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RESEARCH AND TEACHING ON PROBLEMS OF PEACE  
AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN LATIN AMERICA x)

1. Introduction

This report is based upon the available data in the Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration and in few interviews with specialists in the field of international relations and international law. 1)

The report is the result of the study of 19 programmes of courses in public international law corresponding to an equal number of institutes of law schools, schools of political science or specialized institutes.

The programmes of international law courses studied in this report are taught in the following countries: Argentina (4), Brazil (3), Bolivia (1), Chile (2), Ecuador (2), El Salvador (1), Mexico (2), Panama (1), Paraguay (1), and Venezuela (2).

Special mention is made to the development of modern peace research studies in the Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration of FLACSO, particularly in connexion with peace theory and research and theory of conflict, the study of the future and the world power process.

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x) Paper delivered at the UNESCO International Expert Meeting on University Teaching and Research on Problems of Peace and Conflict Resolution, Manila, Philippines, 29 November - 3 December 1971

1) See: Instituto Interamericano de estudios jurídicos internacionales: Material de referencia sobre la enseñanza del derecho internacional y materias afines en Latinoamérica y Canada. (Publication provisional) Washington D.C. 1964; Round Table of Western Hemisphere International Law Scholars. Final Report. San José, Costa Rica, March 1963; Union Panamericana: La enseñanza universitaria de las ciencias sociales: las relaciones internacionales. Estudios y monografía. I. Organización de los Estados Americanos. Washington, D.C. 1961. Edwards, Richard W.: International Legal Studies: A survey of teaching in American Law Schools 1963-1964. The American Society of International Law. 1965.

Finally, the report takes account of external factors which can be considered conducive to the development of a programme of teaching a research on problems of peace and conflict resolution.

## 2. The University Curricula Related to Peace Research and Conflict Resolution in Latin America

The main conclusions that can be drafted from the analysis of the available documentation on the topics of peace research and conflict resolution in Latin America are the following ones:

2.1 The study of peace and conflict generally appears as a theme of the legal studies, and exceptionally in the field of political science.

2.2 Within this broad field of legal studies, peace and conflict are studied in the discipline of public international law.

2.3 As a consequence of 1 and 2, the orientation of peace studies and conflicts is (a) legalistic, (b) international, (c) follows the old international law studies tradition and (d) consequently, there is no concern with modern theory of peace and conflict.

2.4 Within the legal orientation of the studies, the pacific settlement of disputes starts with the analysis of the different means adopted: negotiations, good offices, mediation, inquiry, conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement.

2.5 The distinction between the international law of war and the international law of peace is unanimously accepted.

2.6 All programmes emphasize the contribution of Latin America to the development of fundamental principles of international law related to pacific means of conflict solving. Two examples: the Calvo doctrine and the Drago doctrine. The first one, against the right of foreigners to claim diplomatic protection of their private interest and the obligation to resort to local remedies (1896); and the second one, against the use of armed force in the collection of public debts. (1902) (The Venezuela case.)

2.7 All programmes refer to the purposes and principles of the Inter-American system as stated in the Organization of American States Charter (1948), in the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (1947), in the Pact of Bogota (1948), and in the Inter-American Peace Committee (1950).

The OAS charter's purposes related to peace and conflict are: peace, security, the pacific settlement of disputes.

The principles are stated in a different chapter, and they reaffirm various fundamental rules set forth in previous inter-American resolutions and declarations: international law in the standard of conduct of States in their reciprocal relations; the fulfilment of treaty obligations; the rule of good faith; the condemnation of act aggression; and the principle of collective security, meaning that an act of aggression against one American State is an act of aggression against all the other American States.

### 3. The Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration Activities Related to Peace Research and Conflict Resolution

The Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration has been concerned with the problems of peace research and conflict resolution since its foundation in 1966. The seminars offered in international relations include topics of peace theory and conflict theory. In 1968-1969, Professor William Lewers, from the University of Notre Dame, taught a special seminar on World Politics and World Order, and since then, Professor Horacio Godoy took the responsibility of teaching a seminar on World Politic and World Order. The visit of professors, like Harold D. Lasswell, introducing the techniques of decision seminars, and others are indicators of the interest of the school in the subject.

In 1972, the school will be ready to offer a programme of courses leading to the master degree in political science with mention in international relations. Peace and conflict theory jointly with a series of complementary courses will lead to the first systematic modern training in peace theory and peace research in Latin America.

In 1967 the Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration joined the World Order Model Project supported by the Institute for World Order, under the direction of Prof. Saul Mendlovitz. This project involves eight nationally and regionally based research teams of scholars whose task is to formulate fully developed models or images of the world in 1990. 2) The purpose of the project is the draft of a model of world order through systematic inquiry into world problems and their solutions. Each of the models prepared by the different teams will be a developed image of a world social, economic, cultural, political, scientific

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2) See: Ian Baldwin, Jr.: Thinking about a new world order for the decade 1990, in War/Peace report. January 1970. Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 3/7, New York.

and technological, military and legal system in which war has been eliminated and in which peace, economic welfare and social justice have been achieved.

Since 1967, the Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration has been involved in the World Order Model Project and besides the participation of the director of the school, most of the faculty members have participated in the preparation of working documents for the Latin American model.

The Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration is also related to the International Peace Academy. The director of the school was invited by the IPA Committee of the International Research Fund, Inc. to the meeting in Brattleboro, Vermont, in October 1969 to plan a detail for pilot programmes scheduled for 1970. These programmes have been successfully developed according to the report of the APAC. 2)

Finally, and regarding the social and economic aspects of peace, the school is related to the activities of the Committee on Society, Development and Peace (SODEPAX) joint venture of the Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches. SODEPAX organizes meetings to discuss the role of the churches in peace building through the reorientation of social and economic development policies. In 1968 a Conference on Society, Development and Peace was organized in Beirut to discuss the role of the churches in world development. 3)

#### 4. External Factors to the Development of a Research and Teaching of Peace and Conflict Resolution Programme in Latin America

##### 4.1 The tradition of Latin America

From the Monroe doctrine to the Cuban crisis, or the Dominican Republic crisis or any other of the United States of America/Latin America potential crises that may arise, there has been in the Western Hemisphere a permanent con-

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- 2) See: International Peace Academy Committee: Training and Peace Research. Brattleboro, Vermont. 1970 and Report from Vienna: an appraisal of the International Peace Academy Committee's 1970 Pilot Projects. New York, 1970.
  - 3) See: World Development: a Challenge to the Churches. Edited by Denys Munby. Corpus Books. Washington, D.C. 1969.

cern for the peaceful settlement of disputes among Latin American States and particularly a great concern with the strengthening of the principle of non-intervention.

Since the trends of change in the political realm all over the world implies the possibility of conflicts between countries, the need to improve and strengthen the mechanisms for the pacific resolution of the conflict is justified.

There is another aspect that should be mentioned: it is the process of Latin American integration. That is to say the efforts of the Latin American governments to co-ordinate their policies in order to create within the Latin American area a common market that will improve the possibilities of Latin American social and economic development. A second effect of the Latin American integration will be vis-à-vis the relations with the United States, with Europe, with the socialist countries and the developing nations of Africa and Asia. (Consenso de Viña del Mar and Consenso de Buenos Aires.)

The process of Latin American integration will certainly modify existing procedures of conflict-solving within the Western Hemisphere.

Finally, the acceleration of world-wide processes as consequence of the scientific and technological revolution of our days will impose on Latin American countries the need to participate in the decision-making process affecting world-wide policies, oriented to solve world-wide problems.

Some of the critical world-wide problems that the countries of the world have to solve, the following ones should be mentioned: world trade, world finances, world development, population policies, health, food and housing, education, exploration and exploitation of outer space, ocean beds, communication, human rights, arms control and disarmament. Most of these world-wide problems are in a rapid process of institutionalization. Latin American countries need to participate in these constitutive processes of world-wide jurisdictional mechanisms. In order to get the necessary knowledge to participate in such processes related to arms control and disarmament, Latin American countries need to develop modern institutions concerned with peace research and conflict resolution.

In summary, current trends in Latin America including domestic development and modernization, Latin American economic integration and the characteristics of the world power process, are the main reasons why in Latin America modern studies on peace research and conflict resolution are of fundamental importance. This is especially so if one bears in mind that inequalities among peoples in economic, social and cultural aspects create tensions and conflicts and

threaten peace. In Latin America peace is not limited to the absence of war. As Paul VI said in the Encyclical Letter on the development of peoples: "Development is the new name for peace".

PIERRE DELEU (Belgium)

CONFLICT STUDY AND PEACE RESEARCH  
IN THE REVISED BELGIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

1. Introductory Remarks

In the first place, we want to emphasize the following points:

- We are not intending to propose a global solution to the problem of peace education, or more largely, of conflict education.
- At this stage we do not think it is important for us to establish a set of curriculum units or a new curriculum for the students, nor to write a textbook for students or for teachers; or to create any other set of educational means.
- For a large part, they exist already and they simply have to be adapted to our specific situation.
- On the other hand, we think that the choice of the material, as well as its adaptation, must be done in direct collaboration with the teachers during the period they are following a "recyclage" in conflict study and peace education, in order to avoid some disadvantages of the classical education.
- We only propose to discuss a set of concrete problems concerning peace and conflict education in Belgium. These problems are resulting from the renewal curriculum of these high schools - or secondary schools. 1)

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1) By high schools or secondary schools - the terms are probably not identical in all countries - we understand schools for children from 12 - 13 years till 17 - 18 years. Further we will only use the term: secondary schools.

Some time ago - on proposal of the inspection -, the Minister of Flemish Education formally agreed to the introduction of conflict study, conflict and peace education in all the secondary schools under his jurisdiction.

As the so-called Free Schools - for the most part Catholic schools - are not under supervision of the Minister of Education, this reform, and the introduction of the matter mentioned, does not apply to them. But, as far as our information goes, the Catholic authorities showed interest, and if our experience succeed they will probably follow.

We hope that, in the near future, collaboration between the two school systems will be possible in this domain.

Some conditions that we accept for the moment as given:

- We accept our reformed school system and the values on which it is based. Thus we accept - for the moment - as a starting point, the new curriculum.
- We feel that a lot of interesting methodological and philosophical questions may arise as to those points; that some fundamental questions concerning the function of education as a technique for integration and education as developing autonomy may arise, but in this context we prefer to face the facts and see what is possible to realize in the actual situation.

Some general principles on which our proposal is based:

- 1) The subjectmatter that has to be proposed in our schools is not only peace research. We want a broader scope: conflict study, and conflict education. That does not mean conflict resolution but perhaps rather conflict management. We do propose for instance: family conflicts, conflicts in school, labour conflicts, revolution and so on... as conflict - not necessarily defined in marxian way - permeate every society; conflict is surely not a sign of deviation, inadaptation or a symptom of a pathologic personality or society.

We do not suppose - by giving that general object for education - that there is or is not a continuity between all those sorts of conflict; or an identity between them. We only wish to state that it is important for the education of our young people that they learn to cope with conflicts on every level - but starting from conflicts on their own level. We do not wish to create disillusion nor "defeatism" or demission, by emphasizing conflicts on which they have no immediate grasp, or to let them wander in platonistic idea-world of some so-called lefties. Teachers also have to learn



to handel conflicts. They must understand e.g. that questions as "but what can we do about war?" etc. ... are just the questions that lead to immobilism, even if we have magnificent verbalistic answers, because there actually is no introduction to such problems nor a really valid analysis of them, except verbalistic ones.

We do think that, if students become familiar with immediate conflicts, their positive and negative sides, their functions or disfunctions, we can start on a sound base for further education in a non-authoritarian way - if that is our real aim, and not a form of a highly sophisticated lip-service to non-authoritarian education.

- 2) A second general principle: Individual initiatives are often of a high value, considering moral standards; but we prefer a lesser "height" and prefer solutions embedded in the structure of the educational system. They are more permanent and less easy victims of hazard and too particular situations.
- 3) A third principle: Realization of autonomy in behaviour, thinking and value judgements as an essential way to a humanistic and humanlike society.
- 4) Fourth principle: Establishing a therapy against the UNESCO or trotsky'st disease.

This disease is in fact a syndrome with, at least, following components:

- the general is better than the particular or the specific 2)
- the specific is bad
- if reality does not fit in with the "truth", reality is wrong.

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- 2) i.e. a universal obtained by generalizing a particular set of values formulated in the most abstract moralizing way cfr. nearly every sentence containing the terms humanity, or human kind a.s.o. The literature published by the UNESCO would be a rich source of analysis. E. Ionesco analyzed another aspect of this problem (Le Monde: 12/7/72)

- confusion between justice and let say anthropology; the former concerns behaviour and attitudes, the latter realities.

This confusion leads to a new mythology, and denies reality-thinking. But on the other hand in those occasions, reality-thinking is immediately classified as: racism, nationalism, a.s.o. ...

## 2. "Re-cycling" Teachers

Once we have stated some important premises and qualifications, without trying to be original and complete, we can start with our project, concerning the recyclage of teachers.

We propose to start from a rather trivial statement:

- either the teachers you have are qualified
- or they are not.

In the first case there is no problem, and they probably do not need us much, except if they are polite to us or if they pity us.

In the second case we had better dropped the entire plan being rather optimistic - we prefer to choose the first hypothesis, because we think that we can make use of the principle or the incitive of the self-fulfilling prophecy which we think is paramount in every society, with its cousin and formal opposite: The self-destroying prophecy.

In more concrete terms: if we believe in something, there is more chance that we will obtain it than if we don't believe in it. This seems trivial, but do we have valid studies on that matter?

Some people will disagree with this procedure and will say that it makes no sense to try to teach teachers before you know what has to be taught, what these teachers can teach, and to whom.

This seems a good example of a very classical yes-or-no, all-or-nothing way of "thinking". People try to create in that way paradoxes out of the blue sky or rather out of nothing. This pseudo-intellectualistic approach results only in a total blockage of any effort to real progressive and thus probably lasting change, and is close to what Lenin called infantilism.

If we agree on the following point that teachers are not necessarily imbeciles, we can immediately continue and state that it is sufficient to redirect them to obtain the results which we want.

This is really the only thing we have to do: consider adults as being adult, even if because of some hierarchical remainders, they are not considered as equals yet.

If we accept the previous statement, it is evident that we have - at least - to avoid some traditional mistakes: (1) indoctrination, (2) overstuffing.

The first point needs no explanation, but the second does not seem so evident. If we want to apply anti-authoritarianism logically and necessity of autonomy as essential elements to conflict and peace education, we only have to give an impulse to the teachers and then give them the opportunity to use - in their way - the information at their disposal.

Starting from those central principles, an institute for recyclage and afterwards for the education of teachers in social studies - and more specifically: conflict study, conflict and peace education - "ONLY" needs to have a restricted number of courses - introducing those matters with an even restricted number of seminars, as application of the given theory and as a way of self-education. It does not seem to be desirable to aim at completeness.

Those seminars should be considered as examples of a practical or/and a theoretical analysis of a conflict, of conflict management, and in some cases of conflict resolution. But we must bear in mind that conflict resolution (at all costs) is surely not an ideal to be proposed as a final aim of all conflict studies and of conflict education.

We think it is perfectly feasible that one year a seminar be given on family conflicts; another year on revolution and social change, without obligation for the teachers to have followed all possible seminars on all possible subjects in conflict study.

If those courses and seminars are well structured, this solution will be sufficient.

Apart from applying the principles of autonomy and adulthood to teachers in a logical way, we also avoid at least two difficulties: (1) overstuffing, (2) problems concerning time. A teacher cannot abandon his normal occupation for a long time. And we are convinced that it is not necessary to force him to do so.

Most specialists in social studies and conflict education will agree on this procedure when it concerns only a recyclage. However, they are perhaps more hesitant when it concerns the normal schooling of teachers in those branches.

Perhaps this is due to our educational system and the self-delusion we sometimes need to continue to earn our living in the way we are doing it. Does there exist an analysis of the efficiency of our teaching - except perhaps on the intergration of the youth and ourselves as a response - in the existing society? I propose no revolution for revolution; but are we aware of what we really are performing?

I myself was quite happy - on afterthought - that the education I received failed for the larger part, even at the university. But here we have an essential question: Must peace education and conflict education go the same way?

But let us conclude: We think it is not necessary to create in Belgium - let us say - a degree in conflict education as such.

It seems that institutes may exist as research centers - perhaps even as action-oriented institutions - but if they accept an educational function - in the sense we used above - they must not think it necessary to take the place of the existing institutes specialized in education.

Our institutes for conflict study must keep to their specific tasks. In our opinion they only can and may have - on the educational level - a supplementary role. That is purely a question of realism.

Creating new institutes or new sections in existing institutes is enormously expensive, and mobilizes a lot of people who could better be used for other and more specific tasks in conflict study and peace research. Perhaps this attitude is inspired by the particular situation in our country where every university has, or tries to have, educational institutes; but in fact no peace or conflict research courses - except at the University of Brussels (Prof. Niezing) for the moment - and, starting officially this year, at the University of Louvain - flemish - (Prof. Werck).

### 3. Final Remarks

We want - in conclusion - attract attention to two important points:

#### 1) Basic course:

This seems to be the crucial point, but altogether the most delicate one to cope with. There do exist a lot of good courses and textbooks.

A good course in our sense, must contain:

- a critical survey of the attitudes towards conflicts
- the ideologies supporting these attitudes
- an analysis of social structures and institutions related to conflicts
- the functions of conflicts

It is not our intention to propose the creation of an encyclopedia pretending to cover all the possible cases and aspects of conflict. That would not only be pretentious, but in our context quite futile.

A few well-chosen analyses are more than sufficient. We will in that way avoid closed systems that may cut us off from what is happening daily, and put us into moral and intellectual strait-jackets.

## 2) Information center

The most important task of an institute for recyclage and formation is to provide information. There is an enormous amount of information throughout the world which is not easible available, except to some specialists or members of the institutes resembling them.

Our first problem will be to obtain such information, and to present it in another form than the classical libraries. We want what the French called: une bibliographie raisonné- what means: a commented bibliography, and not simply an enumeration of titles.

## 4. General Conclusion

We have not gone into details, because we think it is not necessary for this communication. We have stated only the essentials of the proposal we formulated for the Flemish Minister of Education and the higher administration of education in Belgium.

The basic points of this paper have been accepted by the Ministry of Education, and we hope that in the near future we will start with the realization of this program.

But it is evident that we cannot realize this without the effective support of everybody interested in those matters. IPRA already agreed on this point. 3)

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- 3) I especially thank here Betty Reardon, Johan Galtung, Asbjørn Eide, Hakan Wiberg and Ph. Everts for their effective collaboration.



BEN TER VEER (Netherlands)

DEVELOPING A CURRICULUM FOR PEACE EDUCATION <sup>x)</sup>

An Approach in the Netherlands

The working group concerned with peace education of the Polemological Institute of the State University of Groningen, and the Foundation for the Upbuilding of Peace ("Vredesopbouw") in The Hague have launched the development of a peace education curriculum. It is aimed at the level of pupils attending the third form of the HAVO, i.e. for 14 and 15 year olds who are not preparing for university entrance.

It is the ambition of the work group that, after the realization of the curriculum, teachers and pupils wanting to discuss problems connected with war and peace, as well as problems about cooperation in the field of development, will be in a position to choose such educational appliances and procedures as they may deem useful to achieve their own aims.

The curriculum will consist of the following parts:

- 1) a systematic survey of the problems of war and of development;
- 2) a number of case-studies of conflicts related to these;
- 3) (as part of each case-study) a discussion of the repercussions which the conflict has on Dutch society at different levels: the so-called Dutch component;
- 4) a teacher's manual, questions and assignments;
- 5) an explanatory list of ideas.

The work group's assumption is that it is essential that such a curriculum be developed within the framework of constant discussions between teachers and pupils, authors, didacticians and producers.

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x) As regards the didactic and methodical principles underlying this project, see Heft 3/1970 Friedenserziehung im Schulunterricht, Aus den Niederländischen Studien für Friedensforschung e.V., Bernhard-Borst-Str.3, 8 München 19, Germany.

## Method and Planning

The project will require the cooperation of 28 teachers and about 100 pupils. The first permanent group of teachers has already met several times. It consists of seven teams from six schools; a team is composed of a geography teacher and a history teacher. The permanent group of teachers is to meet once every three weeks over a period of 1 1/2 or 2 years.

A permanent group of teachers is to consider four case-studies yearly. This will take place in two periods of ten weeks each, one before and one after the Christmas holidays, two case-studies to either period. Thus a team will devote about two thirds of the school year to problems connected with war and peace and with cooperation in the field of development. The remaining fifteen weeks can be spent by the teachers on the usual syllabus of the third form HAVO.

The meetings of the permanent group of teachers will continue irrespective of their pursuit of the subject in hand in class. During the meetings the objectives and the material used will be evaluated continuously. The information acquired from these meetings will be used for clarifying objectives and improving educational appliances and forms of work.

The second group of teachers is being formed and will operate along the same lines. Thus twelve case-studies be developed between 15 August 1973 and 1 January 1975. If the permanent groups of teachers are willing to do so, and if the financial means required are available, another four case-studies will be tackled between January 1975 and August 1975.

Deliberations are still being held with the Inspectorate for Continued Education about facilities needed by the teachers with a view to departures from the ordinary school curriculum. On the part of the working party and the first permanent group of teachers, alterations have been made in the planning first proposed to ensure the least possible infringement of the curriculum and at the same time to safeguard conditions for fruitful progress. It is the fixed purpose of the working group to operate within the structure of existing education programs.

## Working in Teams

The permanent groups of teachers have been made up of teams of teachers of different disciplines, for three reasons:



- 1) The different aspects of the problems connected with war and peace and with the cooperation in the field of development projects can be treated by the teacher most familiar with them.
- 2) The members of the team can mutually consider what would be the best way, as classroom work, of treating these problems.
- 3) The relations within the group between the pupils and the two teachers are a special safeguard for a many-sided discussion.

### Composing Discussion Material

Apart from systematic discussions, the following subjects will come up for illustrative purposes:

- 1) the socio-economic development of Ghana and the renewal of the structures in the cocoa and bauxite industries in the Netherlands;
- 2) the socio-economic development of the Sudan and the renewal of the structure of the textile industry in the Netherlands;
- 3) the socio-economic development of Cuba;
- 4) sugar (cane and beet), and Dutch agricultural policy within the Common Market;
- 5) deep-sea shipping for the developing countries;
- 6) the development of Angola and the war of liberation with Portugal;
- 7) the rise of the Cold War 1945-1949;
- 8) the Middle East conflict;
- 9) the Greek coup of 1967;
- 10) the war in Vietnam;
- 11) the Cuban crisis of 1962/ arms race, arms control and disarmament;
- 12) Czechoslovakia 1968.

The first six of these subjects will serve to bring up for discussion essential problems in the field of cooperation for development. In discussing the second group a clarification of the problems connected with war and peace is aimed at. There are also suggestions for subjects of the four case-studies which may be developed from January to August 1975; however, these have not yet taken definite shape. They are:

- 1) the Dutch policy with regard to development projects .
- 2) Indochina (evolution-revolution);
- 3) the conflict between India and Pakistan and the birth of Bangladesh;
- 4) synthetics, Club of Rome, and DD2.

The following considerations have been instrumental in deciding on the subjects to be studied by the pupils:

- the initiators believe it is possible, in using this series of case-studies, to bring up for discussion the essential problems connected with war and peace and with cooperation in the field of development projects;
- it has been taken into account that the case-studies would have to fit in with existing syllabi;
- in certain cases, the topical character of a case-study and the impact of the conflict on post-war developments have been under consideration;
- the involvement of the Netherlands in the conflict is considered, as is:
- the political balance within the whole of the subjects.

#### The Component Part of the Netherlands

If possible, the case-studies will all contain material relating to:

- the importance of the problem or conflict for Dutch society;
- the process and results of the formation of opinions in certain communities within Dutch society;
- opinions formed and decisions taken by a wide range of Dutch institutions, organizations, and groups, influencing the solution of the problems in question, or intended to do so (the Government, Parliament, political parties, trade union, trade and industry, the Churches, action groups, etc.);
- essential questions for the way in which pupils of these ages shape their own lives and conditions with an analogous relationship with problems on a macro-scale.

#### Working Group Concerned with Peace Education

The responsibility of the series of case-studies on problems connected with war and peace and with the cooperation in the field of development to be issued will be undertaken by the above working group.

CHRIS A. LEEDS (Great Britain)

## PEACE EDUCATION IN BRITAIN

Peace Education can imply one or more of the following:

1. The attempt to focus on better human relationships and improved world-cooperation in all school curriculum courses.
2. Courses on political education, world problems and injustices and discussions of possible remedies for achieving a less violent and more just world.
3. Improved teaching methods to create the right learning environment so that people are able to cope in a more balanced and less non-violent way with life's problems.

Numerous organisations and a growing number of schools, experimenting with "alternative" educational philosophies to "traditional" schooling or with new curriculums, are endeavouring to realise some aspects of peace education. A significant development is the appointment of a Chair of Peace Studies at Bradford University in 1973. Professor Adam Curle aims to start one-year courses for mature students from various professions in 1974 and to develop links with organisations outside the University.

An influential organisation is the Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations. This is an independent body, though supported by the Government and Local Education authorities, which was founded in 1964.

Since 1967 it has financed numerous projects aiming to offer schools encouragement for starting enquiry-based interdisciplinary courses in place of the traditional subject-based teaching. Each project was run by a different team of educational specialist who were given complete freedom to develop their own teaching techniques and materials.

The Humanities Project, directed by Lawrence Stenhouse at East Anglia University, aimed to widen the understanding of pupils aged 14-16 years of controversial issues, through the use of such multi-media materials as photographs, films, tapes, slides, extracts from books etc. The teaching technique recommended was discussion rather than instruction with the teacher acting as a 'neutral' chairman, maintaining educational values but not 'taking sides' on the issues discussed. This was to avoid the situation of pupils reaching conclusions as a result of the teacher's influence, themselves either acting negatively or positively towards the adult views expressed, rather than forming independent

judgements based on the 'evidence' shown by the materials and brought out in discussion.

The controversial issues included Family, Relations between the sexes, Poverty, People and Work, Law and Order and War. Materials in the 'War' pack covered seven main topics, including 1. the feelings towards war of combatants 2. the impact of war on social relationships, 3. problems of individual responsibility, 4. causes, resolution and prevention of wars, 5. problems of standards and justice.

The Moral Education project, directed by Peter McPhail at Oxford University, was also completed in 1972. It was originally inspired by three independent surveys which showed that about 70 % of 15 year-old pupils would welcome help from their schools with their interpersonal relations, and over the questions of right and wrong. The aim of this project was to help young people to be thoughtful and not egocentric in their behaviour, appreciating the needs, interests and feelings of other people as well as their own.

The Integrated Studies Project for the age range 11-15, of which the director is David Bolam at Keele University, explores the possibilities of integrating humanities during the first four years of secondary education. In the first section Exploration Man appears an illustration of how the changing of people's attitudes can be just as constructive as changing the curriculum as an approach to better human relationships. The example was taken from practical experience of working to discover how children in schools perceived the enemy. In place of learning to see symbols such as 'St. George and the Dragon' to personify good and evil, we should try to see the Dragon as it appears in Chinese mythology as a friendly figure. Further one ought to try and discover why in many cases the enemy does not exist as an objective fact, but is only perceived to exist in some other person or group which appears threatening as a projection of our own fears, frustrations and sense of guilt.

All the School Council project materials were intended to provide a basis to which teachers would add their own materials. However, it has been found necessary to devise new methods and facilities for the storage, retrieval and use of multi-media materials. The Schools Council is now undertaking research into problems facing schools and authorities wishing to develop resource centres.

In April 1973 the Schools Council approved a major three-year project of the National Foundation for Education Research into the provision of teaching materials on 'Education for a multi-racial society', for the use by pupils from 6 to 16 years of age. It will include a teachers' guide, on how to use such material as poetry and music concerning the Caribbean and India, suggesting links between subjects such as history, geography, economics and cooking.

Primary education has been gradually implementing progressive ideas over the last 20 years to develop non-streamed, co-operative, participatory and creative schools. However, a number of secondary schools do reflect a variety of alternative educational philosophies. These include Countesthorpe College, Summerhill School in Dorset, Wyndham School in Cumberland, and a number of 'Free' schools, which have developed in Liverpool, Leeds and London.

The Council for Education in World Citizenship, the educational wing of the United Nations Association, has about 1,300 schools and 25 teacher training colleges as members. Though about two-thirds of its work concerns the United Nations, one-third is with providing factual, informed material on World Affairs for use in schools by pupils from 9-16 years of age. Advice is given on the use of audio-visual materials, and an annual week's conference on a world issue is held each year for about 3,000 pupils aged 16-18.

The Atlantic Information Centre for Teachers, founded in 1963, by the Atlantic Treaty Organisation, provides teachers in Western Europe and North America with regular publications on all aspects of current international affairs, and acts as a clearing house of information on methods and teaching aids.

Many teacher training centres in colleges of education such as Edgehill, Madeley or in institutes or departments of education of universities such as London, Bristol, Durham, Keele, have for many years arranged courses on International Relations for their students. Valuable ideas on school developments throughout the world are contained in "New Era", the journal of the World Education Fellowship, of which the Chairman is Dr. James Henderson of the Institute of Education, London University. The difficulty is that students sometimes become discouraged since schools allow little opportunity for teaching International Relations in school. During the last five years 20th century World History has become increasingly popular as an area of study, however, and former students of International Studies have helped in getting Examination Boards in organising realistic courses in world problems for pupils aged 14-18. (The East Anglian C.S.E. syllabus includes an examination on World Problems which covers many issues such as the problem of the shrinking world, the clash of nationalism, ideologies and race; war; imbalance of world wealth.)

Much specialist literature relevant to Peace Education is available from numerous other organisations which are interested in education, such as the Minority Rights Group and such peace groups as Fellowship of Reconciliation and Peace Pledge Union. The Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development (VCOAD) of which nine Aid organisations including Oxfam and Christian Aid, are members, and the

Haslemere Group have produced valuable material on the Third World, the North-South problem, Multi-national companies and the economies behind the distribution of certain basic commodities such as Sugar, Coffee and Cocoa. An educational charity, Anti-Poverty, was started in 1971 and since then its staff have been working with the help of secondary schools in the Oxford area to produce educational materials on development issues. Case studies have been produced, for example, concerning a shanty town in Nairobi, and a cattle farm in Botswana.

The Third World First organisation is a University student group which has produced valuable school material on Third World problems.

The idea of 'Rights Education' has been popularised by the Cobden Trust, the research and educational wing of the National Council for Civil Liberties. It has helped stimulate public debate on children's rights and is working to achieve greater participation by pupils in the running of schools. Towards Racial Justice is an organisation presently publishing the injustice of the educational system which has allowed a high proportion of West Indian children mistaken to be classified as educationally subnormal in intelligence tests, and placed in special schools as a result of their background and culture rather than their mental capabilities.

Teachers gainst Racism started in 1973 with the objective of involving all races into undertaking 1. research into racial violence, 2. encouragement of the writing of textbooks for children particularly by ethnic minorities.

The Education Advisory Committee of the Parliamentary Group for World Government has encouraged useful work on International Understanding. One useful publication was the study of Cyprus school history textbook, giving extracts from Greek and Turkish sources and illustrating how this was basically education for international misunderstandings. Under its auspices a World Studies Project was started in January 1973 directed by Mr. Robin Richardson to develop materials for school use. (A sub-committee is organising a "one World Song Competition" for primary school pupils this autumn.)

The Conflict Research Society aims to promote research and the extension of knowledge in the field of Conflict and Peace Research at the Richardson Institute. In the educational field, a one-day seminar for teachers on 'The Teaching of Conflict Studies' was held in January, 1973, where focus was placed on the different dimensions of conflict, such as the social, psychological, economic, political and international aspects. A working party sub-committee is now preparing a resource pack of materials for use by teachers

as a preliminary step to interesting an examination board to develop a curriculum in this field for the 14-16 age group.

Some members of peace groups in Britain, such as Pax Christi, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Society of Friends and the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission are helping in an independent venture to produce a 90 page Peace Handbook for use by peace groups, teachers, youth leaders etc. in 1975. The three sections are: 1. Information on War and Peace Issues, 2. Action suggestions on how individuals can help the peace movement, 3. Resources, list of bibliographies, relevant peace organisations etc.

Useful work is also being carried on in education by other groups and organisations but enough of them have been mentioned to indicate the rich variety of activities being undertaken. Greater co-ordination between them in the future might enable greater impact to be made on the educational system.

#### List of Organisations

1. Schools Council Information Section, 160 Great Portland Street, London WIN 6 LL
2. Dr. James Henderson, Chairman, World Education Fellowship, Institute of Education, London University, Malet treet, London, WC 1E 7H5
3. Dr. Otto Pick, Director, Atlantic Information Centre For Teachers, 23/25 Abbey House, 8 Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1
4. Mr. Terence Lawson, O.B.E., The Secretary, Council for Education in World Citizenship, 93 Albert Embankment, London, S.E. 1
5. Mr. Robin Richardson, Director, World Studies Project, 37, Parliament Street, London, S.W. 1
6. Mr. Michael Nicolson, Director, The Richardson Institute For Conflict and Peace Research, 1958, North Gower Street, London, NW 1 2 ND.





POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION RESEARCH IN THE UNITED STATES

Q: Now I want to ask you some questions where I want you to use your imagination a little in answering. First, what do you think the world is going to be like in 20 years?

A: I think the world in the future will be much more impersonal than it is now. It will be more like a utopian society where everything will be solved and everybody will be just another number instead of an individual thing as it is now. In some respects this is better, in some it's not. There won't be any prejudices if everybody is a number because everybody will be content with what they got probably. They'll have a closed mind on that, and whatever they were put to be, whatever they were born to be that's what they'll stay. They won't change.

This view of the future expressed by a fourteen-year-old American boy may be shocking to most of us but deserves our attention and interest. Whatever our operating definition of peace education, the future envisioned here is not the kind of world which any of us would look forward to as providing a meaningful kind of world peace. But the purpose of this paper is not to delineate the content of educational objectives which would provide alternative visions for a world of the future. Rather it is to comment briefly on what is known from research in the social sciences concerning attitudes necessary for attaining the kind of world where war and violence will be a less common recourse in attempts to solve human dilemmas.

A number of organizations in the United States have engaged in peace education and in programs directed toward international understanding, education in the service of a world order, and global perspective. A partial list of these organizations and their publications is included at the end of this article. It would be impossible to describe fully all of these programs in the short space allotted here. Instead I would like to explore the way in which peace education programs could be made more effective. In other words, how can our accumulating knowledge about the ways in which social and political attitudes develop in children help us to build a more solid foundation for our peace education efforts.

Concern with political socialization and the measurement of outcomes of civic education in terms of attitudes as well as of knowledge originated about fifteen years ago with political scientists (primarily Americans) who were seeking to

understand how established political systems ensured the development of supportive attitudes in the children who would be the adult citizens of the future. Many of these early studies found it necessary to establish that political matters are in fact important to young people. Previously it had been assumed that it was pointless to question young people about their political views until they had reached voting age. This point of view was, of course, more common in the early 1960's, before students voiced their political demands so forcefully in the United States. It has now become clear that the attitudes which take shape during the pre-adult years do have a distinct impact upon the climate of political attitudes of the future. In a real sense we are creating our own future through the kind of education we are providing to children in the present.

Early political socialization studies also established that the definition of political attitudes should include much more than choice of political party and candidate preference 1). In spite of this, however, research conducted by political scientists is still likely to concentrate on partisanship and on such dimensions as political efficacy (the feeling that the citizen can influence his government), sources of political advice, and the matter of allegiance to the national government and its leaders, many of which are derived from studies of adult voting behavior. The International Association for the Evaluation of International Achievement (I.E.A.), in its recent Civic Education study of students in ten nations 2), has included measures of support for democratic values, of tolerance for dissent, and of perceptions of agencies like the United Nations, Welfare Agencies, and Labor Unions in addition to the variables more commonly used in political socialization studies.

Early political socialization studies concentrated upon domestic political units and issues; more recently such investigations have been broadened and have shown more interest in the way in which the child acquires a view of the world as an interacting social system. A major trend for the future will be to determine how political socialization in the international as well as in the domestic sphere is achieved. This is quite compatible with recommendations of the Becker report, a study completed in 1969 under the auspices of the Foreign Policy Association :

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- 1) Robert Hess and Judith V. Torney, *The Development of Political Attitudes in Children*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1967.
  - 2) Bram Oppenheim and Judith Torney, *The Measurement of Civic Attitudes in Children of Different Nations*. Stockholm: I.E.A., 1973.

Schools must help young people to develop an international understanding, and not an international understanding in the way we've traditionally used it--the sort of strange-lands and friendly people approach. Instead students must be led toward the understanding of the world as a single unit so that the schools will be, in effect, transmitting to the next generation a rich image of the total earth 3).

The organizations which are most actively working in the United States on peace education frequently combine concern for peace with concern for giving children this kind of international perspective. Not only are more studies being done of children's world orientations but generalizations from both domestic and international studies of political socialization are being made.

First, an important topic of study in both this and other countries is children's conception of the proper relation between the individual citizen and his government. Findings concerning the development of feelings of political efficacy become particularly relevant here because it is often the actions of a government concerning foreign policy and war with which citizens disagree. The impression that many children in the U.S. have of the individual's political efficacy may be characterized as being based upon a "personal clout illusion", a belief that the individual citizen acting by himself can make the government pay attention to his opinion and change its policy. The young child who reported in 1962 that the citizen can "call up the President at the White House and tell him what he thinks" illustrates this primitive sense of citizen efficacy. In the United States, children were taught during the 1950's from social studies curricula which promoted this impression of primitive efficacy without explaining complex aspects of political processes. One result of this omission was a generation of college students of which many reacted in frustration and anger when they discovered that the government was not as responsive to citizen appeals as they had come to believe in their earlier school years.

Second, some political socialization studies have pointed out that while international conflict tends to appear early in the child's view of the world, he tends to perceive domestic conflict very little, if at all. Connell 4) in an interview study of Australian children refers to the "threat schema", which incorporates the child's positive nationalistic feelings with the perception of the existence of enemies of his country. This usually results in an intensification of support for the domestic status quo and the belief that the child's personal security will otherwise be in danger. For example, these children in Australia believed that if the

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3) See David C. King's summary of Becker report in International Education for Spaceship Earth. Foreign Policy Association, 1970.

4) R.W. Connell, The Child's Construction of Politics. Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1971.

Viet Cong were not stopped in Vietnam, their next attempt would be an invasion of Australia. Similar work by Cooper 5) has confirmed that many attitudes and concepts of war and international conflict bear a close relationship both to the child's needs and to his cognitive abilities.

Third, there are many parallels between the way in which children understand the domestic political system and the schemas which they use in understanding the international world. For example, children know a great deal more about structures which can be identified in the government (Congress and the Supreme Court in the U.S.) than they know about political processes (group pressure, compromise, etc.). Likewise, they are more familiar with structures in the international realm (the United Nations, the particular characteristics of other countries) than they are with processes such as negotiation and diplomacy. To children, the complexities of international affairs are as unfamiliar as the comparable aspects of the domestic system. As a result, particularly at young age levels, they often embrace a simple pacifism in much the same way that they embrace the notion of simple efficacy. In answer to the question "How would you keep countries from fighting" (in wars), these were typical responses:

Age six: Make a law and put all the war people in jail.

Age nine: Teach people not to fight.

Age eleven: Send letter to congressmen. You have to work for it to have peace.

Age twelve: Elect the right government people, people who are for peace.

Young children need help in understanding the complexity of the world order so that they may have a basis for reacting intelligently to its problems as they grow older. Indoctrination with simple pacifism, the idea that war is bad and peace is good, is futile unless some direction to this conviction is provided, as suggested by the older children quoted above. Alvik in his study also concluded that

rather than applauding undertakings such as children's selling United Nations emblems... we should recommend parents and teachers continuously to help the children to analyze any conflict situation in terms of values fought for, and in terms of what can specifically be done to prevent a conflict or to solve it once it has broken out ... undertakings which deliberately train functions, rather than rely upon the power of words alone to inform children about war as a conflict situation and peace as ... a pattern of active cooperation 6).

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5) Peter Cooper, "The Development of the Concept of War", Journal of Peace Research, 2, 1965, 1-17.

6) Trond Alvik, "The Development of Views on Conflict, War and Peace Among School Children: A Norwegian Case Study", Journal of Peace Research, 5, 1968, 171-95, p. 189.

Fourth, as demonstrated both by the interviews quoted above and by substantial psychological research on attitude development, middle childhood appears to be a period in which there are few preconceptions about the world. For this reason it is likely to be a critical period for attitude formation 7). Lambert and Klineberg 8) in the late 1950's interviewed 3,300 children (aged 6, 10 and 15) from eleven different parts of the world. They concluded, at least for their American sample that children of about 10 years of age were particularly receptive to approaches to foreign people but that this open-mindedness to international understanding declined after that time so that by 14 years of age there was an unfortunate tendency to stereotype people and characteristics of other countries. Jahoda 9) also discovered a considerable difference between the attitudes of young and older children, with the shift beginning at about 10 or 12 years of age in Scottish children. Other research has frequently found the period from ages 7 to about 12 to be a time of great plasticity of attitudes and behaviors. By 13 or 14, the child is more likely to have a fixed perspective about himself, his culture and his country. The lack of such a rigid outlook at age 7 or 8 makes the individual much more receptive to an international or global view. Indeed, an eight-year-old who has seen with the astronauts a view of our planet from outer space may be more capable than his teacher of viewing the world as a single interacting social system.

Piaget, whose work has had a profound effect on education, also suggests reasons why middle childhood may be such a critical period for peace education 10). By seven or eight years of age the child moves into a new and qualitatively different form of cognitive functioning. Egocentrism diminishes and the child becomes able to view the world about him from perspectives other than his own. This ability is important in its relation to social attitudes since the ability to see things from the perspective of another person is probably a necessary prerequisite to acceptance of characteristics of persons from other cultural backgrounds.

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- 7) Judith Torney and Donald Morris, *Global Dimensions of U.S. Education: The Elementary School*. New York: Center for War/Peace Studies, 1972.
  - 8) Wallace E. Lambert and O. Klineberg, *Children's Views of Foreign People*. New York: Appleton-Century, Crofts, 1967.
  - 9) Gustav Jahoda, "Development of Scottish Children's Ideas and Attitudes About Other Countries", *Journal of Social Psychology*, 58, 1962, pp. 91-108.
  - 10) See John Flavell, *The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget*. New York: Van Nostrand, 1963; also John Flavell, Patricia Botkin, and C.L. Fry, *The Development of Role-Taking and Communication Skills in Children*. New York: Wiley, 1968.

The ability to change perspective is also important to an understanding of the moral issues involved in war. Young children, when asked how it is possible to decide who is right and who is wrong when there is a war, comment often that "the one who wins is right". It is only the older children, and we may suspect children who have considerable ability in taking the perspective of others, who give answers such as, "No country is right or wrong. Each one believes that it is right or it wouldn't be fighting. But it depends on your point of view about which is right and which is wrong. Nobody can say for sure who is right."

Attitude research in general and political socialization research in particular suggest that the years between ages 7 and 12 are unique. They come before too many stereotypic attitudes dominate the child's view of the world and are concurrent with the period in which the child's cognitive development is sufficiently advanced to accept a diversity of viewpoints. This is the time when peace education should begin in order to achieve maximum impact.

A final point arising from political socialization research which has a distinct bearing on peace education is the realization that children receive messages from what they see and hear that their teachers, and others with whom they are involved, do not actually intend to convey. Even the fact that controversial issues are avoided in the classroom may tell students more about controversy than a lecture on freedom of speech. The map of the world, especially in versions printed in the United States, is often constructed from a perspective that shows the North and South American continents placed at the center, with the oceans and the other continents serving as borders. This transmits rather effectively (no matter how unintentionally) a particular view of the world.

In conclusion, it should be clear that political socialization research helps to attune us to the various processes by which children acquire social and political attitudes and in doing this points to the need to move away from rote teaching (which assumes that children can understand and assimilate statements of vague ideals) and toward a dynamic process of education which is aware both of intended and unintended meanings in the communication of ideas, makes use of the critical period of attitude development, and gives children an active conception of their role in a world without war.

Brief Descriptions of Selected Organizations with American Base Which Are Conducting Peace Education and International Education Programs

Organizations with Particular Peace Education Functions

American Freedom from Hunger Foundation

1717 H Street N.W., Room 437, Washington, D.C. 20006

Sponsors the world-wide Freedom from Hunger Campaign in the United States. Seeks through a variety of films and other teaching aids to inform the American public about the nature of world hunger problems and the need for technical assistance and other aid programs. Works primarily with private organizations. Their "Walks for Development" have raised funds for such programs both at home and abroad.

American Friends Service Committee

160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

For over fifty years the AFSC has expressed Quaker concerns for peace and world brotherhood through domestic and international programs of service, relief and education. Its domestic programs of peace education and action seek to apply pacifist belief to current war/peace issues.

Center for War/Peace Studies

218 E. 18th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

The Center for War/Peace Studies through an active publication program during the last two years has presented a variety of approaches to peace education programs at the pre-adult level. Their materials also list a variety of other organizations and materials. Particularly useful materials to request are Intercom: A Resource Guide and Program Catalyst on War/Peace Issues- Volume 12, "Education on War, Peace, Conflict, and Change"; Volume 13, "Teaching About War, Peace, Conflict, and Change"; Volume 17, "Teaching About Spaceship Earth", (U.S.- 1.50 Dollar each), also Global Dimensions of U.S. Education ("The Elementary School" by Judith Torney and Donald Morris; "The Secondary School" by James Becker and Maurice East - each 1.50 Dollar).

Institute for World Order

11 West 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10036

An educational organization which seeks to promote an understanding of the role of law in the construction of a peaceful world order. Works principally with schools, colleges and universities and sponsors teacher-training programs, seminars, curriculum conferences and contests.

World Without War Education Fund (Midwest)  
7245 S.Merrill Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60649

Links leaders of a variety of organizations in a planning, catalytic and communications center for work toward a world without war. Regional Councils exist in the Midwest, the Pacific Northwest and California. Conducts programs of peace internships, leadership training, publication, organizational consulting and pre-adult education.

### Professional Organizations

American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education  
One Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036

The AACTE is currently surveying the international dimension of teacher-education programs. Its program development may be summarized as follows: "The aim is not to create another department ... focusing on international studies alone. This is additive in nature and therefore subject not only to the competitive pressures of other components in the program but susceptible to segregation from the mainstream of teacher education, thereby blunting its potential impact. Rather, the major objective is to infuse all teacher education and related general studies activities with an awareness of the multi-faceted, often overlapping relationships and contexts that characterize the modern world."11)

The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development  
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

ASCD has participated in peace education activity under the sponsorship of a World Conference on Education at Asilomar in 1970, a World Curriculum Organization currently under development and a recent yearbook with a focus on peace education.

The National Council for the Social Studies  
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

Each convention of this large organization of social studies teachers, curriculum developers, and university professors includes several sessions organized around the theme of peace. Their 38th Annual Yearbook published in 1968 under the editorship of James Becker was entitled, International Dimensions of Social Studies; frequent articles on related topics appear in their periodical, Social Education.

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11) Frank Klassen, "International Education: Challenge/Response," AACTE Bulletin, 1971, p.3.