III. Reports on Approaches to Peace Education in Different Countries

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EDUCATION FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE[x]

Report on the international conference in Bad Nauheim/FRG,
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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The hosting institutions that had sent out invitations to
the international conference "Education for Peace and So-
cial Justice" consisted of the following five institu-
tions from the realm of educational research and peace re-
search:

- the Society for the Advancement of Educational Research,

- the Education Committee of the International Peace
  Research Association (IPRA) established 1971 during
  the Fourth Annual Convention of IPRA in Bled (Yugoslavia),

- the German Institute for International Educational
  Research,

- the German Society for Peace and Conflict Research, and

- the Institute for World Order.

This first international conference on peace education in
Europe was initiated by Christoph Wulf (German Institute
for International Educational Research, Secretary of the
IPRA Education Committee), who was also director of the
conference. He had invited well-known peace researchers
as Galtung (Norway), Senghaas (FRG), Boulding and Mendlo-
vitz (USA), Mazrui (Uganda), Kothari (India), Dasgupta
(India), Apostol (Rumania); educational researchers such as
Becker, Eisner, Gamm, von Hentig, Husén, Klafki; as well as
teachers, social workers, pupils, and students. Thus not only
peace researchers and educators, but also representatives
of the various target groups were present.

In accordance with the view of peace education as an
all-societal problem, representatives of almost every social
science were present at Bad Nauheim. Therefore, the inter-
disciplinary character of peace education and peace research
was realized both by the subject matters of the study groups
- they were based on pedagogics, political science, psycho-
logy in combination with economy, sociology, history, and
theology - and by the participants' different realms of

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[x] The conference materials are published in: Christoph Wulf
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interest. Finally, the international character of the conference contributed to the possibility of seeing the global context of peace as social justice: scholars from Africa, South America, and Asia as well as from the socialist countries (Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, USSR, and Yugoslavia) were present. However, the majority came from the USA, Scandinavia, and the FRG. Generally speaking, it were the participants from these countries who determined the character of the conference. As one consequence, they gave the most important impulses to discuss the problems of peace research and an education for liberation - although they took different positions concerning the theory of science. Three positions developed in the course of the discussions:

- the liberal system orientation
- scientific socialism
- the critical theory of society (Frankfurt School).

Controversies in the discussions can be attributed to these different starting-points; they were related to key questions that were discussed over and over , although they could not be solved during the conference. These problems referred to the relations of peace and social justice, of politics and pedagogics, and of theory and practice.

1.2 Peace and Social Justice

Education for peace is always part of pedagogical concepts because peace as a norm - with a concrete content in each individual case - is one aspect of every valid ideal conception of society. In this context, education for peace has been successful if the belief in the rightness of this norm is sufficiently strong and if people have satisfactorily internalized it as a basis for their behavior orientation. Therefore, the question arises which persons or groups in a society have the power or legitimation to define the concept of peace valid in this society for the time being. If in this context social justice is understood not only qualitatively as a just distribution of GNPs but also as a just distribution of possibilities for autonomy, the result is a threefold demand for the realization of "peace as social justice":

- to accomplish the self-determination of people on the basis of Ego-strength and Ego-identity;
- to enable people to democratize society on the basis of a flexible role performance. (That is one precondition of the establishment of groups with vertical structures and communication lines permitting the reduction of structural violence);

- to enable people to democratize international
  relations through the transfer of learning processes
  taking place in groups to transnational processes.
  Analysis and blue-prints for action must be based
  on a symmetrical relationship between states. They
  should not be related primarily to facts and the state
  of affairs, but to possible actions by which a pro-
  cess towards social justice is started by people
  affected by the present state of affairs.

These demands are the result of the following analysis:
If a conception of peace deduced from a theory of society
is fixed dogmatically, this bears the germ of non-peace
because the belief in its rightness may pretendedly legi-
timize .the enforcement of this concept of peace. The con-
sequences of such an attitude are shown in historical-poli-
tical reality wherever · non-peace is to be found - either
as personal violence or war, or in the sublimated form of
structural violence. The fewer the number of equivalent
partners who cooperate in defining the valid concept of
peace, the more dominance or political power is necessary
to maintain it. But if societal groups or states use methods
of power policy to realize their idea of peace, they sta-
bilize structural violence. This has a restrictive effect
within a society and stabilizes the system; outwards, it
functions as means of demarcation and then has a dissocia-
tive or even aggressive affect, depending on the dynamics
of the idea of peace and the power potential of those who
argue for it. Peace as social justice causes a process of
liberation only then, if autonomy, democracy, and interna-
tional understanding are changed-in the above sense. Edu-
cation for peace and social justice is concentrated on the
effort to initiate and to adhere to processes like this to-
gether with the pupils. Therefore, the corresponding peda-
gogy must be understood as political pedagogy.

1.3· Politics and Pedagogics

From this connection between a theory of society and the
norms valid at a given time follows the political relevance
of pedagogy which transmits the social norms. For this pur-
pose, pedagogy uses theoretically based instruments of di-
dactical conceptions. Their epistemological premises were
deduced beforehand from a theory of society which is assessed
as right. That is to say, pedagogy is in itself political,
·independent of whether each single educator is aware of the
political consequences of his decisions or not. A discussion
of the different didactical conceptions which is based on
different theories of science is at the same time a politi-
cal discussion about the question of which interests ought
to guide pupils in their perceptions and actions. The ac-
quisition of knowledge promises to be successful if it is
fixed to the functionality of the existing system. If people

can interpret the history of their own life and of the sur-
roundings by using existing traditions, they can securely
communicate and behave in this framework. The interest in
liberation aims at reducing superfluous violence and estab-
lishing new freedom that enables actions transcending the
existing system by information and interpretation. This
presupposes the ability to think analytically about self-
imposed subject matters on the one hand, and a communicative
group interaction on the other side. If education for peace
and social justice is conceived in this sence as part of
a political process, the question about the dialectical relation
between goals and means, between theory and practice, must
arise.

1.4 Theory and Practice

As long as the opinion prevails that the goals of tuition
are already fixed and shall be pursued with pre-selected
examples and given subject matters, the cognitive, emotional,
and pragmatic goals are consequently prescribed to the pu-
pils. The "rightness" of such goals is based on the preceding
interpretation of the contents. But if pupils are to analyze
heteronomous contents with certain given approaches they
have no possibility to determine substantial elements of
their learning process autonomously.A superficially open
tuition atmosphere often deceives the observer. By this, pu-
pils are in fact denied the ability to decide on goals for
themselves and means in the process of solving self-imposed
problems: i.e., violent structures are maintained and re-
produced. This does not correspond with the requirements of
an education for peace and social justice.

This is the starting point for different views on the
theory and practice of emancipatory peace education:
Are the operationalized goals that pupils are to reach
given in advance? Or are primarily the pupils, i.e. the
concrete addressees with concrete interests, to be enabled
to think analytically, decide upon their goals and choose the
adequate means to pursue them? As long as the devision of
labor between theory and practice is maintained in schools -
i.e., heteronomous predetermination of subject matters, con-
tents, and goals and the constraint to accept them - struc-
tural congruence betweentheory and practice is unobtain-
able. Furthermore, the pupils are forced to internalize
superfluous violence and to subordinate their interests to
it.

2. Current Concepts

In this section, the numerous propositions for an educa-
tion for peace and social justice are systematized and
their political efficiency is assessed.

Saul Mendlovitz chose the term "economic welfare" from his "Matrix for the Study of World Order" in order to operationalize his conception of peace education. He claimed that social systems in their function as control systems should be sensitized to give more generous help to countries of the Third World. An international commission could control the just distribution of the money collected for a world fund. The question is what kind of peace is obtainable if we start from a view of the world as a functional control system shared by the nation states as individuals ranked according to the amount of money paid by them. The maximal end of this concept is the "maintenance of prosperity"; the minimal end Mendlovitz calls the "creation of bearable conditions". According to this concept the definition of these "bearable conditions" is determined by the available funds. A qualitative change in international relations is not attainable in this way. The unprecise claim for a sensitization of the systems that, according to Mendlovitz, will lead to a higher readiness to pay is not detailed.

H. von Hentig recommended in his co-lecture to start from experiences in the micropolitical field and then to learn and to form the macropolitical field by analogy to penetrate. As a method he suggested to confront pupils with stories that can stimulate a discussion of phenomena of personal and structural violence. This is based on the same premise: namely, that the world cannot be changed but can be made more tolerable by individual learning to strive for "peace as a result of good politics". "Good" seems to be almost identical with "rational", so Mendlovitz conceives the "tolerable world" as a world with high GNPs balanced according to rational criteria. A liberal attitude in and towards pluralistic societies corresponds to this concept of a functional analysis. As both start from the basic rightness of the existing systems, both presume that a realistic policy is fixed to the rationality of the given systems.

Hans-Jochen Gamm started his paper with the premise that aggression is not innate, but artificially formed by an education adjusted to the social system: the socialization that takes place individually in the family hinders the formation of a capacity for critical analysis and cooperation in a "self-educating community". He said that education based on learning theory had to aim at congruence with the concrete social conditions. Only in this way could "self-humanizing courses" be constructed. This remark provoked questions like "Isn't society primarily something general and abstract, gaining concreteness only insofar as the individual experiences and under stands it?" "Who decides in an educating community what social concreteness means?" "Who determines the theory to be carried out in the educational practice?" and "Who decides upon the outlook of the elements of the learning

process - objects and goals?" If progression is measured by the amount of autonomy individuals in communities shall be fitted for according to this concept, it is questionable whether this will have politically positive consequences and whether it permits an emancipatory peace education. Therefore, the question is how much democracy can be realized within this concept which conceives itself as a socialistic one.

Johan Galtung's conception is based on the demand to fit pupils for self-determination and to reduce structural violence. If the three mechanisms of structural violence - vertical division of labor, union of the elites and disunion of the masses, as well as their penetration from the top - become operative in schools, each peace education loses its sense. As peace education curricula are in danger of being constructed with a vertical division of labor, they easily can come into contradiction with the principles of peace education if they have as a goal that pupils shall find the same results as researchers and teachers and if pupils are not stimulated to become aware of their own interests and subject matters. Even socialistic concepts run this risk of heterodetermination. Peace education is than carried out as a kind of left paternalism. As long as social analyses are investigated only with subject matters oriented along the interests of nation states, they are always rightist and do not offer possibilities for alternatives that transcend the system. According to this conception, peace as social justice is identical with a radical democratization of social dependency conditions by a process that starts in small groups within a society and, going beyond the nation state, changes international relations.

The speakers from the Third World - Ali Mazrui, Rajni Kothari, and Sugata Dasgupta - were dealing with the problems imposed on these countries by technologies forced upon them and by extraneous norms connected with them. Each of these speakers demanded the right of self-determination and self-interpretation for the countries of the Third World. Until now, these had been refused them, as their economical-technical support was as a rule accompanied by preconditions. The formulations of such preconditions seldom show regard for the interests and standards of the supported countries. It was here that these speakers saw the real cause of social injustice. As the liberal and the socialistic concept tend to transfer their own systems-thinking to those countries which are little structured and stabilized, the Third World participants demanded in particular that the basis of an education for peace and social justice had to be to permit people to find out their true identity, thereby strengthening national self-conscience as well. Without this, no social justice can exist in international relations. The interests of countries participating in international projects are

justly taken into consideration only if the social analysis
is done with self-imposed subject matters by all concerned
parties themselves.

At this point, it seems feasible to draw some con-
clusions from the reported statements of the participants
at Bad Nauheim, conclusions that should be regarded by a
didactic emancipatory peace education: selecting the con-
tents of a teaching program, it is recommended to start
with the primary concern of the pupils, thus strengthening
their articulating capacity by making them more aware. This
can be done neither by psychological stories presented to
the pupils from the outside nor by political blueprints
of a peaceful society in the future. Rather, the primary
concern of the pupils can only be derived from problems and
issues directly connected with the pupils' lives. Learning
progress is obtained if the problem can be solved not only
theoretically but also practically. Such progress may form
the basis for transfer achievements which then refer to
problems of the secondary, less direct, level. By learning
processes like this the primary level of pupils is extended
to the secondary one. That corresponds to a growing cons-
ciousness of the impact of one's own decisions and actions
- if the communicative component has been sufficiently
taken into consideration. If in this way the tendency to-
wards private and subjectivistic attitudes can be counter-
acted, at least a part of peace education is being practic-
ed because pupils

- can realize their own interests in a problem;
- learn to articulate their own interests, goals, and
  subject matters and to compare them with those of
  other people;
- experience the theoretical solution and practical
  mastering of problems in groups.

When such results of the learning process have been ob-
tained one would have managed to counteract political
apathy and to strengthen the desire for participation.
What the pupils' primary concern is can be found out only
by analyzing conditions in the class, aiming at the de-
termination of the pupils' concrete troubles, problems,
and interests. These can then be used as items for a teach-
ing program, and inductive learning processes can be
carried out. However, as long as such analysis mainly aims
at determining the pupils' knowledge and their learning
capacity, it cannot render this information. Then the ade-
quate access to the pupils' prime sector of interest will be
highly dependent on chance, and the vertical division
of labor will be perpetuated.

3. Working Groups at Bad Nauheim

In eight working groups, problems concerning the theory of science and political and didactical issues were discussed.

Dieter Senghaas chaired the first group, <u>Basic concepts of peace research and peace education</u>. Social scientists, pupils, students, social workers, and conscientious objectors performing alternative service (Ersatzdienstleistende) participated. The intention was to deal with the various theoretical concepts of peace education and how they could be realized. The discussions on the problem of theory and practice and on the relation of peace and violence were rather a stock-taking of the well-known implications.

In view of the complexity of the problems of peace education, the result revealed more or less resignation. Peace education was seen as dependent on the pupils' political socialization, so that participants admitted that peace education has but a limited chance of success since the society has first to be changed in order to realize peace education. In this context, many participants accepted the means of counterindoctrination despite reservations because all attempts to train pupils for critical thinking - and these are not to be undervalued - are carried out only on the cognitive level, without counteracting political apathy. This working group seemed to have regarded peace education mainly as a special kind of political tuition. Therefore adequate curricula have to be developed and then transmitted to the pupils.

The second group, dealing with the <u>Problems of peace education</u>, split up into two subgroups. Annette Kuhn co-ordinated the discussion of a concept of a historically oriented peace education on which her project group was currently working. The premises of this concept, based on the critical theory of the Frankfurt school, stimulated a discussion on the dialectics of tradition and development. This problem is often wrongly dealt with so that only either advantages of evolution and disadvantages of revolution are mentioned, or vice versa. Since representatives of these viewpoints - the liberal system orientation defined as value-free (Boulding, USA), scientific socialism (Hohendorf, DDR), and the critical orientation towards society - were participating, the discussions had a clear political background and resulted in a demarcation of the standpoints. In the second subgroup (Reardon, USA) on practice-oriented projects of peace education teachers already active in peace education were informed about projects now in a test phase, and about goals and methods of some research projects.

The third group (Nicklas and Lingelbach) dealt with the subject <u>Special goals of peace education</u>. It concentrated

on didactical questions of what contents and goals should
be selected for a learning process in connection with peace
education.

Subgroup 1 prepared an inventory of possible goals and
objects of a political peace education which could form part
of a "realistic" peace policy. By way of illustration, some
of the qualifications worked out by the Schörken commission
as guide-lines for history and social training in Nordrhein-
Westfalen were associated to these contents. The decision
on the procedure was preceded by a discussion of the various
aspects of peace education. Among other things, it was noted
how dubious it is to construct curricula with goals defining
the desired behavior given in advance. Such a view of the
goals of the learning process and of curricula was seen as
a contradiction to the demand for self-organization of auto-
nomous learning groups; it should be a principle of peace
education to establish such groups. In this connection, the
participants paid attention to the problem of a legitimiza-
tion of learning goals, discussed in the general context of
the present school and education system and the structural
violence it contains.

Subgroup 2 worked on specifically didactical issues
of peace education.
The results of this group may be presented as seven theses
(especially Lingelbach and Markert took an active hand in
formulation):

Thesis I

Peace education will have to stimulate learning processes
in which the relation is understood between structural, all-
societal causes of non-peace and non-peace experienced di-
rectly, in different life situations (family, school, youth
group, working place, etc.) and in which strategies can be
developed to overcome the causes of these conflicts (struc-
tural violence).

Thesis II

In starting with non-peace, which is experienced directly
in societal microstructures, one is obliged to use an or-
ganization in curriculum development in which the 'par-
ticipants' will be acting as subjects, i.e. should parti-
cipate in decisionmaking.
The problem of finding learning objectives and legitimizing
them and the problem of communication within the organiza-
tion of curriculum development should not yet be seen as
independent.

Thesis III

The deduction of learning objectives from general postulates
of peace research (perspectives of structure, scenarios) has

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never been successful. It cannot yet be successful, because the conditions of didactical realization cannot be perceived in this way (conditions: the perception of concrete needs of the participants in a specific place and within a specific institution; the complexity of education as a field of learning and acting).

Thesis IV

In the process of finding and legitimizing learning objectives, three levels should be differentially perceived:

1) The level of decisions about political framework conditions and the general objectives corresponding with these framework conditions. In the FRG, this function is generally dealt with by groups appointed by the Ministries of Education and Public Welfare.

2) The level of the development of curricula or educational models, of the decision of concrete learning objectives which provide the possibility of structuring education. This function can only be dealt with by those affected by the framework directions (teachers, pupils, parents, teachers for adult education courses, leaders of youth groups, etc.) On the regional level, permitting one to perceive the specific socio-cultural conditions of learning. There exist various possible organizational forms on this level: school counseling centers (Holland), teacher centers, and also the 'Regionalen Pädagogischen Zentren' (regional pedagogical centers) proposed in the FRG.

3) The level of planning concrete learning units. This level can be dealt with by teams in the educational institutions, i.e. in a school, in institutions for adult education courses, in a kindergarten, or in a specific institution of the free youth organizations.

Thesis V

Apart from the reason for establishing regional-level institutions of curriculum construction mentioned in thesis II, these are necessary because

1) only they offer a high degree of participation;

2) only they hinder the perverting of curriculum blueprints in the course of their realization;

3) by means of them, didactical materials and media can be prepared that permit an individual teacher to design realizable tuition models in view of certain learning objectives.

Thesis VI

On this level, the work on curricula bases itself on guide-
lines prepared by guideline groups. But it always refers
critically to this frame of guidelines and results in its
continuous revision.
The following inputs are required:

1) data on institutional conditions for the curricula
   that are to be developed (school organization, media
   supply, financial limits, class-size, etc.);

2) general learning objectives, formulated on the first
   level;

3) theoretical concepts that give the reasons for these
   learning objectives and facilitate their interpretation;

4) suggestions for the selection of subjects and learning
   materials;

5) blueprints of didactical models of securing peace as
   outlined in thesis I.

Thesis VII

The theory required in thesis VI,3 should provide the reason-
ing relation between learning objectives and certain con-
cepts of peace research. This requires cooperation of peace
researchers and all groups involved in curriculum construc-
tion.

        The fourth study group (Galtung) was formed under the
heading Implementation Strategies. The aim was to develop
appropriate strategies to transform the existing state of
school and society into conditions with less structural
violence. Adults have established stabilized behavioral
patterns due to previous conflicts and learning processes.
These patterns restrict the potential scope of actions,
consequently restricting social fantasy, spontaneity,
creativity, and the capability of social learning. But one
has to strive for a scope of behavioral alternatives that
is as broad as possible, for rich fantasy, and for flexibili-
ty. To see the problems and the resolutions of a conflict
is equally important because the chosen methods easily be-
come inadequate with regard to the aim, and thus structural
violence is not successfully minimized.

        Group members collected examples from their own realm
of experiences to try to test new strategies suitable for
peace education at school. These attempts were ordered ac-
cording to the following fields of action:

1) activities connected with tuition,

2) strategies against structural violence connected with
   the school,

3) strategies at school that influence the community/
society,

4) school and international relations.

Strategies transcending the system and aimed at re-
ducting of superfluous dominance and structural violence
must be planned with regard to the following aspects:

1) Assessment of the school in the social frame of re-
ference.
This means the assessment of historical functions of
schools and different interests connected to them.
Investigation of the "economy of education" would
probably reveal a close linkage between the school
and state institutions on one hand, and the interests
of private industry on the other hand.

2) Development of democratization goals.
The perspective of peace education must be formulated
as part of the all-societal struggle. From that and,
from the determination of the preconditions of peace
concrete aims for the coordinated transformation of
school and society have to be developed.

3) Assessment of resistance and counterstrategies.
Peace education as part of a socialistic strategy
(including enlightenment about and elimination of
"peacelessness") is contradictory to the existing
system, contradictory to the interests of those
people who gain profits from war and its extensive
preparation - i.e. those persons who look upon "peace"
solely as an ideological pawn. The power of these
forces and the power potentials against them have
to be calculated exactly.

4) Development of a strategy of implementation following
the principle of the "double strategy".
From (3) it follows that an implementation strategy
must have two components: it must contain a) a mobi-
lization strategy that exhausts the power potential,
and (b) a reform strategy to broaden counter-positions.
Only then can suitable instruments be developed that
permit one to assess the value of models and actions.
Only then meaningful differentiation of the various
target groups can start.

5) Planning and developing suitable game- and teaching
materials.
If the development of a just and peaceful society is
understood as a long-term problem, mobilization for it
must be seen not so much as a task of day-to-day po-
licy, but as a political principle. Schools, teacher
colleges, and other educational institutions have an
essential function in preparation and participation.

The planning and development of didactical conceptions and materials is an absolute necessity.

Chairman of the fifth study group, <u>Media</u> , was G.G. Hiller. By taking this subject into consideration, a gap in teacher training was pointed out that has to be surmounted.Thousands of teachers leave the teachers colleges and universities without being acquainted with the instruments of the science of communication. They do not know what criteria are to be used for the analysis and evaluation of media: but these means of communication are increasing in importance in modern society. It follows that pupils must learn to distinguish between the intended contents and their transmission in the media. With regard to autonomous political actions, pupils have to learn how to present information, e.g. on pamphlets, bills, or on tapes, such that the reason for a specific action, its purpose, and the position in the social context become clear. Such clarity could in fact be termed a reduction of existing structural violence where media are produced and used for indoctrination and manipulation. If peace education shall enable pupils to think analytically, it implies the following points with regard to media:

- theoretically-analytically: to understand reality as transmitted by media and to point out the consequences of this transmission;
- practically-constructively: to be able to organize and transmit reality with the help of media not only at school in accordance with the intentions of peace education.

The aim of the sixth group <u>Aggression</u> (Horn/Lischke/ Selg) was to discuss various psychological standpoints and to adapt them for the demands of peace education. The practicability of the various psychological models in explaining causes and possible ways of overcoming aggression was discussed with great care. The dialectical interrelation between individual and society was seen as not yet generally determinable. Hence follows the uncertainty as to which extent the individual can overcome forms of structural violence internalized during the socialization process, since society defends the ideological forms of conscience which appear objectively.

This relation is known but pedagogy has not yet been successful in developing strategies to change it adequately and successfully. Being equally cautious, the group talked about the possibilities of effective behavior modification by a successful adaptation to existing practice, discussing the danger of these techniques with their dehumanizing effects.

On the whole, it can be said that the positive aspect of this group lay in the reflection of heuristic models as well as of the well-known technologies in relation to peace education that, in demanding social justice, also argues for the autonomy of groups and individuals, the essential preconditions of which are Ego-identity and Ego-strength.

The subject of the seventh study group was Domestic dimensions of peace education , coordinated by Schmidt and Vilmar. The discussion had some similarities with the results of group IV. That follows from the four topics, each of which was seen as a domestic dimension of peace education:

1. peace education at school,

2. peace education and conflict resolution,

3. peace education and social structure,

4. peace education and social agencies.

Peace education was defined as "initiation of learning processes ... aiming at the actualization and rational re-solution of conflicts regarding man as subject of action." This was operationalized with the problem "Housing – town planning in Frankfurt". The political process of citizens' initiative was reflected as a learning process. The idea was to show by example that peace education can only be suc-cessful if conflicts are solved actively and their causes are analyzed parallel to one another because then the al-ternation of analysis and action corresponds to an optimal proportion of theory and practice, thereby stimulating po-litical awareness.

Working group 8 was engaged in the subject Third World . Dasgupta/Hausmann/Kothari/Meueler were in the chair coope-ratively. The group started with the center-periphery-model, which can be used as an heuristic model for analyzing the Third World situation, as well as for transmitting it di-dactically. The advantage of this model is that it starts from the complexity of national and international social contexts and provides a filter for identifying and explain-ing superfluous dominance and structural violence. The group concluded that within established dominance structures there are no possibilities of transforming the insights gained into action. For this reason, one has to start by establishing counterstructures in social areas which are not yet institu-tionalized. Thereby, the objects of dominance could become the subjects of its abolition. For these goals alternative learning methods, e.g. those suggested by Paolo Freire, must be taken into consideration.

If this contribution about research perspectives and issues of peace, social justice, and education can result in the quest for more detailed information about the various subjects and problems and in impulses for teaching or the conception of learning processes, the aim of the conference has been achieved: to enhance the distribution of information and to get more people involved in questions of "education for peace and social justice", to forward impulses to enlarge the problem-horizon, and to draw attention to the general importance of peace education.

Translated from German by Ulrich Linnemann

UNTO VESA (Finland)

PEACE EDUCATION: GOALS, REALIZATION, RESULTS

Report of a Finnish Experiment

1. Introduction

In summer 1972, in Finland a peace research summer school was
organized for the second time . Participants were mainly se-
condary school students (age 15-18), although the school was
open to anybody interested. In 1971, the course had been ar-
ranged jointly by two peace organizations and the Finnish UN
Association; in 1972, it was run by the Finnish Peace Re-
search Association, the main function of which is to dis-
seminate information about the work done in the field of
peace research, about its basic approach and, especially, ab-
out its results , of course. Thus the idea of a peace re-
search summer school was not to educate researchers, but to
tell students of the problems, efforts, and achievements of
peace research.

    This summer school was only one of eighteen summer
schools last summer. One of them specialized in communica-
tions media, one in community planning and environmental
ecology, one in youth politics, etc. Most of them did not,
however, specialize in anything but taught much the same
things that are taught in ordinary 'winter' schools.

    However, the idea behind this summer school system was,
when it originated in the mid sixties, experimentation and
innovation. The purpose was to create a viable alternative
to the 'dead' school system, an alternative that after some
experience could be incorporated to the ordinary school
system. There were three aspects in this experiment, accord-
ing to the 'ideologists' of the summer school system. First,
old authoritarian teacher-student relationships should be
broken and school democracy be introduced, where students
and teachers can reach decisions on an egalitarian basis.
It was also decided that the same structural change

should take place also in teaching-learning, so that the ver-
tical division of labor, where teachers speak and students
listen, should be compensated by a more active and activating
pattern. Second , the main themes of these schools should
be from outside the ordinary curriculum stuff of the schools.
And third , new methods - especially group work and discus-
sions - should be applied.

I think that the peace research summer school was (and
is) one of the most faithful to the original principles. In
this article I try to clarify , first, what are the goals
and principles adopted in Finland in peace education; second
in what way these were materialized in the summer school
(i.e. what where the courses, what were the subjects, what
were the materials distributed, what was school democracy
like, etc.); third what where the results; and fourth what
is the significance of the summer school in the over-all
strategy of implementation, what are the channels through
which the experiences go to the ordinary schools.

2. The Principles and Goals of Peace Education

Summer school is only one expression of a general effort to
arrange peace teaching; in the ordinary school system it is
not yet established, but there are many guidelines and state-
ments as to what it should be like when it is finally there.
I quote here first some official reports, which show how the
goals are seen in Finland. First, the goals can be classified
in this way:

> As the concrete goal of the education for inter-
> national understanding we could regard that of
> providing individuals with such information, skills
> and attitudes that make them able to post them-
> selves up on international questions in a more
> thorough way. 1)

Further, a work group of the Ministry of Education has defined
the goals, especially,what concerns the desired attitudes, in the
following way:

> Education for international understanding aims
> at peace, at friendship between peoples, at
> consciousness of international responsibility
> and solidarity towards oppressed peoples and
> men, at the recognition of equality of men and
> of peoples, as well as at action to change the
> conditions impeding the fulfillment of these
> goals. 2)

Here are then the four goals (knowledge, abilities, attitudes,
and action), which on this general level are widely accepted.
Accepted by most is also the opinion that peace education
should not be something separate in the curriculum, but

rather be implemented within any subject on every level. As one author says, "international perspective is not a separate whole ..., but must become an integral part of one's whole personality." 3)

But in the same way as 'peace' is a consensual value as long as it is not specified, also in peace education the unanimity may end, when the goals are given a concrete content or when the didactic principles are specified in a detailed way. One Finnish expert group has done this and recommended that the following eight principles be strictly implemented in all teaching of social science in schools on every level:

1) the principle of internationalism; instead of using one's own country as the starting point things must be analyzed from a global perspective; world perspective implies critical comparative approach to the different systems;

2) the principle of analyzing history and change; it is necessary to show the present situation as the product of historical development as well as continuous change;

3) the principle of analyzing social conflicts;

4) the principle of analyzing the class structure and existing inequality of the society;

5) the ecological principle; relationship between man and nature; analysis of the social utilization of natural resources;

6) the principle of analyzing production and taking into account the importance of economic systems;

7) the principle of analyzing from the systematic viewpoint (and not as a sum of individuals or families, etc.);

8) the principle of promoting peace, expanding democracy, increasing social equality, justice and planning of the use of resources; the principle of opposing the power of monopolies and imperialism. 4)

These principles - though probably approved by most peace researchers - stand in contradiction to both tradition and present practice, which regards it as important e.g. to transfer the national values (of the dominant class) to the young generation, to give a harmonious view of the society, to convince that it is the individuals and families that matter, etc. Naturally, this contradiction with present practice means obstacles and opposition when efforts are made to implant new didactic principles. In peace education this effort is, however, not only worth doing, but even necessary. In the summer school this was done.

3. Realization

In 1972 the course lasted for two and half weeks. There were 23 Finnish and 4 American students, 6 teachers and 15 guest lecturers. The number of participants was less than expected: 30-40 would have been ideal. Especially the little panel interview project, described below, met with problems.

The decisions in the summer school were made in general meetings, where each person had one vote. Seven such meetings were held during the course, and they in fact made all the relevant decisions; many plans the teachers had formulated beforehand were either changed or dropped out of the program. It is self-evident that a large portion of the program was carried through as planned beforehand, because in this kind of short-time course it is necessary that the main lines be drawn up in advance. However, the opinions of the students were asked already before the beginning of the school. Thus general meetings (and thus students) could decide (1) on the weekly and daily programs and especially on what emphasis should be given to various subjects, (2) what guests should be invited to lecture on what subjects, (3) what materials should be used and bought, (4) how teaching should be organized (e.g. that each teacher had to prepare his lectures in a written form), (5) how jobs and duties should be distributed in the community (all routine jobs, editorial work for the school journal, chairman's and secretary's posts in the meetings, etc.).

The program of the summer school consisted of two school subjects (Finnish and English) and four main courses connected to the theme; also in Finnish and English the teaching was closely related to the theme. The four courses were:

- the fundamentals of peace research, 20 hours;
- psychological approach to the peace research, 11 hours;
- civilian defense, nonviolent methods of struggle, 4 hours;
- imperialism, underdevelopment, today's international conflicts, 18 hours.

The guest lecturers taught about international organization, the UN, environmental problems; communications media and violence; financial oligarchy of the world; alternatives of defense policy; Cuba, North Korea, China etc. There were a few lectures about other topics, like health policy, sex roles, alcohol legislation, and culture.

There was no coordination of the viewpoints of the teachers; some common features characterized them, however. One point was the emphasis on <u>structural analysis</u>. This is

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self-evident with lectures about imperialism, but in the same way the structural approach was stressed in the course on peace research both in the analysis of domestic and international system. The series about psychological approach, while looking at the behaviour of human beings, nevertheless tried to point out that the reasons for wars cannot be found on this level and that the 'theories' of Lorenz and others are both erroneous, misleading, and harmful to a correct understanding of wars. Besides this structural emphasis, attention was paid to the role of <u>economic factors</u>, too; this because most of the teachers were socialists of various shades. A third common characteristic was <u>criticism</u> of the existing state of affairs. Fourth, there were efforts to convince the students about the merits of <u>activism</u>, all kinds of social struggle not only against wars and violence, but against structural violence in all its manifestations, and to show that there is plenty of it in everyone's near surroundings as well. This was done in a conscious attempt to avoid the well-known reaction of passivity and alienation caused by the knowledge of the state of the world.

The course on the elements of peace research included sessions on how to analyze societies as well as basic facts about international politics; armaments and disarmament, structural underdevelopment, integration processes, etc. The course on imperialism, underdevelopment, and present conflicts included teaching about all the important tension points and wars of today: Indochina, South Africa, Middle East, Chile, military blocs, but also on positive changes e.g. the development of European security in the last few years.

There were also clear differences in the orientation of the courses; at least in one the tone was mainly pacifistic, in one marxist-leninist. This produced, of course, different attitudes towards violence, especially because the course on civilian defense was based on the ethics of nonviolence, while in the course on imperialism there was one lecture about marxist conception of a 'just war'. This was reflected in the second round of the panel interview, when some types of wars were seen as 'just' twice as often as on the first round (wars of liberation, the fight of the Vietnamese for their self-determination and freedom, etc.).

This much about lectures. The students received also a lot of written information: e.g., the security policy programs of all Finnish parties, journals and books published by the Finnish Committee of One Hundred, reports of various UN organs transmitted by the Finnish UN Association and materials donated by Tampere Peace Research Institute. The students had also a library of about 250-300 books at their disposal, most of the books dealing with some aspects of today's world. The purpose was to instruct students in the fruitful and critical use of various source materials.

Some films were also shown, and the school arranged two debates where some MP's of the Finnish Parliament discussed defense and foreign policy questions.

4. Results

To begin with, it can be said that most students were very satisfied with almost everything in the summer school: the atmosphere, the school democracy; warm relationships between all the participants; books, papers and materials distributed; the way teaching took place; content of the information given; later contacts; the experience they can use in the normal school, etc. This is quite important, but participant satisfaction cannot be the safe evaluation criterion. There were, however, also some complaints against the program - especially, that it was too tight and heavy, but also that a part of the teaching was one-sided. At any rate, it is the normal experience with the summer schools that the students are rather happy when they get shed the ordinary school routine, regardless of what the new setting is like. So success must also be evaluated against the goals and principles of the school.

For this purpose, a study was designed based on the normal experiment setting. The students of the peace research summer school constituted the test group, while the control group was another summer school going on at the same time, of roughly the same size, applying also the same principles of school democracy, but having no teaching on international politics. A panel interview was made for both groups, the first round at the beginning of the courses, the second by mailing the questionnaires after the courses were over. The design was thus that of usual experiment, one group being under influence, another free of it; therefore there should have been some systematic changes in peace research summer school students, but not in the control group.

As is well known, in real life it is impossible to reach the 'purity' of laboratory conditions. However, this experiment met with some other problems as well. First, both groups became much smaller than expected: 23 and 26. The students of the peace research school answered conscientiously; 21 returned the questionnaire on both rounds; in another group there were 20 such students. The groups being of this size, it became hard to make cross-tabulations, to test anything. Furthermore, this was made even more difficult by the fact that the distributions to the 'strategic' questions were extremely skewed.

Of about 130 questions in the interview, 25 were the 'peace strategy' questions used in the 'Youth in 2000'-project ('to obtain peace/ people must become more religious all over the world/ hunger and poverty must be abolished

all over the world, etc.; see appendix). It was known before-
hand that distributions in the general population are quite
skewed 5), but it was not anticipated that the selection pro-
cess would produce even sharper skewness in the summer school.
But it did: most of the students were quite well informed
about international politics, they were activists, socialists,
etc., when they came, and this was reflected already on the
first round of the interview: distribution in many questions
was something like 95 - 5 - 0%. So there was not much room
for changes to one direction as supposed in the hypotheses.
Thus testing hypotheses became rather difficult and it does
not make much sense to report of all aspects of the study.
However, some interesting points are discussed and the hypo-
theses presented, because I feel they reflect our thinking
as to what should come out as a result of peace education
and because I hope other researchers could use these hypo-
theses later in a more successful way.

First, as comes to knowledge or to the cognitive aspect
of the attitudes, it is clear that there occurred the ex-
pected change. The test group improved in the level of
knowledge questions considerably, the control group not
that much. This is, of course, as it must be. The course
was also successful, I feel, in providing the students with
various capabilities or skills, like meeting practices of
editing work, critical use of source materials, knowledge
of different sources of information and how to get to them;
some referred to these experiences as the most useful ones.

Of the changes in the attitudes I report briefly on con-
ception of school democracy and of peace conceptions.

The experience of democratic decisionmaking in the school
had quite interesting results. When answering an open question,
in both groups the students gave a positive evaluation about
the success of democratic rule (even slightly more in the
control group, where the atmosphere was 'anarchistic'; the
role of individual was strongly emphasized, 'complete free-
dom' was the goal, etc.). But when there was a closed ques-
tion, the results were as shown in Table I.

| | Peace research school | | Control group | |
	I	II	I	II
fully disagree	5	0	20	5
moderately disagree	0	5	5	0
don't know	0	0	5	15
moderately agree	43	24	30	45
fully agree	52	71	40	35
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(21)	(21)	(20)	(20)

Table I. Distributions of the answers to the question 'Students should
be given the same rights as the teachers have, when decisions
are made about school matters'.

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In both groups the experience had caused a shift towards trust in equal rights of the students and teachers, but in the peace research summer school this was much stronger. I think the explanation lies partly in the success of the practice adopted, partly in the fact that the essentials of democratic community were discussed and explained in many lectures.

The hypotheses about the effects of peace teaching on the conceptions of peace of the students were the following; these are based on the simple assumption that the approaches and values of the lectures cause changes to the same direction in the audience:

I   Proposals suggesting structural changes in world society get more support (e.g. "to obtain peace, the colonial system must be abolished all over the world"). It did, but the original distribution already was 95-5-0%.

II   (Corresponding to this,) strategies having the level of individuals as their starting point decrease in popularity (people must become more religious/ one has to start with the single individual and make him less agressive/ create peaceful relations in the family, at school and at work). This hypothesis got support, especially the item about starting from single individuals lost in popularity (religiousness got only slight support in the first interview, so there was not much room for decrease): in the control group these items gained more agreement on the second than on the first round.

III More emphasis is given to the economy: impossible to test because of distributions in the first interview. The idea of private economy all over the world as a peace proposal was rejected by 0-15-85 distribution; public ownership received support with 'votes' 70-15-15; and there were no changes in these. The only shift took place in the item about the mixture of private and public ownership as something promoting peace; some of those uncertain on the first time were positive to the idea on the second.

IV   Support of 'visionary', utopistic strategies decreases (world language/ world government); it did to some degree, especially as to world language.

V$_a$ Military solutions lose support (membership in military alliances/ keeping national armies/ strengthening peace-keeping forces). There was not much to be taken away from the original support of the first two; peace-keeping force lost support, but it did also in the control group.

V$_b$ Disarmament proposals gain more support (dissolution of alliances/ general and complete disarmament). They did, especially the latter, though 80% had backed it already on the first round.

VI   Strategies favoring national independence, right to self-
      determination, and socialism become more popular (free
      choice of governments/ complete stop to intervention in
      the internal affairs of other countries/ public owner-
      ship); no essential changes, due to the distributions
      at the beginning.

VII   Proposals dealing with getting rid of structural vio-
      lence get more support (to abolish the colonial system/
      to abolish hunger and poverty/ more technical aid to
      developing countries/ the gap between rich and poor
      countries must disappear/ poor countries should unite).
      These strategies enjoyed 95-100% support from the be-
      ginning, so no 'improvement' was possible in this
      respect.

VIII Mobilization models get more support (small countries
      should unite/ poor countries should unite/ UN should be
      made more effective). The small country strategy got
      new supporters but lost some of the old ones; no essen-
      tial changes.

IX   Peaceful coexistence gets more support; isolation
      becomes less popular (increased trade, exchange and
      cooperation/ countries must be more similar to each
      other/ countries should have less to do with each
      other and become self-sufficient). Similarity and iso-
      lation became less popular - but in both groups; in-
      creased exchange did not gain new ground - this would
      have been a bit difficult from its original 95% fi-
      gure.

      As is clearly seen, the design of the study did not
work as was supposed. In social science handbooks, it is
sometimes suggested that scientists should report also on
the unsuccessful experiments and not only on the successful
parts of them. That is one reason, why I have told about the
'results' here; another is - as I said before - that I hope
these hypotheses could be tested by someone in better con-
ditions.

      The preceding discussion was based on the agree-uncer-
tain disagree-distributions. There was also a question in the
interview about what the respondent regarded as the best
peace strategy of the 25 mentioned. In the first interview
the most favoured proposal were disarmament (5), public
ownership (4), world government (3); on the second round
disarmament received 9, public ownership 6, and world govern-
ment no 'votes'. In the control group, the same proposals
had these figures: disarmament 4 and 5, public ownership 2
and 2, and world government 1 and 2. This gives a bit more
support to some of the hypotheses given above.

So although it was impossible to measure attitude chan-
ges, it is probable that, after the course, the students'
world images were on a more solid ground than before, with
attitudes and conceptions being now backed by new substan-
tial information. This increased assuredness should also
provide the basis for increased social action. As I mentioned,
it was the purpose of the teachers to point out the signi-
ficance of action and show ways through which one could channel
his/her energies in a useful way. This was intentional, be-
cause there is a general feeling that youth has quite a pes-
simistic attitude towards the future of the world. That may
be justified and realistic, but it may be not; and if it leads
to apathy and alienation, it is harmful anyway. At least in
the short run this was avoided in the peace research summer
school, as is indicated by Table II. There is a change to po-
sitive direction in the appraisal of the situation, when
measured with Cantril's 9-step scales. The points are the
arithmetic means of the distributions.

Table II Answers to the questions. "Here is a ladder where
the top (9) represents the best possible future for the world,
and the bottom (1) the worst possible future for the world.
Using this ladder, where do you think the world/ stood 5
years ago/ stands at the present/ will stand 5 years from
now/ in year 2000".

		5 years ago	now	after 5 years	in year 2000
PEACE RESEARCH SCHOOL	I	4.4	3.9	4.0	2.9
	II	4.8	4.5	4.6	4.6
CONTROL GROUP	I	3.6	3.0	2.6	3.3
	II	3.7	3.1	3.4	3.6

On the basis of the study it is not possible to say any-
thing about the behavioral component of attitudes, about ac-
tion. However, I know that many of the students have become
more active in their surroundings, in the schools, in soli-
darity movements, in anti-war movements. To give just one
example of this: in autumn, there was a huge campaign in
Finland to raise money for a childrens' hospital in the Demo-
cratic Republic of Vietnam, near Hanoi. The students had one
day off from school and they spent this day in doing some work
and then gave the 'salary' to the campaign account. Most of
the peace research students participated actively in organ-
izing this campaign in their schools.A 'scientific ' con-
clusion cannot be drawn from this, because there is no com-
parable information from the control group; but that is not
necessary either: if the peace research school educated even

a few active peace fighters, it fulfilled its function. And both the students and teachers seem to think it did.

5. Significance

Summer schools are only an experiment. Their function is to give new inputs to the ordinary school system, to make possible innovation both in the structure and content of teaching. Thus, also, the peace research summer school is - though important as such - mainly significant in its role as one method of getting peace education into the schools.

What are the guarantees that it fulfills this role in the over-all strategy of implementation, that it does not remain only as an isolated phenomenon without any further effects? There are no 'guarantees', I think, but some channels through which the desired effect is supposed to flow. These are: (1) the students who participate in the summer school. As has been said, most of those attending summer courses are very active in their own schools; they act as the leaders in their own school organizations and are supposed to transfer their experiences to their own schools. (2) The student organizations (especially that of secondary school students, which has practically all the students of Finland as its members) are supporting those summer schools that are faithful to the original principles. The organizations use the experiences in their fight for school democracy and for the reform of the curriculum; these organizations have been quite influential in Finland in recent years, and they consider peace education as very important. (3) The report of the summer school is given to the school officials, many of whom are in favor of bringing these experiences to the use of the ordinary school. In this also the work done by the Finnish UN Association has been valuable: For many years the association has promoted education for international understanding by organizing seminars for the teachers etc., and it also acts in close cooperation with the Finnish peace researchers. And (4), the summer schools are given quite considerable publicity in the newspapers. Via these fora it is possible to inform the general public about the goals, methods, and results, in this way dispelling doubts and prejudices that always are met when something new is under way.

Notes

1. Anja Stenius, UNESCO kansainvälisyyskasvatuksen edistäjänä
   (UNESCO as a promoter of education for international un-
   derstanding), in Kansainvälisyyskasvatus - mitä? miksi?
   miten? (Education for international understanding - what?
   why? how?)
   ed. by Anja Stenius, Helsinki 1971, P. 6-7.

2. Kansainvälisyyskasvatus (Education for international un-
   derstanding), Kouluhallitus (Central Board of Schools)
   1972, P. 5.

3. Stenius, op.cit., P. 13.

4. Ensimmäisen ja toisen asteen koulujen yhteiskunnallisen
   opetuksen uudistamista pohtineen asiatuntijatoimikunnan
   muistio (Report of the expert commission to consider the
   innovation of teaching about society in primary and se-
   condary level schools), Suomen Teiniliitto r.y. 1971.

5. See: Unto Vesa, Who Believes in Peace Research, and
   Tarmo Koskinen, Peace Philosophies of Ten Nations, in
   Future Prospects of the Youth. Reports of the Peace
   Research Materials "Images of the World in the Year
   2000", ed. by Eino Hosia, Tampere 1970.

Appendix   The peace strategy questions mentioned in the
            text are:

"To obtain peace people must become more religious all over
 the world"

"To obtain peace one has to start with the single individual
 everywhere and make him less aggressive"

"To obtain peace one must create more peaceful relations in
 the family, at school and at work"

"To obtain peace the colonial system must be abolished all
 over the world"

"To obtain peace hunger and poverty must be abolished all
 over the world"

"To obtain peace it must be possible for people freely to
 choose their governments all over the world"

"To obtain peace all countries must stop completely inter-
 vening in the internal affairs of other countries"

"To obtain peace countries must be (politically, economically,
 socially) more similar to each other than today"

"To obtain peace an economy based mainly on private owner-
ship must be introduced all over the world"

"To obtain peace developed countries must give much more
technical assistance and aid to developing countries than
they do today"

"To obtain peace an economy based mainly on public ownership
must be introduced all over the world"

"To obtain peace the gap between poor and rich countries must
disappear"

"To obtain peace an economy based on a mixture of private
and public ownership must be introduced all over the world"

"To obtain peace countries must be members of military
alliances so that no country or group of countries dare
attack others"

"To obtain peace we must have general and complete dis-
armament as soon as possible"

"To obtain peace countries must withdraw from military
alliances"

"To obtain peace countries will have to keep national armies"

"To obtain peace countries should have less to do with each
other and become self-sufficient"

"To obtain peace we must have increased trade, exchange and
cooperation also between countries that are not on friend-
ly terms"

"To obtain peace poor countries all over the world should
unite to obtain a bigger share of the wealth of the world"

"To obtain peace small countries all over the world should
unite to have more influence on the affairs of the world"

"To obtain peace we must improve the United Nations so as to
make it more efficient than it is today"

"To obtain peace a world language that can be understood in
all countries should be adopted all over the world"

"To obtain peace we must have a strong international peace-
keeping force that can stop aggression from any country
or group of countries"

"To obtain peace we must have a world state with disappearance
of national borders and an efficient world government"

Answer alternatives in each question: agree/uncertain/disagree.

HARRY R. TARG (USA)

SIMULATION, TEACHING, AND PEACE STUDIES

Introduction

Among the conceptual and methodological tools that have
emerged in the last fifteen years to study international
relations, simulation has generated considerable interest.
Guetzkow defined simulation as "... an operating representa-
tion of central features of reality ..." (1959, p. 183)
and more recently referred to simulation as "a theoretical
construction ... of words, mathematical symbols, and sur-
rogate or replicate components, all set in operation over
time to represent the phenomena being studied." (1968,
p. 203) For purposes of teaching simulations can be view-
ed as operating models that replicate, through student parti-
cipation and boundary parameters, major features of past,
present, or future social, political, and/or economic
systems.

Simulations have been created in the social sciences
for a multiplicity of purposes. Most basically simulation
has been conceived of as potentially useful for teaching,
research, and policymaking. (Coplin, 1968) In terms of theo-
ry construction simulation is viewed as a device that adds
a rigor lacking in verbal theory and a flexibility not cha-
racteristic of mathematical models. (Guetzkow, 1968) More
precise research purposes include the use of simulation for
"increasing the coherence within and among models", for or-
ganizing empirical research to facilitate validation of
theoretical assumptions, and for pre-testing policy alter-
natives and their outcomes. (Guetzkow, 1969)

Smoker (1970), in his thorough summary of international
relations simulations, discusses some six purposes for which
simulations have been used, including teaching. 1) Simula-
tions are environments in which researchers can study the be-
havior of individuals and groups with reference to a multi-
plicity of variables: personality, cultural differences,
crisis situations, information flows, coalition formation,
ethnocentrism, internationalism, threat, negotiation, etc.
2) Simulations can be used to study particular historical
events and precise kinds of political situations whether
they be a replication of world war one, the Vietnam war, or
an escalating arms race. 3) Simulation studies have con-
sidered some specific theoretical or functional aspect of
the international system in depth involving such theoretical
concerns as alliance formation, decisionmaking processes, or

deterrence. The emphasis is upon building "islands of theory".
4) This leads to the use of the systemic simulate structure
to integrate and evaluate the "islands" or "modules" in the
total international interactive process. 5) Finally, simula-
tion can be used to evaluate policy formation. The policy
function of simulation can not only aid in the discovery
of optimal policies in given situations but can more im-
portantly be used as a device to generate models of desirable
alternative futures. It is conceivable that simulate be-
havior could lead to outcomes at variance from "reality".
The simulate alternative could stimulate activists to change
"reality" to fit the simulate world. (Smoker, 1969)

Table One illustrates specific simulation research pro-
jects and the broad range of peace studies problems that
have been examined by social scientists. By implication,
the table suggests that the varied problems that students
of peace studies confront may be fruitfully examined through
the use of simulation. For purposes of this paper one argu-
ment is that the research and policy uses of international
relations simulations are not antithetical to educational
uses of simulation. In fact, the studies of individual and
group behavior, particular historical events, micro and
macro theoretical problems, and alternative futures are
critical to the use of simulation for peace education.

International Relations Simulations

Although a considerable number of simulations have been creat-
ed or adapted over the years, the five simulations Smoker
(1970) describes are perhaps the most prominent examples
from the standpoint of both international relations research
and teaching. Along with The Technological, Economic, Mili-
tary, Political Evaluation Routine (TEMPER), The Inter-Nation
Simulation (INS), The World Politics Simulation (WPS), The
International Processes Simulation (IPS), The Rand/M.I.T. Po-
litical Military Exercise (PME), brief mention will be made
also of The State System Exercise (SSE) because of its spe-
cific undergraduate classroom purpose and its relative simpli-
city in terms of classroom use as compared to the others.

The TEMPER simulation was created with the support of
the US Department of Defence. It attempts through computer
simulation to integrate global military, political, and
economic interactions for purposes of policy analysis and
theory construction. It reflects a "theory of cold and limit-
ed war conflict". (Abt and Gorden) The model consists of
39 nation groups (either individual nations or several na-
tions together), 20 conflict regions (to reflect geographic
considerations) and a world that is rigidly divided between
blocs of western, eastern, and neutral nations. The approxima-
tely 160 variables are organized around for subroutines; the
psychological, the economic, war, and decisionmaking. Of

TABLE ONE: Some Research Uses of International
Relations Simulations

Substantive Problem	Method	Researcher
Disarmament negotiations	All-man negotiation simulation	Bonham
Spread of nuclear weapons	Inter-Nation Simulation	Brody
Alliances and coalitions	Inter-Nation Simulation	Burgess, Robinson
International system	World Politics Simulation	Coplin
Decisionmaking, stress, personality	Inter-Nation Simulation	Driver
Ethnocentrism	Inter-Nation Simulation	Druckman
International system	Inter-Nation Simulation	Guetzkow, assoc.
Outbreak of world war one	Inter-Nation Simulation	Hermann, Hermann
Stress and self-esteem	Inter-Nation Simulation	Hermann, M.
Vietnam	Vietnam Simulation	Macrae, Smoker
Deterrence	Inter-Nation Simulation	Raser, Crow
Crisis decisionmaking	Inter-Nation Simulation Political Diplomatic Game	Robinson, Hermann, Hermann
Threat, hostility, crisis	Inter-Nation Simulation	Schwartz
International system	International Processes Simulation	Smoker
Complex decisionmaking and personality	Tactical and Negotiation Game	Streufert
Conflict and peace processes	Princeton Inter-Nation Game	Terhune, Fire-stone

these 160 variables 90 are immediately concerned with military factors.

Since the model excludes domestic pressures, inter-bloc trade, transnational affiliations, and maximizes the military and conflictful nature of the international system, Smoker (1970) has argued that TEMPER is grossly inaccurate for both research and teaching. After discussing the apparent lack of validity of several subroutine features of TEMPER, Smoker suggests that "those who use a simulation of international relations over a number of years as part of an educational experience for some hundreds of military officers are under obligation to present evidence as to the validity of the model and the resulting image of international relations it incorporates." (1970, P. 23)

The INS was created by Harold Guetzkow and his associates at Northwestern University (1963) and has been the most often utilized model for research and teaching purposes. It is a man-machine simulation using programmed features to simulate variables including domestic support for key decisionmakers (validator satisfaction), the flexibility of decisionmakers in policy formation (decision latitude), and the transference of political power (probability of office-holding). Several roles are represented in each simulate nation by participants: heads of state, foreign policy advisors, domestic advisors, military advisors, and opposition leaders. Each period the key decisionmakers allocate basic capability units for purposes of domestic consumption, the maintenance of requisite national security, and for long-term economic growth. After the making of these critical decisions nations interact through messages, conferences, trade, the world press, and through any international organization that has been created by the nations or the simulation director at the outset of the simulation. The context of interaction is created by varied initial distributions of basic capabilities and written national histories.

INS has been subjected to 24 systematic validity studies comparing aspects of the simulate world to the referent system ("real world"). Of some 55 comparisons Guetzkow found at least "some" correspondence between simulate and world features in 38 instances. (1968) Modelski independently found 30 such correspondences out of 55 possibilities. (1970) However, he contends that four basic INS assumptions are subject to reservations: INS assumes that nations are the basic units for analysis, that nations are self-sufficient, that validator satisfaction is solely a function of domestic support, and that central decisionmakers have singular control of national capabilities and resources. He suggests revisions that incorporate non-national world actors, the interdependence of nations, broader sources of validator satisfaction, and greater group constraints on central decisionmaking.

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With the Modelski critique of INS in mind, Smoker creat-
ed the International Processes Simulation (IPS). IPS is a
man-machine simulation and like INS has human decisionmakers.
The differences involve the complexity of the model, parti-
cularly in its systemic properties. IPS simulates interna-
tional governmental organizations, international non-govern-
mental organizations, multi-national corporations, nations,
and national corporations. Role players include several non-
governmental decisionmakers. Other additions include world
opinion, public opinion, and political effectiveness.

Smoker (1970) reports that several validity studies re-
flect a closer IPS fit with historical referents than INS
but that.its emphasis upon more precise systemic properties
may be unduly at the expense of the domestic processes.
Therefore care should be used in the use of IPS for teaching.
Further Smoker suggests that IPS, as with other simulations,
fails to add structures relating ecological and technological
environments to the more prominent political and economic
variables. Also simulations have not adequately reckoned
with the problem of time and how much social or clock time
is really being simulated.

Whereas IPS emphasizes a multifaceted international
system, the World Politics Simulation (WPS) is a man-compu-
ter simulation that heightens the complexity of domestic
processes. (Coplin, 1969; Smoker, 1970). WPS can accomodate
up to nine nations and each consists of economic, demo-
graphic, and political submodels. The political organization
of the nation contains a multiplicity of policy influencers
exerting pressure on decisionmakers. Since no validity studies
have been carried out on WPS, Smoker suggests caution in its
use for educational purposes, particularly as domestic po-
litics dwarfs limited international dimensions of the simu-
lation.

The Rand/M.I.T. Political Military Exercise (PME) is
an all-man simulation that is composed of several nation
teams, each reflecting a critical decisionmaking unit within
a nation (the National Security Council, for example) and
a control team that monitors national decisionmaking and
international interaction. (Bloomfield and Padelford; Bloom-
field and Whaley) The control team verifies the legitimacy
of national moves and induces crises, threat,erroneous in-
formation, and other variations as the experimental situation
dictates. The control team also acts as nation teams and in-
ternational organizations not represented by players. All
nation moves must be written down on standard message forms.
The exercise begins with a scenario, then nations define their
strategies and goals and movements are made through the con-
trol team. The basic datum of the exercise include the mes-
sage forms, team reports, a record of the post-game critique
session, and a follow-up questionnaire of participants.

Summing up the potential educational value of PME, Bloom-field and Whaley say that:

> ... the only sure value of the political-military exercise may be the not inconsiderable one of providing not only students but also policy-makers and scholars with one or more crucial lessons not learned before, indelibly recorded in an important personal experience. (p. 661)

Smoker, on the other hand, argues that judgment on teaching and research uses of PME should await systematic validity studies. The control teams, for example, may be imposing their correct or incorrect theories of international politics on the participants. The "important personal experience" may in fact do more harm than good.

Coplin's (1970) The State System Exercise (SSE) is designed for easy and inexpensive use in the college classroom. SSE is run in three cycles representing the classical balance of power system of eighteenth century Europe, the state system from 1890 to 1914, and the post-war international system. Highlighted variables include alliance flexibility, the distribution of power, the role of territory, costs and gains of war, and the effect of nuclear weapons. An underlying assumption of national behavior in all three cycles is the "desire to survive and to increase power". Through the assignment of roles, the distribution of "power units" and the interaction among nations students simulate each cycle.

The Impact of the Inter-Nation Simulation on Pre-College and College Education

This section will summarize findings from four impact studies on primary, secondary, and university uses of adaptations of the Inter-Nation Simulation. If simulation for teaching is to be taken seriously an effort must be made to evaluate the relative utility of it in different school settings. Further, peace education ought not be restricted to the university particularly since socialization studies point to major substantive political values and beliefs acquired well before a student reaches the university. (Cooper, Alvik, Targ, 1970)

Targ (1972) adapted the INS for use by fourth, fifth, and sixth grade elementary school children (ages nine to twelve). The Elementary School Version of the Inter-Nation Simulation (1967) involves nation teams of from three to five players interacting in a non-structured international system. Heads of state, foreign secretaries, and citizens populate each nation. The decisionmakers allocate monetary units for domestic consumption, military preparedness, and saving for economic development at the outset of each period. From that point students interact through messages and conferences,

war, trade, and the building of international institutions. Citizens vote each period to retain or dethrone the Head of State and Foreign Secretary. National capabilities for each period (periods run about one hour) are determined by the percentage of investment in the prior period.

In evaluating simulation impact, students were given pre and post-test questionnaires designed to tap beliefs (factual knowledge), evaluations (standards of value to given objects), expectations (predictions of future events), and action preferences (foreign policy prescriptions) about foreign policy making and international politics. The control groups in each grade had no alternative instruction so that findings relate to simulate impact and not comparative impacts of varying teaching strategies.

Targ reported several findings. First, the elementary school simulation seemed to have impact only on participants beliefs. Children increasingly saw nations as more important and strong after simulate participation. The simulation affected children's definitions of economic development, the role of industries for national greatness, the role and functions of the foreign secretary, and the meaning and significance of domestic consumption. In the international realm the situation effected children's beliefs about the United Nations, the potential aggressiveness of alliances, international trade, and the mechanisms of international communications.

Second, children registered more change in beliefs concerning domestic politics and foreign policymaking than international interaction. The domestic features of the simulation were more structured in that specified decisions were required and simulate roles were described in the student manual. Targ suggests that the unstructured international interactions depended more upon the participants level of awareness whereas the domestic features were predetermined by the exercise structure.

Finally, Targ's data indicated that simulation impact was greatest among the youngest children (the fourth grade). Belief scores about national policymaking and international interaction changed at least three times more among the fourth graders than among fifth and sixth graders. Therefore those children who came to the simulation with the least information changed the most.

Cherryholmes (1965) utilized the INS as a six-week portion of an American government course for high school seniors. Students reported that participation was interesting, meaningful, and useful as an aid to understanding international affairs. In a pre- and post-test questionnaire design Cherryholmes found that students increasingly valued a decisionmaking process that was more centralized after simulate participation. They also recognized the complexity of decisionmaking.

Students described their simulate world as governed by hostile, conflictful, national sovereign units. It was a world of nations relying on alliances, arms, and the propensity for escalating conflict. Cherryholmes likens these perceptions of the simulate world to the real world. He sought to examine further the impact of the simulation as to the development of "realistic" images of the world as opposed to "idealism". In response to four specific questions Cherryholmes found a marked movement in the "realist" direction after participation:

1) Rejection of the premise that the United States should do what is "right" irrespective of other allies;

2) Rejection of the argument that alliances are a hindrance to the United States;

3) Rejection of the premise that democratic nations should always follow democratic principles in the substance and determination of foreign policy;

4) Acceptance of the argument that the United States should form alliances with dictators if it would help stop communism.

In conclusion, Cherryholmes argues that simulation is not the solution to international relations instruction and must be integrated with other substantive and methodological components. "However, simulation does arouse keen student interest and apparently tends to produce a pragmatic set of attitudes toward international relations." (Cherryholmes, 1965, p. 231)

More recently, Lee and O'Leary (1971) studied INS impact on developing "awareness and insights" and "competencies" among high school students. Students were exposed to a three-day INS exercise and extensive post-game discussion. The post-test questionnaire was distributed one month later to simulation and control groups (exposed to other government and international relations materials). Data analysis indicated that students found the simulation to be interesting and involving. Students felt that simulation was superior to other teaching techniques in showing "what people are like under pressure", "what it is like to work in an organization", and "what it is like to be in a position of responsibility". Students developed a greater tolerance for ambiguity after simulate participation and indicated a greater confidence in handling decisionmaking roles analogous to INS roles after simulate participation. However, across all the simulate participants, no significant attitude or belief changes in reference to international relations was found.

When students were compared as to the level of trust in people they maintained, it was found that "idealistic" students with high trust became less hopeful about peaceful solutions to the world's problems. Those who were low on trust in people developed a greater sensitivity to the complexities and pressures of decisionmaking, increasingly favored closed as opposed to open diplomacy, became more optimistic that people could influence public affairs, and became more interested in social studies. The authors report:

> ... the lows went through a rather profound growth
> experience -- they achieved greater maturity
> in their understanding of international
> affairs; they developed a realistic empathy
> for decision makers, they became more op-
> timistic about the ability of people to
> change the larger world about them, they
> became more tolerant of ambiguity and un-
> certainties, and they came away from the
> game with a broader pattern of interests
> and concerns. (Lee and O'Leary, 1971, p. 339)

The high scores on trust were not effected positively. They became disillusioned, less efficacious, more pessimistic, and sought more open diplomacy. The authors suggest that high trust participants find their world-view threatened in the simulation and hence do not concentrate on the multiple facets of the simulate experience.

The general reaction of Lee and O'Leary about the use of simulation for social studies is fourfold: given the proper circumstances simulations may have significant impact on students, learning through simulation can be enjoyable, simulation can stimulate and bring to the surface significant emotional forces, and simulations can aid researchers to discover how, what, and among whom does learning take place.

The last significant impact study compared teaching with INS and teaching with case study materials in three undergraduate political sciences courses. (Robinson 1966) Students in each of these classes were exposed to two lectures per week and either a three hour lab that simulated or analyzed compiled case studies. Students were allocated to the simulation or case group on the basis of scores in an aptitude test, grade-point average, tests of motivations for achievement, affiliation, and power, and cognitive style (complexity versus concreteness). These variables were used to further distinguish the comparative impact of simulation and case study methods on student interest and factual learning. The most important findings included the following:

> 1) No differences in perceived interest in
>   simulation or case studies.

2) Significant simulation behavioral measures of interest including attendance, prompt- ness, staying after class.

3) Significantly more simulation classroom participation than case study participation.

4) 12 of 23 categories of simulation participants respond favorably to simulation in an open- ended question.

5) No case-simulation differences on factual mastery or learning of principles.

Concluding their discussion of the role of simulation in teaching international relations the authors point out that the method generally did not effect learning more pro- foundly than the case method nor was simulation perceived as more interesting. Several behavioral measures did show, however, simulation preference to cases. Some specific small learning effects were noted among some subsets of students where specific personality and interest intervening variables were considered. The authors suggest that even small impacts among selected subsets of the student population may be in- dicators of the need for further testing as the "treatments" were relatively brief and only for a nine week academic quarter.

Some Conclusions on Simulation, Teaching, and·Peace Studies

Each of the sections above alludes to a rather large litera- ture that bears relationship to teaching and peace studies First, the large simulation research literature indicates the multiplicity of possible simulations that can be adapted for teaching. Also it indicates the possibility of construct- ing new simulations to research and teach new problems. Si- mulations can be adapted to elementary school, high school, or college use and can lead to the study of individual and group behavior, historical events, "islands of theory", "grand theory", the efficacy of given foreign policies, con- flict reducing strategies (Graduated Reduction in Tension, peacekeeping, disarmament, transnational participation, re- volutionary change, etc.), and alternative futures. The teacher can go to the research literature, replicate ex- periments, and compare the classroom runs with the re- searchers results. The teacher can construct his/her own simulation to study problems not yet simulated.

Ongoing simulations or new ones can be adapted to teach and evaluate major peace studies concepts. Students can ex- perience and analyze the impact of personal versus structu-

ral violence. (Galtung, 1969) Students can test the interpersonal, intergroup, and international validity of the theory of rank disequilibrium (Galtung, 1964) by constructing small group, domestic, and international relations simulations and comparing the behavioral outcomes of each run. Students and teachers can evaluate strategies of non-violence in various settings and contexts. Simulations of alternative conceptions of world order can be constructed testing the utility of power balances, law, centralized versus decentralized authority in the international system, transnational participation, regionalism, and utopian communities in reference to peace values such as an end to violence, the redistribution of wealth, participatory politics, ecological preservation, etc.

An examination of the major international relations simulations illustrates what kinds of roles, processes, unit capabilities, and interactions can be simulated. It further points to some cautionary notes. First, the simulation is an implicit or explicit model of some referent universe. By structuring the relationship of variables in various ways and by including some features of reality and excluding others, the simulation is constructing the dimensions of student experience. Teachers should be aware of the kind of international system or parts thereof they are creating. Modelski is correct, for example, in suggesting that INS is a nation-state system that may misrepresent non-governmental interactions. Similarly, if INS or others seem to create attitudes of "political realism" and man's aggressiveness or a bipolar perception of the world it may be that simulate parameters are not keeping pace with the latest insights in international relations and peace research.

All of this ultimately relates to the validity problem. INS and IPS have been subjected to comparisons with the referent system. They have conformed in one-half to two-thirds of the instances compared. Students may simulate, then seek through a multiplicity of techniques to validate their own runs. This would suggest that students and teachers may take three approaches to validity: 1) try to make the simulation fit "reality", 2) analyze as an element of the course simulate-real world differences, and 3) evaluate the utility of the simulate outcomes that do not fit the real world as to their possible superiority to real world outcomes.

Impact studies have sought to assess several substantive simulations as to attitude, value, learning, motivation, and behavioral change. Findings reported here as well as impact studies of other simulations have not led to consistent positive or negative assessments of simulation utility for teaching. In brief, the teaching value of simulation instruction is still an open question. Therefore, several suggestions for future analysis seem to follow from reported simulation teaching experiences.

Simulations should be tested through various designs including intensive simulation work over several days, or semester, or year-long exercises. Simulations can be tested against case studies, "traditional" methods, or with various combinations of other methods. Simulations with different problem foci may have varying effects. Simulations to study the individual decisionmaker or the specific historic period may be more or less effective than a general systemic model.

Simulations with much structure and programmed behavior should be compared with open-ended simulations. Perhaps some combination of structured and unstructured back-to-back runs may have the optimal impact. Simulation impact studies should be open to the possibility that optimum impact is found at certain age, grade, or competency levels. It may be that simulation for peace studies is best used among elementary or secondary or college students. Further teachers may find greater change in factual mastery than attitudes and behaviors or vice versa. They probably should assume that profound value change cannot be expected in simulational experiences alone.

The use of simulation might optimally be used in conjunction with other methods. Data generated from the simulation can be analyzed historically, quantitatively, and qualitatively testing theories of conflict, integration, peacekeeping, etc. Also the introduction of simulation at optimal times throughout the semester might increase its impact. Teachers can introduce the peace studies course, discuss major theories, simulate, analyze simulate data, simulate again, and synthesize course materials. Finally, as Cherryholmes (1966) and others have proposed greater impact may derive from student construction of their own simulations. Student corrections may create optimal student involvement in theory and practice.

In summary, the simulation literature leads one to recommend continued experimentation for teaching purposes. Findings are mixed as to impact and validity. Perhaps an interested skepticism should dominate the peace education community, a position somewhere between unfounded exuberance and total cynicism.

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SOME THOUGHTS ON PEACE RESEARCH AND PEACE EDUCATION

In the field of peace research and peace education it is
the generation that experienced the Second World War that
must show a great sense of responsiblity. They can remem-
ber the horrors of destruction, and for this reason it is
up to them to do all they can to avoid another world war.
With the new, highly developed armament systems a war can
mean the annihilation not only of part but of the whole of
mankind and its cultural values. This is why peace research
workers and peace education must help young people to recog-
nize the causes and the devasting consequences of war, to
develop a realistic outlook suited to life in a time of
peace and to determine what tasks must be carried out as
a necessary precondition for this kind of life. Besides
this, it is important to ensure that adults remain aware
of their responsibility for keeping peace. Only if these
two tasks can be carried out, it will be possible to guaran-
tee peace.

We are of the opinion that it is extremely important to
gather peace research workers and peace educators from all
over the world to discuss further possibilities for peace
research and education. This is all the more essential as
research into the conditions necessary for peace cannot be
done within the confines of one country. Peace research and
peace education require widespread cooperation. Congresses
and conferences like the congress in Bad Nauheim on "Educa-
tion for Peace and Social Justice" provide the necessary
surroundings for discussion on practical experiences made
in this field, possibly encouraging one to regard one's
own methods and conduct critically.

As many young people's confrontation with the problems
of war is at present frequently limited to dealing with the
Second World War in school history lessons, it is vitally
important for peace research and peace education to increase
its role. This is all the more important as there are young
people everywhere who take life under conditions of compa-
rative peace for granted. It is vital to make them realize
that the guaranteeing or bringing about of peace is one of
our most urgent tasks. In order to do this we must show them
the social conditions that lead to war and help them to iden-
tify those people and groups of people who are not interested
in the coming about of peace. At the same time they need to
be informed of the numerous activities and efforts of many
countries in support of peace policies and activities. The
active and progressive supporters of peace must cooperate

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to be able to reveal and fight the regressive and aggressive forces.

The best example of this type of cooperation is the world-wide movement in support of the people of Vietnam, which has had its successes. The very fact that young people in Hungary have shown their solidarity with the people of Vietnam in rallies, voluntary extra work and a number of other activities and have expressed their aversion of the American agressors indicates that our country's long policy of peace included educating people to peace and that this education was successful.

Up to this point we have talked about peace education as a type of education which attempts to make young people aware of the dangers of war and of the possibilities of finding a peaceful solution to conflicts so as to create a peaceful world. Peace education aimed to reach people of all age groups has, however, to be far more comprehensive. It needs to include, for instance, (a healthy kind of) patriotism, internationalism, and the possiblity of peaceful coexistence and collective development. It must aim at gaining recognition for international law and the UN charter, and at seeing that these are observed. It should deal with such problems as nationalism, racism and the armament race. When discussing the problem of the armament race, one must not forget to mention that some capitalist groups and some states make considerable profits in various local wars.

Peace research and peace education must show that in order to achieve a state of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems certain preconditions must be fulfilled. It must be made clear that, since the creation of the socialist system five decades ago, and in particular during the last ten years, the successful struggle to realize a state of peaceful coexistence has been at the forefront of history.

Hungarian and international experience suggest that peace research and peace education must be carried out in close cooperation with those forces and organizations which fight against war and for peace. For in the past the joint efforts of progressive groups and organizations have frequent-ly led to the end of violence and local wars. This is where, as already mentioned, educating people to patriotism and internationalism has an important role to play. This must not, however, be confused with educating people to national-ism, the terrible effects of which both for one's own and for other countries can be illustrated by numerous examples. Young people must also be made aware by peace education that a decisive factor in judging other people and other nations is whether they support peace, justice and progress. How important this work is is shown by the following depressing facts.

In 1969 the amount spent on armament by 120 countries came to more than 200 billion dollars. From 1962 to 1969 the amount spent by these countries rose by 7%. At the same time the GNP only rose by 3%. That means the increase in armament expenditure could only be achieved by a lowering of the standard of living. When one compares the amount spent on investments in armaments, education and health services the picture is as follows. Military expenditure increased by 1%, expenditure on education by only o.66% and on health services by o.33%. These figures contrast sadly with the fact that there are still over 100 million people in the world who are illiterate because the financial situation does not enable them to attend more than a few years primary school at the most. Besides this, the health services in many countries are in a terrible state. This is not always because the quality of the services is poor but frequently because the costs are so high that many people can only afford them by making enormous sacrifices elsewhere,if even then. This situation is all the more reprehensible when one considers that, due to rapid technical and scientific developments, armament systems become obsolete every 8 to 10 years and have to be replaced by the aid of fresh investments.

Peace education must also deal critically with the fact that, in many countries all over the world, young people are forced to do military service. In the 1960s 22 million people from the above mentioned 120 countries were in the military forces. In addition, 33 million were in jobs in some way connected with the forces. For, to be able to maintain 100 soldiers in a state of alert, a work force of another 150 men is required. According to this calculation 50 million people were working for the military services in the 1960s. It is worth considering what it would have meant if these 55 million people had been engaged in developing the economic, social and cultural situation. If they had been engaged in productive work they would have manufactured goods to the value of 2,000 dollars p.a.; in other words, with 55 million people this would have amounted to 110 billion dollars. If this amount were spent on solving the complex problems in the field of education, health and social services, rapid progress could be made.

Our experience has shown that peace research and peace education can only produce results if they are supported by the governments and laws of the countries concerned. In the case of the People's Republic of Hungary there are laws which provide the basis for active peace research and education. They include the following passages: "On the strength of a socialist ideology and socialist ethics our schools must bring up true patriots, reliable and law abiding citizens who love their native country and their people and devotedly serve the cause of socialism, peace and the brotherhood of men." (1961 Education Act). "The People's Republic of Hungary ranks amongst those countries which strive to attain peace and so-

cial progress. Our nation strives for complete and general
disarmament so that neither the lives of this or the follow-
ing generation will be threatened by means of mass destruc-
tion. It strives for the liberty of all peoples and the na-
tional independence of all countries." (1965 Act).
"Anyone inciting people to war or making propaganda for war
is to receive a term of imprisonment of 3 to 8 years."
(From an ordinance on war propaganda)
"In the People's Republic of Hungary it is the duty of all
young people to learn diligently, to work industriously and to
live honestly. They are to defend their native country and
to serve the cause of social progress and peace." (From the
fifth Act on the position and role of young people, 1971)

It becomes evident from the above passages how important
it can be for peace researchers and peace educators all over
the world to be supported in their work by laws and ordinances.
Thus, peace-loving people should aim at cooperating to ensure
the state, or rather the appropriate bodies, passes laws sup-
porting and facilitating the work of peace research workers
and peace educators.

To close, I should like to allude to the fact that, in
the near future, the European Security Conference will pro-
vide a number of new tasks for peace research and peace edu-
cation which will need to be discussed by peace research
workers and peace educators.

Translated into English by C.Kuebart