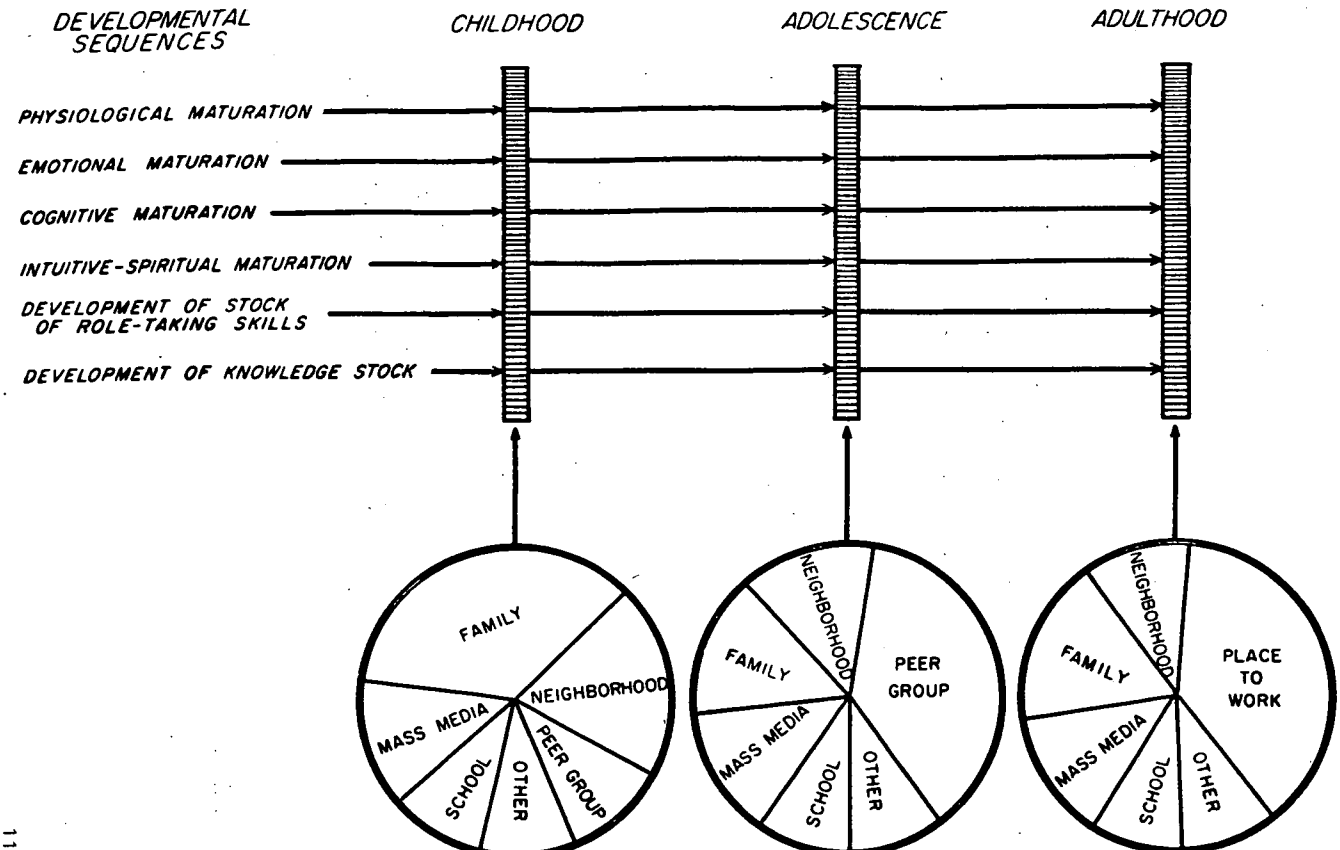

Figure 2. Developmental Sequences and Social Spaces: The Context of the Socialization Process.

> ... although learning may accelerate development (within certain limits), such acceleration obeys limitative conditions of assimilation which, in turn, are subject to temporal regulations reminiscent of the 'chronological succession of competences' in embryology,as Waddington calls them (Inhelder and Sinclair, 1969:19).

Learning Processes

The types of learning we will be concerned with in analyzing the socialization process are cognitive construction, social learning through reinforcement, and social modeling In the analysis of the event spaces in which socialization takes place which follows, it will be well to keep in mind these three types of learning, which will be briefly reviewed here. Cognitive construction is the interior work of assembling data from the perceived world, relating them to data already stored in the mind, and organizing them into ordered images and concepts. The degree of sophistication of the constructs depends on the developmental stage of the child, but in no case does understanding

> ... consist in simply incorporating ready-made and readily available data, but rather in rediscovering them or reinventing them by one's own activity (Inhelder and Sinclair, 1969:21).

Social learning through selective reinforcement of responses has been the major focus of socialization research since the thirties when Dollard, Doob, Miller and Sears (1939) began their social learning studies. Bandura, Walters and Aronfreed, cited elsewhere in this chapter, work from this theoretical base. Behavioral modification through operant conditioning is a more recent variant of this, and has found many uses in therapy settings. A pathological behavior sequence in a child or adult can be redirected by focusing on one segment of that behavior and withdrawing previous positive reinforcements for that behavior. Similarly, new behaviors can be created by positive reinforcements for new sequences (Creer and Yoches, 1971; Walker and Buckley, 1968; Mattos and Mattson, 1969; and Kimble, 1961).

While older social learning theory would emphasize reinforcement as the basic learning process that goes on in the family, and in the other event spaces to be discussed, modeling has come to be increasingly recognized as a special form of social learning not directly dependent on reinforcement to the modeler (Bandura and Walters, 1963). Modeling is not a new concept, but Gabriel Tarde's work in Les Lois D'Imitation (Laws of Imitation) somehow never entered the

mainstream of social learning theory [x]. It is of special interest to us because modeling represents a unique "instant" type of learning of a very complex set of interrelated behaviors which the learner is able to emulate without having added each component in piece-by-piece-learning (Bandura and Walters, 1963). It is learning through observation, and can take place at a distance; for example, through watching a person on T.V., reading about a fictional or real-life heroine, or knowing about a community leader with whom one never has personal contact. It is much more economical than reinforcement learning, which involves simpler units of behavior, learned sequentially. Also, modeling represents the possibility of unintended socialization in contexts where no teaching is planned (Jessor and Jessor, 1967).

After an examination of the event spaces in which social learning takes place, we will present the socialization model which incorporates all of the elements discussed so far in the paper.

The Child's Set of Social Spaces

Six important categories of social space within which the child receives significant socialization are the family, the neighborhood, the peer group, the school, other institutional settings (church, scouts, the Y's) and the world as imaged in the mass media. While each of these spaces continues to be part of a child's life into adulthood, they change in relative importance, from early childhood to youth, as reflected in the social space "pies" in the diagram (Figure 2). Family and neighborhood are most important in early years; peer group, school and other formal institutional settings are most important later. The TV set is the one social space that remains significant and unchanged in its relative importance from pre-school through the high school years, according to a study of sources of attitudes on war and peace in Canadian and American children by Haavelsrud (1971).

The Family. As a socializing agent, the family provides the child with role models for the management of tension and conflict (Elmer, 1967; Laing, 1967; Hefler and Kempe, 1968), with training for problem-solving (Rosen, 1959), with a self-image reflecting perceived adequacy and competence (Dollard, et. al., 1939), with opportunities for aggressive or creative play (Psychology Today, 1968), and with an image of the world as set or changeable, friendly or hostile (Sigel, 1965). So much has been written on the family's role in de-

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x Tarde's name does not even appear in the standard work on socialization, Clausen's Socialization and Society (1968).

termining the personal and social adequacy of the child, that there is no need to expand on these points here.

The Neighborhood. While the pre-schooler is socialized primarily through the family, the primary social environment outside the home, i.e., the neighborhood, gradually increases in importance as a socializing agent for the pre-adolescent. Neighbors, policemen, the family doctor, and other local figures interact with him in neighborhood events and (1) provide alternative role models and (2) reinforce or contradict the training given in the family setting.

School. The socializing influence of the school is felt (a) through the teacher as a personal role model, (b) through the teacher's ordering of data concerning the structure, organization and values of society and (c) through textbook presentation of the world. The last two, (b) and (c), contribute explicitly to the child's cognitive mapping of the world, though there is an implicit contribution to the cognitive mapping from all the sources listed earlier. There is some evidence that there may be a direct relationship between the complexity of the cognitive structure of the elementary school teachers and the degree of acceptance of groups and cultures different from one's own on the part of elementary school students, independently of the type of textbook used (Maruyama, 1969).

Not only does the teacher's own cognitive structure mediate the learnings of the students, but styles of teaching foster either an active intellectual search on the part of the students which enables them to sustain cognitive dissonance and engage in creative problem-solving, or a passive "receptable" stance which induces compartmentalized stereotyped thinking and an inability to confront new situations.

Other Institutional Settings. The child has an opportunity to play out a variety of alternative roles in her play groups, church association settings and formal groups such as Cub Scouts and Brownies. The degree of rigidity and level of aggression with which she plays these roles, and her openness to alternative solutions to problems, is largely determined by her socialization experiences in the other settings mentioned. However, the opportunities for anticipatory socialization into possible change-agent roles in this play behavior are significant in themselves; Huizinga (1955) has pointed out the importance of play in generating social innovation.

The Socialization Model and the Real-Life Activist

We have now built up a picture of the child with a set of genetic predispositions to learn both aggressive and bonding and problem solving behaviors, maturing in their cognitive, emotional and intuitive capacities, acquiring role-taking skills and a knowledge stock, and engaging in social learning in a variety of event spaces. Figure 3 links these factors together.

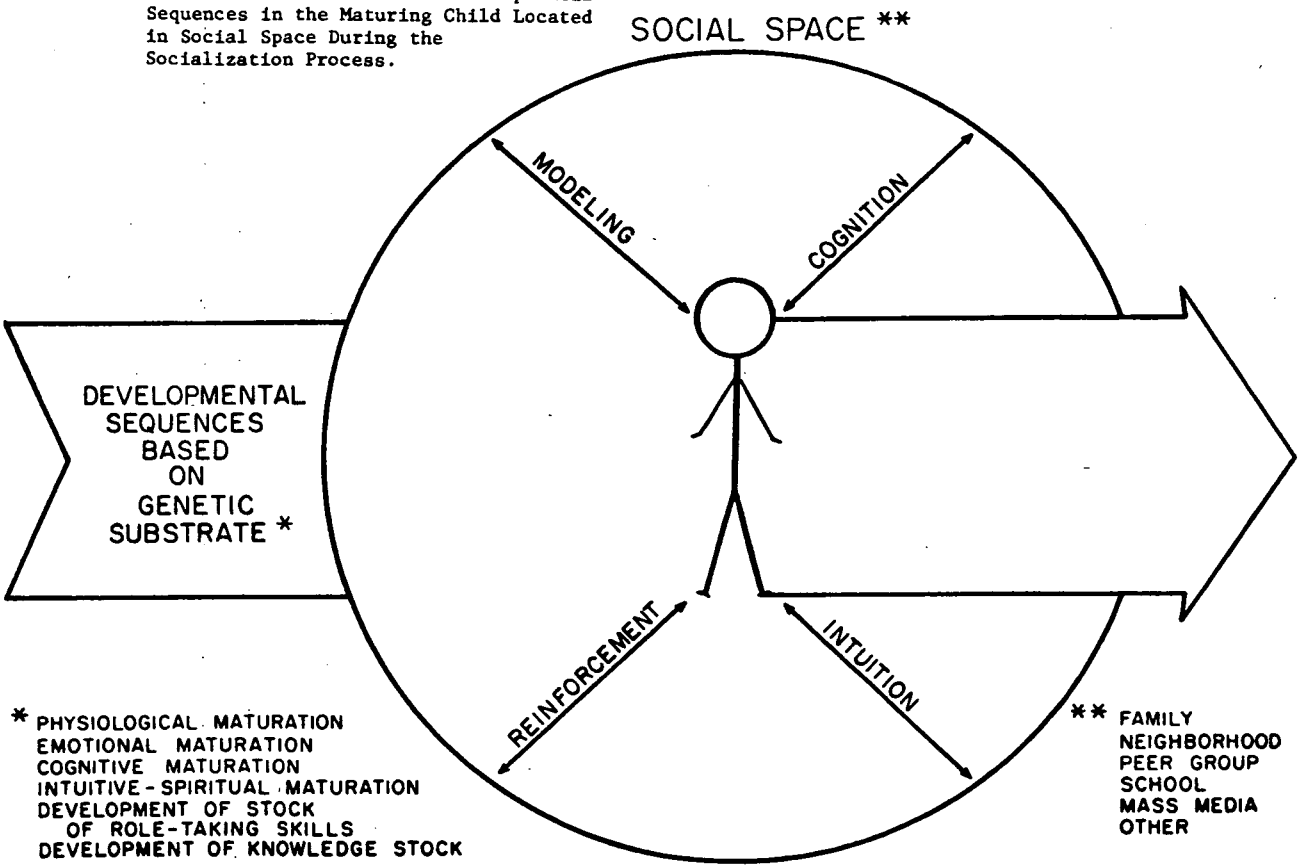
It will be remembered that when the ingredients for the socialization model were first presented, it was suggested that the life experience of a non-violent activist would include the following features: (1) optimal opportunities for emotional, cognitive and intuitive development; (2) exposure to events and knowledge stock; (3) exposure to a variety of adult and peer role models; (4) role-playing and problem-solving opportunities; and (5) rewarding feedback for problem solving.

These statements are all qualifying statements about the way in which different parts of the socialization process included in the socialization model move forward in the life experience of the growing child to produce peace-making behavior. Now we will look at some of the research on development of peaceful attitudes and peaceful dissenting behavior in recent protest movements for confirmation or disconfirmation of these postulates.

Developmental Opportunities in Home and School and Exposure to Events Stock

Research in support of points (1) and (2) were presented in the discussion of social space. We need add here only a mention of the convergence of research findings on student activists and their families. The two issues of the Journal of Social Issues devoted to this topic, October 1964 and July 1967, especially the articles by Flacks (1967), Gelineau and Kantor (1964), Christian Bay (1967), Fishman and Solomon (1964), and the Rosenham study of the civil rights movement activists (1971), plus the Block, Haan and Smith study of activism and apathy in adolescents (1968) all point to the fact that liberal parents who have close, warm relationships with their children and also provide intellectual stimulation in the home often produce children who become committed activists, acting out their parent's views in ways their parents have not done. While children and parents may now disagree, the fact remains that in these families there has been more open communication between parents and children than in the average family. These activist students are better informed than their non-activist counterparts.

Figure 3. Socialization Model: Interaction of the Genetic Substrate and Developmental Sequences in the Maturing Child Located in Social Space During the Socialization Process.



Heckman's study (1972) of theological students who turned in their draft cards as a protest against the war and risked prison sentences rather than take the draft deferrment permitted them by their choice of the ministerial vocation shows similar family closeness, together with encouragement by parents of independent thinking on the part of the sons. Maccoby's discussion (1968) of the development of moral behavior in childhood also makes very clear the crucial role of parental child-rearing styles which combine emotional warmth with encouragement of autonomy in producing children with both a sense of competence and of social responsibility. Since warmth without autonomy can mean overprotective childrearing and produce timidity in children, the willingness of parents to stand back and let their children experiment on their own and think for themselves appears to be equally important with warmth in the development of the creative peace-maker.

Exposure to Adult and Peer Role Models

The importance of the peer group as a source of role models is often ignored in favor of a focus on significant adults. The importance of the peer group is particularly pronounced in the development of attitudes toward peace and peace-making. Haavelsrud's (1971) study shows that friends are considered a more important source of information about peace than any other agent by tenth-graders. In fact, these teen-agers report that teachers, textbooks and the media all teach them much more effectively about war than about peace. The significance of informal and formal peer-group associations in structuring and strengthening commitment of young people to new behaviors can hardly be overestimated in the light of their reported judgments that they learn about peace-making from each other, not from any sector of the adult society or the mass media.

We have other evidence, however, that the effect of special adult role models at this age may be very great. Studies of critical influences in the lives of young adults who were conscientious objectors in World War II (Guetzkow, 1945) and of women who became active in the Women's Strike for Peace in 1962 (E. Boulding, 1965) reveals the importance of an encounter, often in the early teens, with a minister, teacher or other community figure who represented a dynamic role model for social change in contrast with earlier role model exposure for these individuals. Encounters with great social innovators through reading were also reported as significant experiences. Heckman's (1972) seminary draft resisters also reported the great importance of male adults other than their fathers in their intellectual and moral development.

Competence-Generating Social Experience

Combining points (4) and (5) listed above, we find the researches on socialization for competence and on development of altruistic behavior emphasize the importance of the following:

a. Successful past experience with problem-solving and ability to cope with stress (E. Midlarsky, 1968; Midlarsky and Midlarsky, 1971); Sampson, 1967; Block, Haan and Smith, 1968; and Aronfreed, 1970).

b. feelings of optimism about society, confidence in self (E. Midlarsky and Bryan, 1972; E. Midlarsky, 1968; Midlarsky and Midlarsky, 1972; Bay, 1967; London, 1970, and Smith, 1968).

c. feelings of responsibility for the well-being of others (Heckman, 1972; Fishman and Soloman, 1964).

d. experience of emotional warmth and reward for helping behavior (Kaufman, 1970:104; Aronfreed, 1970).

A variety of research on altruism from different points of view all make clear the relationship between competence and altruism. A person does not engage in aiding behavior, particularly at cost to herself, unless she feels competent and this feeling of competence is based on past successes. E. Midlarsky (1968) makes clear that what looks like very costly altruistic behavior to an outsider is a trifle to the aider because she knows she has the competence to do what others would find difficult. She can also endure more stress than the average person (Withey, 1962; Janis, 1962). It is not however an exclusively middle class phenomenon, although much of the research on competence emphasizes the training for competence of middle class parents. E. Midlarsky (1968:237) reports different patterns of aiding behavior in the lower and middle class, but aiding itself is not class-linked. The word autonomy is frequently used in describing the personality of the altruist.

An enormous optimism about the future and confidence in self as actor characterizes the activist-altruist. London (1970) describes the characteristics of the rescuers of Jews in Nazi Germany as including a pronounced spirit of adventurousness. This was all the more notable because their aiding responses were taken at very great risk and they were a very tiny social minority with no reinforcement possible for their behavior except a sense of acting on behalf of a future, better society (and of course the gratitude of the rescued). Sorokin's good neighbors in his neighbor study were notably optimistic people (1950). Christian Bay in his study of college students (1967) considers optimism about the future one of the key characteristics of activists.

Feelings of responsibility for others extending beyond particular claims made personally by the activist are marked. Heckman's seminary students (1972) who risked jail needlessly to resist the draft expressed deep concern about how society was going. "What kind of people are we becoming?" "I want to be able to face my children." These feelings begin to develop early. Fishman and Solomon (1964) state:

> In studies of peace and civil rights demonstrators we have tentatively noted that "first memories" of social concern and sympathy seem to cluster around the ages of 5-7 and 12-15. This coincides with period of great personality and role transition in the individual. Perhaps the awareness of and discomfort with change in the self increases the tendency to displacement and projection and thus enhances sensitivity to and sympathy with suffering in others (Fishman and Solomon, 1964:6).

The notion that spurts in personal growth and in sensitivity to others may go hand in hand is an interesting one for parents and educators to explore.

One of the most delightful of all researches into altruism was undertaken recently by Elizabeth Midlarsky and James Bryan (1972), in which they demonstrated that joyous hugging of children when they engaged in an altruistic response in an experimental situation (sharing candy or other goodies) greatly increased the frequency of altruistic responses in future runs of the experiment. The rewards of altruism can be felt through positive responses of rewarding others, or through the simple perception that the person helped is in fact now better off. Aronfreed (1970) argues that the altruist is automatically reinforced by the fact of desired outcomes being produced for the person helped. This simple observation removes a lot of unnecessary mystique from altruistic behavior.

The child who becomes an altruist, an activist, and a non-violent shaper of the future is then one who feels autonomous, competent, confident about her own future and the future of society, able to cope with stress, relates warmly to others and feels responsibility for them even when they are not directly dependent on her. She has had many opportunities to solve problems and play out different social roles in the past and her successes have been recognized and rewarded; she has been exposed to a wide variety of events, accumulated a fair amount of knowledge, and has a cognitively complex view of the world. She has been inspired by adult role models, but also nurtured and helped by her own peers. In terms of our model, she has had optimal opportunities to develop each of her capacities, cognitive, emotional and intuitive, during her maturing years; her predispositions for bonding, for altruism, play, creating alternatives have more than counter-

balanced her predispositions for aggression. Her social spaces have been filled with challenges she could meet, role models which provided rich sources of complex learnings about possible social behavior, and positive reinforcements for her attempts to make constructive changes around her.

This shaper of the future is something of a miracle, since as Christian Bay points out:

> Every new human being is potentially a liberal animal and a rebel; yet every social organization he will be up against from the family to the state, is likely to seek to "socialize" him into a conveniently pliant conformity (Bay, 1967:90).

If we look at the daily lives of children and teen-agers, we get a very powerful impression that they are extracting something from their various environments and from the timestream that most adults are missing. Vietnam, President Kennedy's assassination, the space-walk, tightly-packed urban misery, loneliness in the midst of affluence - all these have filtered through the formal socialization agencies and contributed to a set of images of the world inside the child's head quite different from the ones held by the older generation. The autonomous role of cognition and intuition in social learning must not be forgotten. In acting on their own images young people are engaging in a kind of social creativity that defies encapsulation in any theory of socialization.

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PEACE EDUCATION : AN ATTEMPT AT DEMYSTIFICATION

The conventional approach of peace education seems to be not only bereft of operational value, but quite ineffective. This is due to the general changes in conditions all over the world, and, of course, within the educational situation.

At the time of the openly acknowledged "cold war", peace education aimed, naturally, at convincing people that they should be aware that the state of peace is, in principle, possible, that it may be maintained for a lasting period, and, finally, that a general moral duty forces one to act accordingly. Power and superpower establishments tried to persuade people that the only solution for settling conflicts and antogonisms is war either as a planetory conflagration, or in the form of permanent so-called local-wars, in different parts of the globe. Even if this idea was not explicitely expressed as such, it was, nevertheless, the basic premise of political strategies.

Now, the ideal of peace has been appropriated by the constitutional centres of political decision making. This might be considered a hopeful prospect, but facts have shown that many of the proposed projects are intended, in the first place, to strengthen the present balance of power. Thus one reaches a consolidation and reinforcement of one of the basic causes determining iniquities, disparities, antogonisms. The trend to restrain action which might ensure peace comprises in itself the threat that this could be used in order to manipulate minds, and public opinion. (At least, we have to compare statements about peace, with concrete actions, with facts.) If that is the true state of affairs then we are confronted with a vast and most monstrous manipulation of the human conscience. To limit ourselves to simple talks on peace, on non-violence etc., without taking into account this fundamental change in circumstances means transforming peace education, too, into a blind auxiliary of this manipulation.

To avoid such a development, it is imperative to proceed to a radical demystification of the conceptional framework of peace education.

I shall illustrate with a concrete case what I have in my mind: most peace-educational conceptions and strategies fail to make the semiotically necessary distinction between the semantic and the pragmatic level (or dimension). This requirement is not provoked by the desire to formulate the problems in a more sophisticated manner, but in order to comply with practical achievements. Thus, for instance, semantically,

it is possible and necessary to prove that human problems, including political ones, can and must be settled without utilizing violence (= strategy of non-violence); pragmatically, however, we know too well what a strategy of non-violence has achieved when a foreign army has occupied a country ...

It is, however, obvious, in the light of such events, that in the case of peace education we must distinguish the pragmatic from the semantic aspect and vice versa. Otherwise, as in the concrete case shown above, to transfer automatically the principle of non-violence from the semantic level to the pragmatic one might mean to favour, effectively, the uprising of violence.

This paradoxical outcome has its origin in a false understanding of the nature of education, subsequently also of peace education, which ought to be demystified in its turn.

The obsolete, but still very widespread view about education is dominated by some ideological dogmas. Among these dogmas three are also significant for our approach to peace education.

1. The dogma of the invariability and homogenity of the educational situation. Subsequently, those of the ideals, goals and objectives, of structures, contents and methods.

2. The dogma of reducing education to onesided intellectual and verbal communication. In this context education means to talk of and to argue for a certain matter deeming that these means are sufficient to determine a change of motivation as well as an ability to confront and to solve problematical situations.

3. The dogma of the belief that certain educational actions and communications necessarily produce certain effects (a deterministic pattern of education). Of course, the consequences of the above dogmatic prejudices also affect the theory and practice of peace education.

If we have a look at the state of peace education, we must recognize that in spite of really good intentions even this field is ruled by the obsolete conception described above by the three dogmata.

Indeed, very few peace education programmes - if indeed any at all - take into consideration the radical changes in and the real heterogeneity of the present educational situatior Due to these circumstances, peace education is in fact manipulated and made use of by the Establishment because of its false intentions concerning the educational situation. The means of both of manipulating and making use of peace education lie in the abstract character and the lack of pertin-

ence of their ideals, goals, objectives etc. At the beginning of this paper, I pointed out some of the relevant features of the world situation as it is now. It must be stressed that the misunderstanding of the actual facts we have to face provokes attitudes profitable to the centres of political decision making: peace and peace education are thought of in a very abstract and universal way. But, as I have mentioned, one may not overlook the fact that for different regions, countries, and above all for different social systems some basic concepts of peace education have different meanings. I illustrated this with the example of the concept of non-violence. The problem arises in the same way, for instance, when someone refuses to do military service. The social function of this refusal can be quite different depending whether the person lives in the US or in North Vietnam. Categories of peace education have a contentual meaning which depends on the concrete societal environment. Keeping in mind the above examples, it is clear that this contextuality is equally significant whether one examines the problems from a societal or an individual point of view. To transfer the concepts from the societal level to the individual one, and vice versa, constitutes a heavy methodological error, with, possibly, extremely dangerous consequences in practice. The contextual dependency of peace education categories creates a situation where it is impossible to speak meaningfully without referring explicitely to the given social systems or to their interrelationship. This indicates that peace education involves a political explanation of the societal environment, within the framework of which one has to deal with the resulting problems.

Subsequently, peace education has to define its concept taking into consideration
(a) the permanently changing educational situation,
(b) its extreme heterogeneity, and
(c) its intrinsic political nature.

Secondly, we must regard peace education, like education in general, not only as a process of intellectual and verbal communication, but as a process aiming at "total" communication.

Of course, we cannot limit peace education to a simple transmission of semantic information, nor can we disregard the dangers of intellectual and verbal bias adopting a different onesided position: the substitution of an exclusively emotional type of communication for the exclusively intellectual one, as biased as the original.

Peace education has to determine modifications in the motivational system. In other words, it regards the personality as a whole.

Therefore, peace education has to employ not simply one certain type of human communication, but an integrative synthetic, holistic, synergetic type of communication, that is to say, "total" or comprehensive communication.

Finally, one has to rid peace education of the present dominance exercised by deterministic patterns.

Only a naively vulgar view about education supposes that it would be sufficient to carry out a certain educational action in order to obtain some definite result. In reality, any educational action creates a field of possible and probable responses, but the outcome of a certain action (a certain kind of behaviour which is aimed at) depends on the structure of the individual, on his position in and his interaction with the social system which represents his societal environment, as such to effectuate and to control actions involved in peace education, to judge their effectiveness requires démarches on a highly scientific level. For these reasons I am very sceptical about the outburst of amateurism in the field of education, and of course, in peace education, too. This point of view is not inspired by an aloof attitude, but solely by operational consideration. What perspectives and chances could this amateuristic peace education have in comparison with those of the State which has at its disposal a huge scientific and technological apparatus for implementing its strategy?

Therefore, peace education also must disregard the romanticism of this amateuristic trend, even if it is the expression of generosity and good will, - or it risks loosing all efficiency und thus becoming an instrument of those principles it initially intended to break.

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PEACE RESEARCH AND PEACE EDUCATION: A PESSIMISTIC NOTE

Just as peace researchers and educators are to be brought together on the crest of enthusiasm for and optimism about peace education, there is also definitely a need for an a d v o c a t u s d i a b o l i to state the reasons for not being overly optimistic about any rapid results of the contacts between these different groups. It is understood that the impact of such enthusiasm is already too great to undergo much change, even if subjected to a critique where, for the sake of emphasis, the reservations and careful formulations are much fewer than they should be in normal academic prose.

For it is definitely true that there <u>are</u> reasons for pessimism and criticism; so let us immediately state some of the more important ones.

The most general obstacle to closer cooperation is common to the relations between researchers and educators more or less everywhere: On the one hand, the producers of knowledge refuse to, or are unable to, express themselves in a language understandable enough to serve as a basis for preparing teaching, and, on the other hand, they continually complain about the educators' misunderstanding or vulgarizing the message on its way to a broader public. This, in itself, is normal, and should, therefore, not create a lesser likelihood of fruitful cooperation here than in other fields.

But there is one more catch in our case, since peace researchers are likely to consider educators more obnoxious than other researchers do. For while people teaching physics or history would normally accept the physicists' or historians' definitions of their subjects, the central parts of them, and the body of established knowledge, peace teachers tend to have their own ideas about all this, thereby refusing to accept the traditional researcher-teacher division of labour. Such a refusal may be a good idea; but it certainly does not make it any easier to establish workable forms for cooperation.

The likelihood of jealousies and conflicts of competence is thus greater than in other fields; and this is further magnified by the fact that many researchers, too, tend to abandon the traditional division of labour. For it is a widespread idea among researchers, as well as among educators, that peace research is special in the sense that there is some intrinsic connection between <u>what</u> is taught/learnt and <u>how</u> it is taught/learnt, or at least that this

connection is stronger here than elsewhere. In consequence, we would expect to find it a common phenomenon that both categories insist on defining what the message is as well as how to transmit it; and from this it is easy to conceive of further battle issues emerging between researchers and educators.

It might be objected that precisely this overlapping of roles could be turned into a fruitful breeding-ground for cooperation, so that it should be easier for peace researchers and peace educators to interact beneficially than for most other combinations of producers and distributors of knowledge. If this objection is a pious statement of hope, it is easy to agree; but if it purports to express a factual expectation, it should be very carefully formulated in its optimism, unless mutual frustration is to cause a breakdown in relationships. A sound pessimism seems to be a better basis for preparing both categories for the vicissitudes to be undergone before any practical results of cooperation emerge.

One more problem makes a considerable amount of patience advisable: It is the experience, gained by introspection and by personal observations of the present author, that educators as well as peace researchers have a somewhat obsessive passion for preaching to other people, which can be expected to make communication rather difficult between the two categories as well as within them; for the passion for being preached to is very much rarer than the passion for preaching.

Fundamental Ambiguities: Peace, Education and Peace Education

Even a writer who is generally sick and tired of semantical analysis as a frequent modern version of scholasticism will hardly be able to avoid dealing with it in the present context. For there are at least two problems that have to be tackled before we can say very much more about the topic under consideration. Leaving philosophers to brood over the meaning of the word "education", we maintain that we must clarify the following two questions,

1) How are the notions of "peace", "violence" etc. used?
2) What is meant by the juxtaposition of the words "peace" and "education"?

The first issue is comprehensive enough to deserve a section of its own; so let us just underline that the second one is far from unproblematic.

It appears that the combination of words, "peace education" is used in at least two different senses in debate, and that this contributes to a certain amount of confusion.

On the one hand, one frequently finds "peace education" to mean "teaching the findings of peace research", quite analogously with "natural science education", etc. There may be reasons for using a slightly more vague general translation, say, "transmission of findings from peace research"; for the word "teaching" is not so crucial in this context.

The other meaning of the phrase "peace education" that appears to be fairly current can be given as "education for peace", i.e. education somehow aiming at changing attitudes to peace (to social justice, etc.), at preparing people for peace actions, and in general at having the effect of increasing (the likelihood of) peace in some system.

It is important to keep these two different types of meanings analytically distinct before relating them to each other. For, while there is no a p r i o r i contradiction between them, they are definitely not the same thing. For example, peace education in the first sense may neither be a necessary, nor a sufficient, condition for peace education in the second sense; and whether it is either, is an empirical question, the answer to which depends on what peace educators (in the second sense) believe to be useful means for furthering peace, particularly on whether they believe teaching the findings of peace research to be useful for that aim.

By defining "peace education" (in the second sense) as we have, we have also left it as an empirical question whether peace education leads to peace. That, then, would be a problem for peace researchers: What types and contents of education have what results in relation to peace under what conditions?

The Elusive Peace

At this point, it becomes unavoidable to inquire, for the umpteenth time, into the basic terms of the discipline: "Peace", "violence", "conflict", and "social justice". We shall, however, try to avoid repeating the lengthy debate on the semantics of these expressions, referring the reader rather to the Journal of Peace Research, where much of it can be found, from the editorial in JPR 1964:1, via the articles by Galtung and Schmid, and on to the contributions by Gronow & Hilppö (JPR 1970:4) and by Derriennic (JPR 1972:4).

Here, we shall concentrate on one important aspect of the conclusions that can be drawn from an analysis of the debate: The discussions on the definitions of the concepts listed above have mainly been of a normative character, al-

though mostly hidden under a social science verbiage. There is nothing illegitimate about that, unless one takes a more than usually rigorous positivist point of view, be it of the older (Lundbergian) or of a more recent (Althusserian) version. There is no denying that a continuous debate on the fundamental notions brings benefits in terms of sensitivity to new problems (also there might be other ways of achieving that than continuous redefinition of concepts); but the risks are also obvious and manifest. The fashionable "definitions of the year" will often serve to patch over differences of opinion by finding acceptable verbal formulae as well as to define away serious problems by making their answers seemingly tautologous.

Clearly , then, the different sweeping definitions of the basic terms that have been proposed by various authors will have political functions. On the one hand, since most of the words are so strongly value-loaded, attempts at redefinitions (corresponding to the more or less vague descriptive meanings that the words sometimes have in everyday language) will amount to attempts at moving these value-loadings over to things or states that the authors of definitions like or dislike. On the other hand, manipulations of definitions have a more specific research policy function, by directing the time, energy, and efforts of people identifying themselves with the peace research tradition (or movement , or rather both) to new fields.

Again, there is little reason to have any general and abstract objections to this, except possibly such deriving from intellectual clarity and honesty, particularly about values. Furthermore, the present author does not feel compelled to repeat the traditional political arguments for and against the different positions. Let us therefore immediately try to be more specific as to the dangers lurking around us.

First, there is the definite danger that the apparently unanimous acceptance of definitions and formulae at various conferences may serve more to confuse than to clarify. For the new definitions arrived at tend to be neither operationalized, nor connected with some already existing theory with definite empirical reference; and this leaves any researcher free to mean whatever he likes by the fundamental terms, once he has stated these abstract d e f i n i t i o n s d e p a r a d e in the first section of his treatise (this goes for much of social science, but appears to be more taken to its extremes within peace research). One of the most serious consequences of loose and variable terminology is that the hopes for cumulative peace research become rather slim.

There appear to be two ways out of this problem; and probably they should be combined as far as possible: On the one hand, one can integrate the fundamental concepts into the frameworks of already existing theories, and on the other

hand try to produce operational definitions.

The first solution has been attempted both with respect to functional theories, and, more recently, to Marxism; in both cases it had the bad luck of being connected to the weaker and vaguer parts of the respective conceptual frameworks, such as "equilibrium" or "exploitation", rather than deriving meaning from more precise notions. Another possibility is, of course, to build up coherent theories around the concepts under discussion; but so far, we can hardly say that any of these theories has found very much empirical reference; the concepts serve as headlines rather than as tools.

The second solution, direct operationalization, might also be possible in some cases. Galtung & Høivik (JPR 1971:1) make the most ambitious attempt so far at operationalizing the notion of structural violence, and do not seem far from succeeding.

So let us make this aspect of the criticism clear: It says that the recent redefinitions of old terms or the creation of new concepts have not yet attained sufficient theoretical and empirical content. It does not say that they cannot; on the contrary, there may be reasons for hope (unless the terms go on to have swiftly variable meanings in the future, too).

But there are other serious problems emerging from the recent terminological trends. If we mention the phenomenon that novices think that they have learnt something about peace research, when they have only memorized a verbal proposal for a definition, it is only because it connects with a more complicated problem already hinted at: It easily (but, of course, not necessarily) happens that important scientific problems are defined beyond all sensible limits, e.g., when "violence" is used as a sweeping term to blanket war as well as various aspects of social injustice.

For if "minimization of violence" is thus used as a goal for research or for action, it means very little until one has indicated how to settle various trade-off problems (how much of this kind of violence is acceptable if it leads to the abolition of so and so much of that kind?) While we find advocates of military as well as nonmilitary strategies asserting that there can be no peace as long as there is oppression (which is typically a pledge to fight oppression rather than an analytical statement), this defines a problem when we use the term "violence" in the proposed widest sense: Will minimization of violence be achieved by enduring the existing social injustice, by fighting it short of physical violence, or by using all available means against it. This is clearly an empirical problem in every concrete situation; but it is not entirely empirical: One has to state some a p r i o r i trade-off relations between the dif-

ferent kinds of violence in order to make the problem empirical. (See, again, Galtung & Høivik and Derriennic).)

The general upshot one is likely to get from empirical investigations is that peace in one sense is not compatible with peace in another sense, and that the same goes for violence. These contradictions are important to keep in mind, for if one does not, one is likely to sweep under the carpet a whole set of important questions: Under what circumstances is, e.g., physical violence necessary in order to achieve social justice? Under what circumstances can physical violence be effective at all in creating more social justice? Under what circumstances and in what ways may social justice create different kinds of violence? To what extent are different aspects of social justice at all compatible with each other? (These questions have been formulated from an actor's perspective, but are not dependent on that, since they can easily be reformulated without it.)

One more remark should be added before we proceed to the problems defined by the relationships between research and teaching. It has repeatedly been pointed out that "negative peace" appears to be the only concept around the definition of which some degree of real consensus has emerged. This certainly does not mean that there is consensus about negative peace as the goal of peace research, not even as a necessary element of such a goal - but that is another point, having to do with the fact that when it comes to the term "peace" as denoting a social goal or a research goal, most authors prefer something else than just "negative peace". Sometimes, they want to add something more under the name of, e.g., "positive peace","absence of structural violence", or "social justice"; and in many cases, these values are even given precedence to negative peace.

We should have no illusions about unanimity when it comes to what is to be added to, or substituted for, "negative peace"; for not only do we generally find consensus among different political parties about "war" being bad (from which it does not always follow that "peace" is respectable), we hardly ever find any party speaking up against "social justice". This may be an expression of a widespread real consensus in the first case (at least as long as the issue of b e l l u m j u s t u m is not brought on the agenda), but hardly in the second case. Here, the general consensus exists only about the meaning of "social justice" something that one holds for good and valuable; but only a very naive person would believe that a convinced liberal and a revolutionary socialist would mean the same thing with that phrase - at most, their meanings will overlap considerably.

So instead of patching over the differences that exist, we should carefully consider what conclusions to draw from the fact that they do. One possible conclusion might be to

concentrate on that which commands a high degree of consensus in at least some sense: Peace as absence of war. Still, after the long-standing and well-taken criticism of that notion, that would appear less advisable, unless we insert some phrase such as "between nations", and hardly even then.

Another possibility would be to try to avoid any weighting implied by speaking of "minimization of violence" generally, since the problems entailed by such a weighting have not been solved, and probably never will be. The alternative would be to find some formula like "negative peace in combination with social justice in such and such a sense", or "negative peace, under the condition of absence of structural violence in sense x". For we hardly find any critic that is against negative peace as such, but only insofar as it stands in the way of positive peace, abolition of structural violence, or creation of social justice. As already mentioned, any attempt to define such a formula will demand a considerable amount of research as to what is empirically compatible or incompatible with what - but this is as it should be, for it at least means that we will be getting some research out of this approach, even if the consensus does not emerge.

To summarize, it is not likely that any real consensus will develop among peace researchers, once we leave the philosophically simple notion of negativ peace, taking upon ourselves to give some precise sense to the other notions. The only reasonable conclusion from this appears to be that we have to accept that the field of peace research is not well-defined and will never be so; in other words, peace researchers will go on doing different things - unless we want to introduce some kind of political censorship by means of abstract definitions.

From Research to Education

After this survey, it is hardly astonishing if educators are less in agreement with peace researchers than with other researchers. Firstly, there exists very little consensus even as to the circumscription of the field. And secondly, when it comes to substantial research results so far, the truth is, frankly speaking, that peace research does not have very much to teach. A considerable part of the peace research tradition so far consists of arguments as to what peace research should be, and another part of the tradition is a vast set of general models, which have, in general, rather little connection with the scanty empirical knowledge that has, after all, been accumulated.

Furthermore, an unsystematic survey of existing textbooks in English, German and Scandinavian gives rather much the same impression as attending many peace research conferences: A great proportion of what is published is about

peace research rather than in peace research, and the rest hardly ever goes beyond presenting some fairly narrow area from one or two analytical perspectives.

This, in itself, is nothing remarkable; it would have been much more remarkable if we had found the opposite, peace research being so young and the field being so highly heterogeneous. It is questionable whether time has yet grown ripe for a synthesis; and if it has, at least for a survey of the contradictions between different schools in connection with their main findings, such a synthesis will certainly take time and energy to produce.

One important implication of this concerns the relationships between research and education: If the researchers themselves have hardly been able to produce any synthesis of the state of their subject, their complaints about the educators would seem to mirror their own frustration more than any inherent incompetence in the educators.

In order to arrive at a somewhat more manageable discussion, let us recall the distinction made above between two different types of meanings of the phrase "peace education". Since they present rather different problems, we shall take one at a time, starting with what we might call "peace research education"; i.e., presenting the results which emerge as to how peace (in one or another of the several senses) can be achieved and maintained. Here, the problems would, at a first glance, not appear to be very different from the problems well-known from other scientific fields that set themselves the task of disseminating their achievements to outside the university. A closer look will reveal some problems, however. First, the dissemination has so far not been very successful even within the universities; but that statement more and more belongs to history, at least institutionally speaking, since the number of universities with departments of peace research, or at least courses on peace research for students of traditional disciplines, is steadily increasing. University teaching is admittedly simpler than teaching on lower or on other levels for many reasons; and it would appear that the main problems emerging here concern peace researchers learning to express themselves, orally and in writing, in an understandable language. Textbooks are hardly necessary, and may be in more than one language; and on the university level, learning means in any case mostly individual study, so that the teachers (in most countries) are not required to have any training at all in teaching.

More problems emerge when we move over to two other fields: chools and adults. In terms of the close future, these are in all probability the first targets that are of greater importance, at least in the highly literate part of the world where some school attendance has been almost universal for a generation or more. Being much too little acquainted with

educational problems in the rest of the world, the author therefore prefers to restrict himself to the part mentioned. To substantiate the statement just made, we may just mention the fact that peace research has started creeping into the secondary school curricula in some countries, and could be expected to do so in more; and in sheer numbers at least, secondary students tend to be much more likely to be recruited from some form of voluntary peace education than the adults. This argument, of course, gets even stronger, if and when peace research should start appearing on the primary school curricula.

It may probably be held as a fairly general rule that the more elementary the school level, the greater the demands made on the teacher, both in terms of formal requirements as to training in teaching and in terms of the pedagogical reality in the classroom. If we therefore restrict ourselves to discussing the secondary level here, this does not mean underrating the problems at the primary level; on the contrary, it should all the time be understood that, in all likelihood, these are not only different to a considerable extent, but also much more difficult.

Let us now state the new problems which emerge when we turn our attention from the university to secondary school level. The main ones appear to be the following,

1. The teacher no longer typically coincides with the researcher, so some kind of mediation has to take place, mostly in the national language of the school.

2. The degree of officialdom, as to what is to be taught and how, is usually considerably higher in school than at the university.

3. Since the students are no longer self-selected, the problem of making the presented material relevant to them becomes greater.

As a consequence of 1., peace researchers will have to produce comprehensive texts themselves, unless they prefer the situation where the writing of text books is done by teachers trying to get to grips with the variety of first-hand sources.

As a consequence of 2., these books (and other materials) will to some degree have to conform to the established standards applied by school book commissions, at least in the majority of countries where such exist.

Another consequence of 1. is that, at least in the short run, the teachers will have to get some university training, especially ,since the sprinkling of peace research in second-

ary curricula will occur as part of other subjects, e.g., social science or political education or history, rather than as a school subject in its own right. Since this, presumably short, training period will be the only contact between researchers and teachers, preparing it would require utmost care from the researchers, who cannot assume that the teachers share some kind of peace research ideology from the beginning, nor that they generally are willing to accept it once introduced to it. In the longer run, when the universities start exporting peace research students to the secondary schools as teachers, this may change.

This fact will also put limits on what is possible to achieve under 3.; at the very least, these limits are partly defined by the possibilities for cooperation from the teachers, even if it may be assumed that reasonably good material will not be entirely dependent on the teacher for understanding and acceptance. But at least we have to consider 1. and 3. together. For the texts produced by peace researchers may be definite products, or they may be only the first step in a process where the next step is that authors with pedagogical experience translate these texts to secondary school level. In any case, the researchers will be dependent on members of the school system in some step in the process.

And that leads us to a central question in this context: How can peace research material be made relevant and interesting to students, in this case at the secondary level? Since the present author lacks experience of teaching at this level, the following discussion will have to be highly aprioristic. Still, since the argument is mainly negative, that may not matter as much as it would otherwise have done.

First, the question lacks somewhat in precision, since it is not stated who is to judge what is relevant. While clearly the students are the only judges of what is interesting, one might propose several candidates as arbiters of relevance. If the students are the judges here, too, then any preparation of teaching must take into account what the students are actually interested in, which is again clearly a matter for a sociological survey.

But one can think of other judges, e.g., school authorities, peace researchers or peace activists, etc. We shall omit going into the detailed motives that may be latent or manifest in each group, restrict ourselves to making a general point: Here, as much as in the first case, criteria of relevance will depend on what goals one has in mind. For example, if the criteria of relevance are defined by the goal "knowledgeable participation in the political process", then priority should be given to knowledge about national foreign policy and the issues handled by it, as well as to

knowledge about issues that one thinks should be handled by various branches of national foreign policy and expects to be taken care of by it, sooner or later. Advocates of this line may support it by, e.g., the assumption that an enlightened public will refuse to support such policies that increase the risk of war, or that make still worse the degree of unequal exchange on global level. This may be complete nonsense to a peace activist who has entirely given up the idea of affecting foreign policy via the traditional political channels as illusory. but who believes in making alternative foreign policy on the grassroot level, by symbolic or real action. For him, the criteria as to what is relevant knowledge will obviously be rather different, at least in some respects.

We do not purport to have any readymade solution to the problems just outlined; the main point here is that one does not need to have much of a bureaucratic mind to see that the problems do exist and will have to be taken care of somehow. It would probably be premature to try to hand out some general recipe, if only because the relative weight of different interested groups is so different in different countries, at the same time as the national school bureaucracies are permeable to external and internal influences to different degrees in different countries.

Some of the questions arising from the problems just mentioned might preferably be treated in the discussion of education for peace. Before going over to that, we would like to have a look at a question that deserves consideration in both contexts: For one should definitely question the frequent assertion that there has to be some kind of homology between forms and contents of teaching peace research; and this questionning should start with the version of the assertion that deals with peace research education (even if this is possibly only meant to be valid concerning education for peace).

Is peace research any different from geography or administration, when it comes to teaching it? Is it necessary to have social justice in the classroom (e.g., in terms of opportunities to speak) in order to make understandable ideas about social justice on the international level (e.g., in terms of division of production in the tertiary sector between rich and poor countries)? The immediate answer would appear to be no: There appears to be no logical connection between the different things (school democracy and imperialism). This, at the very least, means that one would have to undertake serious pedagogical studies before making any assertions as to the didactic effects of social changes in the school. To the knowledge of the present author, this has not been done in the case of peace research.

It may be objected that the structures just made are directed at a fictitious opponent, or that in any case they miss the essential point, since peace research teaching is at most one little part in peace teaching, teaching for peace. Here, the focal objective is not transmission of cognitions, but change of attitudes and training for social action: Peace action. Therefore, homology acquires a very much more important role in the didactic process: Whatever one may be able to teach people cognitively, it is hardly to be expected that it will be possible to create a positive attitude to peace and readiness to peace action as long as there is structural violence in the classroom.

Again, one may ask: Why not? A short glance at school history would seem to indicate that it has been possible in the past to indoctrinate school pupils (and, for that matter, adults) in, e.g., various versions of christianity, democracy and socialism, most often in settings rather dissimilar to the ideals preached. The objection to that is obvious: What has been taught has not been real religion, democracy, or socialism, but some truncated or perverted forms; and this leads us back to the question who is to define what is real, and what is not; which is obviously a political question in semantical disguise.

One may also propose another angle of the above objection. In this version, the crucial point is that the relevance between levels is fairly low (unless one consciously works at increasing the psychological relevance by means of simulations, parabolae, etc.), so that there is no inherent contradiction in, e.g., trying to transmit knowledge about and negative attitudes to the exploitation of nations and classes in a highly authoritarian classroom setting. Or one may teach about parliamentary democracy on the national level without having to introduce some parallel to it in school.

Instead of prolonging the chain of possible arguments and counter-arguments, we may declare them all irrelevant and conclude a point from that. For obviously the whole debate depends very much on whether one includes social relations in the classroom in that which is to be learnt, or merely regards them as instrumental for teaching peace and social justice. The objections reviewed so far have all concerned the second case, and lose most of their validity, if one applies them to the first; for then the debate becomes one of goals rather than of means.

But whether we include social relations in the classroom in the notions "peace" and "social justice" or not, there seem to be good reasons for underlining once more one of our initial points: As soon as we intend to use these notions for any practical purpose, such as transmitting attitudes and readiness for action, we cannot avoid clarifying the political definitions of these terms, i.e., by

asking systematically, "peace and social justice according to whose definition and what model?"

And precisely because these beautiful words have so little common meaning, being able to be used for different purposes thanks to their ambiguity, one tends to suspect that the whole idea of peace education is just another disguise for preachers of all kinds; a blanket under which everybody is free to cultivate his pet ideas about man and society and expose other people to them, whether as open preaching or in the more shrewd form called discussion.

Of course, no reasonable objection to these activities can be raised: We all have and should have thoughts about man and society, and why should we keep them secret? The point is rather that, to the (unknown) extent to which this suspicion is well-founded, there appears to be little reason for us to wave the common banners of "peace" and "social justice"; for we are probably talking about different things.

Summary

If peace education means teaching peace research, what is taught will depend on the political preferences of those defining the curriculum. These preferences will be formulated as an interpretation of the words "peace" and "social justice". Still, it is possible to have some ideas about the task that lies ahead in the developed countries: The secondary school level. If peace education means education for peace, everything will depend entirely on the political preferences of the teacher, unless a lot more peace research goes into finding out what kind of education does actually lead to peace. In particular, it is doubtful whether education for peace will also have to be peaceful.
In both cases, it appears that the most important contribution towards creating the necessary prerequisites for peace education is more and better peace research. For only when that is produced will the efforts of professional educators be required and necessary.