

II. Approaches to the Concretization of Peace Education

ON PEACE EDUCATION

1. Introduction

When the peace research movement started at the end of the 1950s the universities did, in general, not welcome it. Rather, as has been demonstrated, the idea was picked up by research institutes, often those with no attachment to teaching institutions at all.

Today we see the result of this: a movement very strong on research; but weak on action, and also weak on education - although there are some very important exceptions¹⁾. There is nothing strange in this: the general imperative of peace was also taken up by action groups, and they have been similarly weak on research - and also on education. In short, despite the many professions to the contrary, peace education has probably not developed at all significantly during the last decades - as a contrast to the significant advances made both in peace research and in peace action.

One reason for this is definitely the strong hold several types of establishment in most countries have over all levels of education. What is being taught is a reflection of the past handed over in the present so as to secure a continuity into the future, and usually also in conformity with national ideology and upper class thinking. Any sincere peace research or peace action will stand out as a contrast to this type of perspective. One might think that in this situation more peace research groups and peace action groups would have added peace education programs to their activities, but in general this has not happened, probably largely due to lack of funds, under-staffing, over-concern with basic research, and so on.

It is now high time that this sad tradition be broken, and that peace education be taken seriously. This would in fact only be part of a larger perspective in which peace research, peace action, and peace education would find each other and integrate into the natural unified whole. It is obvious that if they are kept apart this reflects division of labor tendencies in the surrounding society, and not any inner necessity. In fact, they could hardly be more intimately related. For instance, a very important theme in peace research would be research on peace action in past and present: how slavery was abolished, how socialist revolutions improved the material conditions of the masses, how the anti-colonialization movements came into being and ultimately became a success in a limited sense, how mobilization against structural violence in general is possible. There could be research programs in peace education, not only research on images people have, but on how and why they change, with or without peace action.

¹⁾ The two exceptions would be the Federal Republic of

Particularly significant in this connection could be research on unconventional communication, on many new forms of peace action that not only have a communicative aspect, but also can be seen as pure education at a high level.

And there are other linkages. Both peace research and peace education will ultimately lead to peace action if they are of any value, and any peace action will have its obvious research and education benefits.

Nonetheless, in our division of labor societies, it would not be strange if outside institutions were stronger in shaping the need for peace education and ultimately also its content, particularly if peace researchers and peace activists are caught unaware. All over the world today there is talk about peace education, chairs are appearing in several universities; there is a demand for peace curricula at all levels of education, and so on. Those who demand have only vague notions of what they ask for - and that is not their fault. It is our fault that we have not been able to present a sufficiently rich supply to participate actively in this process. But it is still not too late: we are as yet only at the beginning. It is in order to stimulate active participation in that process that this paper has been prepared.

Germany and the United States as two countries, and Unesco as to international organization. But so many initiatives could be mentioned. There is the 'Association Mondiale pour l'École Instrument de Paix', a non-governmental organization accredited to Unesco with programs in many countries, there is the 'Peace Education Committee' of the International Peace Research Association, there is the general initiative taken by Sodepax in Geneva, the Political Commission Justice and Peace which also is concerned with "education for peace", the peace education work discussed at the conference in Manila December 1971, organized by Unesco, there is Danilo Dolci's 'Nuovo Centro Educativo a Partinico' which will have a strong peace content, there is the large movement spearheaded by the Institute for World Order in New York (see for instance, Ian Baldwin, Jr. "Thinking about the New World Order for the Decade 1990", World Peace Report January 1970, pp.3-7; see also article by Michael Washburn "Peace Education is Alive - but Unsure if Itself", World Peace Report, November 1971; and the discussion "What Should Kids be Taught About Peace and War?", World Peace Report, January 1971), and very many others. Of journals one should mention 'Ecole et Paix', published from Geneva, and 'Journal of World Education', published from Westbury, New York. And then there are all the universities, for instance University of Nottingham, with a very interesting program at its School of Education, related to the dynamism of Richard Hauser; The Chair of Peace Studies at Colgate University, N.Y.; and a multitude of programs in the Federal Republic of Germany. It is also symptomatic that the 1973 convention of the World Confedera-

2. The Form of Peace Education

It may seem strange to start with the form rather than with the content, but there is a simple reason: the form may open some new possibilities that should also be reflected in the content. We hope to show below that there is a very open range of opportunity available to all of us who want to go into peace education one way or another, and although this range definitely can be expanded, it is already today much wider than what is made use of: lectures at universities, pamphlets and small and big books, seminars and conferences, newspaper articles and magazine essays.

First a few general remarks about the form of peace education. It has to be compatible with the idea of peace,²⁾ i.e. it has in itself to exclude not only direct violence, but also structural violence. Only rarely is education nowadays sold with direct violence; the days of colonialism and corporal punishment are more or less gone. But the structural violence is there, and it takes the usual forms: a highly vertical division of labor which in this case expresses itself in one-way communication; fragmentation of the receivers of that communication so that they cannot develop horizontal interaction and organize and eventually turn the communication flow the other way; absence of true multilaterality in the education endeavor. All this relates to form; and if in addition the content of education is included, the structural violence becomes even more apparent.

Peace education should be an attempt to do away with this. Any educational form suggested should be evaluated in terms of the structure it engenders; and the questions should always be asked: Does it permit a feedback? Does it bring people together in a joint endeavor rather than keeping them apart? Does it permit general participation, and is the total form of education capable of self-generated change? In short, is there dialogue, not only message in the education?

A second basic problem has to do with the relationship between peace education and the traditional media of education: primary, secondary and tertiary schooling. The question is usually asked: Why not get peace education into the curricula at all three levels? But it is not so obvious that the answer is yes. The case may well be that at all three levels the form of education is such that it would be contrary to the very idea of peace education, and hence harmful. It is naive to believe that the contents of a message will survive any form in which it is presented; the form may often be even more important than the content. Many people have had the common experience that when they went to school it was always what they read themselves in their leisure time that was most interesting, most appetizing, and provoked the deepest insights and most gratifying experiences.

tion of Organizations of the Teaching Profession is devoted to "Education for Peace".

The moment something was put on the curriculum list it tended to accumulate dust and become gray and flat like everything else. What is left then is only an alibi function: society has done something about "peace", it is on the school curriculum.

In addition comes another factor: in many countries the school system is centralized under a Ministry of Education with almost dictatorial powers over the curricula, usually exercised through committees unable to reflect new ideas and to incorporate quickly the demands of younger generations. More likely than not, the average age for the committee members will be so high, and the capacity of self-generated change after their studies were concluded so low, that the committee at best will reflect dominant thinking at the time when they were young, at worst dominant thinking at the time when their teachers or professors were young. In a quickly changing society - and particularly in a society where conceptions of development, conflict, and peace are changing so quickly as today 3) - this is unacceptable. Something may be squeezed through a machinery of that kind, but at the risk of its becoming so flattened out in the process that even if the form of education were perfect, there would be no content left. Further, the validity of this type of analysis varies from country to country - and may be particularly low in federal countries or in countries that for some other reason rank high on decentralization. In such countries there will always be one state, province, district, city, or municipality more advanced than the others, more ready to experiment with new things. Even if it is done only in one school or only in one class it can be valuable because of the demonstration effect.

Still another difficulty is the strong tie existing between traditional educational institutions at any level and the social institution of sorting people into social categories, even social classes. This tie is, of course, the examination. To use education as a sorting device is problematic from the point of view of peace education, since peace itself is seen as antithetical to vertical social relations and hierarchies in any form. Hence, peace education would be seen as a way of achieving, individually and collectively, a higher level of consciousness, of awareness of social reality - not as a mechanism for achievement and social classification. There should be no examinations of any kind in connection with peace education, no basis for an emerging class of peace specialists. Such devices may fit in military aca-

2) Another expression of this point is found in Johan Galtung "Education for Peace", editorial, Journal of World Education, September 1972.

3) It might perhaps be pointed out that conceptions of development, perhaps also conflict, seem to be changing much more quickly than conceptions of peace - which still seem to be related to balance of power and disarmament

demies and business schools - not in any institutions to promote peace insight.

Generally, however, we are thinking here of other settings than the traditional institutions for primary, secondary, and tertiary schooling. Let us then turn to the various forms of peace education that could be imagined, and start with the simplest.

1. Programmed teaching . This is an excellent tool for self-instruction 4) , based on the idea of presenting material, asking questions on the basis of the material, and instructing the reader not to turn the page (where he will find the answer) before he has made up his mind as to the answer. If right, he continues; if wrong, he goes back to the preceding page. Many variations of this theme can be imagined.

One idea would be to use the teaching machine for training in thinking (and implicitly speaking and writing) about development, conflict, and peace. Concepts are indispensable tools here, and they can be taught only if in addition to concise presentations there are lots of examples and much empirical material from today's world and the world of history. In the first part of the book there could be an emphasis on concepts and materials, and in the next part an emphasis on the application to concrete cases. The concrete cases could be real or imagined, but in either case the idea would be to train the reader in diagnosis of a concrete situation, and in proposals for action. By the time he comes to that part he should be equipped with a repertory of diagnostic tools, a repertory of proposals, and some theory as to what action to propose in what type of situation. The basic point about the concrete exercises would then be to stimulate awareness of indicators that can be used for a diagnostic conclusion, and to practice the theory. The concrete situations could, then, range from family conflicts to the great problems of the contemporary world.

What, then, happened to the idea of peace education without structural violence? Would this not be the most authoritarian form conceivable, imparting the mutually fragmented readers the idea that there is a unique way of defining the problematics of development, conflict and peace, and a unique way of approaching unique situations: viz., the way written up by the author(s) ? Yes, this would be the case unless one added more elements to this picture.

ideas, without going much deeper into the origins of peacelessness.

4) This is, of course, also known as "teaching machines".

First, the reader should at all points be encouraged to criticize the content of the programmed teaching, hopefully with a view of improving it (one improvement might be to discard it, if all or most readers are basically dissatisfied). For this purpose, even typographical provisions might be made - empty pages, special sections to be torn out and returned to the author with comments, etc. In short, some type of branched programming 5).

Second, this could be used as a tool in connection with a summer camp, a class course, etc., where individual work and group work would alternate, and there would be ample opportunity for horizontal learning as well as for collective feedbacks and general participation. Actually, the teaching machine could have a built-in dialogue. Questions are asked on one page; on the next page follows a discussion of various answer alternatives rather than "correct" answers. But there are also lots of facts for which the more authoritarian approach might be appropriate.

Third, the book could be organized in such a way that the reader could benefit from parts of it without having to take in all of it - the reader could himself decide to what extent he wanted to be "indoctrinated".

This being said, it is felt that teaching machines could be prepared at three levels: for participants in primary, secondary, and tertiary education, without necessarily trying to squeeze programmed teaching into the curriculum anywhere.

2. Peace games. We are of course thinking of peace games as a counter to the war games used in military organizations, in Ministries of War and Defense, and so on. The word "game" is here conceived of in a very general way. A peace game could be so constructed that it had in it elements of games of skill, games of strategy, and even games of chance. More basic, however, is that games would appeal to people who learn better when exposed to tactile and visual stimuli (dice, pawns, any kind of small things to be moved, exchanged, handed out, etc.); such games have the additional advantage that they may gain a momentum of their own and develop a dynamic that could be highly instructive. Moreover, although one-person games would be useful, games should be constructed in such a way that they could also be played by two or more persons.

A typical game could consist of a number of develop-

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- 5) One difficulty with programmed teaching is that it is costly, and once much money has been invested, for instance in a book that is very expensive in its production, the entire concept tends to become rigid. Hence there is much need for the search for cheap procedures in this field.

ment and conflict elements described in various ways, and handed out to the players. Not all permutations of such elements would be equally meaningful, for the task of the player would be to see a meaning in the particular deal he has gotten. He would then have, as his task, to find some kind of solution, on the basis of the definition of the situation in his deal, and on the basis of what he knows or gets to know about the situation as it looks from the point of view of the deals obtained by other players. The game would be highly open-ended, the player should be instructed to add to it and subtract from it himself, and the basic point would be to develop his analytical skills as well as his skills for proposal making.

Moreover, the games could be tied to the teaching machines and be constructed in such a way that the winner of the game at the same time is the person who has best understood the profundity of the concepts developed. In that sense there would basically be games of skill, and there should be some clear termination points making it possible to declare that the game has been "solved" and the "winner" found. If capitalistic society has been able to develop a challenging game like Monopoly, a game that has fascinated generations of children and adults, then a more peace-oriented society should be able to develop at least one equally fascinating game. But there is of course the basic difficulty that games usually are zero sum in the sense that he who does not win loses; and this is in itself isomorphic with the type of activity engaged in by capitalists as well as by military - no minor reason why so many games are about profit and violence one way or the other.

3. Audio-visual means. Clearly, concepts, empirical data, situation descriptions, etc. as indicated above can all be given a visual form, as a very minimum in the form of lists and the types of drawings a lecturer will make on his blackboard. These could, in turn, be made available as sets of slides, as filmstrips, as movies (8 mm, 16 mm) and ultimately as video cassettes. Like the peace game they might or might not be linked to teaching machines. However, one little point that is important here is that the slide projector is probably the most widely disseminated of all of the instruments, a good reason why slides might be given top priority. Of course, peace education would also have to enter the field of video cassettes, but it will still take some time before cassettes will gain anything like the dispersion enjoyed by slide projectors.

These could all be made available with some provision for feedback attached to them. The goal would be never to make a teaching instrument accessible without feedback provided for. The important thing would then be to see to it that feedback is really taken seriously, and not filed away as the content of "complaint books" and "complaint boxes" often are.

4. Tactile-visual means. As a combination of 2. and 3., partly as a "peace game", partly as audio-visual means, or rather as tactile-visual means, would come the use of structural models. By that we mean the type of tool chemists use when they explore the structure of chemical compounds, by means of balls and rods. The balls would stand for "actors", individual and collective, and the rods for interaction relations of different types. The task would be to construct models of social structures 6) with a high level of equity, participation, and other peace values. This could be made as a game with a "solution", or completely open-ended, as a tool to facilitate creative imagination in the field. The instructions would show how traditional, authoritarian structures can be represented, and give some hints about how to proceed with new social structures - organizational, domestic, and global.

5. Open air university. This type of university, the TV university, is definitely a highly viable form for the future 7), although it raises the same problem as TV does in general because of the feudal structure of that medium of communication. In a sense MacLuhan's idea about the global village is more valid than he himself makes it: TV etc. not only makes for proximity, it also makes for a reinforcement of centralization and vertical structure in general; in short, a village, not a commune. In TV modern governments and business have found what medieval princes must have been dreaming of: a one-way source of communication with virtually no feedback, impinging on fragmented viewers, and with no possibility for general participation. The telephone feedback in the form of questions is of some help in this connection, but not as long as it is mainly used for asking questions. The same applies to newspaper reaction the day after an important program; for such reactions to be meaningful, feedback has to be immediate, not delayed by one night's newspaper printing.

On the other hand, the possibilities available for disseminating critical and criticizable material are great. These only have to be supplemented by a number of devices - such as opportunities for viewers to meet, and above all opportunities for viewers to meet with the lecturers, if such persons are still to be made use of. Moreover, this should not only be by means of written communication, but in person

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- 6) For a theory of this approach, see Johan Galtung, "Chemical Structure and Social Structure: An Essay on Structuralism" (Oslo, 1969, mimeo, 26 pp.).
- 7) An excellent proposal in this field has been made by Vithal Rajan for The Open-Air University, London, "War and Peace: A One Year Adult Education Course in Peace Theory" (mimeo).

to person encounters. Obviously, the condition for this to happen is a country with relatively dense population and both good and cheap means of transportation as well as communication. Such conditions are more frequently met in developed than in developing countries, one more example of how structural violence often is more easily counteracted in the countries that have benefitted most from it.

Needless to say, this form does not in any sense contradict any of the preceding forms, but can be used to absorb all of them.

6. Individual research. However well intended, all the methods mentioned so far nevertheless will always have a relatively clear basic structure: an educational message that passes from a sender to a receiver. Feedback, countercurrents may be created and they are important, but the asymmetry persists.

The only basic way of correcting it is not by having students talk back or by having a 'dialogue', but by having everybody create his own insights. This process is, by definition, research. The task of peace education, hence, is not just to structure peace research or disseminate it, but also to stimulate it so that it can find its own forms. Peace research should be a part of peace education, and in practice this is not too difficult. Almost all politics around us have peace implications. Any student can assemble data on arms and trade policies, and make his evaluation of them; or he can try to develop his own image of the peaceful world; or he can develop his own proposals for concrete, peace-oriented strategies and compare them with accounts of past actions.

In doing so, one would also contribute to demystifying research. What researchers do is not so different from what people in general do when they try to come to grips with a phenomenon, explicitly and systematically. There is no discontinuous borderline, protected by the mystique of diplomas and membership of professional associations. Research is a relation to the surrounding world more than a profession; in fact, that critical, searching, and creative relation is often lost through scientific professionalization. This is particularly important in connection with conflict and peace - for only with a conscious and creative approach to conflict can a sufficiently broad repertory of conflict resolution methods be developed inside the individual and make him less manipulable in concrete conflict situations - and less prone to direct violence.

7. Group research. What is said above also applies to research teams, but when research is organized in teams, some additional scope for peace education is added. A team has to have some form of organization, and the question arises: how to organize peace research so that it can in itself be an example of a peace structure? The easy way out is to

organize it as a group of students; it becomes more difficult when people who vary considerably in quantity and quality of experience in such matters are involved. If one wants an equitable structure with no bossing, no dictates as to what should be done and how, but a genuine dialogue, then there are problems; and efforts to solve these problems can give a direct insight in what peace is about. However, it is also important that such efforts do not inspire an atmosphere of self-seeking and mutual distrust, but are carried out in a genuine atmosphere of horizontal cooperation. The group will have to find a balance between efforts devoted to producing research, and efforts devoted to achieve a peace structure in the group - either takes time.

8. Drama. Some form should be found to capture in the age-old medium of a play some of the drama unveiled in development, conflict, and peace research. A drama has dynamism, hence it could be used to depict dynamic phenomena within these three fields.

One way which might be attractive would be to have a rotating stage and divide it into four quarters. Each quarter would represent a social form - for instance a feudal, a capitalist, a socialist, or a communist society; or (not too different) a conservative, liberal, communal or pluralist society 8). Each of these social forms is portrayed by certain roles that relate to each other in the way typical of these societies. To get at the structural message the same actors might play corresponding roles in the four societies to show how extremely differently they behave, how different the meaning of everything they do would be, all according to which society they were acting in.

Introduce, then, into these four societies what is basically the same type of conflict, and let the societies act on them. One thing which might be stimulating would be to show that the society able to handle one type of conflict may be unable to handle another. Development problems, conflict dynamism, peace problematics could all be taken into a format of this kind.

More significant, however, would be to find some form whereby the public would be encouraged to participate. It may well be that for that purpose, another form should be used: simply taking a conflict known to everybody, a current issue, and present it as open-ended theater. We would interpret that as a theater where the drama is introduced by professional actors, but there is no ending. The public is invited to come into it, and try to act out various continuations. For this to happen some members of the public may have to join at a half-structured, intermediate phase in order to get "warmed up". It may also be that till the very end there have to be some 'professional' actors present to keep things going,

8) For a discussion of these societies, see Johan Galtung "Pluralism and Future of Human Society (Oslo, 1971 mimeo, 70 pp.)

highly capable of improvising, of presenting in action dialogue whatever the "amateur" actor might produce. In principle this should not be too different from a jam session with some amateurs and some professionals, only that the content is more immediately interpretable.

Clearly, for anything like this to be developed extremely close cooperation between researchers and playwrights would be necessary so that content and form will be organically related. And we repeat: the purpose is to develop social awareness, not to develop conflict technology.

9. Summer schools in peace research. The summer school idea is not very original. It has been practiced with considerable success in a variety of fields, and in the problems of peace particularly by such institutions as the International Peace Academy Committee (IPAC: Vienna, summer 1970, and Helsinki, summer 1971 and 1972) and the Italian Pugwash Group. The former unfortunately became too one-sided politically, leaning towards a conflict-management oriented in traditional western conception of development conflict and peace 9) - and the latter has been somewhat narrow in its perspective (arms control and disarmament mainly). But important experiences have been gained, and the whole idea is definitely one to be continued.

Of the many experiences gained by the International Peace Academy we would single out three:

- a) mixture of theoreticians and practitioners, and if possible also of theory and practice

A summer school of this kind should be a place where those who work theoretically and those who work practically can meet and exchange insights. The difficulties in connection with dialogues of this kind are universal, and well known-and a polarization along the theoretician/practitioner axis very easily develops. If this can be overcome, if the theoreticians can stop judging the practitioners as theoreticians and the practitioners stop judging the theoreticians as practitioners, something very important will ensue. For they are both unfortunate consequences of the division of labor in society.

However, even more significant is to link a summer school, which will inevitably have a theoretical overtone, to some type of practice. It is difficult to see how this can meaningfully be done throughout a session that lasts one, maximum two months - except by some contrived work in the traditional form of a little amateur community development in the neighborhood. More meaningful would be the simple idea of conceiving of a summer school as something that ties together experiences gained throughout the year. In other words, the summer school in Year 1 could serve to establish a vocabulary and a set of problems that each participant would bring to his work in the coming year, and the summer school in Year 2 would be the place where these experiences

could be drawn together and interpreted. Year 2 for one group could at the same time be Year 1 for the next group and the two groups could mix together to some extent.

b) the significance of combining the general and the specific

By this we mean that there should be scope for general theory and general practical guidelines, as well as for highly concrete analysis of specific situations. When it comes to these specific situations no effort should be spared to bring them as close to the participants as possible, for instance by hiring representatives of all important factions present, even to the point when they come dangerously close to enacting the conflict for the eyes of the participants. Another possibility is simulation games, perhaps also by means of role playing 10) (but never asking a person to play a role which he abhors, that would be an infraction of the integrity of his personality). The interplay between the general and the specific is highly meaningful, although theoreticians perhaps will lean more towards the general and practitioners more towards the specific as their primary preference.

c) the significance of combining empirical, critical and constructive approaches

This is not by itself very difficult. It only means that specific attention is given not only to the facts of a case, but, equally explicitly, to what one wants to obtain. Facts may be criticized in the light of these values; approaches taken may be evaluated; and when they fall short of the goal, alternative proposals should be worked out. Thus, one experience in the International Peace Academy in Helsinki was the tremendous success of proposal brain-storming sessions 11). They can be geared to a concrete topic like an

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- 9) For a critique of the International Peace Academy, see editorials by Asbjørn Eide and Johan Galtung, "Instant Research on Peace and Violence, 1971 pp. 79 - 83
 - 10) The most promising approach here seems to be the International Simulation Games, in the tradition started by Harold Guetzkow.
 - 11) The idea is very simple: to ask all participants as a conclusion of four weeks with discussions of peace theory and peace practice to come up with some image of their ideal world and the steps needed to attain it. Since most people are asked to present their image of the present world and how to criticize and analyze it, it is not strange that there is an untapped reservoir in the direction indicated.

ongoing conflict, or they can just be open-ended, inviting each participant to present his proposals as to how he would like to see the world changed and why. The important aspect of this is to provide a setting in which participants have a chance to develop creative faculties constrained by empirical and critical considerations 12).

10. World universities and peace research. We see the world university as an effort to escape from the traditional strait-jacket universities have been put into when it is explicitly or implicitly assumed that they serve the interests of the nation state that pays for them 13). The world university is an effort to create something transnational, where the loyalties of staff and students would be global rather than national. Thus, as a structure, it should be of particular interest for peace research which - however one would prefer to define it - is at least not seen as a means to further specific national interests.

The world university can be conceived of in at least two different ways that do not exclude each other: as a concrete structure, a campus located somewhere in the world drawing its faculty and students from all corners and layers; or as a network of interconnected universities, institutes, and other institutions for higher learning and research. Obviously, the former can be some kind of headquarters for the latter, which would need some element of coordinating administration anyhow. This is not to say that faculties of law are not perfectly capable of cooperating themselves by means of the appropriate professional association, but it is dubious whether faculties of law and faculties of social science from different universities would be able to cooperate without some minimum central locus. The traditional loci of cooperation have been the university for different disciplines in institutes located at the same place, or the association for people working within the same discipline at different places. The world university connecting different disciplines and places is something new and more difficult.

To design a curriculum for a world university of type I above is challenging and yet not particularly difficult. Obviously, it would have to be done on a team basis, and it may very well be that one of the first to do so will be the world university located in Dubrovnik, organized as an inter-

12) For a concrete proposal combining the elements treated under this heading, see Johan Galtung, "Towards a World Peace Academy, A Proposal", Proceedings of the International Peace Research Association, Third General Conference, 1970, p 259.

13) In Norway, for instance, an oath of loyalty to the King is required of university professors.

university organization (as opposed to intergovernmental), and administered by the University of Zagreb (the capital of Croatia where Dubrovnik is also located) 14). That this could be meaningful for staff and students coming together from many places, across conflict barriers and so on is hardly to be doubted; but is not in itself terribly innovative.

More challenging, in a sense, would be to work out something based on a world university of type II. There is the already well-known formula of staff and students rotating clockwise and counter-clockwise within a set of cooperating institutes, usually on a bilateral, but sometimes also on a multilateral basis. The difficulty with this formula is that only few persons get an opportunity to benefit from the diversity of approaches. Another approach is therefore outlined below.

The idea is simple enough: to provide mobile transportation between the institutes and let the mobility itself be a part of the educational message. This is not the same as the idea frequently found in US universities of having a "European campus" (or some other combination of "mother country" and "daughter continent"). The idea would rather be that one builds on a set of cooperating institutions for education and research, acquires some good means of transportation like bus or charter plane, and provides for a stay of two months or something like this at each place. Students and staff would at each place, then, be part of the local teaching venture - but the latter would obviously also be geared to this particular event. The important thing is that the group is not kept apart, isolated from the local educational population - but as well as possible integrated with them. If the bus solution is made use of, the possibilities of using it for excursions in addition to transportation from place to place, excursions with an educational content, would be numerous 15).

Obviously, this type of plan can easily be combined with what was already mentioned under (7) above; it could start with a summer school and end with a summer school as a more integrative venture. It is generally assumed that very few places would have material to offer for more than two months anyhow, and that most institutions of higher learning only take this content and drag it out for two semesters, two years or even more. This telescope type of education would probably be a highly effective one. At the same time the

14) This initiative is headed by Professor Ivan Supek, and has a council of representatives from several universities.

15) For an elaboration of this proposal, see Johan Galtung, "Training of Peace Specialists, A Proposal", International Peace Research Newsletter, No. 2, 1968.

local institutions should benefit a lot from it in terms of the feedback they would get from staff and students increasingly many-sided in their outlook as they traverse the world range of basic perspectives, following their itinerary.

3. The Content of Peace Education

With this arsenal of possibilities at one's disposal, what then, can be communicated? The answer to this is very closely related to a certain conception of what peace research is about - in fact, it is only by keeping peace research, peace education, and peace action together that a strong formula for the content can be developed.

One way of looking at it would be as follows, based on the distinction between five phases in any peace research project. Of course, there are divided opinions about this; many might agree with most, but probably very few would agree with all.

The five phases are seen as follows: 16)

1. ANALYSIS
2. GOAL-FORMULATION
3. CRITIQUE
4. PROPOSAL-MAKING
5. ACTION

The first point is what everybody would assume will be included in a peace education program: analysis of our present, real world, describing its basic facts to the extent that they are relevant for peace problems, and at the same time pointing to major trends. The analysis would be dynamic in the sense of presenting a time perspective, as well as static in the sense of giving an image of the present situation - with regard to such major factors as the war system and the preparation for it, and everything related to problems of equity and freedom - both of them antonyms of dominance, but with different ideological traditions. Thus, this is the place where relevant facts will be presented, and also theoretically explained - always having in mind that there is more than one theory for the same collection of data.

If this were all, peace research would not differ from any other social science found today, and peace education would not be any different from education in, say, physics or geography either. Hence, it is the subsequent four points that add the special flavor to both of them.

16) See Johan Galtung, "Empiricism, Criticism, Constructivism: Three Approaches to Scientific Activity" (mimeo, 1972, 24 pp.).

Goal-formulation is an indispensable part of peace education. There has to be some concreteness, some explicitness in the idea of peace. It is not enough to say that peace is absence of something or other; much more concrete images must be given. Peace research, being born inside the traditional empiristic tradition, whether of the conservative or progressive varieties, has not been good at this point. Rather, analysis has prevailed at the expense of goal formulation, the latter being rejected rather summarily as "utopianism". And yet it is exactly these kinds of images that throughout history have driven people into great action, for instance into the types of movements mentioned in the introduction 17).

As a part of this aspect of peace research and peace education comes the general question of whether this goal is viable. Is the goal just any type of utopia, or is it a viable utopia? For instance, is it possible to have both absence of direct violence, equity in social interaction, and freedom for a considerable degree of human self-expression or self-realization? Or, is it true, as some might assert, that of these three values we can only have two and we shall have to choose which two; or, even as the pessimists might assert, we can only have one, or possibly even none at all? This type of discussion is rarely found in any educational curriculum at any level, probably causing a tremendous crippling of individual and collective human imagination in search for a better future.

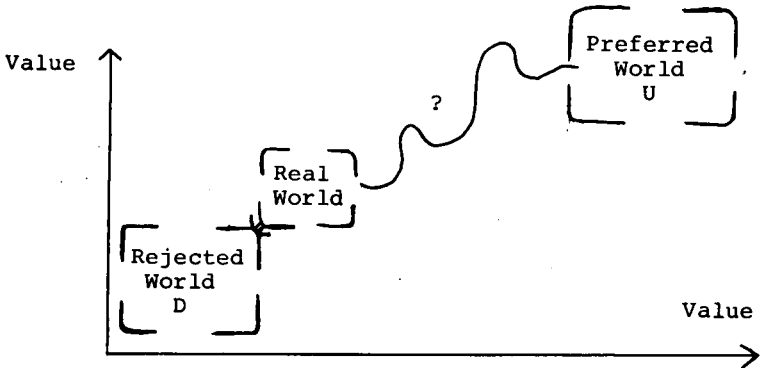
Third, the critique. For any type of critique to be of any interest, both data and values have to be present, and they would be made available in the first and second phases, respectively. The values then become like a net thrown over our poor world, leading to very concrete conclusions in terms of highly value-oriented language, where nobody would shun away from terms like "good" and "bad", or terms considerably more explicit than that.

This third phase is more than analysis; it is diagnosis based on the more static aspects of the empirical analysis, and prognoses based on the more dynamic aspects. In so doing, an effort should always be made to use the same type of language for the preferred world defined as a goal, and for the criticized world of the present and possibly even worse futures - worse, that is, under the assumption that not sufficiently active counterpressure is brought to bear on the present.

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- 17) However, a basic finding in the "Images of the World in the Year 2000" project, coordinated at the European Social Science Center in Vienna, is exactly the very low level of future-oriented thinking, especially in the field of political affairs, that seems to prevail - according to the results of 9.000 interviews in 10 countries, 8 of them in Europe.

After these three phases we would end up with something that diagrammatically would look like Fig. 1.

Figure 1. Analysis, goals and critique



Some values are used to define a preferred world, but these values are also of the type that can be used to describe the real world 18). Examples would be exactly the values already mentioned: degree of absence of direct violence, and degree of absence of various kinds of structural violence. Then, the real world is also indicated, and a possibility of an even more highly criticized world spelt out. (U and D stand for utopia and dystopia, respectively.)

Fourth, how does one get from the real world to the preferred world? This is a question of finding a transition path, which, in turn, is a question of proposals about what to do, who should do it, when should it be done, where should it be done, and why. Proposal-making should be seen as a basic part of any peace education program. Indeed, no part would be more ideal for general participation than this one, particularly since there is little tradition in the field so that nobody is much more of an expert than others. Any successful peace education program would be one where the participants really would feel the tension between the preferred and the real world, and the danger threatening from the rejected world - feeling it so intensely that proposal-making becomes a necessity.

This then leads into the fifth phase: peace action. One cannot suddenly interrupt, truncate a logical process because it can no longer be contained within the article, book, paper and pencil and discussion phases, but is driven by its own inner necessity into something much more concrete. This does

18) This is the basic idea of the social indicator movement: to present values as dimensions that also can be used for ordinary descriptive analysis.

not necessarily mean that we would advocate as a part of each and every peace education program a major demonstration, service in some type of peacekeeping or peace corps activity (if that is defined as relevant), or anything else very specific. Rather, this would mean a search for completely new forms of peace education, so far not developed. In any other educational program it is usually taken for granted that something non-verbal belongs to the program: the laboratory exercises in chemistry, physics, and biology; the visit to civic and social institutions as a part of any education in the institutions of one's own society, and so on. Thus, it may well be that action in this case could be linked to one's own educative group as a minimum, and take the form of conflict creation to increase the level of consciousness 19), and conflict resolution to decrease the likelihood of violence. Or, one could search other contexts, any social situation where this would be meaningful, such as the educational institution itself. There are problems connected with this, but they are probably mainly problems because we have so little experience with this type of education and activity at all. Also, equally needless to say: this would be the point where peace education, peace action and peace research would really come together. For instance, the pupils at a school might decide to recognize an incipient nation (say, Bangladesh in 1971) before their own government does so. If thousands of schools did the same according to clear peace criteria, this might even be an important form of non-governmental foreign policy, and hence democratize.

In the concrete school situation, as already mentioned, there are many examples of structural violence, hence many areas in which problems of peace can be actualized. It is probably naive to think that any real peace education can be contained within the school systems of most countries without having some repercussions on that system. Of course, the traditional teaching, viz., peace studies in the form of studies of peaceful men (Christ, Francis of Assisi, Gandhi, Schweitzer, Martin Luther King) has had a heavy emphasis on their beliefs and attitudes rather than on their action and behavior. But this would mean a focus on actors and not also on structures, and hence be unacceptable from the point of view of peace thinking. Any analysis of structures would lead to pupils and students using this analytical machinery on the school situation. In so doing they would start asking questions about division of labor (why are we treated as raw material to be processed through the school machinery?), about participation (why do we not participate more in the decision about how schools are run and curricula made?), and so on. In other words, students may not only have demands concerning the content of school curricula (why do we not learn about arms races? about our country's military-industrial complex? about

19) See the excellent article by Herman Schmid, "Peace Research and Politics", Journal of Peace Research, No. 3, 1968.

the weapons export of our country? about the true relations between rich and poor countries?) but also about school structure. In either case a higher level of consciousness among the students will have the same effect at the secondary level of education as it has had at the tertiary level in terms of strikes, boycotts, etc. to back up demands. And just as for the university level it will be referred to as "student unrest" and not as it should, as "teacher rest".

4. Conclusion

In a general paper like this it does not make sense to go more in detail with the content. Any such effort has to have a scientific address. Let us only mention that the author has found it fruitful to divide courses, seminars, discussions, etc. on peace in four parts:

- Development - which gives an opportunity to present basic values, basic trends, the state of affairs in the world.
- Conflict - which gives an opportunity to discuss what happens when values - goals and interests- are in conflict, to discuss conflict creation, conflict dynamics, and conflict resolution.
- Peace - which gives an opportunity to discuss how development, and a creative approach to conflict can come together, in the fight against direct as well as structural violence.
- Future - which gives an opportunity to project all of this on the screen of the future, analyzing trends, making proposals for action.

But everyone has to develop his own format; there is no standard format that should be adhered to - that would be contrary to the whole idea.

Finally, one note about the role of peace education. It should not be exaggerated. Peace education is one peace factor among many, and probably not a very significant one. Much more important are specific forms of peace action. One may object that peace education is needed for peace action, but the relation is not so simple. Peace education will work on the mind, although it may also imply some training; but it is a fundamental bias of intellectuals to believe that man thinks first and then unleashes well-considered action. Very often he acts first; and if it works, he may develop a theory about it; if it does not work, some rationalization can take place.

That does not mean that a much higher level of peace consciousness may not change this state of affairs. The fact is that we do not even know what that would mean, what kind of world that would be. But it would certainly be a world where people would be less manipulable: and it is for that kind of world that peace education should be a contribution.

REFLECTIONS ON A CURRICULUM OF PEACE EDUCATION

1. Introductory Remarks

First of all let us express some misgivings about the term "peace education". One cannot be educated for peace: peace is a condition attainable only through social action. A capacity for peace action may perhaps be gained through the educational process. Social action can certainly not mean, in a given societal situation: education for "organized peacelessness".

In recent years, peace research has developed from concepts restricted in terms of content, to differentiated analytical approaches. The level of scientific peace research today has surpassed the first attempts of the 1950s - we need only mention e.g. the term "structural violence" introduced by Johan Galtung, or the studies made by Dieter Senhaas about "organized peacelessness". 1) Experiments in peace education up to now have reflected this developmental process within peace research. These experiments are related to the respective level of research and share their limits.

2. Stages in Peace Research

A first period of conceptualization started in the early 1950s. The preamble to the Unesco Constitution could be regarded as the guideline for these attempts: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." This period was characterized by research about the problem of prejudice, analyses of national stereotypes, and the comparison of schoolbooks. An example of the latter was the work done at the International Schoolbook Institute in Braunschweig.

This approach is necessary and important, but it can only lead to limited results. Certainly the dynamics of prejudice and the existence of national stereotypes play an important role for the escalation of conflicts, but the dependency relationship is by no means monolinear: in the same way as national prejudices can help escalate international conflicts, structures of emotional hatred and negative images of the enemy can reciprocally be created by manipulation, e.g.

1) Cf. Johan Galtung: Gewalt, Frieden und Friedensforschung. In: Dieter Senhaas (Ed.): Kritische Friedensforschung. Frankfurt/M. 1971, pp 55 - 104
Dieter Senhaas: Abschreckung und Frieden. Studien zur Kritik organisierter Friedlosigkeit. Frankfurt/M. 1969

to legitimize armament costs or to create a readiness (attitudinal support) in the population for violent conflicts.

This approach is mainly limited because it suggests a scheme of psychological explanation which concentrates on the individual. It assumes that peace will be assured if only all prejudices in the individual are dismantled and all national biases destroyed. Wars are made by man regardless of their dependency on societal or psychological determinants. However, the experience of the individual to whom war appears as an overpowering event, an earthquake or the day of the last judgement, contains an objective element. As Alexander Mitscherlich put it, wars are natural catastrophes which are initiated by man.

The problem of war cannot be reduced to psychological phenomena of the individual. Wars are not the total sum of individual aggression. Thus, there is an interrelationship between individual aggression and social organization of violence; collective aggression cannot be seen as a mere summation of individual aggression. 2)

For this reason, education for peace should not be confined to analyzing the individual aggressive potentialities or to rationally explaining and debunking individual prejudices. A peace education reduced to the psychological level is bound to fail because it views man only as an isolated individual, without seeing the social system which mediates the individual structures.

The second phase of peace research is characterized by a more political science-oriented approach. War is understood as a political phenomenon of the international system, and the central categories of such peace conceptions are integration and association. The point of departure is that peace can be secured only by strengthening international cooperation within the dominant international system. A first step towards such an "associative" peace could be cooperation among equal social and national groupings which furthers mutual dependency. Suprainternational organizations should assume the function of bridging governmental and nongovernmental organizations. The aim is to arrive at the highest possible level of integration within the international organizations. Basic to all integrational approaches is the thesis that integrative, cooperative, and international movements can be viewed as positive contributions to peace within the international system's policy of nuclear deterrence and therefore in the long run,

2) Dieter Senghaas: l.c.p. 258

they have capabilities of becoming dominant.3)

For peace education this means: In which way is it possible to get to know new objects of loyalty? How is it possible to support international loyalty, i.e. the loyalty to international organizations, instead of the existing national loyalty? What is the effect of international contacts, especially those of functional significance for the individual (occupation, interest)?

In the third phase, the main emphasis is put on the analysis of "organized peacelessness": the consciously created and natural dynamics of violence and its connection with societal structures of domination. Differentiated concepts for analyzing the intra-societal and international structures of power now become possible, making apparent the double aspect of collective peacelessness, namely that peacelessness is built into the social structure of nation-states and at the same time, institutionally anchored in the present organization of the community of states. This level of research, on the one hand, sheds light on the problems of "education in a peaceless world"; on the other hand, it opens up possibilities for a realistic peace education as part of a strategy for changing contemporary intra-societal as well as international reality. In such a situation, peace education has a chance to further a potential for critical consciousness, provided that it makes the criticism of the conditions of collective peacelessness and of the international deterrence system the crucial point of its self-assessment. 4)

As long as organized peacelessness exists, the content of an education for peace must follow up reflections about the political and societal preconditions of collective disequilibrium. The close connection of peace education with the development of a potential for critical consciousness reveals the convergence of peace education with an emancipatory political education.

Characteristic for this third phase of peace research is also a substantial and praxeological expansion of the area. Peace research today covers not only violence of war but also analytical levels from the individual to the international system. Consequently, peace praxeology today does not focus exclusively on problems of international conflict resolution.

Education for peace is therefore a part of the "praxeology" of peace research. While there are debates within the different disciplines of the social sciences as to whether

3) Eva Senghaas-Knobloch: Frieden durch Integration und Assoziation. Literaturbericht und Problemstudien. Stuttgart 1970

4) l.c.p. 262

science can provide a guideline for social practice, the aspect of practice is constitutive for peace research through its historical development and through its definition of science as well. Peace research must be a practice-oriented science if it wants to follow its own claims. This practice orientation has to be clarified on various analytical levels: at the level of the socialization of the young child, and at the level of the learning capacity of whole systems as well.

3. A Peace Research Curriculum

Here, a few remarks about the fundamental problem of a curriculum of peace education would seem in order.

A curriculum of peace education should not be structured as a catalogue of topics to be learned, but according to the goals of education. In determining educational goals, three points of view have to be mediated with the structure of learning:

- 1) The educational goals must take as their point of departure the concrete needs and interests of the learning subjects (curricular aspect).
- 2) They must be deduced from the political interest of peace research which defines itself as part of a critical social science (scientific aspect).
- 3) It must be possible that the place of peace education within an emancipatory strategy can clearly be defined (emancipatory aspect).

Let us take these point by point:

1) In traditional curricula, the student appears merely as the addressee of education. The educational subjects and the educational goals are planned and determined without his participation: he cannot view them; therefore, as his own. 5) This situation should never describe the relationship of educational goals and the learning subject in a curriculum of peace education. On the contrary, there must be a correspondence of goal and method in education: the method itself has to be a mirror of the goal. The student cannot learn to be an active and creative subject if he himself did not participate in determining education, i.e. if he is treated as an object. The adequate method for this goal would be a self-organizing learning group deciding autonomously about the determination of the educational goals; the planning of the lessons, the choice of the learning methods, and the

5) Wolfgang Klafki, Karl Christoph Lingelbach, Hans W. Nicklas (Eds.): Probleme der Curriculumentwicklung. Entwürfe und Reflexionen. Frankfurt/M. 1972, p. 20, p. 40.

assessment and evaluation of educational results. 6)

Therefore, a curriculum of peace education finds itself in a dilemma: it should only stimulate learning processes, but it has to determine goals. The learning goals proposed here do not escape this dilemma either. However, these educational goals would be totally misunderstood by anyone who takes them as a catalogue of goals to be operationalized in the tradition of the behavioristic learning theory, forced upon the students in a one-way communication and finally tested by a set of exams.

2) This cannot mean that one may deduce the learning goals from a scientific system of peace research, however it might be structured. Such a system cannot exist; and if it did, peace education could not be understood as a mere detraction and simplification of it. On the contrary, this means that there may be developed a very close relationship between peace research as a part of a critical social science, and the learning goals of peace education.

3) The concept of emancipation may be explained in a twofold manner. On the one hand, as the goal of the learning process of the individual: the guidance towards a broader capacity of the student to reflect and act. On the other hand, emancipation could be defined as a concept within the normatively-oriented social sciences, in the sense that the social sciences define themselves as a part of the societal self-determination process of man.

The criterion for selecting and evaluating a learning goal would therefore be its emancipatory content: the value of the learning goal within the organized learning process would have to be measured in terms of its contribution to the capacity of reflecting societal interrelationships, to a critical self-understanding, and to concrete self-active faculties and therefore to the process of human self-liberation. 7) The following attempt intends to connect the discussion about learning goals of peace education with the state of research in peace research as much as possible: i.e., not to postulate learning goals beforehand but to de-

6) Cf. Ingrid Haller, Hartmut Wolf: Selbstreflexion der Lerngruppe auf ihr eigenes Verhalten als didaktische Kategorie der politischen Bildung. In: Kurt Fackiner (Ed.): Handbuch des politischen Unterrichts. Frankfurt/M. 1972, pp 239-289.

7) Wolfgang Klafki, Karl Christoph Lingelbach, Hans W. Nicklas: l.c.p. 18. For the concept of emancipation cf. J. Habermas. Ludwig von Friedeburg, Christoph Dehler, Friedrich Weltz: Student und Politik. Frankfurt/M. 1961, p. 15. Kurt Gerhard Fischer: Überlegungen zur Didaktik des politischen Unterrichts. Göttingen 1972, pp. 80 - 91.

duce them from the state of critical peace research through a rational, transparent, and verifiable procedure.

The basic idea of the procedure outlined in this connection is that the present literature on peace research contains the essential and - at the present state of scientific research - possible and meaningful learning goals in explicit and implicit form. The necessary steps towards an identification of the learning goals would be the following:

- 1) analysis of the literature about peace research, excerpting the explicit or implicit learning goals;
- 2) explication of the contextual justification of these learning goals;
- 3) a critical discrimination of the learning goals. Within this operational step, the relevance of the learning goals has to be examined along the three listed criteria (curricular aspect, scientific aspect, emancipatory aspect). This is not possible without establishing a theoretical context - which, however, be assumed voluntaristically, but should be connected with the political interest of critical peace research;
- 4) structuring of learning goals. This step makes possible several ordering principles: one might consider constructing hierarchies of learning goals, i.e., the development of high level general learning goals and their connection with individual learning goals, partial learning goals, and learning elements. In addition, one might consider constructing sequences of learning goals in the form of concentric circles, where the individual learning goals are not linearly ordered around the general learning goal.

4. Learning Goals: a Suggested Outline

While the following learning goals do not yet represent a result of a systematic test of procedure, they may aphoristically indicate the direction which the development of learning goals might take if they are connected with the results of critical peace research. They do not cover the total area of peace research, nor are they sufficiently differentiated. Especially they are lacking specific concreteness. Their sole purpose is to

serve as a basis for further discussion. 8)

LEARNING GOALS FOR PEACE EDUCATION

- To learn not to accept social conditions as a natural phenomenon, but to evaluate these conditions in terms of the given possibilities for the emancipation of man and in terms of the possibility of democratizing society;
- To learn to understand oneself as the subject of social processes;
- To recognize that one's own thinking and acting is socially mediated (through socialization, roles etc.);
- To recognize that one's own freedom of action is limited by society;
- To learn that this freedom of action should be utilized;
- To recognize that the expansion of one's own freedom of action means to initiate social change;
- To recognize that action aiming at changing society implies joint action, i.e. solidarity with others;
- To develop the capability to recognize the social consequences of one's own actions;
- To learn to consider strategies and tactics for changing society;
- To learn not to bow to the conformity pressure of society and to act even though one is in an inferior position;
- To develop the capability to recognize one's own interests, to articulate them and to act accordingly;

8) cf. Fritz Vilmar: Systematischer Entwurf zur kritischen Friedensforschung. In: Dieter Senghaas (Ed.): Kritische Friedensforschung, l.c.pp. 362 - 395.

- To develop the capability to recognize the identity of and the conflict between one's own interest and the interests of others;
- To recognize that there are particular and general interests;
- To learn to relate one's own interests to general ones;
- To recognize that peace is a general interest;
- To recognize that particular interests are in opposition to peace;
- To recognize that it is easier to organize and carry through particular interests rather than to organize and carry through general interests;
- To develop the capability to relate one's own actions to individual and social emancipation;
- To learn that the desired goal has to be implied in the road towards that goal: one cannot reach a humane goal by inhumane means;
- To recognize that society limits individual development and self-actualization;
- To develop the capability to recognize the individual consequences of social alienation;
- To recognize that the existing social structure favors groups of human beings in their human development and in the satisfaction of their needs, while discriminating against others;
- To recognize that such chances and such disadvantages are determined by the position of the groups within the economic system;
- To recognize that these differences are ideologically justified or explained as natural by those who are profiting from them;
- To learn to identify oneself with the interests of the underdogs;
- To recognize by which means society is able to secure the social status quo in the consciousness of the subjected citizens;
- To recognize through which structures of violence society secures the status quo;

- To recognize that in addition to the necessary domination conditioned by the development level of the productive forces and the scarcity of resources there exists domination which is not conditioned by external restraints;
- To develop the capability to compare actual self-realization with potential self-realization, attainable according to the development of the productive forces;
- To recognize that, as a rule, additional domination is legitimized by actual domination;
- To recognize that additional domination presents itself as violence against human beings;
- To recognize that this violence has two forms: personal and structural violence;
- To recognize that structural violence is the form of violence which influences human beings so that their "actual somatic and intellectual realization is less than their potential realization" (Johan Galtung);
- To recognize that structural violence can torture, destroy and kill;
- To recognize that the structure of violence within society influences human beings in their development in such a way that they bow to this violence, accepting it as necessary or natural, finally developing structures such that human beings need violence and indeed experience violence as a pleasant sensation;
- To learn to recognize the causes of social conflicts;
- To learn that social antagonisms manifest themselves in social conflicts;
- To learn to recognize the different interests which manifest themselves in conflictual fronts;
- To learn to recognize ideologies of veiling and rationalization put forward by the parties to a conflict;
- To learn to evaluate conflicts in terms of their emancipatory potential;
- To learn to analyze conflicts for possible strategies for conflict resolution;
- To learn to recognize those interests which have a stake in veiling and harmonizing conflicts;

- To recognize that aggression is not an ahistorical-ontic reality;
- To recognize that the social system produces aggression;
- To recognize that aggressive attitudes are learned;
- To recognize that certain aggressive attitudes are socially approved, others sanctioned;
- To recognize that the objects of aggression are exchangeable;
- To recognize that aggression may be oriented to socially designated objects in a manipulative manner;
- To recognize that, in social crises, an especially high aggressive potential can develop which, for the sake of intra-societal stability, may then be directed to internal minorities or marginal groups or to external "enemies";
- To develop the capability to recognize social causes of the aggressive behavior of oneself and other people;
- To develop the capability to recognize the aggressive character of one's own actions (aggression sensitization);
- To learn not to let one's own aggressivity be used by others for their own aims and interests;
- To learn to recognize one's own prejudices and to critically reflect upon them;
- To learn that prejudices are socially conditioned;
- To learn to recognize the social causes of prejudices;
- To recognize that prejudices limit the freedom of thinking and action;
- To recognize that prejudices deform the perception of reality, functioning as a selective filter for perception;
- To recognize that prejudices bear the character of a self-fulfilling prophecy;
- To learn to dismantle particular loyalties to ethnic groups and nations and to develop loyalties aiming at humanity as a whole;

- To learn to perceive the international system as historical;
- To recognize that, therefore, the international system may be formed, i.e., it can be changed or overcome;
- To recognize that the present international system reflects the contradictions of its constitutive societies: world society is a system of domination with a high level of division of labor and with an asymmetric distribution of economic and social life chances;
- To learn to analyze systemic conflict potentials and open conflicts;
- To recognize that wars are natural catastrophes which are socially created by man (Mitscherlich);
- To recognize that wars are not so much rooted "in the minds of individuals but rather in the orders and disorders of communities", that their causes "are not of a private but of a political nature" (Gustav Heinemann);
- To recognize that the means used in wars have more far-reaching consequences for mankind than their pretended goals;
- To recognize that peace cannot be sufficiently described as the absence of war;
- To recognize that peacelessness is built into our social system;
- To recognize that peace means the dismantling of structural violence.

STRUCTURAL DEPENDENCE AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT
A Contribution to a Curriculum on the "Third World"

I. Peace Research and Curriculum Development

1. On the Links between Peace Research and Political Education Including Peace Education

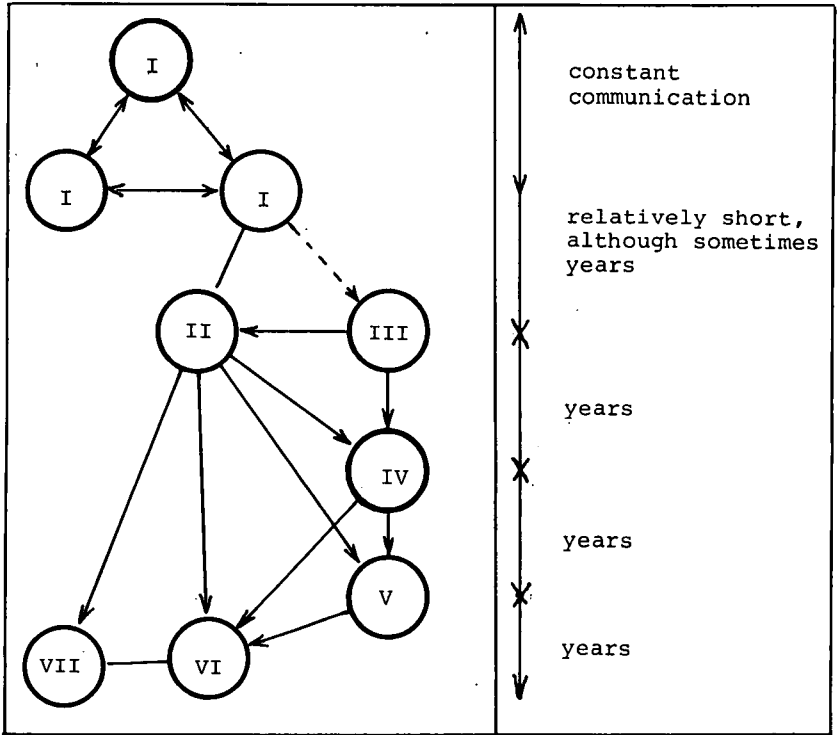
In order to point to some of the motives behind the project discussed in the present paper, there is need for a brief reference to the current cooperation or rather lack of cooperation between peace research, educational science and political education. The position described in the following paragraphs not only applies to peace research but also to the still unsatisfactory interplay between the whole field of social science and political education. Diagram 1 sums up the authors' view on this point.

Diagram 1 here

Today there is a politically observable difference in the degree of information available in the various institutions involved in the transfer of knowledge acquired through peace research to political education. Whereas there is constant progress in the sort of research done at peace research institutes and at some universities and whereas the scientists involved in the research process itself are always in close touch with each other, the results of this research (theories, models, empirical findings, alternative concepts for action et. al.) only slowly filter through to the other institutions which deal with political education in the course of what is in part a very laborious, but particularly unorganized process which lasts years.

Even if the transfer of knowledge acquired through peace research to university teaching and education takes place within a relatively short time in cases where scientists concentrate especially on the research and teaching of this subject, a direct transfer process of this kind can hardly be said to characterize the transfer of research results to political education in general. Most subjects dealt with in peace research (such as armaments and war, the stratification of the international society and structural violence, among others) are only incorporated

Diagram 1: The Transfer of Peace Research to Political Education (Present-Day Situation)



- Key:
- I Research institutes and research at universities
 - II University teaching and training
 - III Curriculum discussion in educational science, and also to some extent in other individual sciences
 - IV Ministerial guidelines and officially approved of curricula
 - V Production of school text-books
 - VI Teaching in regular schools
 - VII Teaching at adult universities and similar institutions

years later in the average university teaching and in the curriculum discussion going on in educational science, and, more recently to an increasing extent in the curriculum discussion taking place within other sciences. Whereas the position in this respect was pretty disastrous at the beginning of the sixties, the time required for a transfer from research to university teaching (from I to II) has been considerably reduced since the end of the sixties and peace research grew as a separate discipline.

Once again, in some cases it usually takes years for a subject which is gradually becoming accepted in curriculum discussions and in university education to become incorporated in official guidelines and curricula approved of by ministries of education; it takes even longer for these topics to be seriously considered in the production of school text-books. Even if the transfer time from university education to teaching at normal schools is relatively short in some cases (II to VI), the inclusion of central problems of peace research still takes place on a relatively self-taught and improvised basis for lack of anything better. This is all the more so, the younger the age of those being taught.

This uneasy situation can only be improved if it proves possible to break down the existing structure described above at its vital points. The process by means of which knowledge and information filter through from peace research to political education as if through a series of cascades can only be altered if there is a direct feedback between all the institutions concerned. A particular prerequisite for this kind of feedback is that there be a close connection between peace research and university teaching, between curricular discussion and the formulation of official guidelines and concrete projects, including the more rapid publication of any such projects. As for problems involving the content of what is taught, this kind of feedback will probably only be successful if it does not take place in the traditional interdisciplinary manner but on a trans-disciplinary basis. As shown by experience, inter- or even multidisciplinary research and cooperation are not on the whole worthwhile unless all those concerned are prepared to acquire essential knowledge of the "neighbouring" disciplines allocated to them (e.g. peace research and curriculum research). It is only where there is an overlapping of expertise (trans-disciplinarity) that relatively rapid progress can be made in the communication process between science, educational science, educational policy and concrete teaching, a process which is not only in a sorry state in the Federal Republic of Germany but elsewhere as well (as has been clearly demonstrated by surveys on peace education as well).

In this context, we can integrate the curriculum project discussed in this study in a development which has recently been described as so-called school-oriented curriculum development 1). As peace research is not an independent specialized discipline in the strict sense of the term, but is a problem-oriented science which should mobilize transdisciplinary expertise 2) according to the problem under discussion, it is fairly easy to build a bridge between peace research and school-oriented curriculum development, which does not work according to a specific subject; at any rate, experience teaches that this bridge is easier to build than the bridge between other disciplines which are deeply rooted in traditional science and teaching (such as history for example) 3).

Projects on school-oriented curriculum development are intentionally based on the everyday needs of teachers and pupils. They not only aim at bridging the cognitive gap between knowledge acquired by peace research on the one hand and the backwardness and sterility in the previous treatment of international and societal conflict formations in the teaching of current affairs, civics and similar subjects on the other hand. Beyond this, curriculum work of this type also aims at formulating goals for social learning 4). Finally, this work is designed to make a contribution to overcoming concrete teaching and learning problems by drawing up teaching projects which are based on the latest scientific knowledge.

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- (1) Cf S. Gerbaulet et. al., *Schulnahe Curriculumentwicklung. Eine Denkschrift*, Stuttgart 1972.
 - (2) D. Senghaas, *Friedensforschung. Theoretische Fragestellungen und praktische Probleme*, in: *Jahrbuch für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung*, Vol. 2, Düsseldorf 1972, pp. 10-22.
 - (3) Cf H. Süßmuth's discussion on history in school, *Lernziele und Curriculum-Elemente eines Geschichtsunterrichts nach strukturierendem Verfahren*, in: *Lernziele und Stoffauswahl im politischen Unterricht*, Schriftenreihe der Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Heft 93, Bonn 1972, pp. 37-83.
 - (4) Ch. Kulke and J. Lundgreen argue along similar lines: *Probleme der Dritten Welt im Unterricht*, Frankfurt 1972, as well as a more comprehensive curriculum project which is in the making under the direction of E. Meueler.

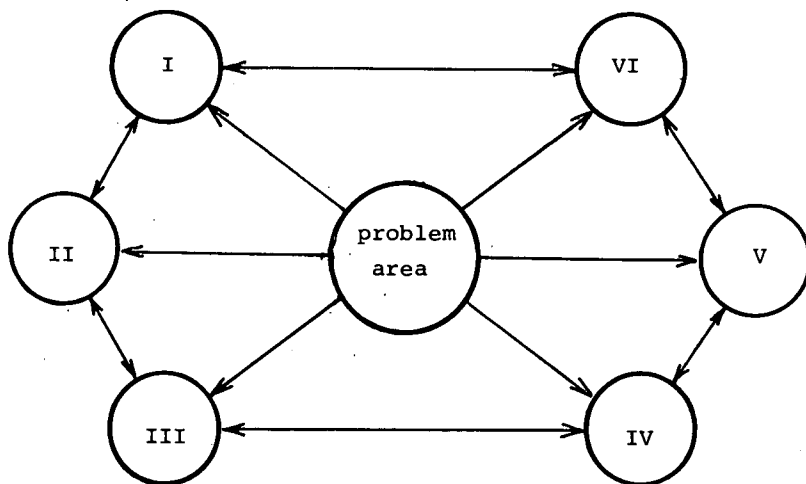
Following the recent discussion on the curriculum, an attempt is now being made to develop teaching materials so that they can be used in the actual concrete teaching situation with a relatively high degree of flexibility. This sort of attempt should not just involve the technocratic planning of teaching projects which can only be used if the teacher and his pupils are following a predetermined programme. Concrete initiatives, leading to changes in teaching and class discussion should not be looked upon as irritating by-products; on the contrary, they should be welcomed. After all, they show critical reflexion and spontaneity, which can only have a beneficial effect on the teaching situation. We shall return to this problem in section IV.

The project discussed in this study can also be described as an example of school-oriented curriculum development because it links up scientific and educational discussion, concrete work on the curriculum and practical application in teaching. Thus, even if on a very small scale, this project puts into practice what school-oriented curriculum development is aiming at in principle: organized and continuous communication between science, didactics and practical teaching within a political framework which is favourable to this kind of communication 5). Instead of the hierarchical pattern illustrated above by diagram 1 with differing degrees of information available at different levels at different times, we then have direct feedback processes between all those involved which are grouped around specific problem areas. In this way, specialized scientific and didactic research is unable to remain introverted and cut off from teaching practice, whereas on the other hand practical teaching is prevented from being a world in itself with its own specific self-images and world images. The linking up of the most important institutions involved in political education work, ranging from scientific practice to different situations in teaching practice, will also help to see that scientific work is based more on the requirements of everyday school life and that the schools keep abreast of knowledge acquired through scientific work, both in the empirical and analytical sense and in a practical sense. Diagram 2 illustrates our alternative to the present situation as described in Diagram 1.

Diagram 2 here

(5) Cf the proposal to set up regional educational centres in the memorandum quoted under footnote 1.

Diagram 2: School-Oriented Curriculum Development:
On the Configuration of Transfer



Key: As in Diagram 1.

For Reasons of clarity, no attempt was made to connect up each educational institution with all the others on the diagram.

2. Specific Aspects of the So-Called Transfer Problem

However, curriculum projects in the field of peace research and peace education cannot only aim at developing strategies in the framework of "practically orientated" peace and conflict research in order to transfer knowledge acquired through research to teaching in schools. We should rather enquire about the value of these projects in relation to general goals for school teaching and specific goals for political education.

Such very general learning goals which fulfill the socio-political guidelines also include ideas about the social situation in the German Federal Republic. This study does not include a description of controversial standpoints on this question. Our point of departure is an attempt at formulating learning goals which are based on the practice of democracy as laid down in the Basic Law (the constitution of the FRG).

"The most comprehensive goal of education is the ability of each person to pursue his individual and social life, which is understood to mean his ability to live out in practice the liberty and freedoms which the Constitution grants and imposes on him." 6)

"Thus, in these guidelines democratic awareness is linked to the ability to recognize in good time any trends and developments which run contrary to the constitutional tenets of Basic Law. This must imply the readiness to stand up for the practice of democracy in all areas of society." 7)

However, this sort of avowal of democratic aims only acts as a pointer so long as it is not accompanied by any statement as to the consequences of this for teaching. Organized learning processes in the school must be judged according to the extent to which they promote the pupil's

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- (6) Deutscher Bildungsrat, Strukturplan für das Bildungswesen, Stuttgart 1969, p. 29. Cf also R. R. Grauhan and W. D. Narr, Studium der Sozialwissenschaft, demonstriert an der Politikwissenschaft, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1973, pp. 90-134.
 - (7) Rahmenrichtlinien, Sekundarstufe I, Gesellschaftslehre, ed. by the Hessian Minister of Education, 1972, p. 9.

ability to analyse social relationships and thus his self-reliance and his ability to act in a given historical situation in the spirit of self-determination and participation.

The concrete contents and methods linked to these very general learning goals only become clear when they are applied to concrete situations. That is why some information is necessary about what is to be learnt when, why, how and by whom.

The central question which emerges from these very general school learning goals in relation to political education is the extent to which self-determination and participation are practised in given social circumstances, what resistance is met, under what conditions can these factors of resistance be eliminated, who has an interest in maintaining or changing the position, what qualifications and behavioural aptitudes are necessary to support and carry through self-determination and participation.

Criteria for the selection of teaching content and the way teaching is organized must be based on this kind of question, which, as we shall see shortly, can also be related to spheres of life outside the individual's direct range of experience (local, national and socio-cultural). In a process of conscious learning, schoolchildren should participate in the clarification of the above-mentioned questions. "The readiness of schoolchildren to stand up for maintaining and spreading democratic conditions will also depend on the opportunities they have to learn the requisite behaviour patterns at school." 8)

Against the background of what has been said above, it is now time to investigate the value that problem areas dealt with by peace and conflict research can have in the framework of political education. When deriving subjects for teaching from the central topics of peace and conflict research (such as for example the dynamics of armaments, structures of dependency, collective violence and others), work must be based on the following questions:

1. What concrete conflict situations are of vital political importance in the view of present-day peace and conflict research, and what contribution does their discussion in school make to attaining the very general learning goal described above?

2. To what extent do the selected teaching subjects contribute to enabling pupils to interpret internal and inter-social conflicts with a view to their present and future living conditions?

(8) Rahmenrichtlinien (see footnote 7), p. 8.

3. What is the relationship between the priorities established and the pupils' situation while learning?

What concrete conflict situations which have left their mark on today's international society have been discussed systematically and in detail elsewhere? 9) In connection with the rather more didactic questions (question 2 and especially question 3), we must now draw the reader's attention to a serious problem.

Since peace research in the past has mainly dealt with macro-structural problems (such as the dynamics of armaments, dependency in international relationships, problems of collective violence), certain specific difficulties arise in didactics, if recent educational theories are followed. These can be summed up in the following way:

It is difficult for schoolchildren to relate problems of world-wide political relevance to their own social situation. Politically relevant teaching should, however, be primarily concerned with subjects related to the child's direct field of experience.

Even if one succeeds in replacing ideological patterns of interpretation (exotically adventurous, morally charitable, racist, biological and personifying interpretations), which are often dominant in the way the general public judges this sort of conflict, by categories permitting social analysis, it will still be difficult to find an easy didactic way of conveying the structural dependency of, say, the developing countries along with the structures of dependency which exist in our own society.

Slightly exaggerated, this means that if, as recognized didactic theory demands, political education is given the task of reducing the study of social relationships to those focal questions and problem areas which can be directly experienced by the pupils, then this task grows and indeed becomes a serious problem itself whenever the analysis of international conflicts is required to concentrate on macro-structural and socio-economic aspects, as is the case in today's peace and conflict research. 10)

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- (9) Cf D. Senghaas, *Konfliktformationen in der gegenwärtigen internationalen Gesellschaft*, in: Ch. Wulf (ed.), *Kritische Friedenserziehung*, Frankfurt 1974.
- (10) Cf F. Vilmar, *Systematischer Entwurf zur Kritischen Friedensforschung*, in: D. Senghaas (ed.), *Kritische Friedensforschung*, Frankfurt 1972, pp. 362-395.

However, if one were to accept the often exaggerated notion that it is only subjects which are directly connected with the pupils' world of experience which are theoretically and didactically suitable for inclusion in curricula, then important political, socio-economic, military, and ideological problems would be excluded by definition from social studies for most age groups. This would apply in particular to all questions dealing with international conflict situations. On the other hand, schoolchildren, at least in highly industrialized nations like the FRG, are confronted more than ever before with problems of this kind (the "third world", negotiations on arms control, the world monetary crisis, wars etc.), which they experience indirectly through the mass media even if they do not experience them personally. Not to deal with such problems because they only concern pupils indirectly and because there is no feedback process between schoolchildren and reality, with which they are only confronted from afar and through the mass media, would mean neglecting an essential task of political education: to make a contribution to the breaking down of what are usually empty, very emotional images and of pseudo-knowledge about international society, as well as to provide life-like paradigms of reality, which are capable of structuring a large amount of changing day-to-day political information.

For this reason, seemingly remote problems (such as those mentioned above by way of example) are also of importance to social studies, especially since these subjects often appear much more attractive than strictly internal social problems (such as, for instance, current conflicts between the two sides of industry, capital and labour), because everyone feels he should hold and be able to express a "competent" opinion on international problems.

Apart from this, the quality of a single subject can really only be assessed if its context is also taken into account. A single subject can never fulfill every didactically desirable function. What is important is to synchronize, dealing with varied subjects so that by skillfully presenting them in a suitable manner for the age group in question, lasting and successful results can be achieved over a period of many years. There will be further consideration of this point in Part IV.

The following sections of this study are intended to serve as the basis for a curriculum on the "third world". The authors are aware that this is a subject which is relatively remote from reality for schoolchildren in the FRG, but which is nevertheless of considerable importance for them today; because every day they are confronted with information from and about the "third world" countries by

the mass media. We have chosen this subject from the various problems which peace and conflict research have particularly dealt with in recent years because we have the impression that there is a tremendous discrepancy in this field between scientific knowledge on the one hand and current ideas held by the general public on the other.

Part II of this study is an introduction to the subject of "Structural Dependence and Underdevelopment". It contains a discussion of the relevance of this subject for learning purposes; some essential facts are presented and general learning goals which are specific to the subject are formulated. Part III puts forward two concrete proposals for teaching, while Part IV deals with general problems involved in putting across both the content and the aims of the teaching.

II. "Structural Dependence and Underdevelopment"

1. Relevancy for Learning Purposes: on the Discrepancy between the Importance of the So-Called North-South Conflict Formation in International Society and the Prevailing State of Information and Awareness in the German Federal Republic

The selection and arrangement of subjects for political education must be derived from the goals sketched out above. This derivation must be demonstrated for each of the selected subjects: it is necessary to show what teaching contents can be conveyed in combination with certain learning goals. The following paragraphs are an attempt to illustrate this relationship by using a curriculum on the "third world" as an example.

In the light of the present world-wide political situation, the so-called development gap between North and South, the conflict between "rich" and "poor" areas, between industrial societies and the underdeveloped societies of the "third world" countries is of growing political significance. On many occasions the idea has even been put forward that this conflict is becoming increasingly serious and is perhaps even more important than the East-West conflict of the past twenty years.

In the last few years, the formation of conflicts between North and South has been a focal subject of peace and conflict research. There is also frequent reference to the so-called conflict between North and South in political speeches and public appeals. Thus, in a letter to the Chairman of the Conference of the 'Länder' Prime Ministers dated the 7th September 1972, Federal Chancellor

Willy Brandt spoke out in favour of placing more than in the past emphasis on the subject of development policy in schools. The letter runs as follows:

"Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

At our last joint talk with the heads of government of the 'Länder' I was not able to make a request due to lack of time and would therefore now like to do so in writing. What I am referring to is the need to give closer attention to questions of development aid policy in schools, which is a field where the Federal Government particularly needs the support of the 'Länder'.

I am sure you will agree with me that no further widening of the gap between the poor and the rich nations of this earth must be allowed to occur. On the contrary, it will be one of our most important long term tasks for the future to reduce the disparity between the developing countries and the industrialized nations.

In the long run, no development policy is feasible without the strong support of the population. The insights and abilities necessary to achieve this end should be acquired at school age. Among other things, these include the will to settle conflicts peacefully, the readiness to support international solidarity and the realization that there can be no isolated islands of prosperity in this world.

A study of school text-books commissioned by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation drew attention to the fact that questions involving developing countries and development policy have largely been neglected in school text-books. School text-books should contain a reference to dealing with these questions at school and during teacher training.

I should be grateful if the Prime Ministers would bring their influence to bear in order to make sure that problems involving the developing countries and development generally be given more attention in school teaching. If necessary, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation is in the position to give schools support on this point by providing them with information, didactic proposals and references.

Yours sincerely,
signed Brandt" 11)

(11) Frankfurter Rundschau, November 1, 1972.

However, dealing in detail with problems of development policy at school would only appear to serve a useful purpose if the following points are taken into account in doing so:

- an analysis of the so-called North-South conflict from the sociological and economic point of view;
- a study of suitable strategies to overcome this conflict.

This is linked to the question of what the "readiness to support international solidarity" means and how this can be achieved. 12) This question is of particular political and didactic importance in view of the following facts:

A representative survey commissioned by the SPIEGEL in 1970 showed that 61% of the population of the German Federal Republic feel that their country gives too much development aid. 13) In 1972 in the course of an inquiry among the electorate commissioned by the same weekly magazine, 73% of those eligible to vote were in favour of curtailing development aid. 14) These results can be broken down further if other inquiries 15) are included. According to some of these, half of the population looks upon development aid as assistance in fighting famine. Seen in this light, no less than 63% are in favour of development aid (Infas Representative Poll, December 1967). However, if the developing countries are described as being underdeveloped states, only 48% of the population want to give financial assistance to them (Allensbach Institute for Public Opinion Polls, Allensbach 1968). These figures would be reduced to half if measures involving development aid policy meant that those questioned had to accept personal limitations as a result. These findings make it

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- (12) Cf also E. Meueler, Lernbereich Dritte Welt. Evaluation der curricularen Arbeitshilfe, "Soziale Gerechtigkeit", Düsseldorf 1972.
 - (13) Quoted from K. Fohrbeck, A. J. Wiesand and R. Zahar, Heile Welt und Dritte Welt, Medien und politischer Unterricht, Opladen 1971, p. 134.
 - (14) DER SPIEGEL, 44/1972, p. 60.
 - (15) From: Religionspädagogische Modelle 1/2, Entwicklungshilfe, Analyse und Planung, Frankfurt/München 1971, p. 7. The quoted inquiry results contain no data about class related attitudinal patterns the knowledge of which would be of importance for the organization of learning processes structured according to the pupils' social background.

clear that development aid is largely looked upon as a charitable undertaking in the Federal Republic of Germany, an attitude which is reinforced in the minds of many people by the activities of charitable organizations such as "Brot für die Welt (Protestant charity) and "Misereor" (Catholic charity). Readiness to support this sort of "international solidarity" runs up against barriers whenever it seems to involve a threat to people's own material interests.

This latent attitude held by the majority of the population of the Federal Republic goes hand in hand with a lack of information, which means

"that, firstly, even as far as available information goes, knowledge about the third world lags far behind the actual importance of these countries on the international level and thus also for our foreign policy; and that, secondly, the latent attitudes towards the third world countries and our relations to them are so preconditioned by our own national interests (especially by economic interests) and by social attitudes (prejudice structures, in-group behaviour, national consciousness) which are entirely based on our own system that any knowledge about the realities of the third world as a rule also appears to be highly distorted." 16)

As studies on the effectiveness of political education 17) have confirmed, there is usually no difference between the awareness of these problems in schoolchildren and the awareness of society at large. Taken on its own, the school text-book, still the most important teaching medium, is not exactly designed to improve this state of affairs.

"As a rule, school text-books see the developing countries as those countries and peoples which are left over on our planet once our 'own' world and the east block countries ('first' and 'second' world)

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- (16) Schule und Dritte Welt, No. 3, ed. by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation, Office for Public Relations, Bonn 1970, p. 16. This publication also contains references to inquiry results concerning the topic "third world".
- (17) E. Becker, S. Herkommer, J. Bergmann, "Erziehung zur Anpassung?", Schwalbach 1968; M. Teschner, Politik und Gesellschaft im Unterricht, Frankfurt 1968.

have been studied. This approach sees in the 'third world' whatever corresponds to or threatens Western interests and habitual ways of thinking; people in this 'residual world' are at best grudgingly granted the status of human beings. This tendency can be demonstrated in detail in school text-book analysis."

18)

In this connection it is important to remember that school text-books are only one of several media used for "political education". Current patterns of thought such as are to be found in school text-books reoccur in a very similar form in other media, such as in advertising, in films and in magazines. 19)

In view of this situation, it cannot be the task of education which aims at emancipation to build up a morally motivated and therefore abstract solidarity with the peoples of the "third world".

"Purely verbal solidarity with the third world which fails to come to grips with the conditions for and barriers to social development in one's own country will not bear fruit because it simply postulates a third world variant of charitable appeals for help."

20)

It is not sufficient either to make up for an existing lack of information because additional information alone does not produce a change in attitude. 21)

On the other hand, criticism of current ideas about the conflict between North and South and about the position of the third world, including criticism of prevailing views on the contribution of the German Federal Republic to overcoming this conflict, is an essential prerequisite for any form of solidarity which is not purely intellectual.

(18) Fohrbeck et. al., cf. footnote 13 above, p. 18.

(19) Cf the analysis of a report in the magazine STERN about Brazil, in: Fohrbeck et. al., cf footnote 13 above, p. 134; cf Jörg Becker, Rassendiskriminierung im Jugendbuch der westlichen Welt, in: Westermanns Pädagogische Beiträge, 3/1973, pp. 150-156.

(20) F. J. Raddatz, in: MERKUR, 4/1971, quoted according to Fohrbeck et. al., cf footnote 13 above, p. 133.

(21) Becker et. al., cf footnote 17 above; Teschner, cf footnote 17 above.

Thus, the educational relevance of our subject "Structural Dependence and Underdevelopment" should be judged according to whether a discussion of its historical and socio-economic aspects can contribute to

- giving insight into structures of dependence;
- granting insights into those structures of dependence which also result from the political behaviour of social groups in one's own society,
- and to promoting the ability to develop counter-strategies and tactics for change.

Our point of departure is that knowledge about the structural dependence of the "third world" on the "first" (a fact which will be illustrated in more detail in the following paragraphs) is not only important for a realistic appreciation of the position of the "third world" countries but also gives insights into the structures and general mechanisms which reproduce dependent relationships; therefore, we furthermore assume that learning about the "third world" has what is possibly an indirect bearing on the promotion of cognitive and emotional competence in schoolchildren in relation to other subjects, though perhaps in an indirect way. This is all the more true if the subjects developed in this study are didactically linked with other subjects which relate to structures of dependence in our own society.

The following section gives a rough description of the structures of dependence which go to make up the position of the so-called developing countries in order to illustrate the relevance of the subject selected for teaching.

2. Description of the Subject

The way in which "third world" countries are usually described as developing countries generally implies the assumption that processes of development are effective in these areas which will successively make it possible to eliminate the typical characteristics of underdevelopment, such as a low per capita income, slow or stagnating economic growth, economic and political instability, unemployment, specialization in the production of raw materials and unprocessed agricultural products.

This approach to the problem, which overlooks the significance of external factors influencing development processes in the "third world" is increasingly giving way to the realization on the part of the general public in Federal Germany that the position of the so-called developing

countries must be seen in the context of the international system of economic relations. 22) For instance, Erhard Eppler, the minister for economic cooperation with third world countries, had this to say on the subject:

"As long as the division of labour which characterized the nineteenth century is maintained, with Europe and America producing industrial goods and the other countries supplying raw materials and food-stuffs, there can be no effective development aid policy. From the economic point of view, development aid thus also involves an attempt to bring about a new division of labour." 23)

The development aid concept implied in this quotation assumes that the causes of the lack of opportunities for development in the "third world" countries are above all connected with the dependence of the underdeveloped countries on price movements on the world market (deterioration of the terms of trade for the producers of raw materials: increasing prices for manufactured goods with a simultaneous relative drop in the price of raw materials). This view is a pointer in that it uncovers the decisive factor necessary for the proper assessment of development problems: the dependence of the economic and social situation in the underdeveloped countries on the international economic system. However, its weakness lies in the fact that discrimination against the so-called developing countries is seen exclusively in the light of international trade relations. The attempt "to bring about a new division of labour" is bound to fail if it does not take into account all factors which have a bearing on the structural dependence of the underdeveloped countries on the international economic system. This becomes apparent once the conclusion that can be drawn from this sort of development aid concept is investigated. According to this conclusion, the solution to the problems of the underdeveloped countries lies in their industrialization. This concept is based on the European model of the industrial revolution.

(22) Cf the studies by authors from the third world, in D. Senghaas (ed.), *Peripherer Kapitalismus. Analysen über Abhängigkeit und Unterentwicklung*, Frankfurt 1974.

(23) Speech delivered on January 6, 1969, quoted according to Fohrbeck et. al., cf footnote 13 above, p. 154.

Even so, the example of Latin America shows that this sort of concept is unsuitable. After all, whereas the industrialization of Western Europe took place on the basis of national and economic independence hand in hand with the exploitation of today's "third world" countries, the development of industrial sectors in Latin America is characterized by the rapid expansion of international firms mainly from Japan, Western Europe, and above all from the United States. 24)

The view is frequently expressed that distributing foreign investments among profitable sectors of the economy in the recipient countries promotes their economic and social development. It is further argued that one of the resulting possibilities, i.e. that of substituting imports, changes the economy of an underdeveloped country in such a way as to make it capable of self-perpetuating economic growth.

As far as this concept is concerned, it should first be pointed out that apart from those foreign investments which go into the exploitation of natural resources (for instance oil), a large percentage of investments flows into the commercial and service sector: import and export companies, banks, insurance companies, real estate and other institutes of finance, retail firms, publishing, advertizing, hotels, cinemas and other services. Therefore, these are investments which make no direct productive contribution to industrialization.

Again, of all foreign investments which flow into the industrial sector, a large percentage is accounted for by the food and beverages industries (including bottle-filling plants and factories which manufacture ice-cream). The rest is mainly invested in the car industry. However, this sector, in turn, does not primarily produce lorries and tractors, which are necessary for development but are not necessarily profitable due to the structure of demand; on the contrary, the aim is to obtain maximum profits by manufacturing private cars for the high income groups. Therefore, the investments made by multinational companies primarily and quite naturally serve their own profit-making interests and are not aimed at promoting the social and

(24) Cf A. G. Frank, Kapitalismus und Unterentwicklung in Lateinamerika, Frankfurt 1968 (English: Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America); D. Senghaas (ed.), Imperialismus und strukturelle Gewalt. Analysen über abhängige Reproduktion, Frankfurt 1972, primarily the contributions by O. Sunkel, Th. dos Santos, and C. Furtado.

economic development of the "third world". In order to lay the foundation for independent industrialization and economic growth accompanied by a positive effect of social equalization, investments would have to be entirely different: money would have to be invested in the production of basic industrial goods and equipment - steel, machines, lorries, tractors, and similar articles - which are essential to a developed economy. Contrary to this, the basing of industrial production on luxury consumer goods for the ruling classes in the underdeveloped countries means that the economy of these countries continues to be dependent on the exportation of raw materials.

In addition, there is the fact that the composition of foreign investments and their effects on the economic structure of the underdeveloped countries is decisive in perpetuating the state of underdevelopment. It is characteristic of foreign investments that the investing companies only shift part of a given production process to the "third world" countries and retain the major part under their direct control in the capitalist country of origin (hereinafter called the centre or metropolis). The subsidiaries of international companies are organized in such a way that they depend on the mother company for importing the necessary basic equipment and are also dependent on it for patents, individual parts, spare parts, which are frequently the vital components, such as, for instance, quality tools, technical experts, transport, insurance, and also technical and organizational plans for the production process. This kind of system results in the exclusion of existing or potential markets for developed technical processes in the developing countries (hereinafter referred to as satellites or peripheries), and ties the technical development of these countries to the economic structure and dynamics of the centre. The fact that the solutions to technical problems are already integrated into the relevant production process in the metropolis and are exported to the peripheries in the shape of the technical organization to be introduced here, means that the technological gap between the centres and the peripheries is constantly growing.

The way in which profits made by the subsidiary companies are used also contributes to blocking economic development in the peripheries. As a rule, these profits are not used for expanding production plants, although this does occur to some extent in some cases, but are mainly transferred back to the centres. The flow of capital back to the mother companies in the form of profits, interests on capital and real estate, subsidies for granting technical assistance, licences and patents, payments for deliveries, and so on, is much more substantial than the flow of

capital from the centres to the peripheries. This process results in the increasing decapitalization of the underdeveloped countries and is one of the reasons for the constant deterioration of their balance of payments. In addition, some profits are used for buying up local firms or for acquiring shares in these firms (foreign penetration of local economies). This in turn increases the influence of international companies on the whole economy of the peripheries and thus also on the economic and political decisions of their governments.

Because of the circumstances 25) outlined roughly and incompletely above, it can be said that the development of industrial sectors in the countries of the "third world" through the expansion of capitalist companies has not led to a growth of self-reliant, i.e. autonomous economic systems nor to the attainment of economic independence and self-supporting development in newly structured regional areas. On the contrary, this expansion has led to the progressive economic and political dependence of the peripheries on the centres, whose structural characteristics are dominance and exploitation. For this reason, it is misleading to describe the underdeveloped countries as the countries of the "third world". For many decades or even centuries, the "third world" has been an integral part of the world-wide capitalist system, 26) which can be described as an imperialist system. 27) The evolution of this overall system, which fell into different historical phases, led to the capitalist world being divided up into exploiting, developed metropolitan areas and exploited, underdeveloped peripheries. The mechanisms of dependence which are characteristic of the relations between metropolitan and peripheral areas are here described by the term "structural dependence".

(25) D. Senghaas (ed.), cf footnote 22 above.

(26) The relations between the socialist and the underdeveloped countries are of only minor importance for the economic situation in the "third world". Cf D. Senghaas, editorial preface; in: D. Senghaas (ed.), *Imperialismus und strukturelle Gewalt*, see footnote 24 above, p. 9.

(27) On the present theory of imperialism see D. Senghaas (ed.), *Imperialismus und strukturelle Gewalt*, cf footnote 24 above; also E. Mandel, *Der Spätkapitalismus*, Frankfurt 1973, chapter 11.

In this context, structural dependence is used to describe a constellation in which profits and benefits are unevenly distributed because of an asymmetrical structure of interaction and because within this system this uneven distribution favours those who are superior in the political, economic, military, scientific, and technological field (the oppressors and their allies) and is to the disadvantage of those who are weaker in these fields (the oppressed). 28)

One argument put forward in the discussion on "development aid" maintains that the decolonialized countries of the "third world" are in the process of leaving traditional societies behind them, that is to say they are becoming "modernized" and are developing capitalist economic and social structures which will finally come to resemble those in the metropolitan areas. However, this argument overlooks the constellation described above and is therefore incorrect.

"Compared with the advanced capitalist world which is now undergoing its second industrial revolution, and compared with a socialist world which in spite of errors and uncertainties is experiencing faster economic growth than any other area, the third world is stagnating or is even losing ground. This underdeveloped half of the world, where the population explosion is more evident than anywhere else, only has a twelve percent share in gross world production, and the per capita income is increasing much more slowly than in other parts of the world... Political decolonization has not altered this exploitation at all." 29)

This situation is the expression and result of an international pattern of dominance and unequal division of labour 30) which has developed historically and is determined by the interest of the metropolitan areas. Right to

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- (28) In this context, we thus do not mean those dependencies existing in an almost symmetrically structured exchange system (France - FRG); nor do we mean dependencies within an asymmetrically structured system of cooperative assistance (SU - Cuba), in which the superior party is to "bleed", as is actually the case in the relation between the Soviet Union and Cuba.
- (39) P. Jalée, *Die Dritte Welt in der Weltwirtschaft*, Frankfurt 1969, pp. 130-31.
- (30) C. Schuhler, *Zur politischen Ökonomie der armen Welt*, München 1968, and now E. Krippendorff (ed.), *Probleme internationaler Beziehungen*, Frankfurt 1973.

this very day, the division of labour is not seen to be a problem by the developed countries. A historical inquiry into the centuries old alignment of the so-called developing countries to the pattern of needs and requirements of the metropolitan areas shows the extent, the method, and the consequences of the way in which the developed countries have determined and continue to determine their development. In particular the historical growth of an international division of labour which distinguished between suppliers of raw materials and foodstuffs on the one hand and producers of industrial goods on the other has meant that the "rich countries" have become increasingly rich and the "poor countries" increasingly poor, in relative and sometimes even in absolute terms. Development processes of this kind are described as "the development of underdevelopment" or also as "dependent reproduction on the basis of structural violence", 31) whereby structural violence is taken to mean the result of direct violence, which has been used at various times with varying brutality to establish and stabilize dependence and exploitation.

In the course of the process through which the existing self-reliant economies of today's developing countries were largely destroyed by interference from the colonial powers in order to align production there to the "requirements" of the metropolitan areas ("mother countries"), one can distinguish between the following historical forms of dependence: 32)

- Colonial dependence, mainly involving the exportation of goods, whereby trading and financial capital and the colonizing state dominated the economic relations between Europeans and the colonies by use of a trading monopoly which found its counterpart in a colonial monopoly of land, mines, and labour (serfs or slaves) in the colonized countries.
- Financial and industrial dependence, which established itself towards the end of the 19th century. This is characterized by the predominance of large scale capital in the centres and its expansion abroad due

(31) Cf D. Senghaas, see footnote 24 above, pp. 20-21. The conception of structural violence will be discussed later on, see footnote 37 below.

(32) Cf Th. dos Santos, Über die Struktur der Abhängigkeit, in: D. Senghaas (ed.), Imperialismus und strukturelle Gewalt, see footnote 24 above, pp. 245 ff.

to investments in the production of raw materials and agricultural products for use in the dominating metropolitan areas. In the dependent countries, a production structure based on the exportation of the products evolved.

- In the period after World War II new forms of technological dependence emerged in addition to financial and industrial dependence. These were mainly spread to the "third world" through new organizations, such as multinational corporations and international institutions.

Each of these historical forms of dependence roughly described above corresponds to a situation which was not only characteristic of the international relations between the peripheral areas and the metropolitan centres but was also typical of their internal structure: type of production, the predominant form of capital accumulation and their social and political development (socio-economic evolution). 33)

Any adequate analytical framework for the investigation of the "development of underdevelopment" must therefore be based on a recognition of the international economic system and of the dominant and dominated societies integrated into this system. On the basis of this kind of analysis underdevelopment cannot be interpreted as a transitional phase between so-called traditional and so-called modern societies; on the contrary, underdevelopment is an integral part of the historical process leading to the capitalist world system, i.e. it is reproduced afresh on every step in this system. 34) The evolution of this world-wide capitalist system led to a polarization between the highly industrialized metropolitan areas of the "Northern" centre and the underdeveloped and dependent countries of the "Southern" peripheries as well as to a polarization occurring within these latter areas themselves, between developed and underdeveloped regions and sectors on the one hand and between dominant elites and the oppressed, exploited masses on the other. 35)

(33) Cf D. Senghaas (ed.), see footnote 22 above.

(34) Cf D. Senghaas, *Konfliktformationen in der gegenwärtigen internationalen Gesellschaft*, see footnote 9 above, Part II, 4; also the literature referred to in this paper.

(35) Here we confine ourselves to the analysis of the mentioned polarization processes. In a more complex analysis one would also have to analyse the polarizations within the metropolitan centres.

Thus, the relations between the centres and the peripheries cannot simply be seen as the dichotomy between "poor" and "rich" countries.

"The... relevance of the centre-periphery model on various analytical levels is best illustrated in the study of the political position and socio-economic infrastructure of the third world countries, where national elites of different kinds usually fulfill a bridgehead function in relation to the influence of the capitalist centres of the North, that is to say that taken as a whole, they play a subordinate or 'marginal' role vis à vis the metropolitan centres; yet at the same time they act as privileged centres in relation to their own internal social peripheries, which results in 'internal colonialism'." 36)

The present teaching proposal can be interpreted as a project designed to cast further light on the problems of structural violence 37) in the framework of the present discussion going on in peace research. Whereas the theoretical discussion about the concept of structural violence sees the discrepancy between reality (existing social situation) and potentiality (possible social conditions attainable through change) as the result of structural violence, we place a more narrow interpretation on this concept in the context of this project. This is also related to the discrepancy between reality and potentiality, but is applied to those social conditions where people are actually killed because of the predominant social structure. In the opinion of the authors, this kind of narrowing of the concept is justified in view of the lack of elementary conditions of survival in the "third world", in order to make it clear that the project is not based on any utopian standards but on standards which have long been considered to be a socio-political matter of course in the metropolitan areas: what is initially at stake is to establish social conditions in which people are no longer killed by social structures. 38) By relating the concept of violence to this kind of context

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- (36) D. Senghaas, see footnote 24 above, pp. 16-17.
- (37) Cf J. Galtung, Gewalt, Frieden und Friedensforschung, in: D. Senghaas (ed.), Kritische Friedensforschung, Frankfurt 1972, pp. 55-104.
- (38) 1 to 2 percent of the world population die of hunger every year, 14 percent are almost famishing, 56 percent are undernourished. Cf E. Meueler, Soziale Gerechtigkeit, Düsseldorf 1971, p. 14.

it becomes evident that poverty, misery, famine, and similar conditions observed in the countries of the "third world" can no longer be traced back to natural factors but to social structures reinforced by dominance, i.e. to conditions of violence, which continue to be effective where there is no direct violence.

The present teaching project can also be based on the concept of structural violence as defined here, since many of the mechanisms used to maintain structural violence inside societies can also be observed in almost identical forms in the relations between metropolitan centres and peripheries. Seen from this point of view, the question can now be answered as to why a minority of the inhabitants of this planet have been capable of dominating the majority for so many centuries. In this context it is to be stressed that the concept of structural violence is based on an analysis of mechanisms of dominance, the knowledge of which makes it possible to answer the above question with relation to international society and to internal social structures. 39)

With these ideas as a background, we can now give a closer indication of why this subject is relevant for educational purposes. The study of structural dependence in schools can contribute to developing some essential qualifications for the ability to practise self-determination and participation:

- An analysis of the social structures of the so-called developing countries can point to the connection between one's own conditions of life and socio-economic structures of dominance elsewhere, because in the "third world" countries power is exercised much more openly than in our own society. In this way questions and categories can be developed which are also relevant for the interpretation of our own conditions of life;
- strategies to solve social conflicts can be investigated with a view to changing social and economic structures;
- getting to know historical examples of successful counter-strategies to free people from structural dependence can counteract political apathy, especially in the case of schoolchildren from the so-

(39) Cf especially J. Galtung, Eine strukturelle Theorie des Imperialismus, in: D. Senghaas (ed.), Imperialismus und strukturelle Gewalt, see footnote 24 above, pp. 29-104.

called lower classes and can thus help to achieve emancipation through political education in our own society;

- the analysis of international structures of dependence and conflicts can teach schoolchildren to question the interests behind arguments put forward to justify certain decisions in foreign policy, such as for example "the protection of national interests, the defence of the free world", and so on.

The time has now come to formulate the following general learning goals on the basis of what has been said above:

3. General Learning Goals

- to recognize that the majority of the world population lives in famine, poverty, and want;
- to learn to inquire about the causes of this situation;
- to realize that this situation may be changed;
- to learn to develop strategies for changing it.

In detail this means:

- a) to learn not to consider natural factors as the cause of living conditions in the developing countries (factors such as climatic, demographic and racial features) but to relate these conditions to the economic state of development of these countries;
- b) to recognize the historical roots of and various phases in this unequal but combined development;
- c) to learn to analyse existing structures of dependence in these countries in the economic, political, military, cultural, and technological fields;
- d) to realize that these structures of dependence cannot simply be boiled down to the distinction between "poor" and "rich" countries, but that they are due to international structures of dominance in the framework of the world-wide capitalist system;
- e) to learn to relate conflicts in the "poor" countries themselves and between "poor" and "rich" countries to these structures of dominance;
- f) to learn to check counter-strategies and strategies for change for their capacity to eliminate social and economic disparities and dependence;
- g) to learn to study historical and contemporary forms of the use of violence to see whether they are designed to exercise dominance or whether they should be interpreted as counter-strategies, i.e. counter-violence used to fight economic, political, and military oppression;

- h) to learn to study the extent to which foreign trade, the transfer of capital and technology, and so on, as well as the guiding political strategies of the foreign policy of the German Federal Republic contribute to changing, eliminating or maintaining international structures of dependence.

III. On how to Break down the Subject Matter

1. Subdivision into Two Teaching Projects

In order to grasp the problems of the developing countries, a functional analysis of the history and origins as well as of the respective state of development of both the metropolitan centres and the peripheries is necessary, with particular attention to the needs and requirements of the metropolitan centres.

Thus, on the historical level it should be shown how the relations between the countries of the Western world and today's developing countries have evolved starting from the phase characterized by pure spoliation (ruinous colonialism) and going on to cover colonialism and classical imperialism right down to the present phase of control by international (or multinational) corporations.

On the functional level this would correspond to a description of the continuance of structures of dependence, especially on the economic level, which were originally generated by colonialism and imperialism (for instance monocultural and monoproduktive orientation of the economies of the developing countries) and of the effects of the penetration of their economies by international corporations on the social structure of these countries.

For reasons of time and also because it is a difficult subject, the problem of international structures of dependence cannot be dealt with as one single teaching unit. An attempt must therefore be made to make the whole subject clearer by subdividing it into at least two teaching projects.

Part I

Part I, which is seen as a kind of preparatory course, involves the description of structures of dependence which are based on direct violence.

It will generally be necessary to make pupils aware of the very existence of poverty and underdevelopment in the "third world" countries and to uncover the historical reasons for the different levels of development in rich and poor countries.

Examples and categories which can be drawn from colonialism are essential for a continued analysis of the deformed social and economic structures of today's peripheries.

Thus, it will only be possible to make a relevant analysis of current problems in developing countries once it has been made clear how monocultures develop, to mention but one example, how national elites emerge as a result of colonialism, or how the "development of underdevelopment" works.

Part II

Once this stage has been completed, it will be possible in Part II to analyse structures of dependence against the background of indirect (structural) violence (formal political independence, the role of national elites in the developing countries) and to portray the intensification of economic, social, political, and cultural underdevelopment resulting from the expansion of international corporations.

In this context it will be of special importance to discuss political strategies for change and economic development programmes and to see how they can contribute to improving the position of the majority of people in the poor countries.

The teaching project presented in this study and described in concrete terms in Part I and II admittedly only deals with one aspect of the problems of dependent relationships in international society, although this is a very relevant aspect. In order to present a realistic picture of the structure of international society as a whole, it would be necessary to formulate other aspects as subjects for teaching. 40) The following points should be given particular attention:

- In this project, the development of the metropolitan centres themselves is not explicitly formulated as a subject for teaching. The history of the capitalist centres is in itself the history of changing dependent relationships which altered as the leading metropolitan areas were superseded by historical developments and

(40) Cf D. Senghaas, Konfliktformationen in der gegenwärtigen internationalen Gesellschaft, see footnote 9 above.

in turn came to play second or even third fiddle to other, more dynamic areas just as, for instance, Spain and Portugal in the 15th and 16th centuries were replaced by Holland and Great Britain in the 17th and 18th centuries, or the European nation states of the 19th and early 20th century were overtaken by the present-day development of the U.S.A.. See Diagram 4 for further detail.

- There are also special dependent relationships between capitalist and socialist states. In particular, the so-called East-West conflict should be treated as the first example of what is structurally a North-South conflict. In view of the U.S.S.R.'s exit from the international capitalist economic system (1917), followed by China (1949) and Cuba (1959), this subject could be dealt with as the political expression of more or less successful counter-strategies.

This is a very important subject at the moment because the international economic relations between Western capitalist states and Eastern socialist states correspond in many respects to the structure of colonial exchange (raw materials and agricultural products exported to the West, and modern technology and management exported to the East).

Finally, in the socialist states themselves there is critical comment about new dependent structures between socialist states, for instance on the Part of Rumania and the People's Republic of China. Relationships of this kind should also be taken into account even if their structure is not necessarily identical with that of the relationships the present projects mainly deals with. (For instance, these dependent relationships between socialist states do not prevent the occurrence of development processes which improve the living conditions of the whole population.)

2. Part I - "Cabora Bassa" and Portuguese Colonial Rule

a) On the Choice of Subject

Alongside the criteria already mentioned, in choosing a subject attention must also be given to educational and psychological criteria.

A subject which is designed to correspond to what has been said under "Part I and II" must be measured against:

- 1) the learning goals to be developed from Part I and II,
- 2) topicality,
- 3) the nature of the problem as a conflict,
- 4) political relevance,

- 5) the possibility of using suitable materials to put the subject across in the classroom,
- 6) the contribution the subject makes to attaining the general goals of political education.

The authors do not recommend illustrating the learning goals in Part I by using a historical subject, although this might appear to be justified with regard to the contents (for example, French colonial policy in West Africa, turning Senegal into a monoculture for peanuts). However, taking into account points 2, 3 and 4 it seems better to study the maintainance of dependence by means of direct violence using the example of present-day Portuguese despotism. The problem of Cabora Bassa is particularly suitable because it can be used to describe an important phase in the development of underdevelopment with reference to the controversial example of Portuguese colonial rule. Using present-day Portuguese colonial rule as an example, it is possible to recapitulate the events which occurred throughout the 17th and 18th centuries and especially in the 19th century in Africa. At the same time, some initial insights can be gained into the expansion of international corporations (like ZAMCO) which will prove useful in phase 2 of the whole project.

b) Description of the Subject

The following 16 points are intended to show how the subject "Cabora Bassa and Portuguese colonial rule" can be used to attain the goals formulated in Part I. At the same time, they show which subjects and categories can be put across and illustrate how the subject can usefully serve as a kind of preparatory course. The order of the 16 points roughly reflects the planned teaching course. Comment on actual Portuguese colonial rule and the conflict over Cabora Bassa is a necessary prerequisite for formulating and deriving the resulting learning goals.

1. The Cabora Bassa dam project aims at improving the infrastructure of Mozambique in such a way as to open up the country's reserves of raw materials in the interest of the metropolitan areas.
2. The project prolongs Portuguese colonial rule (settlement plans, growing influence of South Africa).
3. Portugal's colonial rule aims at the maximum exploitation of Mozambique's raw materials in the interest of the metropolitan centres by taking advantage of cheap native labour.

4. The position of the population in Mozambique is similar to that of most people in developing countries, i.e. low standard of living, low per capita income.
5. The colonial history of Mozambique can be used to illustrate the most important phases in all European colonial history (initially commercial exploitation and spoliating colonialism, slave trade, compulsory cultivation of certain crops). Among these phases were
 - the conquest and elimination of arab middlemen,
 - the destruction of native culture, attempts to despoil gold reserves,
 - slave trading,
 - the destruction of native economies, compulsory cultivation, efforts to establish a cotton monoculture.
6. In order to carry through its economic and political interests Portugal uses the classical mechanisms of colonial dominance:
 - centralization of colonial administration,
 - a system of forced labour and compulsory taxation, compulsory cultivation of cotton (large landed estates),
 - minimum wages for the native population,
 - encouraging small native elite groups while at the same time excluding the mass of the population from advancement (assimilation),
 - basing education on Portuguese culture (loss of identity for the Africans),
 - preventing the natives from taking up certain professions, e.g. in commerce,
 - prohibiting political activity (most of the population has no right to strike, take part in elections or form a coalition),
 - control of the populace through an extensive police and military system.
7. The deformation of the economic and social structure of a country by a colonial power can thus be illustrated. (Basing the economy on monoculture, keeping native labour unskilled etc.)
8. The economic relations between the metropolitan centre and the colony are based on a colonial or rather neo-colonial system of exchange:
 - sale of cheap raw materials on the world market;
 - processing of the raw materials in the "mother country";
 - exchange of cheap raw materials for expensive industrial products.
9. The oppression of the population in Mozambique corresponds to the oppression of the populace in Portugal (international class structure).

10. The Portuguese colonial system is a variation of other racist class societies.
11. Attempts at justification (Western christian missions, civilization/assimilation, formal equality between the colony and the metropolis/"overseas provinces") serve to secure domination inside and outside the country.
12. The investments of Western European corporations (ZAMCO) and Portugal's membership in N.A.T.O. point to the international aspects of the conflict about Cabora Bassa.
13. The various liberation movements (especially FRELIMO) can be used to discuss strategies for change: guerilla warfare, establishing a new kind of society.
14. The investments made by Federal German firms (Siemens, AEG and others) and the public guarantees given for the project in form of Hermes credits and by means of support from public development agencies relate the conflict to our own society.
15. The discussion about Cabora Bassa in the German Federal Republic can be used to bring forward the problem of international solidarity: the stand adopted by the corporations involved, by the political parties, churches, student and apprentice groups.
16. The example of the cultural agreement between the Federal Republic and Portugal can be used to show that these problems reach right into the school classroom (description of Portuguese colonial policy in school text-books).

c) Learning Goals

1. To realize that the majority of people in Africa suffer from famine, poverty, and misery;
2. to realize that one of the causes of underdevelopment is the insufficient use of natural resources;
3. to investigate the extent to which measures to improve infrastructure help to make better use of natural resources and can contribute to the development of the country;
4. to recognize that the development of Mozambique's infrastructure (planning and construction of the dam) is decided by the colonial power Portugal;

5. to realize that there are conflicting views about the effects of the Cabora Bassa project;
6. to learn to relate this controversy to Portuguese colonial rule;
7. to become familiar with the various forms, goals and methods of Portuguese colonialism:
 - to study the economic aims which existed in the various historical phases of Portuguese colonial dominance;
 - to learn who benefits and in what way from the economic relations between the metropolis and the colony;
 - to be able to study the effects of Portuguese colonial rule on the economic and social structure of the colony;
 - to be able to classify administrative and military measures taken by the colonial authorities in this context;
 - to be able to question colonial ideologies as to their ulterior motives;
8. to investigate whether the implementation of the Cabora Bassa project is likely to improve the living conditions of the Africans or to prolong Portuguese colonial rule;
9. to realize that non-Portuguese interests (especially those of South African and European corporations) are linked with the project;
10. to inquire about the importance of Federal German corporations and state guarantees for carrying out the project;
11. to become familiar with the aims and methods of the liberation movements (above all FRELIMO);
12. to realize that in the struggle between the Portuguese colonial rule and the national liberation movements there are also effective supra-regional (South Africa, Rhodesia - Tanzania, Zambia) and international clashes of spheres of interest (N.A.T.O. - U.S.S.R., China);
13. to be able to ask about the arguments used by groups and organizations in the Federal Republic.

3. Part II - Brazil as an Example of Structural Dependence and Underdevelopment

a) On the Choice of Subject

Whereas in the Portuguese colonies dependence and underdevelopment are maintained by means of direct administrative and military violence corresponding to "simple" forms of exploitation, it is characteristic of the situation of the developing countries as a whole that dependence and underdevelopment are usually maintained by forms of indirect, structural violence, with occasional use of direct violence. 41)

This kind of structural violence cannot be analysed in abstract terms in the classroom, it has to be illustrated with examples. Alongside the criteria mentioned on page 213, when selecting an example one should ask which essential characteristics of structural violence it illustrates.

Brazil seemed to the authors a very suitable example for the following reasons:

- Brazil suffers from all the structural characteristics of underdevelopment which are typical for the so-called third world countries;
- common prejudices, for instance the argument that natural factors are the cause of underdevelopment such as for example the shortage of mineral wealth and areas suitable for cultivation, overpopulation etc.) can easily be revealed as such;
- the discrepancy between reality and potentiality of economic and social development is made especially clear: poverty and underdevelopment exist despite enormous natural resources and despite fairly progressive industrialization;
- there is very serious penetration of the national economy by international corporations. It can be shown that the resulting spectacular economic growth has not led to an improvement in the standard of living for most of the population (growth without development);

(41) These forms of violence are also referred to as institutionalized forms of violence. Cf Medellín Documents, 2. General Assembly of the Latin American Bishops, 1968, in: Mit Maschinengewehr und Kreuz, ed. by H. Lüning, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1969, p. 136.

- the 1964 coup was different from previous seizures of power by the armed forces and was thus a pointer for all Latin America (militarization of the whole state);
- economically and militarily Brazil plays the role of a sub-centre within the world-wide capitalist system (provision of the Latin American market with consumer goods and arms; threats of military intervention in Uruguay and Bolivia);
- since there are quite a large number of West-German corporations investing in Brazil along with other firms, it is not difficult to establish a link with our own society.

b) Description of the Subject

1. The majority of people in Brazil suffer from famine, poverty, bad housing, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment. (For instance, 900,000 Brazilians have an annual per capita income of 6,500 \$, while another 45 million have to exist on less than 130 \$ a year.)
2. The formal liberation from colonial dependence (the end of Portuguese colonial rule in the 19th century) did not lead to self-sustained social and economic development.
3. The economic and social structure of Brazil has been deformed by centuries of exploitation. The various phases necessary to adapt the Brazilian economy to the needs and requirements of the metropolitan centres (Portugal, Great Britain, U.S.A., more recently the E.E.C. countries and Japan as well) can be portrayed as specific chains of dependence: some examples are sugar planting in the North-East, mining ore in Minas Gerais, the growing of coffee and rubber, to mention but a few. Here is an example of one such chain of dependence: increase in the demand for and price of sugar in Western Europe, especially in Holland (1st metropolis) in the 16th century. Forced sugar cultivation in North Eastern Brazil by Portugal (sub-centre 1/satellite 1) - slave trade, slave labour - concentration of property in a few hands - transfer of profits - low investments, no production for the home market - importation of plant for the sugar raffineries - demand in the North East (sub-centre 2/satellite 2) for more meat, skins, beasts of burden, fat, draft animals - increase in the cattle population - exploitation of the cattle producing areas (sub-centre 3/satellite 3) by the sugar producers - expansion of the grazing areas - retreat of the Indians

(satellite 4) or exploitation of their labour in cattle farming; shifting of sugar production to the West Indies by the Dutch - elimination of the Portuguese - decline of sugar production in the North East - decline of cattle farming - destitution of the country (cf Diagrams 3 and 4).

4. In spite of spectacular industrial projects, Brazil is still mainly an agricultural country. 50% of all exports consist of agricultural products. 55% of the population are employed in agriculture. Typical forms of landed estates found there are the so-called latifundia; small-holdings in the hands of the peasants are being increasingly eliminated (minifundia).
5. Even today, most exports are raw materials (coffee, cocoa, cotton, sugar, iron ore, manganese, copper, oil, uranium) and are mainly grown as monocultures or monopoly products (coffee, iron ore). The income from exports is decreasing due to their dependency on world market prices and the deterioration of the terms of trade.
6. Brazil's economy has largely become denationalized. Raw materials and industry are mainly controlled from abroad (e.g. 90% of the automobile industry, 72% of all energy produced, 70% of mechanical engineering, and so on). Profits are transferred to the metropolitan centres. The shortage of capital leads to an increasing debt based on credit, which in turn increases dependence. Attempts to develop national processing industries in competition with the industries of the metropolitan centres fail (as was the case with the "instant coffee war").
7. Private foreign investments either aim at exploiting raw materials or flow into the tertiary and consumer goods sector. Local firms, originally designed to substitute imports are pushed off the market, even though they could have served as a nucleus for a self-supporting national industry. Because of the transfer of technology which accompanies foreign investments, the supply of jobs does not grow (capital intensive instead of labour intensive production).
8. Measures to improve the infrastructure are not based on the needs of the population (schools, hospitals etc.) but on the economic interests of foreign firms (for instance, the building of the "trans-Amazon highway").
9. The increasing external polarization between Brazil and the capitalist industrial nations corresponds to an internal polarization between prosperous enclaves (Sao Paulo) and poverty-stricken regions (the North East),

Diagram 3 : Example of a Chain of Dependence

Phase 1: "Development" of North-East Brazil in the 16th and 17th centuries

Phase 2: Destitution of the North-East in the 17th and 18th Centuries

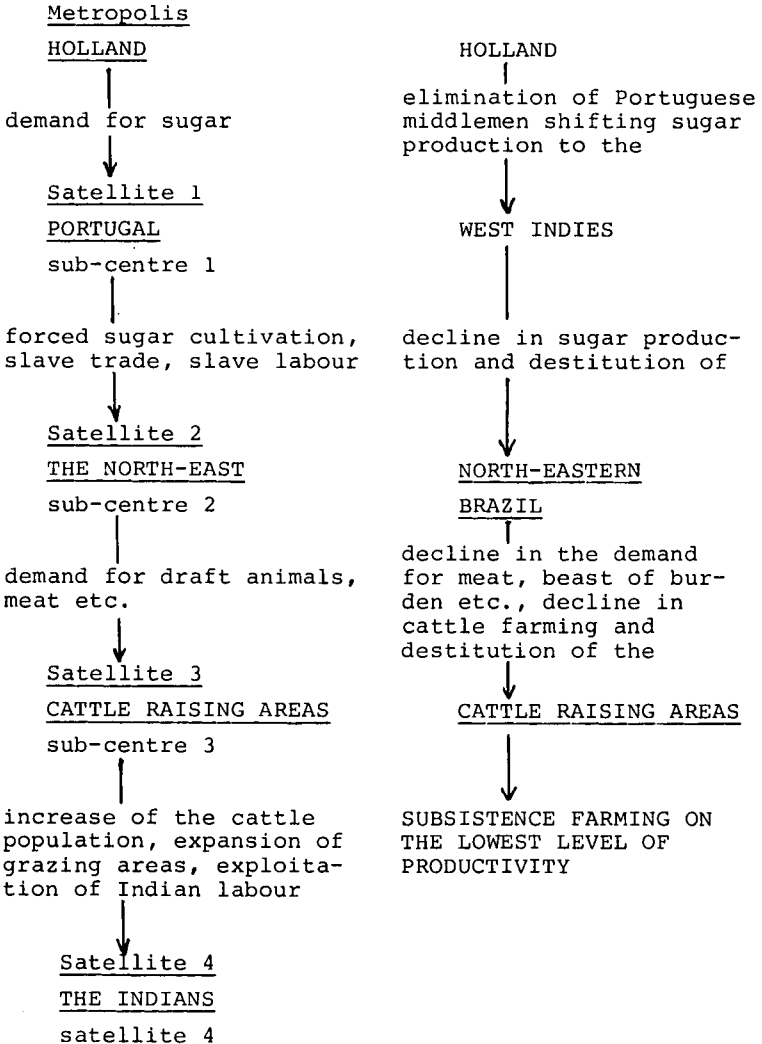
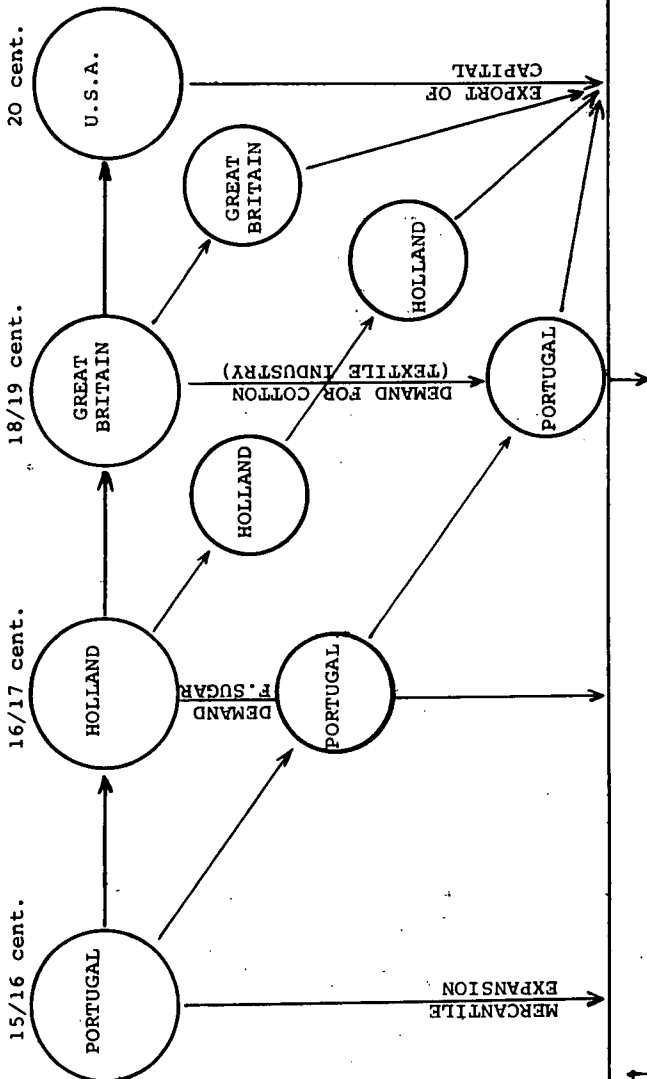


Diagram 4: On the Historical Process of Change from a Metropolitan Centre to a Peripheral Area



METROPOLITAN CENTRES
 adaptation of the economic and social structure of the peripheries (Brazil) to the needs and requirements of the respective metropolitan centre (selected examples)

PERIPHERY
 regional economic and social effects in Brazil

colonization and exploitation of Brazilian wood in the North; feudal system, slave hunting

sugar planting in the North-East; slave trade, slave labour

cotton growing in the North; plantation; emergence of an extensive rural proletariat (coffee plantations on the East coast)

penetration of international corporations esp. around Sao Paulo; elimination of national industry; rural exodus; unemployment; "marginalization"

between the ruling elite in the enclaves and the proletarian masses, who as a result of the rural exodus and unemployment in the industrial sector live in the "Favelas" on the edge of these enclaves: neo-colonialism is continued in internal colonialism.

10. Historical attempts to develop a national capitalist economy after the world slump and especially after 1945 failed (Vargas, Kubitschek, Goulart).
11. In today's Brazil structural violence is maintained by direct violence exercised by the national elite; the dependence of the national government on foreign corporations and their governments can be clearly illustrated (1964 military coup, institutional acts, military aid from the U.S.A. etc.).
12. The example of Brazil can be used to discuss strategies for change and to relate the position of this particular country to developments in other Latin American states (Cuba, Chile, Peru, Bolivia).

c) Learning Goals

1. To realize that the majority of the Brazilian population live at subsistence level;
2. to study the extent to which the underdevelopment of a country is due to natural factors, such as a shortage of natural resources;
3. to recognize that the development of underdevelopment has passed through different historical phases;
4. to realize that formal political liberation from colonial dependence does not necessarily lead to independent development;
5. to realize that the relations between the metropolitan centre and the colony effect employment structures even in the remotest regions of Brazil;
6. to recognize that even today the structure of the Brazilian economy is still mainly that of an agricultural monoculture;
7. to study what forms of dependence develop from a single crop economy and from one-sided production;
8. to check the extent to which measures to improve the infrastructure are likely to improve the living conditions of the populace;

9. to investigate whether investments of international corporations improve the job supply or the living conditions of the populace;
10. to ask what benefits international corporations draw from their investments in Brazil;
11. to ask to what extent West-German firms are involved in the control of the Brazilian economy;
12. to ask what forms of dependence result from the foreign penetration of the Brazilian economy;
13. to study the social stratification in Brazil and relate it to the ownership of the means of production;
14. to be able to study possibilities and limits to developing a national capitalist economy with reference to historical and present-day examples;
15. to realize that structural violence in Brazil is maintained by direct military violence;
16. to develop counter-strategies and strategies for change and relate them to the situation in other Latin American states.

In conclusion, Diagram 5 is designed to present the cognitive learning goals aimed at in both parts of the project in the form of an overall sketch.

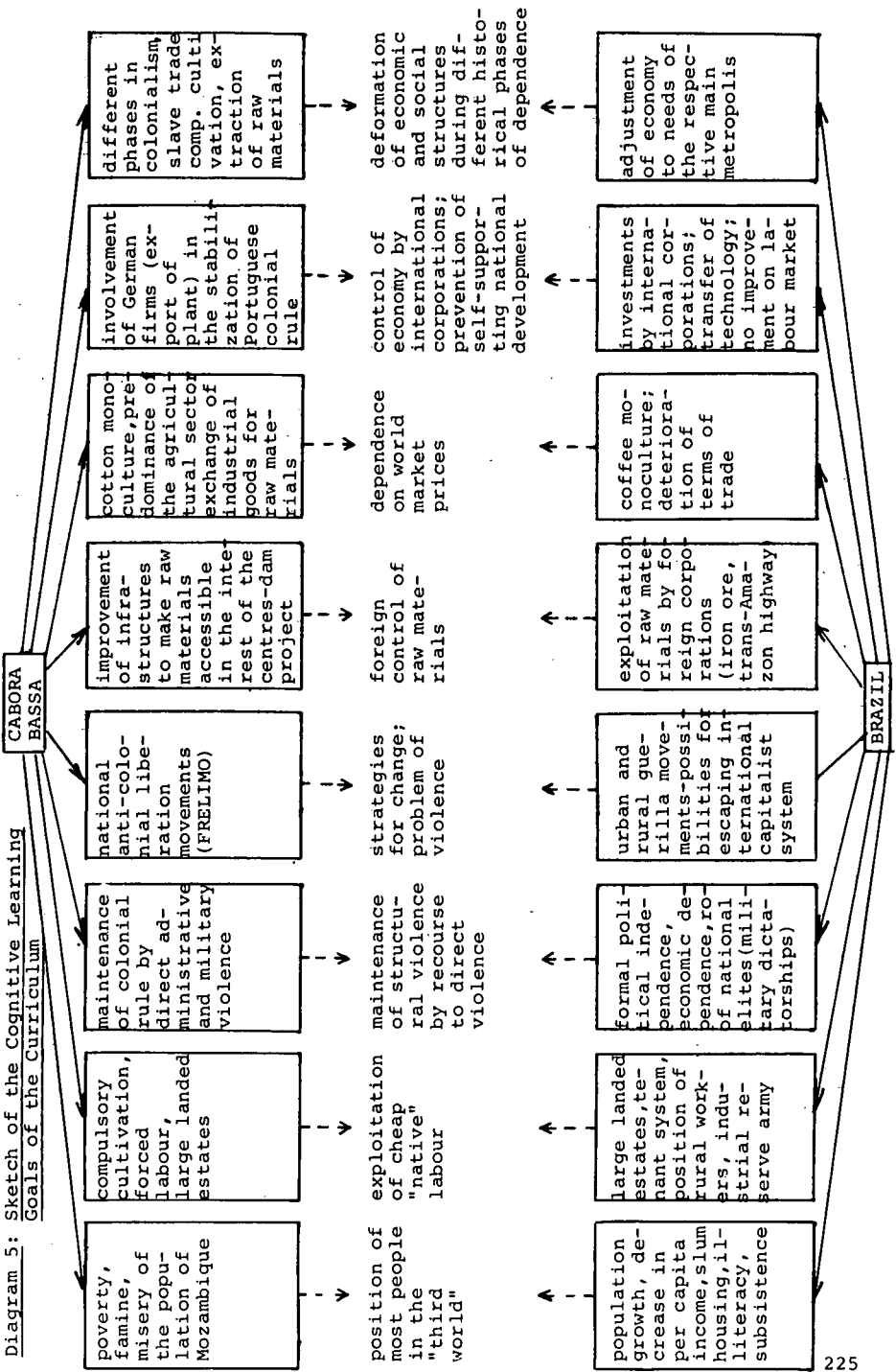
IV. On how to Convey the Material and Learning Goals

On the basis of the above statements describing and presenting the subject the reader might have gained the impression that the authors are supporters of a concept according to which political education is exclusively interpreted as the transfer of the results of research in social science to school teaching. 42) Although an attempt was made in chapter II to organize the subject from the communication point of view, we realize quite clearly that this predominantly subject-related description does not do justice to the complexity of these processes.

In view of the fact that most of the didactic approaches, text-books and teaching models which have been available until now are unsatisfactory or even questionable

(42) On the critique of such a concept see R. Schmiederer, Zur Kritik der Politischen Bildung, Frankfurt 1971, p. 92.

Diagram 5: Sketch of the Cognitive Learning Goals of the Curriculum



as far as contents go, 43) especially in relation to the subject of International Conflicts, surely it is first of all necessary to make an adequate analysis of the subject. This is both a precondition for setting up teaching material with a relevant subject matter and learning goals which can be derived from this, in order to make pupils capable of self-determination and participation, which in the final analysis also means making them capable of dealing critically with information from their immediate and extended environment as well as with images of themselves and their environment.

Whenever it is a question of initiating organized processes of learning, the person teaching must be assumed to have the ability to make choices and to analyse information and material. In addition, it is only on the basis of adequate knowledge of the structure of the material to be taught that the teacher will be able to go into prejudices and impulses on the part of those he is teaching in allowing the group as much self-control as possible, without having to give up the learning goals in doing so.

However, if the teacher sticks dogmatically to the proposed teaching project, there is the danger that for fear of "losing the thread" he will impose the learning goals on the group in an authoritarian manner and will set up barriers to learning instead of eliminating them by making his classes too rigid.

It is against this background that the selection and analysis of the subject must be seen: it should neither be seen as a canon to be learnt by the pupils nor as a linear programme, the sequence of which must be strictly adhered to. The accompanying learning goals should not be seen as a cognitive behaviour pattern to be aimed at; on the contrary, the goals are designed to indicate the direction of the desired learning processes. Moreover, our list of cognitive learning goals needs to be supplemented by a catalogue of instrumental learning goals, such as for instance the analysis of texts, diagrams, statistics, pictures, films, cartographic material, and so on. Any statements about which instrumental abilities and skills are to be conveyed to the children must be based on the children's previous knowledge and the teaching materials used and can therefore only be formulated when the teaching project becomes more concrete.

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- (43) H. Nicklas and A. Ostermann, Friedensbezogene Lernziele und die Umsetzung von Friedensforschung in didaktische Modelle, in: Hesse. Foundation of Peace and Conflict Research, Frankfurt, Information No. 4/1972, pp. 132-138.

During the discussion on the possibilities and tasks of political education there is agreement that its goals should not be limited to simply conveying purely cognitive and instrumental abilities, but that it should include the changing of behaviour and attitudes.

- a) in relation to the way teaching is organized,
- b) in relation to already existing prejudices and attitudes,
- c) in relation to a class-specific differentiation of learning processes.

On a) In political education aiming at emancipation and democratization, there should be no distinction between form and content, between the goals of education and the way they are presented. The ability of pupils to participate in processes of social decision-making is expressed in the classroom in their ability to be involved in the planning and implementation of teaching as conscious learning. Conscious learning is a teaching principle designed to enable pupils to make a rational assessment of social conditions. 44)

Self-government and conscious learning as the conditions for and motivation (momentum) of emancipation must be interpreted here as learning goals. In view of the framework within which teaching takes place, they can only be developed step by step. 45) This means that teaching must be organized according to the following principles:

- "Results" (knowledge, insights etc.) should not be "conveyed"; the pupils must be given the chance to produce results on their own and acquire their knowledge themselves;
- prejudices, pre-conceived ideas etc. should not be dismissed by the teacher while he supplies the pupils with the "right" answer. On the contrary, by means of a suitable working method and by making suitable material available pupils should be given the opportunity of correcting their errors themselves;

(44) Conscious learning has also been referred to as heuristic learning. Cf. Ch. Wulf, Curriculumentwicklung in den New Social Studies in den USA, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Beilage zur Wochenzeitung DAS PARLAMENT, B 6/72, pp. 8 ff.

(45) Rahmenrichtlinien, see footnote 7 above, pp. 10-11.

- democratic forms of interaction must be initiated in the classroom. 46)

On b) In the context of political education, attitudes can be seen as those patterns of behaviour and interpretation which have a selective effect on information about social realities, i.e. they tend only to accept information which confirms existing attitudes and prejudices. 47) There is no sufficient information available about the possibility of altering pre-conceived ideas in children of school age. Even so, it seems certain that it will not prove possible to change pupils' attitudes by directly confronting them with their "mistaken ideas" and subjecting them to the pressure of information in batches. Apart from the rare opportunity of improving pre-conceived ideas by direct confrontation with social reality, in the context of learning processes at school, the alteration of behaviour and attitudes can only be aimed at by conceiving learning goals and by organizing teaching accordingly.

The following points are worth remembering in connection with the need to change behaviour and attitudes:

- Readiness to submit one's own attitudes to critical reflexion;
- reduction of a fixation on authority, encouragement of self-confidence and self-assurance;
- articulating and pursuing one's own interests;
- ability to cooperate and communicate, encouragement of the showing of solidarity in one's behaviour;
- sensitivization towards oppression, exploitation and external control;
- reduction of political apathy and indifference.

Thus, if emancipatory learning processes cannot only be determined by the content and method of what is taught, but must follow on from what the respective group of pupils already knows, then the question arises as to the value of the sequence of learning proposed by the authors, in view of the complexity of the learning goals referred to above. In other words, to what extent are the authors' teaching projects exemplary?

(46) Cf R. Schmiederer in Hessisches Intitut für Lehrerfortbildung, record of the course 1799, Zur Didaktik der politischen Bildung, 1971, p. 103.

(47) Cf K. Mollenhauer, Erziehung und Emanzipation, München 1968, p. 154. Cf also the theory of cognitive consistency or dissonance following Festinger's studies. See also the important volume of Robert P. Abelson et.al., Theories of Cognitive Consistency. A Sourcebook, Chicago 1968.

Here, it should be pointed out that according to the results of research into learning, at least as far as the present state of the art goes, a decision in favour of certain learning or teaching methods cannot be rigorously derived from empirical findings. 48) The results of past research are only sufficient to hypothetically weigh up teaching and learning processes or individual elements of the same to see how they can make it possible to attain certain learning goals and to use the more plausible ones for teaching experimentally. 49) The results of this for the concept of so-called teaching models is that their content and method is only "exemplary" in relation to concrete groups of pupils. On this basis, the role of teaching projects is not primarily their transferability but their ability to point to possibilities for "operationalizing" learning goals.

Among other things, this means that the selected subjects "Cabora Bassa" and "Brazil" can in principle be exchanged for other examples which perhaps appear more "topical" to the pupils or the teacher. It also means that the subject described is only one of several possibilities for presenting emancipatory learning goals in the curricular context of political education at secondary level. It is necessary to point this out to meet the possible objection that in political education at school level one is primarily dealing with an audience whose field of experience is still largely determined by a closeness to so-called primary groups (family, school, peer groups) which is why it is more important to make, say, the institution of school itself a subject for teaching, rather than the problems of development and underdevelopment. The authors feel that an objection of this kind is based on a false premise. It is not so much a question of whether the subject of "school" is more suitable than the "third world" but of how these two subjects can be related to each other in a meaningful way in the course of several years' teaching (coordination and synchronization of subjects). Until now there have been no convincing answers to these questions. The social studies guidelines for level I in secondary schools in Hesse seem to contain some useful

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- (48) On the discussion of the current state of the evaluation research see Ch. Wulf, Curriculumsevaluation, in: Zeitschrift für Pädagogik, 2/1971, p. 175 ff.; also Ch. Wulf (ed.), Evaluation, München 1972.
- (49) K. Fackiner, Zur Didaktik des politischen Unterrichts, Introduction, in: K. Fackiner (ed.), Handbuch des politischen Unterrichts, Frankfurt 1971, pp. 15-16.

ideas in this direction. The breakdown of the subject into four fields of learning "socialization", "economics", "public works", and "intersocial conflicts" which, as is expressly stated, are closely connected, seems to us to offer adequate possibilities for classifying the present subject.

At this juncture, we would like to give an example for the possible allocation of subject key-words for level I in secondary school:

Diagram 6: Extract from a Possible Allocation of Key-Words to Subjects

	Field I Sociali- zation	Field II Economics	Field III Public Works	Field IV Intersocial Conflicts
class 5
class 6
class 7	...	evolution and develop- ment of the capitalist mode of production	...	"Cabora Bassa"
class 8	training of apprentices		land specula- tion/town planning	"Brazil"
class 9	armamentism
class 10

At least four subjects from the different fields of learning should be dealt with in a year. The subdivision into four fields of learning does not amount to a subdivision of the content of these fields but serves as an aid in organizing classes. Thus, for instance, it will not be possible to deal with the subject of the "third world" without including the subject of economics. The key-words are intended as suggestions on operationalizing learning goals and not as a "catalogue of material".

On c) The emancipatory potential contained in a qualitatively and quantitatively improved supply of information will only begin to show if it is possible to organize learning processes so as to allow the pupils to express their

interests. 50) For this, the following conditions must be fulfilled:

- the subject to be learnt must be directly connected with the interests of the pupils;
- the subject to be learnt must go beyond the immediate interests of the pupils;
- the subject to be learnt must be important for the emancipation of the pupils.

When organizing learning processes to meet these standards, the class-specific need of the pupils should be taken into account. 51)

So-Called Middle-Class Pupils:

"The expectations of pupils from the middle class are very much determined by the idea that individual chances of advancement can be guaranteed by individual proof of achievement. This individualistic attitude underestimates the significance of economic conditions for dependence and overlooks the limits to individual aspirations to advancement by these conditions." 52)

Among other things, this means that the presentation of a social analysis to these children can provoke considerable resistance from them, because of the predominantly individual bias of their interests. In groups of pupils mainly recruited from the middle classes, it might initially prove necessary to question the individual image of society which prevails in their minds and to make a problem of individual opportunities for advancement. This could be done in the classroom by starting from the limited number of university places available and investigating how the change in vocational structures has effected the job situation, say, of salaried employees (modernization of their activities, open-plan offices etc.). The aim of this sort of approach should be to point out the limits

(50) O. Negt, Soziologische Phantasie und exemplarisches Lernen. Zur Theorie der Arbeiterbildung, Frankfurt 1968.

(51) The following remarks are of hypothetical character inasmuch as up to now there are no empirically fundamental analyses on class-specifically organized political learning processes in school.

(52) Rahmenrichtlinien, see footnote 7 above, pp. 174-75.

of individually based opportunities and to make it clear that they are an expression of social and economic inequalities and of dependence. In this way it should be possible to arouse interest in a more detailed study of these inequalities and dependent relationships with a view to changing them.

Pupils from the So-Called Lower Classes:

The situation of children from the so-called lower classes is characterized by

- outside control of work through standardized rules or by direct supervision;
- few individual opportunities for advancement; promotion (seen in this context as "higher wages") depends on collective action;
- job insecurity.

It is against this roughly outlined background 53) that the self-assessment of the so-called middle classes must be seen in comparison with the different approach of members of the so-called lower classes.

"Whereas in the middle classes, individualistic ideas based on the individual personality are predominant and should be seen in the light of this group's individual expectations of advancement, respect of individual differences is only of little significance in the worker's life, because his way of looking at things does not depend on subjective individual abilities." 54)

This self-assessment is an expression of the experience that the social position of the individual is largely determined by social and economic dependence and cannot basically be improved through individual efforts. Whereas the parents are particularly subject to external social control at work, this is felt very strongly by their children at school: as a middle-class institution, school almost exclusively rewards behaviour which conforms with middle class ideas and in teaching various subjects hardly takes account of the social problems and interests of lower class children, which in turn prevents these children from developing their readiness to learn and their intellectual potential. The resulting permanent feeling of failure also

(53) Cf W. Gottschalch, M. Neumann-Schönwetter and G. Sukup, Sozialisationsforschung. Materialien, Probleme, Kritik, Frankfurt 1971.

(54) See footnote 53 above, pp. 91-92.

damages these children's self-esteem, who increasingly see their situation in school as something foreign to them and stop making efforts to adjust to the demands school makes on them.

This lack of motivation to learn, which has often been observed in lower class children, can, we feel, be mobilized if the subjects they are to be taught are connected with their own individual experience of discrimination and oppression and if they are made to see this experience as the expression of social dependence and are shown strategies to change their situation. 55)

The extent to which subjects and learning goals can be put across in practice can only be decided upon by the teaching projects now undergoing concrete study. This will involve a discussion of the following questions and problems:

- Which curricular context of political education should the project be allocated to? Which problems taken from the field of "intersocial conflicts" precede the chosen subject, which will follow it?
- What opportunities of participation in the selection of subjects, the definition of learning goals and in making teaching material available do pupils have? How does the relative lack of knowledge about the problems of the developing countries limit their opportunities for participation?
- To what extent can pupils be involved in the actual practice of teaching? How should the demand for conscious learning be reflected in the arrangement of the material, the formulation of questions etc.?
- How can a "teaching model" be designed which is not a learning programme but a proposal for learning?
- Can criteria for assessing the results of the learning process be established which go beyond quantifiable statements?
- How can learning goals and "spontaneous" wishes, remarks and questions be conveyed to the pupils?
- To what extent must the goals formulated be reduced (cut down) or corrected because of the general teaching conditions and the specific abilities of the group to be taught?

(55) Cf O. Negt, footnote 22 above, p. 73 ff.

- What possibilities do the pupils have of gathering experience outside school (e.g. through television programmes, interviews, participation in meetings and demonstrations)? Can discussions be organized at school (for instance with representatives of foreign embassies and consulates, with representatives of the liberation movements, with spokesmen of different political parties...)?
- How can class-specific learning processes be designed (composition of groups, selection of media, etc.)?
- What questions and categories can be formulated for the analysis of intersocial structures of dominance?
- How can the "readiness" to show international solidarity be defined in this context?
- To what extent does the school set-up (technical and staff facilities) permit the multimedial arrangement of teaching materials (texts, pictures, films, t.v. recordings, tape recordings, etc.)? To what extent is material about the "third world" available at all?
- Can the subject be dealt with within the present school timetable? What are the organizational possibilities for combining subjects (number of hours, arrangement of timetable, coordinated conferences...)?
- How are teachers suited to teaching about the "third world" through their training? Can learning processes for teachers be organized under present circumstances?
- Are Conflicts (with parents, pupils, teachers, the school governors and supervisors to be expected both in connection with the subjects taught and with the way teaching is organized? What strategies of conflict can be pursued?

V. Conclusions

The present study presents the theoretical background for a curriculum which is now being developed. The subject "structural dependence and underdevelopment" was selected because it is one of the central problems to be dealt with in connection with "intersocial conflicts". 56) Other subjects, which are equally topical and important, such as for example "problems of the dynamics of armaments" present further possibilities for emancipatory learning processes, and in the long term view it will be necessary to group them together to form a unit when compiling this field of learning. However, this can only be done by working on concrete, synchronized curriculum projects. This study is to be understood as a modest attempt in this direction.

(56) Cf footnote 9.

