

Ain't Gonna Study
War no More:
On Peace Studies



**AIN'T GONNA
STUDY WAR
NO MORE:**
On Peace Studies

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Additional materials collected by the Task Force, including tapes of peace events and speakers, peace studies bibliography, information and syllabi from university peace studies programs are available at the UCCM office in the Clubhouse, Old Union. Additional copies of this publication are available to individuals and institutions at cost at the UCCM office, and have been provided to departments, AIC and other university offices at no charge.

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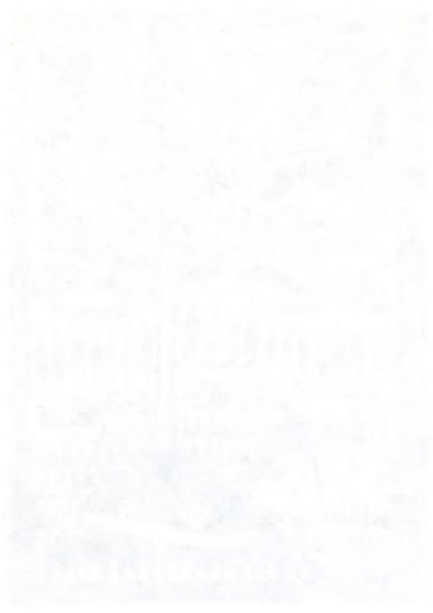
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WHAT IS PEACE STUDIES?

What is peace? Why Study Peace? How to Study Peace?

Letter to the SCIRE Peace Studies Task Force: "I hope that you will not get caught in the widespread misconception that the problem facing us is nuclear weapons. There are also conventional weapons, chemical weapons, biological weapons, bacteriological weapons, etc. Nuclear weapons are not going to go off by themselves. There is no 'nuclear threat.' There is a 'human threat,' what we are going to do to each other if we don't get the right institutions to manage group conflicts so that they don't get violent."

Ronald Glossop, Peace Studies Program at S. Illinois University at Edwardsville

Since 1948 when the first U.S. university peace studies program was established at Manchester College (a Mennonite college), over 100 U.S. colleges and universities have established courses and programs that address the broad field of peace studies. Internationally, there are over 30 institutes and universities that teach undergraduate and graduate level peace studies courses. The U.S. Institute of Peace, established by law by the Congress in 1984, will provide an additional, nationally funded, centralized resource and focus for the development of peace studies.

These institutions have directed their attention to the questions: What is peace? Why study peace? and How to study peace? They have developed courses, majors, programs and special institutes in what is broadly called Peace Studies, an emerging field that includes study of the concept of peace in literature, history, and ethics; theories and practice of non-violence; theories and practice of conflict resolution on all levels of conflict (interpersonal, local, national and global); education in global issues (including environment, food distribution, development); history of peace and war; futures studies; and arms control and disarmament within these contexts, not merely as "technical" issues. Many universities are including these subjects by "infusion" into the traditional curriculum, rather than by specialized courses, departments or programs.

Most of the programs were developed in the 1970s (Colgate University was the first U.S. college to establish a chair of peace studies, in 1970); several in the 60s and many in the 80s. All over the country and the world in the 80s, peace and nuclear education issues are being discussed, debated and implemented in curricula for colleges and universities, as well as primary and secondary schools. Educators are turning their attention to this critical survival issue. The curriculum resources that have been developed are impressive.

The SCIRE Peace Studies Task Force contacted these programs for information about their efforts: how they came to develop their programs; how they structured and funded their work; what courses they included; and what issues they addressed. Sixty-nine programs sent information on their curricula; fourteen of these sent syllabus materials. Two of the programs are chiefly defense/arms control focus. Fourteen of the programs place primary focus on global studies, futures studies and/or international relations in their peace studies curricula; they include conflict resolution and peace history courses as well. Eleven of the programs require action/field research or internships for the major. Five of the programs make explicit curriculum links between levels of violence—interpersonal, domestic, national and international.

Most of the programs are funded by the college or university, although some are funded by endowments. Three of the responding sixty-nine programs cited an administrative structure that included students, faculty and staff: California State at Sacramento's program is co-administered by faculty and students, as is Manchester and the University of Missouri at Columbia (which is co-administered by twelve students and twelve faculty).

Many of the programs had optimistic reports, with stable, even growing enrollments. Some were experiencing the kinds of reduced growth or institutional support that Black and Women's Studies have experienced in the 80s. But all were enthusiastic about the field and assessed its importance as critical.

Here, we would like to summarize some of the information we received, and discuss the approaches of the different programs. Extensive information is available in the Task Force files in the UCCM office in the Old Union. Additional sample course syllabi are available in the excellent publication by the World Policy Institute, its fourth edition of *Peace and World Studies: A Curriculum Guide*.

Definition(s) of Peace, Peace Studies

Fundamental to a discipline is the establishment and definition of key terms and the objective and focus of study. For peace studies, this involves consideration of the key terms of peace, conflict and conflict resolution, and global education. These are the primary foci of peace studies programs. Among the goals of a liberal arts education—and certainly the primary goal of peace studies—is the challenge of understanding and managing human conflict on interpersonal, community, national and global levels. Peace studies, as an emerging discipline, uses the content and methodologies of the traditional disciplines to explore issues of human behavior, peace and war, conflict resolution, global futures, and other related subjects.

Peace studies include, in nearly all the established programs, a consideration of causes, characteristics and levels of conflict (and "grounds" for conflict) in the global environment. They draw economics, food distribution, environmental and urban studies, ethnic and women's studies, ethics, religion, philosophy, history and the arts, among other disciplines, into the research. While nearly all peace studies programs include arms control and disarmament coursework, most peace studies researchers find an arms control focus alone too limiting and insufficiently concerned with finding ways of understanding and alleviating the root causes of violence and threats of violence as part of international policy.

Peace studies is an "integrative approach to the study of peace and conflict, with the objective of defining and working

toward possible avenues for establishing lasting peace and social justice. It addresses the major problems of war, injustice, poverty, hunger and ecological deterioration, and it explores the social, psychological, economic and religious forces in social change. Further, it includes the study of biology, ecology and technology to provide a perspective on the evolutionary capacities of the human species." (UC Berkeley, Peace Studies)

Peace studies touch on virtually every area of knowledge and all the academic disciplines. "On some campuses it is confined to only a few fields; on others it is broadly interdisciplinary. Programs identify themselves under a wide variety of titles: peace education, global studies, human rights, conflict management/resolution, world order models, history of peace movements, peaceful change, alternative models and nonviolence. Most of these have a special subject focus and thus merit their distinctive classification . . . a few programs may deliberately avoid the word peace in an effort to create a value-free climate." (University of Akron *International Peace Studies Newsletter*, Fall 1985).

"It is no small task to change thousands of years of belief that more weapons mean more security. Yet that is our task."
Manchester College

Yet, the "climate" of peace studies is clearly not value-free. Peace—and the word is given a multiplicity of meanings beyond the mere absence of war—is perceived as a good, as a positive value. The goal of peace studies is to understand levels of conflict in human interaction and in the interaction of human systems, with the purpose of resolving or managing that conflict nonviolently for the common (global) good. "While peace studies must be academically 'objective,' it cannot be morally neutral . . . Peace studies is *for* peace and life and *against* violence and injustice. Although this moral 'bias' may sometimes affect the objectivity of research . . . it is, nevertheless, a posture that is essential to the peace studies enterprise." (Fahey, Manhattan College)

As an emerging multi/inter-disciplinary field, peace studies is encountering problems associated with focus, definition, and bias (as in the above-noted values framework). Neither its supporters nor its critics are unaware of these challenges or potential problems. Among other questions, they ask: How shall we define peace? What disciplines can be utilized (for both content and methodology) to define and study peace? Can peace studies be "isolated" within the curriculum as a special field? —and if it cannot, what problems does it face as a discipline?

Problems in Defining Peace

M. Andrew Murray, head of the Juniata College Peace Studies Program, writes about his concerns for the credibility and direction for the developing discipline: "Peace and Conflict Studies . . . is a relatively new discipline. Although some individual scholars . . . were doing important research before the end of World War II, it was not until 1948 that the first academic program in the U.S. was developed at Manchester College. . . . Since then there has been a steady growth in the number of colleges and universities that offer some kind of coursework in peace studies or peace research, but there has not been commensurate with that growth a strengthening of the discipline's theoretical underpinnings. The result is a general lack of direction, especially related to the place Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) occupies in a larger academic curriculum. There is widespread agreement that PACS should be inter-disciplinary and that it should deal with issues related to human welfare. Beyond that there is a great deal of drifting."

"Part of the reason for this has been a lack of attention to some fundamental issues related to the nature of peace. What does peace mean? Can we know its causes? Is it attainable? Is it desirable? These questions have been generously debated but not with systematic attention to the basic philosophical and theological framework within which such discussion takes place . . . Conflict is defined not as the opposite of peace but rather as a social process which is necessary, in its regulated forms, for establishing and maintaining peace. Whereas some traditional approaches see peace and conflict as fields that must be given equal attention for the sake of objectivity, this approach sees conflict as the primary field of inquiry and peace as a value which gives impetus to the study."

"Indeed, it is precisely the richness of the word peace that makes it at once problematic and useful. Part of the work of the PACS discipline may be to nurture a continuing discourse on the meaning of peace, not so much to find an agreeable definition but to involve the academic community in the task of searching for a fuller understanding of peace . . . as a dynamic and complex state."

Goals of Peace Studies Programs

The objectives of peace studies programs are at once concrete and abstract, pragmatic and idealistic:

"The goal is to challenge the university community to confront the nature of war and injustice, explore alternatives to these problems, and to construct new institutions and values which encourage peaceful relationships among individuals, groups

continued next page

NO TIME

Adele Smith Simmons is the president of Hampshire College. She made these remarks at a symposium sponsored by the American Council on Education, the Association of American Colleges and Hobart and William Smith Colleges, 1982.

"College faculty members and administrators, amid budget meetings and lobbying efforts, are beginning to think—and to encourage undergraduates to think—about war, peace, and the future of the world.

The reasons for making such topics part of the college curriculum are several: They can be analyzed from the perspective of virtually every discipline; they provide the opportunity to apply pedagogical approaches long favored but little used; and if tomorrow's citizens ignore or shirk from examining them, all else we teach may go up in smoke.

Everything we intend to teach students through general education—to challenge basic assumptions and reach their own conclusions, to think analytically and critically, to approach a new question or area of knowledge without fear, to look at an issue from many points of view, and to be active participants in their education—can be approached through the study of peace and war.

In the study of war and peace, social scientists, humanists, and scientists can all find issues central to their disciplines. Broad theoretical questions arise in a discussion of the scope and limits of the use of force, or of what constitutes global security.

Some say the subject of war and peace is too emotional and complicated for undergraduate study. However, students are becoming politically active and are beginning to organize to challenge the actions of the government and of corporations involved in weapons production. We are all better off if such students are informed.

Subjects with a high emotional charge can provide the basis for sound teaching. In a course I taught five years ago on South African history, my role was to oblige the students to recognize and challenge the intense emotions they brought to the subject and to look at all sides of the issues. . . .

TO WAIT

A certain mystique has grown up around the fields essential to understanding the issues of peace and war, cultivated in part by the experts in those fields. Those of us who are nonexperts have encouraged the mystique by responding, 'We leave it to you,' to the experts who say the subject is too complicated.

In a democratic society, colleges have a responsibility to prepare nonspecialists to exercise informed judgment about such questions . . . Undergraduates are ready and able to take on the study of peace and war. What about the faculty and the administrators?

I believe every college should have at least one interdisciplinary course on war and peace. . . . Beyond that, students can pursue the subject through work in the disciplines. At most colleges this will mean constructing an independent major, since few campuses have programs in this area. In addition to courses specifically geared to such a program, faculty members can incorporate units of study on war and peace into a multitude of other courses, as they now do with women's and environmental studies.

In recent years college leaders have been reluctant to speak out on topics other than those related directly to their own institutions. . . . We are all familiar with the arguments against our taking political positions—and yet we recognize the absurdity of carrying that prohibition to the extreme of remaining silent about blatant violations of human rights.

I believe that we can provide leadership in the search for a saner world without compromising ourselves or our institutions . . . At the very least we have an obligation to provide an environment that encourages the examination of the issues before us. . . . It is our responsibility to place the issues of war and peace squarely in the center of the academic institution. It is irresponsible and dangerous to allow the subject to percolate slowly through all the layers of academic respectability before it can become part of the curriculum. In this nuclear age, we don't have time to wait."

Adele Smith Simmons

and nations. (Boston College Program for the Study of Peace and War)

" . . . Our generation and succeeding generations can no longer take human survival for granted. . . . Peaceful methods must become the essential means of resolving the differences . . . that spring up among and between groups and nations. . . . We believe that war, like another old and deeply-rooted institution once considered immutable—chattel slavery, is subject to change and that war can be replaced by other modes of resolving conflict. We hold that higher education . . . has a major responsibility for human survival as well as for improvement of the quality of life. We conclude that innovative programs for the study of peace and war (as well as, at a minimum, of life and environment) must be undertaken by colleges and universities." (Cal State, Sacramento)

"Peace science is concerned with the study of the causes of conflict and its resolution for the purpose of creating the underlying intellectual and material basis for more humane and just forms of social organizations." (University of Pennsylvania Peace Studies Program)

"Above all, peace studies is a 'problem-centered' discipline. It is based on the conviction that education must respond to the great social problems of our (or any) age through a multidisciplinary analysis. . . . Further, as with all new courses of study, peace studies is very much an experimental discipline, and its parameters and methodologies have been established through trial and error—and sometimes by accident" (Fahey, Manhattan College Peace Studies Program)

These goals are truly ambitious and complex: peace, human survival, a new world order. The admitted multiplicity of meanings of peace, the interdisciplinary content, and the values environment do open the field to the kind of criticism leveled against the New York University Peace Studies program by Herbert London (*New York Times*, March '85. London is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute, a public policy organization, author of the book *Military Doctrine and the American Character*, and Dean of the Gallatin Division at NYU.)

Criticism of Peace Studies Programs

London raises three basic objections to peace studies programs: that they are unfocused, unacademic and biased. He alleges that the accredited minor program in Peace Studies at NYU, as a model of peace studies programs in general, is primarily a place for liberals with no background in military affairs to indoctrinate students to a cause, with the purpose of

mobilizing student support for the instructors' peace agenda. He accuses the program of lacking representation of diverse and opposing viewpoints, and of providing one-sided curriculum materials.

"There have been similar movements in higher education . . . this one threatens to spill over into the political arena, where half-educated students filled with moral indignation become a lobbying group for a particular brand of peace crusade . . . In the 1920s, people who taught such nonsense at least had the courage to define their position as pacifism. Their views didn't masquerade as a new scholarly discipline. Now, however, some scholarship is in retreat before the onslaught of such religious zealots. My fear is that they will further reduce the efficacy of some scholarship and might even give peace a bad name." (*New York Times*, 3-5-85)

Eight faculty from the NYU Peace Studies Program responded, pointing out the structured integration of the variety of disciplines represented, the diversity of backgrounds, experience, and political orientations of the faculty, and the fact that opposing viewpoints were represented in the curriculum, no less so than in other university programs or departments. The program had overwhelming faculty support, having passed with only one dissenting vote.

In response to London's charge of bias, it should also be noted that the curricula of peace studies programs are meant to correct an existing imbalance within the university curriculum at large, which lacks the peace studies focus, in much the same way as ethnic and women's studies programs were developed to provide a balance. Program faculty also strive to provide a balance within the peace studies curriculum itself by including information on arms control, and analysis of conflict and war from the point of view of more traditional history and international studies curricula. Peace studies scholars are conscious of criticisms such as those of Mr. London, and are working to overcome them.

In order to help new peace studies programs successfully combine their goals into sound academic programs, the Consortium of Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED) have identified five key areas of investigation that at present constitute the problems and opportunities associated with peace education and research. "It should be stressed here that the five concerns . . . are the results of a phenomenological investigation of the current art of peace education: they are not normative and we must still be open to new problem areas . . ." They are: 1) war, peace, the arms race, and disarmament, 2) social and economic justice, 3) conflict resolution/management, 4) philosophies and strategies of nonviolence, 5) world order. (Fahey, Manhattan College)

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Approaches to Peace Studies Curricula

Following three basic orientations towards the same goals, educators in peace studies programs across the country are developing curricula in global studies, futures and change, and conflict resolution to prepare teachers and their students for coping with the difficult issues of living in the nuclear age. Some are also re-evaluating traditional approaches to teaching and learning.

Global Education for Survival

In 1984 COPRED (Consortium of Peace Research, Education and Development) conducted a survey of teacher education programs regarding what kinds of peace, nuclear war and global issues coursework they included. Curricula generally focused increased attention to 'global perspectives,' 'nuclear war education,' and 'conflict resolution.' The newly developed curricula were designed to address the problem of the rarity of school curricula "that adequately confronts the social, economic, political, military, and ecological consequences of global interdependence. Education . . . will need to prepare future citizens with . . . what has been called a global perspective . . . that recognition that one's world view is not universally shared, that it is shaped by surroundings and influences which often escape detection, and that others have their own world view."

As we have observed, global education and peace studies proponents see the development of curricula as a matter of survival, not just as an academic issue.

"At the University of Iowa, this writer and others are now actively working to develop a full-scale human survival or world order curriculum through which we hope to expand the horizons and talents of our graduate and undergraduate students in service to a more peaceful and just world. . . . We are sensitive to the fact that there is no unitary approach to the manner in which one educates in this realm. . . . But innovate and revise we must. . . . Genuinely to commit ourselves to an educational process that holds out at least the potential for heightened sensitivity to the preciousness of life and to the possibilities for upgrading human existence is the fundamental priority of our time. . . . Education for human survival is not just desirable; it is absolutely necessary. . . ."

"It needs emphasizing that an optimal human survival curriculum, or what I choose to call 'world order education,' would be at once innovative and traditional in its approach to internationally oriented instruction. It would be innovative because it would emphasize global perspectives, interdisciplinary analyses, and futuristic thinking, and it would be traditional because, in total keeping with

'the compleat liberal education,' it would be centrally concerned with the meaning, value, and improvement of life as a whole."

"The four problem areas of a human survival or world order education are: war prevention, social/political justice, material well-being, and environmental protection. . . ." Key terms addressed in world order education are 'globalism,' 'interdisciplinary problem solving,' 'futurism' and 'policy-oriented analysis.' By globalism is meant the development of a global or world-view of problems—a broader view than the customary and isolating nationalism/internationalism. By interdisciplinary problem solving is meant the development and application of problem solving skills drawing upon a variety of relevant disciplines. It is a counterpart in problem solving to the broader view of globalism. By futurism is meant not only planning for the future, but planning of the future to meet global goals. Finally, by policy-oriented analysis is meant a commitment to problem-solving and analysis within an integrative view of potentially competing value systems or policy goals. "A human survival or world order education would encourage students to draw from the various disciplines and to venture and test solutions. . . ."

Peace and Change: Preparation for the Future

In addition to a global perspective, the survey found interest among curriculum specialists for developing coursework dealing with issues of change in world systems:

"It is also necessary to understand that the control of change is a central problem of our era. The interrelationships and complexities of our social system make such control difficult. . . . Understanding change can give hints as to how we can control it. . . . Teacher education can serve as a link between colleges and universities where new knowledge on the causes and consequences of war, peace, and world change processes is generated, and the schools where this knowledge can be translated into cognitive and effective education. . . ."

Conflict Resolution in the Peace Studies Curriculum

Conflict resolution has a key position in peace studies curricula. Neil Katz, Director of the Program on Nonviolent Conflict and Change at Syracuse University remarks (using a perhaps inappropriate metaphor): "There's an explosion of interest in conflict resolution in academia." Another peace studies researcher comments that "the need for peacemaking and conflict resolution has become more pressing. In our world, conflict is a growth industry. . . . We are trying to develop new theories of why conflict erupts and how it is

resolved, as well as a body of techniques to be used in settling disputes. . . ."

"As it becomes clearer that military solutions are no longer viable responses to international conflict in the nuclear age, there will be greater recognition of the need for individuals skilled in resolving conflict nonviolently. . . . in domestic, industrial, social and cross-cultural contexts. Students need to learn these conflict resolution skills if they are to have a peaceable future.

One educator remarks, "In workshops with teachers and administrators I frequently ask whether disarmament has ever taken place in the past. The majority usually answer 'no.' . . . Occasionally someone will cite Japan. No one has yet mentioned. . . . Iceland. Most recognize, when reminded, that the U.S.-Canadian border must have been disarmed sometime between the War of 1812 and the present, but no teacher in my workshops yet has been able to describe how it happened. All, however, can recall vivid details from the War of 1812. . . . The result of the overemphasis on war is a sense of confusion and hopelessness in a generation which sees that war is no longer a meaningful alternative. . . . People who have studied the history of the world without once reading about disarmament, or conflicts which were resolved through nonviolent action, or peaceful and successful means of coping with hostile neighbors, or any details of peacemaking processes, are naturally skeptical about the prospects for disarmament. In addition, they are too often unskilled in the processes. When they think about it, most people recognize that military deterrence is not the only thing that keeps nations from attacking each other, but few have ever thought about it. . . ."

Universities must become the focal points . . . to re-educate man to reverse his age-long tendency to resort to war. . . . and establish a new world order.
Ohio University, John and Elizabeth Baker Peace Studies Endowment

"A lot of researchers are doing comparative work—identifying and looking at the data from social science and behavioral science on aggression, international studies of diplomacy and foreign affairs, labor management and collective bargaining, family and neighborhood dispute-resolution, and environmental conflicts. Scholars are drawing on all of these areas to come up with common denominators involved in conflict resolution, including ways of preventing conflicts from erupting. . . . No single paradigm has emerged—nor is likely, given the complexities and levels" (Roger Fisher, *Law Harvard*).

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Peace Studies

Efforts

at Stanford:

History

and Future

Individual and departmental involvement in peace studies cannot substitute for a center where scholars and students are given the opportunity for intensive, interdisciplinary work.—Peter Frank

The History of Stanford's Peace Studies Task Force

Many colleges and universities have established peace studies programs to study the history, philosophy, ethics and psychology of peace and conflict resolution, and global issues and futures. Because of increasing student and faculty interest in developing events, speakers series, guest professorships and courses on peace issues at Stanford, an ad hoc task force on peace studies was formed in academic year 1981-82. The Student Center for Innovation in Research and Education (SCIRE) informally supported the task force by providing resources and staff time. The task force was coordinated through United Campus Christian Ministries, (UCCM), and included students, faculty, and community members. It was established to explore peace studies issues and curricula at Stanford. Another group, Peace Education at Stanford (PEAS), was also formed to provide a forum for discussing peace issues, and to aid the task force.

Leenda Gonzalez, student co-director of SCIRE 1981-82, was a member of the task force. She expressed her concern over the issue when she said, "There is a notion running around the hallowed halls of Stanford that could kill you. This notion suggests that peace is extracurricular." Other people who shared her concern came together to try to establish peace studies as an academic issue at Stanford. They began by studying how other universities had designed and implemented

their programs and by seeing what courses and resources Stanford already offered in this area.

During the same year, Peter Frank, Curator for the Germanic Collections in the Stanford Library, and member of the task force, submitted a proposal to President Donald Kennedy for the creation of the David Starr Jordan Center for Peace Research and Conflict Resolution at Stanford (Jordan, a pacifist, was the first president of Stanford). In his proposal, Frank strongly urged for a center specifically dealing with peace studies. He stated:

"I know of course, that some departments are offering courses in the area of peace research, arms control, etc., and that some groups are active in this field too. But this cannot substitute for a center where scholars and students are given the opportunity for intensive, interdisciplinary work. Problems abound which cannot be solved by thinking only in traditional terms of power politics."

While President Kennedy supported the idea, he informed Peter Frank that such a proposal had to come from a faculty committee and go through the necessary channels before any action could be taken. With this recommendation in mind, Frank contacted Byron Bland, Deane Haskins and other members of the informal Peace Studies Task Force. Together they joined forces and met with then Provost Al Hastorf to discuss the possibilities of a Peace Studies program at Stanford. Provost Hastorf agreed with Kennedy that they should begin by exploring the interest among faculty members for such a program. As a result, the task force began meeting regularly with interested faculty and succeeded in forming the first interdisciplinary peace studies class which was offered in 1983-84 and sponsored by the departments of political science, sociology, history, and psychology.

The course was again offered the following year and is planned for subsequent years. However, the faculty and others involved in the planning of the class felt they needed to do more serious research in the field. Important questions had been left unanswered, such as "What is peaceful behavior, and how is it studied/developed? In an attempt to study these questions and plan for future courses, they set up a faculty seminar in 1984-85 where such questions could be discussed.

In academic year 1984-85, SCIRE was able to devote staff time to the issue of peace studies, and the Policy Board agreed to formally sponsor a peace studies task force to continue the work of the earlier informal task force, support the new interdisciplinary peace studies class, and provide additional resources to students and

faculty, including new peace-related academic projects and accredited internships with peace agencies. The task force provided funding for the student/community group, Peace Education at Stanford (PEAS) for its newsletter and began updating the research done by the informal task force in 1981-82. The task force wrote to over 100 U.S. colleges and universities to learn about how they began their peace studies programs or majors, how they were funded and administered, and what courses they included in their curricula. The task force compared existing programs' curricula with courses and other resources at Stanford. It polled students and faculty for their interest in peace studies, and collected suggestions for visiting faculty in peace studies. Enrollment in the peace studies class, membership in peace groups and involvement of students in organizing around nuclear energy, nuclear weapons, third world development, apartheid, involvement in non-violence training for demonstrations at Livermore Lab and Diablo Canyon, and attendance at the UCCM series on international perspectives on peace were all steadily increasing. These and other factors convinced the task force that student interest was ready for peace studies in some format—if not a major or special program, at least new coursework, research and internships.

There is a notion running around the hallowed halls of Stanford that could kill you. This notion suggests that peace is extracurricular.

— Leenda Gonzalez

Because of the restructuring of the Extradepartmental Programs in spring quarter '85 which eliminated the SCIRE program, the task force sought a new administrative sponsor so that it could continue its work in 1985 - '86. Several departments and programs were contacted as potential task force sponsors. The German Studies Department voted to endorse the task force, expressing the hope that other departments would follow suit. Its endorsement was a statement of support but implied no administrative or financial help. PEAS and UCCM will continue the work of the task force, as part of their regular programming.

We invite people in the Stanford community interested in continuing the work of the Peace Studies Task Force to contact Byron Bland at UCCM (Clubhouse, Old Union, 497-3114) or leave a note in the PEAS box at SOS to express your interest in being part of an ongoing group to encourage the continuation of peace studies research and activities at Stanford.

continued next page

Future task force activities:

- support peace research, internships for undergraduates/graduate students;
- support continuation of the interdisciplinary peace studies course;
- encourage development of additional peace-related courses, through the new Innovative Academic Courses (which includes SWOPSI, Undergraduate Specials and Frosh and Soph Seminars) as well as in the departmental curricula;
- provide information about current peace-related resources in the library system;
- provide resources for students interested in integrating peace-related courses, internships, research projects into their plans for a self-designed major;
- continue to explore the idea of a peace studies program or major at Stanford;
- help to arrange sponsorship for public events, speakers series and visiting faculty on peace-related issues;
- continue to build a tape library of peace events and speakers;
- continue networking with community groups involved in peace issues, including planning for the U.S. Institute of Peace and the National Peace Institute Foundation.

Call for Resources: Visiting Faculty, Events

The Peace Studies Task Force would like reactions to this publication and suggestions for additions to our peace resource listings here and in the UCCM office. Of special interest to us are suggestions for visiting faculty in the field of peace and/or conflict resolution. During the first year of the task force, we had strong positive response from students polled for their interest in having Stanford invite guest professors to offer a course or lecture series on peace issues, to supplement the regular curriculum. Names that were suggested by students and faculty polled included: Kenneth and Elise Boulding (from Dartmouth), Gene Sharp (from Harvard), Elmore Jackson, Adame Curle, Marge Franz (from UC Santa Cruz) and peace scholar Johan Galtung. One future goal for the task force may be to raise funds for visiting peace studies faculty, since the SCIRE funding for the task force has primarily been used for its research, this publication and small donations to PEAS and UCCM.

Peace Studies at Stanford

If you are a student, there are a variety of ways you can explore issues in peace, including volunteer activities or integrating peace studies into your academic work. The task force makes the following suggestions:

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Peace-Related Courses at Stanford

We began our research by looking through the *Courses and Degrees* (1984-85) to identify courses which we thought fit within the discipline of peace studies, as it is defined by the over 100 university programs within the U.S. which have established such programs or majors. The task force settled on a broad definition adopted by the Columbia Delegation to the Academic Committee of Ivy League Conference in 1979 which states:

"Peace Studies is an interdisciplinary, cross-cultural study of human society which aims to understand lethal or violent conflict on the one hand, and on the other, aims to understand the requirements for attaining a just and stable world community. Peace Studies is a problem-oriented, rather than a discipline-oriented specialty. This has been true originally for a number of other disciplines, e.g. anthropology, international relations, etc. Peace Studies incorporates a number of well established specialties, e.g. the study of arms control, disarmament, non-violence, world order models, peace movements, political systems, cultural movements, future systems, and conflict resolution. However, Peace Studies must move beyond these specialties: there is virtually no area of human knowledge which does not have something to contribute to our understanding of the principles and methods by which we may create a peaceful world."

We looked for courses covering three broad subject areas relevant to peace studies: global education, futures and change, and conflict resolution as well as general history, philosophy, economic theory, etc. that dealt with these issues. We wrote to the faculty teaching those courses asking if they thought their course was appropriate to peace studies. For the complete list of courses check the UCCM office in Old Union.

From the hundred professors we queried, twenty-three responded that they considered their courses as related to peace; we dropped a few from our list at the request of faculty who felt that the course content was not relevant—or that the course was relevant but no longer offered. Many expressed uncertainty as to the usefulness of the broad, inclusive

definition of "peace-related" we were using. We decided to stay with the model of existing peace studies programs in defining clusters of relevant courses in different disciplines. We felt that the content of the courses listed provided relevant information even if not self-described by the instructor as within the realm of peace studies. Consequently we have listed a wide range of the courses under the rubric "appropriate background/content" for peace studies. Using this definition, we composed a list of undergraduate courses from every relevant department. With a "core" peace studies course to provide a context, and individual research projects or internships in peace studies issues, these "cluster" courses would give the undergraduate a discipline (such as economics, history) and analytical tools for describing for example, the economics, history, or psychology of war and peace. Most courses we chose are in the social sciences and humanities; however, within this area there are a multitude of departments offering a great variety of courses covering a wide spectrum of topics within peace studies. The primary departments offering appropriate courses are anthropology, economics, history, political science, psychology, and sociology, although others offer relevant courses.

The anthropology department offers ten related courses. The courses deal with the culture and dynamics of non-western societies. Their inclusion in the list stems from the global education perspective of most peace studies programs. Professor Renato Rosaldo indicated a willingness to consider faculty sponsorship of undergraduate research in peace studies.

Economics is an important discipline in peace studies since international (and national) politics are often based on economic considerations. The current debt crisis in Latin America and the U.S., for example, is a complex issue which has raised considerable international tension. This topic might be studied from three different vantage points. For one theoretical understanding of the problem, a course is offered on the "Theory of Capitalist Development" For studying the global economic system, especially foreign loans, one might take "The International Banking System." And finally, courses dealing specifically with one region are offered such as "The Economics of Development in Latin America." Professor Reynolds expressed particular interest in sponsoring peace-related research. His primary research is in the area of industry and economic interdependence between the U.S. and Central America.

The history department offers over twenty appropriate courses. The bulk of these courses explore the causes and effects of conflict whether nationally, as in the case of civil war, or internationally, in

global conflicts. For example, courses are offered on the Spanish Civil War and the Russian Revolution. Other courses examine such topics as the history of physics, and of the atom bomb, as these have changed the nature and scope of conflict. Finally, although no courses specifically on the peace movement are offered, the department does teach courses on the women's movement, the sixties protests and black politics, where discussions of political protest and organizing could be extrapolated to the history of the peace movement. Professor Barton Bernstein of the department is one of the instructors of the interdisciplinary peace studies class.

We made several choices from the political science department, which cross-lists the interdisciplinary peace studies class. The majority of the courses we have listed concentrate on the western world, especially on the superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union. While most courses examine particular countries and periods, others concentrate on broader, more theoretical issues such as "The Political and Ethical Aspects of Foreign Policy." Professors Robert North and Charles Drekmeier are both instructors in the peace studies course.

The eight courses chosen within the psychology department deal with the personal psychology of aggression and conflict. There is an undergraduate seminar titled "Aggression." The other courses fall into the categories of personal and social development, decision-making, and perceptions and stereotypes. These courses might help the student to understand the individual, social and psychological bases for conflict. The two professors responding to the survey who were interested in working with undergraduates in peace-related issues were Profs. Quattrone and Bandura. Professor Lee Ross is an instructor in the peace studies course.

The sociology department offers approximately fifteen appropriate courses. We chose courses that dealt with the sociology of conflict and conflict resolution. We tried to include a broad range of social relationships from interpersonal relationships to large social movements. Two faculty members who expressed interest in sponsoring undergraduate peace-related research are Professors Inkeles and Cornell.

Other departments, such as feminist studies, communication, german studies, philosophy public policy, urban studies, EDGE, the arms control program, the Law School, the School of Education and the Food Research Institute also have appropriate courses. The department of communication offers a course titled "International Communication: Structures and Issues" which is important for understanding how countries communicate (or fail to communicate) with each other. The

courses within the School of Education focus on international development, especially with regard to education. Feminist studies offers a course on feminism and social policy.

The Food Research Institute's courses relate to equitable food distribution, which has been a factor in national and international conflict. Religious studies offers courses on religious ethics. Finally, the philosophy department offers a number of courses on ethics and public morality and war.

While our listing covers degree-granting programs, extradepartmental programs such as SWOPSI, Undergraduate Specials, and Frosh/Sophomore Seminars may also offer courses relating to peace studies. These programs (now part of the Innovative Academic Courses program in H&S) also offer students, faculty, staff and community members the opportunity to develop and teach new, interdisciplinary and experimental courses which supplement the departmental curriculum.

Several appropriate courses are interdisciplinary in content and taught by faculty from several departments. EDGE (Ethics of Development in a Global Environment) is one such program, with faculty from political science, the School of Education, and engineering. Together they seek to cover the many-faceted problems of third world development in the international system. A course offered by the Law School and open to undergraduates examines legal systems in radically different cultures. Another program is VTSS (Values and Technology in Science and Society) which attempts to analyze such matters as the effect of technology on social systems. In addition, the Arms Control and Disarmament program provides relevant coursework taught by faculty from several disciplines.

The Peace Studies class is the only interdisciplinary course dealing specifically with peace issues. It is taught by professors Sandy Dornbusch of sociology; Lincoln Moses of statistics; Barton Bernstein of history; Bernie Roth of ME; Byron Bland, a minister for United Campus Christian Ministries; Lee Ross from Psychology; Charles Drekmeier and Robert North from Political Science, and other faculty and graduate students. The course is designed for non-specialists who desire knowledge of international conflict, the arms race, and world peace movements. The history of peace initiatives and peacemakers, ranging from Gandhi to social movements to Utopian conceptions of peace, also are examined. The lectures are supplemented by weekly two-hour discussion sections. Undergraduates interested in peace-related research or independent projects might contact the faculty teaching the class to explore ideas for individual study or research.



The majority of peace-related courses at Stanford focus on the causes and effects of war. Few courses ask the question: "How can war be prevented, and what alternatives are possible?" As one peace educator states:

"Young people seem to be intuitively aware that the civilization of which they are a part is rapidly approaching its limits. And they have no image of any future for a society at the limits except collapse. The content and structure of the American educational system not only omits almost all knowledge relevant to a system, at the limits, but develops habits of inquiry which make hopeful alternatives invisible. The limits to our present world order seem quite vivid to students' intuitive perceptions, but they are very rarely mentioned in most school curricula. More significant and more disturbing, the knowledge and concepts which could form the basis of a hopeful vision of the future fall through the cracks in the present curriculum. Most importantly, students need to see examples of non-violent change and conflict resolution. They need to see that they can become peacemakers." (Barbara Stanford, *Thinking Beyond the Limits*)

This is a challenge for peace studies in general, and no less at Stanford University; as a relatively new discipline, the kind of research which seeks to provide solutions to conflicts in the nuclear age is just beginning. Despite this drawback, we believe that Stanford does offer a good, solid spectrum of courses relevant to peace studies; student and faculty interest; and potential for developing new programs, all of which could serve as the basis for a formal peace studies program or center, should Stanford decide to establish one in the future. For now, we hope that the existing interdisciplinary peace studies class will continue to be improved, and possibly expanded to include a second quarter of coursework and/or research or fieldwork.

For specific course listings, see "Selected Stanford Courses," page 26.

Interview with Peter Frank

My peace related activities originated from the lessons of WWII, one of which was the disturbing example of German academics who stayed in Germany during the Nazi years. Many felt it was their duty as good patriots to support the regime, others were complying silently. There was a remarkable lack of civil courage at a time when protests were still possible. This is a warning I will never forget.

Peter Frank is Curator of the Germanic Collections at Stanford libraries. A German veteran of World War II and a committed peace activist, Peter Frank has taught courses through the German Studies Department on the roles of prejudice and stereotypes in nationalism and warfare. The interview was conducted by Teresa Rodriguez, a member of SCIRE's Peace Studies Task Force.

Rodriguez: You said you served during WWII with the Nazis. Can you tell us more about it?

Frank: I was drafted by the German army in 1942 and trained as a medical orderly and sent to the battle zone near Anzio/Nettuno, Italy. The war was short for my unit. We were soon captured by American troops. I was held in prisoner-of-war camps in North Africa, Louisiana, Wisconsin, and Michigan until 1946. Then I was released to my hometown Vienna, Austria. Coming back to Europe, I saw cities looking like skeletons, bombed and burnt out, and the suffering and misery of the survivors. Suddenly I was confronted with the horror and destruction of modern warfare.

After 1945, I as well as many other Germans had to face the truth: That our country had unleashed total war, destroying large parts of Europe, murdering dissidents and six million Jews. Using Jews and Communists as scapegoats for all the evil of the world, the Nazis had boosted the ego of the Germans with the glory of a new nationalism and a feeling of supremacy, which was and still is so attractive to young people. The war didn't begin in 1939. It started already years before in the minds of the people. The same technique is still used now all over the world, in different contexts and by different means. From this experience I became interested in the background of this process: aggression and violence, prejudice and national stereotypes, the role of communication and the media.

Rodriguez: When did you come to Stanford and what peace-related activities have you been doing since then?

Frank: I came to Stanford in 1967 when I was appointed Curator of the Germanic Collections at the library. I have also been a lecturer at the German Studies department. There I taught courses about the national prejudices and stereotypes ("the" Americans and "the" Germans), among others. Except for a two-year period when I moved back to Germany to become editor-in-chief of the S. Fisher Verlag, I have been at Stanford since then.

My peace related activities originated from the lessons of WWII. The threat of ever more terrible weaponry forced me to think about the causes of conflicts and wars. More important was probably the disturbing example of German academics who stayed in Germany during the Nazi years. Many felt it was their duty as good patriots to support the regime, others were complying silently. There was a remarkable lack of civil courage at a time when protests were still possible. This is a warning I will never forget. Thus, I became involved at Stanford with many of my colleagues, faculty and students in the anti-war movement during the Vietnam War. Later I proposed a Center for Peace Studies and participated in the faculty Peace Studies seminar. I lectured at the newly founded Austrian Center for Peace Research, and I took part in the publication of PEAS newsletter and in the SCIRE task force.

Rodriguez: Can you give us a little bit of background on the David Starr Jordan Peace Center proposal you presented to President Donald Kennedy?

Frank: In January 1981 I sent a proposal to President Kennedy suggesting the establishment of a David Starr Jordan Center for Peace Studies and Research at Stanford. I was soon contacted and supported by Byron Bland, UCCM (United Campus Christian Ministries), and Perry French of the Physicians for Social Responsibility. Both had already been working for similar goals. We joined forces and went to see Provost Hastorf. He suggested we start out with a faculty seminar for Peace Studies. Out of these "rehearsals" came a first course of Peace Studies for Stanford students in 1983-84, which was sponsored by several departments. This was a promising beginning, but it is still a far cry from a well-funded and established center.

When I realized that we were facing a revival of the Cold War, and listened to the bellicose rhetoric of the Reagan Administration and saw the speeding-up of the arms race, I was haunted by chilling memories. This prompted my action.

Why a David Starr Jordan Center? Jordan is still remembered as the remarkable first president of Stanford, and as a renowned scientist. But he was more. He was one of the courageous leaders of the American peace movement, involved in many activities as a writer, lecturer and teacher. He introduced courses on peace education at Stanford, a tradition which too soon fell into neglect.

Rodriguez: If Stanford were to establish a Peace Studies program, what course would you like it to take?

Frank: A Peace Studies program at Stanford should not only alert students to the imminent danger of our situation. It should present and discuss its causes and viable alternatives and changes. This should appeal to the students' idealism as well as sharpen their critical sense. The fascinating aspect of Peace Studies is the broad range of possible access points: from communication, economics and education to psychology and sociology. This calls for cooperation between disciplines and demands interdisciplinary strategies in seeking roots of conflict and warfare, and their possible antidotes. It would be both challenging and fruitful to be able to invite scholars like Boulding, Galtung or Senghaas to come to Stanford and teach here as guest professors.

Since Stanford already has a well-established and well-funded Arms Control and Disarmament Center, there is the inevitable question: Why Peace Studies in addition? Whereas Peace Studies would deal mostly with the causes and roots of conflicts and wars, Arms Control is mainly concerned with the symptoms, the technical aspect of the current situation: the kind and number of weapons, their possible limitations, unilateral and multilateral agreements, and so on. Thus both programs have distinctly different approaches and goals. Ideally, they would supplement each other.

War in the classical sense is dead. What obfuscating rhetoric still calls "war" (or better "peace keeping") has become a push-button business, carried out with computers, atomic bombs, missiles, lasers, and ABC weapons. It is directed against whole populations: cities, regions and nations. It is planned genocide.

Rodriguez: You've mentioned some women as role models for you. What do you think have been the roles of women in the Peace Movement?

Frank: I may get all feminists on my back when I confess that I had my doubts that gender makes a difference where aggression and love of peace is concerned. From the Amazons to Indira Gandhi and Mrs. Thatcher (not to mention the women guards in German concentration camps) there does seem to exist a similar potential in women as well as men. But a recent book by a German psychoanalyst, Margarete Mitscherlich, *Die Friedfertige Frau (The Peaceful Woman)*, which I have just started to read, argues indeed for a difference in male and female attitudes. Whatever the conclusion might be: it is to be hoped that women will play a major role in efforts for peace.

Interview with Byron Bland

The war didn't begin in 1939. It started already years before in the minds of the people. The same technique is still used now all over the world, in different contexts and by different means.

Rodriguez: Would you like to add any other comments?

Frank: In 1912, Bertha von Suttner, one of the founders of the European Peace Movement, wrote a pamphlet, *Die Barbarisierung der Luft* (*The Barbarization of the Air*). She was immediately ridiculed by politicians and the military, arguing that with air-raids future wars would be shortened and cause fewer casualties.

Far more clearly than her contemporaries this so-called "naive woman" foresaw what has become reality since Coventry, Dresden, Hiroshima and Nagasaki: That there is no longer any difference between combat troops and civilians. War in the classical sense is dead. What obfuscating rhetoric still calls "war" (or better "peace keeping") has become a push-button business, carried out with computers, atomic bombs, missiles, lasers and ABC weapons. It is directed against whole populations: cities, regions and nations. It is planned genocide.

If the seeds of war are planted in the minds of the people, all efforts have to be made to minimize their gaining hold: no glorification of military achievements; prejudices and aggressive nationalism have to be exposed and counteracted. Turning centuries old attitudes around will require an enormous effort on the part of the educational system. Universities can play a major role in this effort. Boulding has stated: "One would think that research on how to diminish conflicts and release these resources would have a very high priority, but unfortunately it has not. Our motto seems to be millions for the means of destruction but only pennies for research on how to economize them. It may take a catastrophe to awaken us to our folly." The Centennial of Stanford offers a unique opportunity to set an example and establish a Peace Studies Center. This would also honor the memory of its first president David Starr Jordan and revive a tradition he wanted to establish in the first place.

Byron Bland is a minister for the United Campus Christian Ministries. He was one of the initiators, along with Deane Haskins, of the Peace Studies Task Force in 1981-82 and has put much energy into the organization of the Peace Studies course. The interview was conducted by Teresa Rodriguez.

Rodriguez: Why did you become a Conscientious Objector instead of a War Resistor?

Bland: I don't really know that I understood that as an option until recently. I saw the option before me as either being an officer in the army or being a CO and later being a chaplain or a CO. I'm not really sure I ever saw it different from that. As I think back, there was a second reason, even though it wasn't a primary reason at the time. I think the cost of doing that is pretty great. At that particular time I would have been an in-service resistor which would have meant military law and that's fairly formidable and more repressive than civil law. I think that people ought to take those things seriously in a broad moral sense: is that exactly how you really want to set your life? Even though being a war resistor is a morally pure act, it may put you into situations that aren't exactly the most effective ways to create peace.

Rodriguez: When you came to Stanford what peace-related activities were going on?

Bland: The first thing I can remember was participating in something called Peace Week in 1977. It wasn't largely successful and it was a small group of us that organized it. It was predominantly anti-draft. At that time we ran a number of peace-making workshops. We did conferences on the roots of war, roots of peace and a ground zero week. Every year we always did something related to peace. When we began the Peace Studies program, we looked at that very broadly and felt that any event was peace education. It didn't necessarily mean a class. It could be done in a rally or a conference, in a variety of different ways. So we tried to do what we could realizing that almost any public event could be counted as Peace Studies.

Rodriguez: When did you start working on the Peace Studies class?

Bland: About five years ago is when we decided to have a concerted effort in having a peace studies class or research. Something that was formal and academic. One of the catalysts that got us moving was that we received a small grant from the United Church of Christ and the United Methodist Church to hire Carol Roberts on a one-day-per week basis. The next critical step was when a group of people, Peter Frank, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Deane Haskins and myself went to see Al Hastorf. He suggested that we form a faculty committee to begin discussing what sort of curriculum could be developed, what sort of framework that would lead to either a class or to research. There needed to be that kind of organizing work and academic work by a group of committed faculty. That was the next step of organizational work we took. Once that began to

be formed and we began meeting regularly, it took us nearly two years to have a sense that there was a class we could teach.

Rodriguez: Where will the focus be next year?

Bland: It changes to the faculty seminar on Peace Studies. At this point, we are moving into a more research oriented phase. There is a desire to reach out to other faculty and to do some serious research in order to begin to formulate questions that we think are important. But also to be taken more seriously. This is an important step towards entering a real academic arena. In regards to the class, the framework is there, coming out of the first class we taught. It was a positive experience, but there were numerous criticisms. Over the last year, we have firmed that up so that we may be making minor changes only.

Rodriguez: Do you see a possibility for a Peace Studies major along the way, either at the graduate or undergraduate level?

Bland: I think that's an up-for-grabs question. I like the idea of having a Peace Studies major; even though, I'm not entirely sure what it is. And whether people would want to major in it. The emphasis of the class initially was that it was an introductory class that would allow people to bring out aspects which were related to peace or other classes they had taken. One of the things we discovered was that it presumed a lot of knowledge which people may or may not have. I would certainly like to see it develop along the lines of research components. This at the moment seems to be more important than developing a Peace Studies major. One of the things that you need to consider in looking at a major is, what academic discipline do you relate peace studies to? And it is not clear to me that there is one. It seems to me to be something like six of them and yet, do you really expect someone to master that kind of material in any program?

Rodriguez: What advice would you give to an undergraduate wanting to major in peace studies?

Bland: That relates to another question. I don't think peace studies is exactly arms control or national security. Those have elements about them which might be elements of Peace Studies but they don't encompass all the domain of it. Even if we achieve a comprehensive test ban, for example, that may or may not reduce to a natural peaceful state. It will definitely produce a safer world. In some cases questions of weapons are independent of questions of peace, but yet at some point they're all linked. It's hard to know whether nations have weapons because they distrust one another or they distrust one another because they have weapons. I guess my advice would be to be very broad in your approach; to not let one discipline have the final say about peace, and keep it focused on peace. And that peace is really not the whole opposite of war; that you can't study peace by simply studying war. War is an easy thing to study because it is a definite, where peace is more ambiguous. But at the same time the opposite of that is to be concrete and not utopian. There are certain things that aren't peace. The study of everything does not result in the study of peace. We really have to begin to find some creative answers. I have very modest views in comparison to some people's expectations. I think war will always remain a possibility. Yet, you can still work to make it less and less likely. It is not an issue that is likely to have a once and for all cure.

A German
Peace
Poster:
"Nuclear
Weapons—
No Thanks"



Interview with Lincoln Moses

I think we have an enormous intellectual deficit in the area of useful contributions to the literature of war, peace, conflict resolution, and education. These subjects have been explored by the philosophers of another day and enthusiasts of the current day, but not nearly enough by scientists, economists, and social scientists. An analytical view is needed to identify what the problems are underlying the fact that hardly anybody is satisfied with relations between nations.

Lincoln Moses, former director of the Public Policy Program at Stanford, is now associate dean in Humanities and Sciences. He has been involved with the interdisciplinary peace studies class since its inception. The interview was conducted by Teresa Rodriguez, a member of SCIRE's Peace Studies Task Force.

Rodriguez: Have you lectured in the two years the Peace Studies course has been in existence?

Moses: This year, I gave six talks. The first one helped to map the course in the first section of the class. The second one, I commented on the text by Kenneth Boulding, helping the students to recognize something I thought it very important that they recognize. I wanted them to see Boulding's view, as a distinguished scientist/economist, that war and peace are really too complex to be successfully modelled in terms of some cause and effect relationship. Boulding goes to some lengths to say what he regards as a more effective way of approaching the questions that are involved. These are to try to understand the qualitative aspects of the system and to recognize clearly the kinds of steps, the kinds of institutions which contribute toward peaceful behavior and the kinds of steps, processes, and institutions which instead contribute to the opposite of peaceful relationships, to the exacerbation of tensions, and the increasing of the likelihood of overt conflict.

Rodriguez: Do you see any possibilities for developing a peace studies program at Stanford?

Moses: It depends on what you mean. I see some natural ways for things to develop. But how far they develop, I have no way to form a realistic guess. One natural way is that the course which we have been giving as a one quarter course become stronger and possibly become a two quarter course. That depends upon continued interest of faculty, and I believe its likelihood of occurring will be much enhanced if some department or organized program of instruction will say "We'll take this course on as our responsibility." I would like to see that happen.

It seems to me that a natural place would be Values and Technology in Science and Society (VTSS), although I cannot gauge what is natural for them. From my perspective, it seems like a natural thing. From my outside perspective, perhaps the Public Policy Program does; but, being the director of the program, I observe that it is a rather specialized topic away from the broad gauged policy analysis kind of orientation which characterizes all the rest of the program. If some student wanted to offer that course together with the other 10 units required for a concentration in a policy area called "peace," we would unhesitatingly approve it, I should think. The question of whether it should become a course which belongs to this program is another matter. There may be other places; possibly human biology is a reasonable place for this course to take root. It will help it a lot if it does take root pretty soon. It needs a home. The second possible line of development is harder and easier. Harder intellectually, and easier administratively. That second way is the development of some serious faculty research. The little seminar that has been the seedbed is now turning to research. We have been meeting regularly ever since the beginning of the quarter. I would think that the primary item on our agenda is to identify researchable questions that would attract our interest and engage our efforts in the year to come. We are still identifying those questions. Time is well spent in choosing the right questions. I am not a bit disappointed that it is taking a while. This is a case where haste makes waste.

Rodriguez: What long range goals do you see coming out of the faculty seminar?

Moses: Useful contributions to the literature of war, peace, conflict resolution, and education in these subjects. I think we have an enormous intellectual deficit in this area in that questions are hard. They've been explored by the philosophers of another day and enthusiasts of the current day. But, not nearly enough by scientists, economists, and social scientists. An analytical view is needed to identify what the problems are underlying the fact that hardly anybody is satisfied with relations between nations. Hardly anybody sees confidently what to do to make it better. A large part of that problem is intellectual deficit. When you get interested, solid intellects to work on that, good may come of it. Stanford is certainly one nice place to foster that effort.

Rodriguez: Do you think that out of this Peace seminar will come legitimization from the University for a Peace Studies Program in the future?

Moses: The University has already legitimated the course in the sense of putting money into it. The University, I'm sure, would welcome productive faculty research efforts in this line. The University's general attitude towards research is that

they're for it and very attentive to its quality. I think that behind your question is something like "Will we have a degree program in Peace Studies?" I don't know the answer to that. It is conceivable that the way in which this enterprise grows could result in a degree program at some level. But, it is not part of our planning to do that. We're neither for it nor against it.

Rodriguez: Abstracting away from the academic view, what are your personal views on peace?

Moses: I regard it as not a place or a goal, but as a way of behaving. There are peaceful ways and conflictual ways of behaving. To think of peace as a thing or an entity or a possession or a right or a legal condition is off the mark. Peace is a body of processes for transacting business or solving problems.

Rodriguez: What would be an example of peaceful behavior?

Moses: Constructive bargaining. At a minimum, consider your counterparts' interests. As a further step, concede to them a lot of legitimacy. We have many peaceful relationships in our lives largely with family and friends. Sometimes such concern for the other's interest occurs in business relationships, and often in student-teacher relationships. So far as I can see, such concern is utterly lacking in the poorer specimens of international relations. Should it be? I have doubts about that. I think I understand the arguments for why everyone should pursue his own interests as hard as possible. I think that approach results in conditions which are very troubling. On the other hand, I don't have a comprehensive prescription for what to do.

Rodriguez: Would you like to add any ending comments?

Moses: Yes, sort of a hopeful note. I think something has started. The things that have started are sound. The effort will prosper as it attracts to it able, objective, caring people. We can hope for that. We can almost expect it.



Interview with Peace Studies Task Force Member, Will Harris

Will Harris, '85, was a student member of the task force. He was interviewed by Teresa Rodriguez, also a task force member.

Rodriguez: How would you define Peace Studies?

Harris: Peace Studies, I believe, is the pursuit of knowledge of how to set up a world society with peace rather than war as the likely result of international relations. In the research I've done for the peace studies task force on other universities' peace studies programs and also through researching the Alice Parks Collection at Hoover and doing some research on David Starr Jordan, I've discovered that the basic world set-up isn't all that different now than it was in their times in the early part of this century. Obviously we're playing with bigger stakes and the threat of nuclear weapons now, as opposed to the more conventional warfare but the same cycles of conflict and opposition keep occurring through history. I see peace studies as trying to understand the cycles which cause war and then act with that knowledge to bring about peaceful societies. It is seeing basically what happens; seeing what can be corrected toward more peaceful resolutions and then implementing them into policy.

Rodriguez: How would you develop a peace studies program at Stanford and what kind of courses would you include?

Harris: When I first started doing research, I had in mind setting up a peace studies program by itself using existing peace studies courses as a framework for more detailed curricula. But in the course of being on the task force, I've tempered that view. I now think the best way to begin peace studies orientation at the undergraduate level would be to make it a subcomponent of interdisciplinary programs. For example, we've talked about the idea of having a peace studies concentration in interdisciplinary majors like human biology, which would be a natural sort of concentration for that major. Peace can be studied from a variety of perspectives, including the scientific-looking at what are the biological and social causes of aggression. And perhaps, looking down the road, seeing the policy implications of that knowledge. Another interdisciplinary major like VTSS (Values and Technology in Science and Society) can study the arms control aspects of peace studies. In Public Policy you can look at what kind of legislation, national or international, can contribute to the peaceful set-up of the world.

Rodriguez: What are your personal views on peace?

Harris: In the course on working on the Peace Studies task force, I've developed a fairly encompassing view on peace. I think that peace is part of a larger framework of both interpersonal and international demeanor. I'm going to relate some academic work I've done in a seminar on the Golden Rule. What the Golden Rule basically says is "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Of course there is great debate on what that actually translates into. I've extended that idea to cover peace. Peace doesn't imply a lack of opposition or difference of opinions between people. It does imply that when making decisions you consider the interests of the other person as equally important as your own. Given that sort of framework, you can debate and have opposition but without blind partisanship, or extreme nationalism, or threats of violence. Peace is just the global extension of that philosophy. It is when one country sees another country not as a means to an end but as an equally valid entity with its own claim. That won't translate into universal bliss or brotherhood, but it will guarantee that the international and the interpersonal debate isn't tinged with violence.

Peace doesn't imply a lack of opposition or difference of opinions between people. It does imply that when making decisions you consider the interests of the other person as equally important as your own. Given that sort of framework, you can debate and have opposition but without blind partisanship, or extreme nationalism, or threats of violence. Peace is just the global extension of that philosophy.

Rodriguez: You said you work with Big Brothers/Big Sisters. How do you see something like this related to peace?

Harris: Given I described peace in rather comprehensive terms, this is a sub-component. It's not on the theoretical level but in my interpersonal relations with my little brother, Glen. It's difficult at times to follow the implications of the Golden Rule because you as a Stanford student have to, in the program, relate and share experiences with someone who is about five years younger than you. Consequently, you're at different stages of the life cycle and with a lot of different situations going on in your life. That's the challenge. I've been paired with Glen since freshman year. In the course of that I've gotten to know him very well and at this point we're friends, not just people paired together. I know him pretty well and we've shared each other's experiences. In a large sense, that's what I think peace consists of at a personal level: looking at the other person as a resource in themselves not just as a little brother or someone who isn't quite up to your level. But looking at him as another person.

In the hands of despair, you can say, "What can I do as one person or what effect can I have on the world?" The answer is, maybe none, but in trying you can find relief for your own frustrations. In some small way we are personally responsible for what is going on.

Rodriguez: When you registered for the draft did you see any connection between it and peace—as something that adds to the war machine?

Harris: I did register for the draft. I didn't see the connection with peace at the time. I saw it as a precautionary step. If there were ever a situation where it was necessary to have quick mobilization then it would be easier to accomplish having a draft. In working for peace, one tries to prevent the necessity of having to have mobilization towards war. I do respect those who don't register because of their personal convictions who say it's wrong for them in any form to be a part of the war machinery. But, I didn't see it that way at the time and I don't see it that way now. It did provide an opportunity to think about it somewhat, even though I think I should give it more thought. But I don't see an inherent contradiction between registering for the draft and working for peace.

Rodriguez: What fostered your interest in peace?

Harris: I guess finding out about the Peace Studies task force was the initial inducement. Once I was introduced to the task force and the research, I became more and more interested. It is very exciting to come to grips with "What is Peace Studies?" There's by no means a universal agreement. That's one of the challenges. It's one thing to have a number of universities and colleges with peace studies programs; but how feasible is the setting of economics, anthropology, political science, and history towards the actual implementation of peace? At this point, I've come to the conclusion that it is good to know why things happen and part of Peace Studies is the study of war, and its causes and effects, although there's more to it than that. It involves looking at conflict resolution and conflict management to get an understanding of what peace is, independent of war. That whole process of discovering what Peace Studies is and discovering what it can do fostered my interest.

Rodriguez: Any parting comments or thoughts?

Harris: In my own experience on the task force, my greatest lesson has been not to give up to apathy or fatalism. In the hands of despair, you can say, "What can I do as one person or what effect can I have on the world?" The answer is, maybe none, but in trying you can find relief for your own frustrations. In some small way we are personally responsible for what is going on. Doing some sort of volunteer work is already helping and is already a way of making the world a little better.

The U.S. Peace Institute: An Idea Whose Time Has Come

For a number of years there have been academic and theological arguments raised about a 'just war' concept. The current reality is that a 'just' nuclear war is a contradiction in terms. The country is currently on fire with concern over the issue of nuclear weaponry. I think it is important to recognize that conflict is inevitable—indeed, conflict is a necessary part of our social evolution. We need an Academy of Peace, then, not to do away with conflict, but to learn and teach—as Kenneth Boulding has so aptly put it—how to creatively 'manage' conflict, so that conflict can remain constructive rather than destructive . . . We need to create an affirmative peacemaking capability as strong as our military capability . . . we can make it happen, and we simply cannot afford to fail.

—Rev. Theodore Hesburgh,
President of Notre Dame

This year marks the anniversary of what the *Washington Post* called "an experiment in sanity What has occurred . . . is a small, limited, but nevertheless encouraging sign that members of Congress are willing to explore something more than a balance of terror as a means of maintaining stability . . . and added a new weapon to the arsenal of peace." Unlikely as it may seem, included as an amendment in the almost \$300 billion U.S. Defense Authorization Bill passed in September 1984 was the authorization for \$16 million (less than the cost of a single top-line combat jet) over two years to "promote research and training in negotiation and conflict resolution for both American and foreign scholars" through the establishment of a United States Institute of Peace.

The Institute—originally named by its promoters the U.S. Peace Academy, to suggest a balancing of established national priorities by "complementing" the Naval War College and military academies—represented a landmark piece of legislation. But it was not a new, or even a 60s phenomenon, as some might think. Since 1935 one hundred-forty pieces of legislation have been introduced to establish a national level academy of peace studies. In fact, in 1792 Benjamin Baneker and Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, tried to establish a Peace Office in the new government. Presidents Franklin Roosevelt, Eisenhower and Kennedy all recommended the concept.

The Peace Institute, an independent, non-profit national institute "which will not be a department or agency of the federal government," and which will have funding from the federal government and private sources, was designed to have three major functions:

1. It would initiate and promote research into the causes of peace, which are very different from the causes of war, and would strengthen the emerging field of peace learning.
2. It would educate and promote the training of persons from local, state and federal government, private enterprise and voluntary associations in state-of-the-art conflict resolution and negotiation skills.
3. It would serve as a clearinghouse and resource center to provide up-to-date information on peace learning to policymakers, practitioners, existing educational institutions and other interested parties.

It would also establish the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace, which will appoint scholars from the U.S. and abroad for up to two years to pursue scholarly inquiry on international peace, providing stipends, grants and fellowships. It would grant the U.S. Medal of Peace as a special award.

Its offices are to be assigned by the General Services Administration in or near

Washington, in existing office buildings. It is planned to have several (as many as 16-18) regional facilities, and among other functions, appoint research fellows ranging in age from their 20s to their 80s, from the U.S. and other countries.

History of the Recent Peace Academy/Institute Campaign

In 1978 Congress established a commission to study proposals on a national academy of peace. The commission held hearings on the idea around the country and in 1981 submitted their report to the president, in which they recommended the establishment of a U.S. Academy of Peace. No floor action was taken on the recommendations, but a bill was reintroduced by Dan Glickman (House, D., Kansas) and Senator Spark Matsunaga (D. Hawaii) in 1983. Glickman commented, "We were able to convince a lot of people that we wanted to legitimize the subject matter of peace-related research and conflict resolution activities as a science. We believe it is a science and that this kind of concept can add to the power and prestige of the United States. The defense bill has the MX, the Trident submarines, the F-15s and the peace institute. They're all related to preserving security. What we have been lacking is the nonmilitary focus. It's no panacea, but it's a good first step."

In 1984, with no floor action imminent on the bill, Senator Mark Hatfield (R. Oregon) offered an amendment attaching it to the 1985 Defense Authorization Bill. It was approved by a voice vote in June. "The co-sponsors of this amendment and I," said Hatfield, "are convinced that the maintenance of defense is well served by education in peaceful means of conflict resolution. If wars do indeed begin in the minds of men, it is there we must wage the battle for peace." Hatfield quoted General Omar Bradley, former U.S. Army Chief of Staff as saying, "We know more about war than we do about peace—more about killing than we know about living' . . . General Bradley was right. He pointed out a terrible perversion of our society's priorities. The Peace Academy could change that, by improving our capabilities for peaceful settlement of the world's differences. Our existing universities are a part of the answer, but I think it would be wise to embody our national commitment to peace in a single institution—an institution that simply does not exist today."

The concept faced opposition from several quarters: the Departments of State and Education opposed the proposal on grounds of budget and policy; many academic experts on diplomacy saw it as a source of possible government intrusion into areas of their expertise; and military leaders and conservative legislators felt it would challenge the role and authority of the military in preserving the peace. Yet

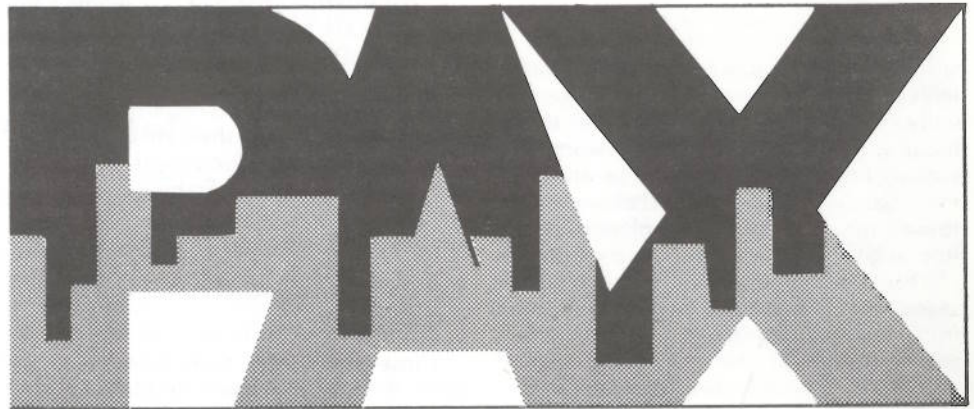
the bill gained strong bipartisan support of over half the Senate and 175 House members. It also gained wide grassroots support, from 3000 members of the Peace Academy Campaign in the 1970s to 45,000 in the 1980s. More than 50 national organizations endorsed the Peace Academy concept, including the American Veteran's Committee, the National Board of the YWCA/YMCA, the National Education Association, the U.S. Catholic Conference, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the American Arbitration Association and all major Protestant denominations. A number of state legislatures have passed resolutions supporting an academy.

The conservatives who supported the proposal became convinced that the U.S. needed such an institution to develop more sophisticated negotiation and conflict resolution skills. Promoters of the Peace Academy appealed to the concerns of international business and local com-

munity leaders who saw the value in resolving conflicts and improving the quality of life, from the level of international hostage negotiations and intercultural communication to local community courts and divorce mediation.

The amendment to the Pentagon's 1985 authorization bill which authorized the Peace Institute does not contain everything supporters wanted. The sought-for sum was reduced by \$7.5 million, money that would have been used to build a new facility near Washington. The name was changed from 'academy' to 'institute' to make clear that this will not be a degree-granting institution or the equivalent of the US military academies. One-fourth of the institute's funds must be spent as grants to institutions offering graduate or post-graduate programs in peace studies or conflict-resolution. Nevertheless, it was cited as a major victory by supporters.

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The U.S. Institute of Peace Act, Oct. 19, 1984, P.L 98-525

Sec. 1702(a) The Congress finds and declares that:

- (1) a living institution embodying the heritage, ideals and concerns of the American people for peace would be a significant response to the deep public need for the Nation to develop fully a range of effective options, in addition to armed capacity, that can leash international violence and manage international conflict;
- (2) people throughout the world are fearful of nuclear war, are divided by war and threats of war, are experiencing social and cultural hostilities from rapid international change and real and perceived conflicts over interests, and are diverted from peace by the lack of problem-solving skills for dealing with such conflicts;
- (3) many potentially destructive conflicts among nations and peoples have been resolved constructively and with cost efficiency at the international, national and community levels through proper use of such techniques as negotiation, conciliation, mediation, and arbitration;
- (4) there is a national need to examine the disciplines in the social, behavioral, and physical sciences and the arts and humanities with regard to the history, nature, elements, and future of peace processes, and to bring together

Bruno Smith

and develop new and tested techniques to promote peaceful economic, political, social, and cultural relations in the world;

(5) existing institutions providing programs in international affairs, diplomacy, conflict resolution, and peace studies are essential to further development of techniques to promote peaceful resolution of international conflict, and the peacemaking activities of people in such institutions, government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations can be strengthened by a national institution devoted to international peace research, education and training, and information services;

(6) there is a need for Federal leadership to expand and support the existing international peace and conflict resolution efforts of the Nation . . .

It is the purpose of this title to establish an independent, non-profit, national institute to serve the people and the Government through the widest possible range of education and training, basic and applied research opportunities, and peace information services on the means to promote international peace and the resolution of conflicts among the nations and peoples of the world without recourse to violence."

WOMEN RESEARCHERS IN PEACE STUDIES

Excerpted from "Perspectives of Women Researchers on Disarmament, National Security, and World Order," Elise Boulding, in *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1981 (Great Britain). Elise Boulding is with the Department of Sociology, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.

"Since disarmament and problems of national security and world order are not fields in which women scholars are generally considered to be prominent, the decision to do a survey of how women working in the field treat these problems immediately presented the challenge of how to identify enough scholars in the field to give a fair picture of their work."

"This is not a study of the women's peace movement. Since public opinion, both in and out of peace movements, frequently holds that peace is a special concern of women as wives and mothers, and that women have special skills and insights and clearer social vision related to peace and peacemaking than men, it will be interesting to see whether women scholars working as professionals in the field see their work and their role as researchers differently because they are women. In this study we report their own perceptions. A systematic comparative study of men and women scholars would be necessary in order to state whether they are in fact different."

There were 41 participants in the survey, from 21 countries, representing a "significant segment of the world community of women scholars working in the disarmament field." Twenty-nine were professors or research associates. Four were administrators with peace research institutions, two were free-lance researchers and six were published journalists and community organizers. The survey pool included women working primarily in non-violence research and training also.

"... It is frequently said that there are 'no qualified women available' in the disarmament and security field. This study explodes that myth... Betty Goetz Lall, who served as special assistant to the Deputy Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in the 1960s and

is currently the United States representative on the UN Panel of Experts on the Relationship between Disarmament and International Security... writes regarding the U.S. scene:

Women are largely excluded from the SALT negotiating process. No women are members of the negotiation teams of the two sides. They do not constitute part of the back-up team in the United States which helps to prepare the rationale for policy formulations. We do not know the composition of the Soviet teams. There are no women on the Senate Committees which will vote or participate in the hearings on SALT II and only one woman on the staffs of the Committees who will have any major role in preparing for Senate consideration. Furthermore, among the public groups to present Congressional testimony, few women are likely to be representative of their organizations. (Lass, 1979)

"considering that half the women in this study are from the United States, the U.S. record of utilization of women is not impressive.

Boulding divides the respondents into two groups based on their answers to the questionnaire and discussions with her: the New Conceptual Frameworks Perspective and the New Social Order Perspective, having 24 and 17 respectively.

The New Conceptual Framework Perspective

Those in the New Conceptual Framework include the more "middle of the road researchers who see nuclear non-proliferation, detente diplomacy, arms trade—particularly arms trade with the third world, arms control policy, European security relations and regional security problems in important third-world regions such as the Middle East as major issues. All deplore the quality of existing research... which focuses only on data gathering, particularly in the arms trade research and research on the technicalities of curbing the arms race."

"Almost every respondent proposed research on the concept of national security itself... the political, economic and social conditions that would make disarmament possible... There is widespread concern that research perspectives on disarmament are too Western... and provide no solid research on how militaries affect the allocation of resources within individual societies and thus shape the development strategy..."

"Many focus on the need to understand the contexts in which disarming processes can take place, and complain of our ignorance of the cultures of other states and regions... Scholars study negotiation processes far too little, and pay little attention to developing models of peaceful settlement of conflict."

"... It's not the response time of radar of the trajectory of ballistic missiles but the economic and social costs of military expenditures and the consequences of military solutions to political problems that matter."

The New Social Order Perspective

The New Social Order Perspective scholars also reject most current research approaches and attempt to formulate new research priorities. "Generally, the search among these scholars is for new research themes that will unpack the existing military industrial order without setting premature constraints on an emergent order." The trend of their research is towards an emphasis on 'localism' as a means to "explore social structures and social roles that will make a disarmed world possible." Several researchers see the link between development and militarization and "pronounce liberation, not development, as the name of peace."

"... Another theme is that of building a new culture free from patriarchy and the techniques of dominance associated with the male cultures..." In developing school curricula, they see it "focused on replacing military threat by a political



diplomacy based on social insight and objective problem-solving competence." Some of the researchers in the New Social Order Perspective also emphasize that "research is needed on the behavior of men in war, and on the phenomenon of soldiers on the battlefield who deliberately aim not to kill, etc., is proposed to help unpack premature linkages of male-ness to war. Research on value systems and morality that provide legitimation for the military-industrial complex is also a major concern.

As one scholar, a specialist in nonviolence, puts it,

... the main issues in disarmament are not the technical ones to which so much attention is given, nor even political ones (in the usual sense of that term), but social and psychological . . . Moreover, I think research on nonviolent alternatives is crucial. When we have seriously explored some nonviolent alternatives, we may get some measure of disarmament. I don't think it will happen the other way around. By nonviolent alternatives I mean such things as nonviolent conflict resolution, nonviolent (civilian) defense, unarmed peacekeeping, etc.—but also economic structures that do not destroy, new kinds of social relationships, etc.

We suffer mainly from a paralysis of will.

Most people do not think we are capable of creating a relatively nonviolent world . . . Arms are not the key thing: human behavior is.

" . . . of special interest is the fact that nearly 40 percent of the topics being researched by the respondents is on strategies for a disarmed world, and on nonviolent alternatives. . . A number of the New Frameworks scholars are looking seriously, along with the New Order people, at institutions, structures, processes and beliefs associated with disarmament as a strategy and a less violent world as an outcome. Eleven are looking at some form of localism, seven at alternative value systems and five each at behavioral skills and the curriculum required to learn peaceableness. While these are also traditional topics for peace researchers, they are not in such numbers. There would appear to be a significant tilting of the research concerns of the respondents toward a study of that which is needed to make a demilitarized world work."

Concepts of Security, and Images of a Disarmed World

"All respondents agree that security must be redefined, and many feel that scholars have failed to research the phenomenon of fear and insecurity as experienced by the public and dealt with daily by policy-makers . . . No one suggested that security depended on arms . . . The general thrust of the comments was in the direction of developing problem solving skills and communication skills to replace the use of force, and to redefine national security goals in the context of international security and well-being. New definitions of national identity, new awareness of a broader human identity and a re-ordering of value priorities which involves willingness to live with uncertainty are seen as involved."

"Many respondents commented that it was difficult or impossible to visualize a disarmed world. Of those who could do so, several saw it as much like the present world but minus military capacity and with a better functioning of economic, social and political capacities. Most of those who could visualize a post-military world saw it as a highly differentiated localist, egalitarian world in which human needs would be met with appropriate technology at the local level and with minimally functioning international organizations handling residual redistribution requirements. Communication networks would be of major importance . . ."

"No one thought major steps toward disarmament would take place by the year 2000. Most respondents saw a long difficult period ahead, with small gains possible at most. Their views are sober, realistic, yet without despair."

These are the books respondents mentioned as giving an image of post-military society:

Marge Piercy, *Woman on the Edge of Time*
 Aldous Huxley, *Island*
 Bahai and Sufi writings
 Robert Vacca, *The Coming Dark Age*
 Halweg Pederson et al., *Revolt from the Middle (in Danish)*
 Ruth Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures*
 Robert Johanson, *Toward a Dependable Peace*
 Gene Sharp, *Politics of Non-Violent Action*
 The Boston Study Group, *The Price of Defense*
 Gerald and Patricia Mischel, *Toward a Human World Order*
 Kenneth Boulding, *Stable Peace*
 Margaret Mead, *Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples*
 Ursula Le Guin, *The Word for World is Forest*

Perspectives as Women

"Only twenty of the forty-one answered the question whether women approached disarmament in distinctive ways. Several were clearly irritated by the question, and all, no matter how they answered the question, felt they had earned the right to be thought of as scholars, not women who were scholars. Nine gave an unequivocal no to the question; of these, two said education erases gender differences. Several mentioned hardliner women colleagues and pointed out this was the way to succeed in the field." On the other hand, eleven thought there were or might be differences, dividing the opinion fairly evenly. "The maybes noted that women are outsiders in the arms control field, have a marginal status, tend to get less absorbed in the excitement of the power game, and on the whole appear more objective . . . Those who had a clear feminist perspective saw women as having developed different skills and different sensitivities because of their social roles as women, and therefore more likely to 'humanize' the data they worked with, attempting more interpretation, trying for more reality testing. They felt that women were more inclined to see the interconnections between militarization, violence, and other features of social institutions."

" . . . These women are not optimistic about immediate prospects for disarmament . . . but are willing to work for it over the long haul."

"There are enough significant implications for disarmament research in the materials collected for this study to warrant closing with the suggestion that a conference of women scholars on disarmament, security and world order would be a productive enterprise for an international body to undertake, in collaboration with the appropriate UN agencies."



Arms Control and Nuclear Education in California's Secondary Schools: Stanford's Contribution

A survey of nuclear age education programs in primary and secondary schools in the state was established as a result of State Assemblyman John Vasconcellos' Assembly Bill 3848. Although the original reporting deadline for the survey was this June, the state is still sorting through the tremendous response of the many existing school programs in nuclear education.

At Stanford, curriculum materials in global education, including peace studies, arms control and international issues have been the focus of a long-term project of the International Security and Arms Control Project (ISAAC). ISAAC is a joint venture of the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE), the community-based Center for International Security and Arms Control and the Bay Area Global Education project (BAGEP), which is developing nuclear age curriculum materials, and providing in-service training and special summer institutes for educators in arms control and international security. The materials collected through 1983 include classroom materials for kindergarten through grade twelve.

This August, fourteen local high school teachers worked with faculty from the Stanford Center for International Security and Arms Control and other experts to design and discuss a curriculum to help teach teenagers about nuclear weapons and international security. The curriculum will be tested in the fall and will eventually be marketed by the non-profit SPICE at a low cost to participating schools.

The summer institute was "designed to familiarize teachers with the latest research on international conflict and security affairs through lectures by noted Stanford historians, political scientists, and physicists . . . among them Coit Blacker, Dave Bernstein, Stephen Kull and Condoleezza Rice of the Center for International Security and Arms Control; Steven Krasner, political science; Robert North, political science; and Henry Rowen, senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution. Paul Brown of Lawrence Livermore Labs, Dave Elliott of SRI International and Jean Ishibashi of the American Friends Service Committee also spoke to the educators."

" . . . The curriculum plan looks at four broad areas of international conflict: 'Roots of Violence and War,' 'Evolution of Weaponry, Methods and Tactics of War,' 'Alternative Models of and Strategies for International Security,' and 'Issues in the Contemporary Debate.'"

One lesson, for example, suggests that students be given a questionnaire about whether they think violence is innate or learned behavior. In the area of U.S.-Soviet relations, students may be asked to

read and discuss excerpts from the Monroe Doctrine and the writings of De Tocqueville. The curriculum will probably also include excerpts from speeches by both President Reagan and former Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko on the arms buildup.

Teachers will field test the curriculum and at a summer institute session at Stanford next year they will critique the materials. Four high school teachers from San Francisco, San Jose, Menlo Park and Redwood City developed the curriculum with Stanford faculty. Ten other teachers from throughout the state attended this summer's institute.

"By approaching nuclear issues from multiple perspectives, we hope to have a balanced and informative format for the classroom," explains Robin Riddle, coordinator of the International Security and Arms Control Project. "The objective in introducing nuclear education to the schools is not to indoctrinate but to inform students as to the complexities of the issue and to give them critical thinking tools which they can use to penetrate the propaganda of the press and identify the biases of special-interest groups."

"People are bombarded with information on nuclear weapons and the arms race," says one teacher. "We want to teach the students how to process what they hear, so when they pick up a newspaper they won't be overwhelmed by the information . . . the program will present a spectrum of viewpoints from peace through strength to unilateral disarmament . . . We will not teach either, but leave students to make their own decisions. . . . We will be giving lots of facts, like, 'What are ABMs, Anti-Ballistic Missiles?' But what we want students to come out with are numerous perspectives. All of the viewpoints have certain validities. Just to know there are various views is important."

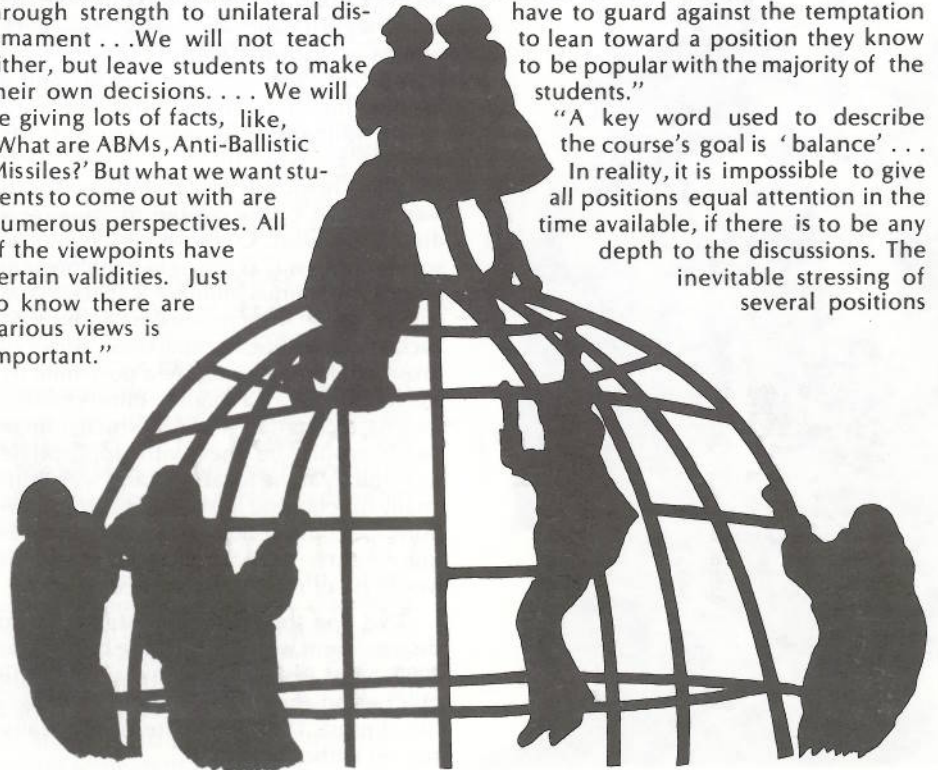
The curriculum is designed to cover six weeks and is divided into fourteen units. Teachers will be able to pick out what they want. Each unit covers three class sessions. (citations from *Campus Report*, August 14, 1985)

Response to the curriculum project has been positive. The *Peninsula Times Tribune* ran an article and a follow-up editorial on the project this August.

"Youths these days have many legitimate questions to ask about nuclear arms and what they mean for the future. Depending on one's knowledge and perspective, such weapons can bolster hopes of living to an old age or threaten that very prospect. And where better to learn about nuclear weapons and more than in school? The curriculum outline promises that the course will give some of the historical and theoretical context without which decision-making or position-taking on specific issues can be both intellectually arrogant and politically and morally irresponsible."

"Finally, the course should help students to work toward deciding what is the right thing for an individual to do. For many students and teachers the topical subjects will be the most interesting: for example, the numbers and types of weapons, the locations of missiles, the advisability of a freeze. And these will pose some of the course's most obvious problems. How can a student penetrate the rhetoric which entangles commentaries on these issues? Teachers will sometimes have to guard against the temptation to lean toward a position they know to be popular with the majority of the students."

"A key word used to describe the course's goal is 'balance' . . . In reality, it is impossible to give all positions equal attention in the time available, if there is to be any depth to the discussions. The inevitable stressing of several positions



over others will in itself generate critics. In fact, we can expect some to argue that not all positions are equal . . . Clearly the course is—and should be—designed to let students argue their own points, develop and justify their own positions and draw their own conclusions.”

“And this brings us back to one of the pervasive, less obvious problems: the context for decision making . . . practical considerations have led the course-makers to divide the program into fourteen units, so that teachers can choose the ones that interest them and their students. We wonder how many will just dump the contextual sessions?”

“Despite these immense challenges, we think the project is not only worth pursuing but so obviously needed we don’t see why someone hasn’t done it before.” (*Peninsula Times Tribune*, 8/12/85 and 8/14/85)

The Vasconcellos-initiated statewide survey will undoubtedly turn up many interesting examples of existing nuclear education programs in the schools. And certainly the ongoing Stanford/community school curricula being developed in the field of international studies will provide a broad context for other peace and nuclear education related programs/curricula.

California International Studies Project

Ron Herring, Associate Director of the Stanford Center for Research in International Studies, who was instrumental in developing SPICE and BAGEP, was recently honored by the California State Legislature for his commitment to international studies. “He recently has been working for the passage of Assembly Bill 2543, which would see that this program is made available to all of California’s teachers and schoolchildren through the establishment of a statewide California International Studies Project. The project would consist of six international studies resource centers that would be set up in 1985-86 at four-year colleges and universities throughout the state, and later would be expanded to operate 18 resource centers in 1987-88, at an eventual cost of \$1.3 million per year. It is probable that Stanford would be offered a contract with the state to operate the resource center network and further develop international studies curriculum materials . . . If approved by the Senate Appropriations Committee . . . it will go to the Senate floor sometime in early September.” (*Campus Report*, August 14, 1985)

“It will be a great day when our schools get all the money they need and the air force has to hold a bake sale to buy a bomber.”

The Struggle for Peaceful Conflict Resolution: Feminist Teaching and Learning

This article is excerpted from a longer article by the same title, which appeared in Women’s Studies Quarterly Vol. XII, No. 2, Summer 1984. Its authors are Jean Elliot, dean of human services and sciences and assistant professor of sociology and women’s studies; Phyllis Walden, assistant professor of experiential learning, and other professors from history, social justice and women’s studies.

“In 1982, three months before the first major North American disarmament and nuclear freeze rally, 100 students at Sanganon State University signed up for a course on “The Struggle for Peaceful Conflict Resolution.” . . . The course is focused on the need for alternatives to violent responses to conflict. In planning the course, one of our major goals was to embody feminism in the teaching and learning methods, as well as in the course content. We particularly wanted to design experiential approaches that would enable students to deal with the content on both affective and cognitive levels; make connections between personal experiences and broader principles and contexts; examine personal and societal values; develop strengths in self-directed learning; and become empowered to work toward change on many levels. We used the following questions to guide us:

- Are there connections between violence in everyday personal relations and violence among groups and nations?
- Is violence ever the only way, or is it a choice among alternatives?
- How does nonviolent conflict resolution involve creativity, initiative, risk-taking, and strength (rather than weakness)?
- How can valuing empathy, compassion, and nurturance create healthier public and private social relations?
- How does the inequality inherent in institutionalized racism, sexism, class bias, and homophobia manifest itself as a basic cause of violence?
- Can we see conflict as a powerful potential for growth rather than a negative reality to be avoided?
- What models of conflict resolution move away from the traditional notion that in each situation there can be only a winner and a loser? How can groups agree on ground rules and define leadership so that all take responsibility for creating solutions to problems?”

Questions about Conflict

“As course planners, we shared the view that conflict is an inevitable part of human affairs. While often destructive, it is not inherently so. Conflict can be, and often is, productive, community-building, and creative. The central focus of this course was on uncovering those conditions, values, and processes that can permit conflict to be a humane and affirming experience in which diversity is appreciated . . . From the start, we assumed that humane, productive conflict resolution means peaceful, nonviolent conflict resolution. We recognized that in contemporary society violence is a common manifestation of conflict; we saw a need to challenge the values, institutions, and behaviors that encourage violence; and we wanted to investigate how feminist perspectives might contribute to peaceful conflict resolution.”

“Some view feminism as offering an alternative vision of society in which both traditionally “feminine” qualities (such as nurturance and human connectedness) and traditionally “masculine” qualities (like independence and confidence) are valued. Feminism challenges the dominant notion that violence represents strength and toughness. Feminism also asks us to make connections among different areas and levels of social life. It leads us, for example, to examine the similarities between violence at interpersonal, interracial, and international levels, suggesting that violence in all these areas is rooted in structured inequality that is supported by a system of ideologies, beliefs, and values. Finally, feminism recognizes that many human beings do find nonviolent solutions to problems, but that institutions like the media continually overlook such realities. Peaceful conflict resolution is usually not flashy or glamorous.”

Causes of Violence

“We identified two fundamental causes of violence, both of which serve as barriers to nonviolent conflict resolution. One of these is structured inequality in all its forms, including racism, sexism, class bias, homophobia, and ageism. Inequality promotes violent confrontation because 1) it produces far more occasions for conflicts with much more critical implications for participants than is necessary or inevitable in human affairs; 2) violence may be perceived by the relatively powerless to be

the only means for change; 3) inequality suppresses the chances of dominant groups being willing, and subordinate groups being able, to engage in open, constructive conflict; and 4) inequality legitimizes and promotes the use of force by those in power to maintain their position."

"The second factor that commonly underlies the use of violence is the dominant, masculinist ideology in which we are socialized and which is embedded in our social institutions. Patriarchal ideology defines violence as active, daring, and dramatic, and peaceful processes as passive, boring, weak, and even "effeminate." Further, a masculinist perspective leads to a belief that productive, effective, peaceful conflict resolution is rare. Because patriarchy is a narrow ideology, people looking through its lens are likely to see violence, and to see it as an expression of strength, and are likely not to see nonviolent conflict resolution at all. Using the dominant perspective, historians have marked time in terms of wars, and social scientists have been fascinated by interpersonal violence. Using another perspective, we might search for models for creating peace and empowerment in history and in contemporary social life."

Experiential Approaches

"In planning for the course, a major portion of our effort went toward developing experiential and affective approaches to the content. We used such traditional approaches as guest speakers, panels, films, and readings, but the wide variety of less traditional approaches, collectively created by the teaching faculty and used in all the small groups, were the heart of the course . . . Trying to create a feminist approach to teaching and learning involves taking risks. Here are some cautions, thoughts, reflections from our experiences. Experiential learning, which is likely to engage students in personal ways on an affective level, requires ground rules and a considerable amount of reassurance and explanation. It is most important to establish an expectation of confidentiality, enlisting the agreement of each participant. Time also needs to be provided at the end of intensive work for students to reach closure, process the experience, and reassure one another . . . Sometimes feminist teaching violates students' expectations of what teaching is. For example, students may see experiential work as not having any academic content, or content relevant to the topic. Sometimes, in confronting the realities of oppression addressed in the course content, students are paralyzed with anger and pain. It is important to validate the anger and pain, and to suggest next steps."

The course first incorporated a six-hour experiential session on conflict, opening with an exercise called "Scavenger Hunt,"

in which "people have to find people who share or differ in selected social, personal, and attitudinal characteristics. The remainder of the session involved playing several rounds of 'They Shoot Marbles, Don't they?' a game played with marbles as a symbolic medium of exchange. The game is played at a societal level . . . and we formed three interactive societies. Participants seek ways to resolve the conflicts that occur. An extended debriefing focused on participants' descriptions of their experiences and feelings during the game, analysis of parallels with other contexts, and application of elements of the game to future courses of action . . . it served as a base for making connections between competitive, win/lose orientations and masculinism, and between cooperative, win/win approaches and feminism."

Small Groups

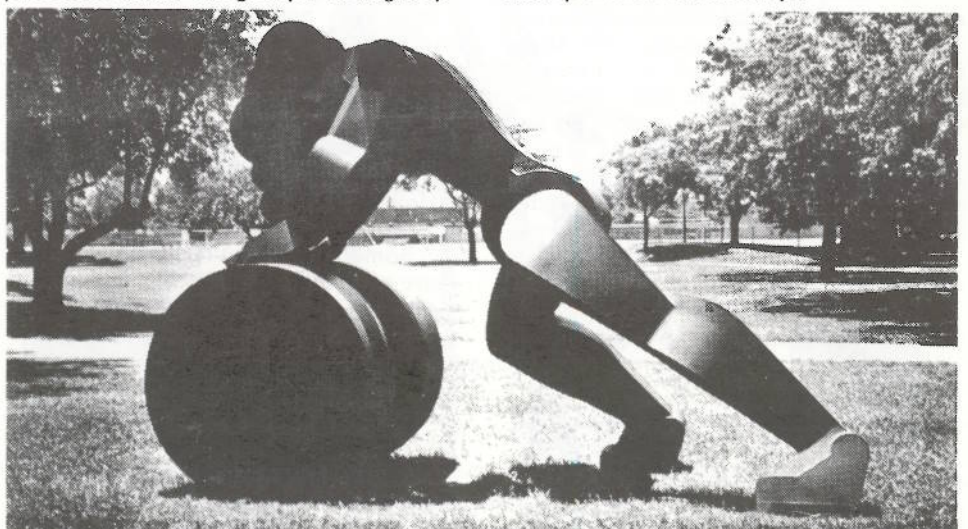
"Small-group sessions were the heart of the course, and we created a variety of methods for use. . . . During brief (usually ten-minute) periods in class, students were asked to write freely, for their own purposes (not to be handed in), in response to a plenary or small-group session, or to pull thoughts together before a group discussion. This technique is particularly helpful to students who find it hard to speak up in class, since it allows them to organize their thoughts in advance." The groups discussed the content of the free writing period and used comments to set group rules and agenda for discussion. One-on-one "processing" periods were used, with students paired, for venting intense feelings coming out of the discussions. Students were taught nonjudgmental listening skills as well as active listening skills. Brainstorming sessions were held." We viewed the small-groups processes themselves as part of the learning on conflict resolution, so most of one session was set aside to apply course themes to the processes within the groups. Each group

dealt with how the participants were handling their disagreements and conflicts and on power imbalances in the group, possible sources of those imbalances . . . and their impact on group process, and changes the group could make."

"The use of a process similar to consciousness-raising was central in all small group work, and especially in racism-awareness training. . . . Students also kept a journal, including their free writing, wrote a reflective essay applying course themes to one of the content areas (race, consumer, domestic, or workplace relations), and completed an individually contracted 'action project' demonstrating application of learning to a 'real life' context. Action projects included, for example, identifying resources and agency practices in relation to domestic violence; experimenting with alternative group processes in the workplace; and helping to conduct a needs assessment for a community dispute-resolution center. Students worked in small groups and in pairs to develop proposals for their action-project learning contracts."

The concluding session was a panel with group representatives presenting discussion and conclusions, action workshops and a lunch hour action fair. For the action fair, representatives of community groups working on a variety of issues made information on their organization and projects available."

"In planning the course, we had been uneasy about our ability to define and communicate our assumptions about the relationship between feminist values and peace-oriented work and study, but student and community response to the course (measured by a lengthy questionnaire) indicated that we succeeded in bringing issues of violence, war, and peace into focus. Several students moved directly into active work with local peace groups; others began actively challenging competitiveness, racism, sexism, and linguistic violence in their work situations and in their personal relationships."



Sculpture: "Push" by Fred Hunnicut

Photograph by Emilie Wilson

Sydney Drell on the Nuclear Predicament

Sydney Drell is Deputy Director of Theoretical Physics at the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center, and co-director of the Center for International Security and Arms Control. For more than twenty years he has served as an advisor to the U.S. government on issues of national security and arms control.

The following is excerpted from his May 30, 1985 speech to the American Association for the Advancement of Science entitled "Star Wars and Arms Control."

"... We must step back and view the threat of nuclear weapons in proper perspective. This threat is not solely or even primarily a technical problem. The difficulty is much deeper and the solution much more radical than that which can be achieved by continually calling on the next stage of technology to provide a new Maginot Line.

In my own field of physics, the advent of quantum mechanics presented not just a technical problem of matrix algebra to physicists 60 years ago. It demanded a whole new way of thinking. And physicists who couldn't master it sank in the wake of rapidly advancing progress. The advent of nuclear weapons of mass destruction... presents all mankind with more than a technical problem of rescaling warfare. It demands that we develop new means for resolving our differences and conflicts. A nuclear war would be nothing short of suicide. History reminds us of how grave the danger is, for over the full span of human records there have been wars, and in them human beings have used every means available at the time to kill and overpower one another. We are witness to tragic and brutal conflicts at this very time.

Our challenge is thus not to make a better laser or computer. For the U.S. and Soviet Union, above all, as possessors of close to 99 percent of the world's nuclear weapons, the challenge is to get serious—really serious—and committed to improving our political, diplomatic, and human relations. We must face our common danger: not each other, but nuclear weapons—ours, theirs, and those of the increasing number of nuclear-weapons-capable nations.

The path to a safer world cannot be paved by technology alone. The way will have to be paved initially and for a large part of the way by progress in diplomacy and arms control. Is there hope? I don't know. This is not a time for optimism... But as scientists we are not altogether unfamiliar with surprises in our work.

More to the point, there is strong evidence that we can make a great difference by involving ourselves in the process of seeking a safer world, not only as scientists and experts, but as informed citizens helping to shape an informed public constituency.

The following excerpts were taken from Facing the Threat of Nuclear Weapons, University of Washington Press, 1983, by Sidney Drell.

The extraordinary achievements of the human spirit and genius on which we base our claims to preeminence have also handed us our gravest threat. Out of our understanding of Nature we have created the nuclear means to destroy our civilization, if not our very own existence.

Can we avoid the fate of a nuclear holocaust? We can never undo or unlearn the knowledge of nuclear explosions—of fission and fusion. Our challenge is to develop new means for regulating our differences and settling our conflicts. War is no longer acceptable...

The avoidance of a nuclear holocaust is the absolute moral and political imperative of our time. It is our greatest challenge. Will we succeed? Because, at heart, I am an optimist, I believe we will. But it is not from human history that I derive my optimism. We know that, over the full span of human records, there have been wars, and furthermore that human beings have used every means available to kill and overpower one another... What rational basis is there, then for optimism?

The fact is this: almost thirty-eight years have passed since the first atom bombs devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and during all that time our fear, revulsion, and respect for nuclear weapons have been compelling in restraining us from using them—in spite of the numerous conflicts and opportunities to do so.

... The recent resurgence of public interest and concern about the danger of nuclear weapons and holocaust helps sustain this faith. So does the evidence that growing segments of the public recognize that the possibility and even the threat of ever using nuclear weapons of mass destruction against innocent people poses a major moral as well as technical and physical dilemma for society.

... In addition to the moral issue, we face a practical issue... there is no effective defense against nuclear retaliation.

... It has often been said that war is too important to be left to the generals and that peace is too vital to be left to the politicians. So are matters of nuclear weapons and policy too important to be left to the experts... There is, therefore, no excuse for us not to constitute an informed and an effective public constituency insisting on the imperative of arms control.

... The public arms control constituency created during the past year must continue to grow and prove that is enduring, informed, constructive, and energetic and has a broad political base. That will require a continued effort by all of us. I credit the freeze movement with playing a vital role in creating this constituency.

... To me the primary importance of the freeze is that it has served as the first step in building a constituency by uniting many who found cause to reject both the record of the past and the rhetoric of the present in arms control.

... We must never forget what these weapons do and that what is at stake is the survival of civilization as we know it. Avoiding a nuclear holocaust is our sacred moral obligation to generations yet unborn.

... Our eventual goal should be a policy of no use—first, second, or third, or at any level. When dealing with weapons of suicide there are no sensible way stations. Sanity is synonymous with no use whatever.

... Although scientists may bring important physical insights to an understanding of the enormity of the catastrophe of a nuclear war, the problem of working to avoid one is not ours alone. Ultimately, mankind has to recognize that we have no choice but to reject war entirely.

From "The Danger of Thermonuclear War: An Open Letter to Sydney Drell" by Andrei Sakharov

... Of course it would be wiser to agree now to reduce nuclear and conventional weapons and to eliminate nuclear weapons entirely. But is that now possible in a world poisoned with fear and mistrust...?

... I know the pacifist sentiments are very strong in the West... I share those aspirations fully. But, at the same time, I am certain that it is absolutely necessary to be mindful of the specific political, military, and strategic realities of the present day...

What is necessary now, I believe, is the enormous practical task of education so that specific, exact, and historically and politically meaningful objective information can be made available to all people, information that will enjoy their trust and not be veiled with dogma and propaganda.

... Meanwhile, balance in the area of conventional arms is a necessary prerequisite for reducing nuclear arsenals.

... Genuine security is possible only when based on a stabilization of international relations, a repudiation of expansionist policies, the strengthening of international trust, openness and pluralization in the socialist societies, the observance of human rights throughout the world, the rapprochement—convergence—of the socialist and capitalist systems, and worldwide coordinated efforts to solve global problems.

Peace and Philosophy

Philip H. Rhinelander is the Olive H. Palmer Professor of Humanities and Professor emeritus of Philosophy at Stanford. He and retired Admiral Stockdale, a former POW, have taught an innovative course at Stanford on peace and war: "Moral Dilemmas of War and Peace."

Professor Rhinelander commented in an interview in spring '85: "We have need for philosophy because of its practical value in a humanistic education to help us avoid one-dimensional conclusions so that we can see others' viewpoints. Philosophy can help us to understand our history, to know that knowledge is tentative, to help us build a habitual character embodying wisdom. We need wisdom to meet conflicts and uncertainties and avoid limited perspectives. Wisdom requires common sense and judgement. It enables us to look beyond immediate issues. Philosophy doesn't begin with certainty and consistency; these are its ultimate objectives to be approached step by step.

"Commitment to a point of view is important, but as Gordon Alport observes, we must be capable of 'tentativeness in commitment,' that is, be able to commit to a viewpoint but be able to learn how to change it. Many peace groups today are fragmented; they are in danger of each having a total obsession with a partial perspective. The Peace Institute idea is a fine one. As to the question of technology, it is a complex problem. We can't just put the genie back in the bottle. The bomb is like no other problem we have had to deal with. And yet we must deal with it if we are to survive."

The following are selected excerpts from Professor Rhinelander's 1982 article in the *Stanford Magazine*, "Peace: The Ultimate Challenge," which was read into the *Congressional Record* in 1983.

"In the year 1139 Pope Innocent II, alarmed by the inhuman potentialities of the recently developed crossbow, declared it 'hateful to God and unfit for Christians' and forbade its use . . . this edict was subsequently amended to permit the use of the weapon by Christians against Mohammedans, but that limitation broke down so that Christians began to use it against one another until the crossbow was itself superseded by more efficient and lethal devices. I mention this incident to show that efforts at arms control are not new and that, with relatively minor exceptions, they have generally proved ineffective."

"As Karl Jaspers, the German philosopher and psychologist pointed out more than 20 years ago in *The Future of Mankind*: 'We face an unprecedented challenge—a challenge calling, in his view, for a new orientation and new ways of thinking. If we fail to meet the challenge, we risk annihilation of the race.'"

"Alfred Nobel, the inventor of dynamite and the founder of the Nobel Prize, including the Peace Prize . . . has been quoted as saying, 'I wish I could produce a substance or a machine of such frightful efficacy for wholesale devastation that wars should thereafter become altogether impossible.' It would seem in retrospect that modern thermonuclear weapons had fulfilled Nobel's speculative hope for an instrument of ultimate destructiveness, yet wars employing . . . 'conventional' weapons have continued since 1945 . . . Still, there has not as yet been an active military conflict between Russia and the US . . . so that Nobel's vision of peace through terror has not been discredited and cannot be dismissed out of hand . . ."

"Because the quest for peace seeks to put an end to war, whereas efforts to control armaments deal with the conduct of war, it is sometimes assumed (if not claimed) that the two topics are distinct and call for separate consideration. But under modern conditions there are too many points of intersection and overlap to permit independent discussion. In *To End War*, by Robert Pickus and Robert Woito of the World Without War Council, published in 1970, the authors took full notice of this . . . and introduced a thoughtful discussion of the issues involved in the pursuit of peace.

They noted "Ignoring the contemporary military discussion is one error made by peace groups. Focusing entirely on weapons and the consequences of their use is another . . . Many contemporary peace organizations concentrate on opposing the development of American military power or on explaining the consequences of nuclear war . . . Anti-militarism makes the most sense, however, when those rejecting military deterrence offer alternative proposals for meeting legitimate American security and value concerns . . . They are more likely to gain a hearing if their strategy for peace suggests action that will move other nations, as well as our own, away from reliance on national military power."

"The great need, as they saw it, was for persuasion founded on intelligent understanding as opposed to militant protest, and a willingness to face complexities and ambiguities as opposed to a demand for superficial or simplistic remedies.

"In 1910, William James published a notable article entitled 'The Moral Equivalent of War.' Speaking as a pacifist and antimilitarist he pointed out that what are called the 'military virtues' or most of

them . . . are essential to the well-being of vigorous peaceful civilizations. He had in mind such traits as courage, fidelity, loyalty, tenacity, heroism, self-discipline, and the capacity for self-sacrifice . . . His point was that advocates of peace . . . ought to seek ways to develop . . . these qualities independently of war."

"If militarism is double-faced, so is pacifism. Pacifism can reflect a high-minded and selfless commitment to the cause of peace. But it can also reflect a sense of personal outrage against the human predicament . . . or a desire to avoid individual responsibility for the common welfare by refusing to become involved. Or it may serve as a ground of political or ideological protest against authority. Even where it is conscientious, a commitment to nonviolence poses difficult questions. If I am bound not to defend myself when attacked but to turn the other cheek, must I stand aside when others are endangered? . . . As to the example of Gandhi, which is often cited to show that passive resistance is an effective tactic against oppression, it has been pointed out . . . that Gandhi's success was dependent on the restraint of the British authorities. It seems clear that passive resistance is wholly ineffective against terrorism, or against the calculated barbarisms of a Hitler . . . against ruthless fanaticism bent on eliminating all dissent . . . Here again we face complexities, not clarities."

"After the development of the atom bomb, which he had favored for fear of its prior discovery by Hitler's forces, Albert Einstein wrote, 'The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking and we thus drift toward an unparalleled catastrophe.' . . . Where do we begin? How do we proceed? The ideal of a world without war is not new. Nor is concern for the limitation or elimination of nuclear weapons . . ."

"What Karl Jaspers recommended was not an immediate solution but an approach . . . we cannot hope to determine wisely what sacrifice we could, or should make without understanding the true nature and value of human existence itself . . . we are presently challenged, as never before, to show that we can master the dangers to our own survival posed by our own ingenious capacities for scientific and technical discoveries. The task requires a new breadth and depth of rationality capable of transcending limited cultural and ideological perspectives and of establishing a new basis of international communication and understanding. For this purpose, freedom of the human mind and human spirit is essential . . . But at the same time we cannot and must not expect to be able to eliminate the threat of extinction while keeping our own ways of life otherwise unchanged. We are challenged to find new modes of thinking, a new rational orientation; if we fail, disaster looms."

continued next page

Money for Graduate Research on Disarmament, Arms Control and Peace Studies at Stanford: The MacArthur Foundation

The MacArthur Foundation awarded Stanford University \$750,000 in Winter 1985 for studies focusing on nuclear disarmament and worldwide security issues. The grant is part of a three-year program to develop studies of international peace.

The foundation awarded a total of \$25 million to several major universities and existing research centers: Stanford, Berkeley, Harvard, Columbia, and MIT will receive grants of \$750,000 each. Ten other academic institutions, including UCLA and UC San Diego, will each receive \$250,000; the Social Science Research Council in New York will administer the distribution of an additional \$6.2 million for graduate student and post-doctoral fellowships across the country. The Brookings Institute will receive \$1.5 million to strengthen and enlarge the network of scholarly research in this field.

Jerome B. Weisner, president emeritus of MIT and head of the MacArthur foundation's international security committee,

Peace and Philosophy, continued

"... What is important, I think, is the insistence that we must seek to understand the many dimensions of the problem of peace and safety in today's world before we venture to propose specific answers or seek to rally support for them. The language of force is sharp and universally understood. So is the language of submission. But the language of trust, on which peace and security ultimately depend, is subtle and difficult especially where it is most urgently required."

Center for International Security and Arms Control

320 Galvez Street
Stanford University
497-9625

The Center has four major components: research, teaching, training and outreach. The research deals with such subjects as the Strategic Defense Initiative, crisis management, Soviet military doctrine, and defense procurement policies. This research is carried out primarily by the senior staff and off-campus members of the Center.

The teaching program is the primary interaction with undergraduate students. The basic course, Political Science 138A, "Arms Control and Disarmament," is very popular. The course utilizes a staff of eighteen lecturers. Students from this course can continue with various seminar and simulation courses (PS 13B-E). The Center has recently expanded this set of courses and is now "at the limit of our capacity in terms of undergraduate teaching," according to co-director John Lewis.

The training program offers fellowships for mid-career scientists and journalists as well as pre-doctoral and post-doctoral researchers in fields closely related to international security and arms control. These categories are specified by the Center's various grants, particularly the MacArthur grant and cannot be used for undergraduate funding.

The outreach component consists largely of a series of arms control luncheons for an active group that follows the Center's work, and a colloquium series that is offered to the general public.

said the main purpose of the new program is "to reduce the 'knowledge gap' between what we understand now and what we need to know to save the planet from extinction."

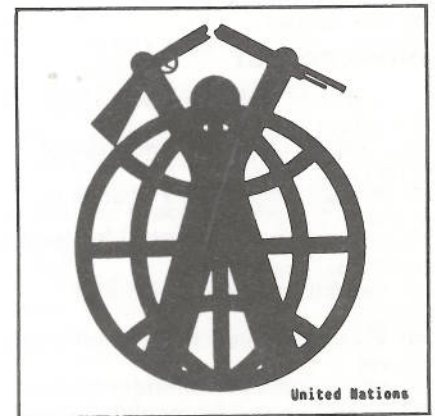
The Center for International Security and Arms Control, co-directed by John Lewis and Sidney Drell, will be responsible for the allocation of the grant. "This grant provides a really solid base of support in a field whose importance is second to none," Drell said in a press release in January. Leaders of the center here agree that the MacArthur awards will revitalize the field.

Coit Blacker, Associate Director of the Center, explained that the grant is intended to be used in two ways: \$300,000 for graduate fellowships over the next three years and \$450,000 for projects in the field of international security distributed over the next three years. The grants are not limited to political science, history, or international relations. A multi-disciplinary committee will award the graduate fellowships.

Speaking of the \$450,000 earmarked for faculty research at a rate of \$250,000 per year, Blacker said that the "best kind of work will be done in collaboration. People who have been involved for a long time will work together to develop existing or new projects. Multi-disciplinary research projects backed by the Center have included work on nuclear war prevention, on the Strategic Defense Initiative of the Reagan administration (the "star wars" proposal), and on international security concerns in the Asian-Pacific Region." (from *PEAS Newsletter*, winter 1985)

Undergraduate Research Funds

Students with ideas on peace-related (or other subject-matter) research should talk with Laura Selznick at the Undergraduate Research Opportunities Office, 590A Old Union, phone 497-3828 about requirements and deadlines for the Firestone major grants for extended research and small grants for research. These funds supercede the former SCIRE supplemental undergraduate research funds, and greatly increase the available money for undergraduate research. Both small grants, up to \$500, and the larger Firestone grants have an April 7 deadline. (Notification of awards May 2.)



International Year Of Peace, 1986

The United Nations has designated 1986 as the International Year of Peace with a request to member states to commemorate it in appropriate ways. The UN plans to publicize the event through conferences, contests, posters, coins, stamps, films and media presentations. It is also organizing five regional seminars in 1985 in anticipation of the Year of Peace.

Selected Stanford Courses

What follows is a list of selected Stanford courses that relate to peace studies issues: including study of other cultures, communication theory, economics, education, feminist theory, food research and distribution, history, philosophy, political science and international studies, psychology, public policy, religious studies, sociology and urban studies. Students should also consult the Innovative Academic Courses catalog (quarterly) for SWOPSI and Undergraduate Specials and Frosh and Sophomore Seminars on related subjects. The courses we have selected indicate the variety of issues that could be incorporated in an academic focus on peace studies issues within and among several disciplines.

Taken from *Courses and Degrees* (1984-85). Not all courses available 1985-86. See *Courses and Degrees* (1985-86) for new courses.

ANTHROPOLOGY

- 1, Social and Cultural Anthropology
- 13, Culture and History
- 106, (Seminar) Structure and Change in Rural Latin America
- 108, African Societies in a Changing World
- 133A,B,C, (EDGE) Ethics of Development in a Global Environment
- 147, Peasant Migration and Social Change
- 148, Cultural Approaches to Alternative Futures
- 157, Law in Radically Different Cultures
- 238, Education and Sociocultural Change
- 266, Cultural Transmission

COMMUNICATION

- 176, International Communication: Structures and Issues

ECONOMICS

- 106, World Food Economy
- 118, The Economics of Development
- 119, Development and Population Interactions in the Third World
- 122, Theory of Capitalist Development
- 123, Economic Development in Latin America
- 153, Comparative Economic Systems
- 160, Power, Conflict and Cooperation in Economic and Social Systems
- 165, International Economics
- 166, International Trade and Investment Policy

EDGE

- Selected Courses

EDUCATION

- 206A, Introduction to the Study of International Development
- 207X, International Cooperation in Education Development
- 210, Sociology of Education
- 217S, Teaching: A Global Perspective, Cross Cultural

FEMINIST STUDIES

- 1, Feminism and Social Policy

FOOD RESEARCH INSTITUTE

- 103, The World Food Economy
- 119, Human Nutrition

GERMAN STUDIES

- 133, Democracy, Protest, and Political Culture in German Speaking Europe

HISTORY

- 22, The World Outside the West in the Age of European Imperialism
- 75S, Introductory Seminar: The Atomic Bomb as History, 1939-55
- 93, Modern East Asian Civilizations
- 120C, Russia in Revolution, 1861-1930
- 122B, Soviet Foreign Policy
- 123A, The Soviet Union: Politics and Society since 1917
- 129A, 19th Century Germany from 1789 to 1914
- 132A, Modern France, 1815-1914
- 132B, Modern France, 1914-Present
- 139A, History of Modern Physics
- 148C, Africa in the 20th Century
- 170, America in the 1960's: The Tumultuous Decade
- 173A,B, History of Women in America Since 1870
- 174, Reflections on the American Condition
- 187B, The Modern Middle East, 1718-Present
- 234A, (Undergraduate Colloquium) The History of War, 1400-1945
- 238B, (Undergraduate Colloquium) The Spanish Civil War
- 257A, (Undergraduate Colloquium) Black Politics and Social Movements in the 1960's and 1970's
- 263, Women in America
- 288, Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict
- 290, (Undergraduate Colloquium) Japan and America: Conflict and Cooperation
- 296, The Chinese Communist Movement to 1949

PHILOSOPHY

- 20, Personal Morality: Introduction to Moral Philosophy
- 30, Public Morality: Introduction to Political Philosophy
- 76, Moral Dilemmas of War and Peace
- 77, Ethics, Justice and International Systems
- 170, Ethical Theories
- 171, Political Argument
- 172, Contemporary European Social Philosophy
- 175, General Value Theory
- 177, Philosophical Perspectives on Feminism

POLITICAL SCIENCE

- 1, Major Issues of American Public Policy
- 9, Introduction to Public Opinion and Political Behavior
- 35, How Nations Deal with Each Other
- 50, Freedom and Order in Western Political Thought
- 103, Class and Politics
- 117R, The Role of the Military in Politics
- 125F, (Seminar) Development and the International System
- 126, Politics in Eastern Europe
- 131, American Foreign Economic Policy
- 132D, Political and Ethical Aspects of Foreign Policy
- 133, Peace Studies
- 133R, US and Soviet Security Policies: Empire in the Nuclear Age
- 137, The World of Superpowers
- 138A,B, Arms Control and Disarmament
- 140N, (Seminar) Multinational Corporations and the Third World
- 141, The World of Superpowers
- 145J, American Foreign Policy
- 161, (Seminar) Power, Authority, and Obligation
- 161S, (Seminar) Democratic Theory
- 207, (Seminar) Governmental Decision-Making and Natural Resources
- 228A,B, US and USSR as Regional Powers
- 241A,B, (Seminar) International Political Economy
- 243, International Relations Theory
- 244, Global Politics and the Future
- 244R, The Politics of Alliances
- 284A,B, Studying Public Opinion see also *Comparative Politics, Public Administration, American Politics*

PSYCHOLOGY

- 115, Social Developments
- 121, Social Psychology
- 124, The Social Psychology of Politics
- 129, Person Perception, Self-Perception, and Stereotyping
- 156, Decision-Making
- 157, The Psychology of Judgement and Decision-Making
- 192, (Seminar) Aggression
- 199, Psychology of Mind Control

PUBLIC POLICY

- 175, Politics and Public Policy
- 182L, Law in Radically Different Cultures

RELIGIOUS STUDIES

- 139, The Golden Rule
- 145, Comparative Religious Ethics

SOCIOLOGY

- 5, Stratification
- 147, Class and Politics
- 152, Social Structure of World Society
- 156, Sociology of Culture
- 158, Social Movements and Social Protest
- 159, Revolutionary Processes
- 166, Organizations and Public Policy

URBAN STUDIES

- 156, Urban Growth and Change

U.S. Universities and Colleges with Peace Studies Programs, Courses, and Resources

Most institutions listed have undergraduate programs. (G) indicates graduate only, unless accompanied by (P). (I) indicates information available at the UCCM office.

American U, Wash DC
 Antioch College, Ohio (G)
 Augsburg College, MN
 Beloit College, WI
 Bethel College, IA
 Boston College, Boston, MA
 Cal St U, L.A. (G,I)
 Cal St U, Sacramento
 Cal St U, San Francisco
 Cambridge College, Cambridge, MA
 Chapman College, Orange, CA
 Clark University, Worcester, MA
 Colgate, NY

I think that people want peace so much that one of these days government had better get out of their way and let them have it.

—Dwight David Eisenhower

College of New Rochelle, NY (I)
 Columbia, NY (I)
 Cornell NY (P,G,I)
 Dartmouth, NH(G,I)
 De Paul U, ILL (I)
 Duke U Law School, NC (G)
 D'Youville College, Buffalo, NY
 Earlham College, IN (I)
 Earlham Sch. Religion, IN (G)
 Edgewood College, WI
 Fordham, NY (G,I)
 George Mason U, VA (G,I)
 Georgetown U, Wash. D.C. (P,G,I)
 Goddard College, VT
 Goshen College, IN (I)
 Graceland College, Lamoni, IA
 Gustavus Adolphus College, MN
 Hamline U, MN
 Hampshire College, MA
 Harvard U, MA (I)
 Haverford College, PA (I)
 Hilbert College, NY
 Indiana U, Bloomington
 Illinois St (I)
 Juniata College, PA (I)
 Kent State, Ohio (I)
 La Verne College, CA
 Manchester College, IN (I)
 Manhattan College, Riverdale, NY (I)
 Mankato St College, MN
 MIT, MA
 Middlebury, VT
 Monmouth College, NY
 Murray St, KY (I)
 New School for Social Research, NY (I)

New York U, NY(I)
 NE Missouri St, Kirksville
 Northland College, WI(I)
 Northwestern, ILL (I)
 Oberlin, OH (I)
 Ohio St U, Columbus, OH (I)
 Ohio U, Athens, OH (I)
 Oregon St U
 Princeton U, NJ (G,I)
 Purdue U, IN
 Rice U, Texas
 Richmond College, NY
 Rocky Mtn College, MT
 Rutgers U, NJ (G,I)
 St. Louis U., MO
 St. Joseph's College, PA
 Sangamon State, MI
 School for Intl. Training, VT (I)
 S. Illinois U, Edwardsville (I)
 Stanford U, CA (I)
 SUNY, Buffalo
 SUNY/Stony Brook, NY (I)
 Stephens College, MO
 Stockton St, NJ
 Syracuse U, NY (I)
 Tufts, MA (I)
 Union College, NY
 U Akron, Ohio (I)
 U Alaska, Anchorage
 U Cal Berkeley (I),
 U Cal San Diego
 U Cal Santa Barbara (G,I)
 U Cincinnati, OH (I)
 U CO at Boulder
 U CO, Boulder (G)
 U Connecticut (I)
 U Dayton, OH (I)
 U Denver, CO (G,I)
 U Dubuque, IA
 U Hawaii
 U of Houston (G,I)
 U Illinois (I)
 U Iowa (I)
 U KY, Lexington (I)
 U Maryland (I)
 U Mass, Amherst, MA
 U Michigan
 U Minnesota
 U Missouri, Columbia, MO (I)
 U Missouri, St. Louis (G,I)
 U Nebraska (I)
 U of N. Carolina, Chapel Hill (P,G,I)
 U Notre Dame, IN
 U PA (G,I)
 U Pittsburgh
 U Portland, OR (I)
 U Texas at Austin

It isn't enough to talk about peace. One must believe in it. And it isn't enough to believe in it. One must work at it.

—Eleanor Roosevelt

U Vermont (I)
 U Washington, WA
 U WI, Madison (I)
 U WI, Stevens Point
 Utah St U
 Villanova U, PA (I)
 Wayne St U, Detroit, MI (G,I)
 William Patterson College, NJ
 Wilmington College, OH (I)
 Wittenberg U, OH (I)
 Yale U, Connecticut

Peace cannot be kept by force. It can only be achieved by understanding.

—Albert Einstein

Peace and World Order Studies Programs Outside the U.S.

Addresses and information on the following programs are available in the UCCM office.

Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security
 Center for War Sociology, Belgium
 Centre for the Analysis of Conflict, Canterbury, England
 Centre for the Analysis of Conflict, London
 Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, India
 Conflict Research Unit, England
 Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Sweden
 Department of Teacher Education, Nigeria
 Ecumenical Institute for Theological Research
 Free University of Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany
 Hesbjerg Peace Research College, Denmark
 Institute for Peace Research, Austria
 Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, Federal Republic of Germany
 Institute for Peace Science, Japan
 Institute of Development Studies, England
 Interdisciplinary Conflict Research Group, Sweden
 International Institute for Peace Research Oslo, Norway
 International Peace Academy, New York, U.S.A.
 Latin American School of Political Science, Chile
 Peace and Conflict Programme, England
 Peace Research Center, Netherlands
 Peace Research Institute of Nigeria, Nigeria
 Peace Studies Association, Japan
 Richardson Institute for Conflict and Peace Research, England
 School of Peace Studies, England
 Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Sweden
 Synergic Developments, Argentina
 Tampere Peace REsearch Institute, Finland
 United Nations University, NY
 University Commission for Peace and Conflict Research, Sweden
 University of Haifa, Peace Studies Program, Israel
 University of Waterloo, Peace Studies, Canada
 University for Peace, Costa Rica
 University of Peace, Belgium

Brian Sayre Memorial

Peace Essay Contest

Winners



Peace and the Mission of a Peace Studies Program at Stanford

by Ali Stoeppelwerth

Peace means much more than simply the absence of war. While no one definition can be expected to adequately encompass every aspect of the multifaceted concept we call "peace," the existence of a positive, dynamic relationship between actors on several levels of abstraction may be considered a fair starting point upon which more detailed descriptions could build. The viability of a "peaceful" relationship, whatever its level of application, depends on many factors, but chief among them are certainly a recognition of mutual interests among the actors involved, a sincere desire on the part of all participants to enter into and maintain a cooperative arrangement, and a tolerance by each party of the risks involved in initiating a relationship with another entity despite real prospects of rejection and failure. These variables can be analyzed in relation to any collaborative effort, whether it be on the international, domestic, or interpersonal level. No sovereign state, for example, is going to jeopardize its freedom of action and international reputation by agreeing to an arrangement like an arms control treaty, unless its leaders believe, firstly, that concrete benefits will accrue from the agreement, secondly, that these gains are valuable enough to warrant a formalized and binding contract with another party, and thirdly, that both the global position of the country and the domestic standing of its government can weather the scrutiny and criticism likely to accompany the process of negotiation and its ultimate result.

Because the concept of peace applies to relations in so many spheres of interaction, any attempt to establish a "Peace Studies" program must necessarily utilize a multidisciplinary approach. The area of arms control, to take the subject most frequently assumed to be at the center of peace studies curricula, draws, for example, on perspectives as diverse as physics, economics, political science, and philosophy. And yet, as is obvious from the record of the last forty years, the creation and maintenance of peace requires progress in many fields outside the province of formal arms control arrangements. Competition and conflict arise over issues of energy resources, trade imbalances, and ideological differences as often as they do over military asymmetries. Indeed, it may be that part of the oft-perceived "failure" of the arms control process stems from the naive expectation that mediation of military competition among nations will naturally be accompanied by decreasing tensions in other spheres of conflict.

Peace Studies, then, must include the study of arms control as but one of the potential mechanisms for reducing the likelihood of war and developing the positive, dynamic side of a peaceful relationship. Why undertake such a program? Just as the definition of peace covers many different levels of interaction and aspects of relations, the measures toward its achievement will be necessarily multitudinous and complex. The existence of an informed, caring constituency is indispensable to the furtherance of peace in all levels of intercourse, but most especially in the global issues of greatest urgency. To expand and enrich this vital constituency should be the goal of a Peace Studies program at Stanford.

What is Peace?

by Will Harris

War is a state of active opposition where either one or both of the parties (e.g. people, nations) involved seek to exclude the other from access to some valued resource. In precivilized times, then, war took the form of two hostile animals competing for the basic necessities of food and shelter. In more modern settings, war exists whenever one party seeks to impose its will, or pursue its ends, at the expense of another. Partiality breeds war, for once I consider my aims to be superior, the possibility of acting to secure these aims to the exclusion of the aims of others becomes justifiable, and indeed, likely if the means of exercising dominion are readily available.

Peace is opposite to war. A state of peace exists when interrelated persons consider each other's interests to be equally valuable. For once I consider the ends of other people to be no less worthwhile than my own, then acting to secure my own advantage at the expense of others becomes logically unjustifiable. Peace is thus born of impartiality.

Given such a context of analyzing war and peace, we can debunk two bits of conventional wisdom. First, it is clear that a state of peace does not exist just because there is no open conflict between people or nations. Peace requires that the parties involved view each other as equally valuable entities, rather than just as competitors seeking to subject the other to its control. War and peace are actually different ways of viewing one's environment. War involves taking a perspective of one's neighbors as competitors, with each seeking to impose his will on the other. In contrast, peace is the view that neighbors are essentially like one's self with equally valid claims on scarce environmental resources.

The other element of commonly accepted thought about peace requiring correction is the view that once impartiality becomes the rule in both interpersonal and international relations that a perfect world free of all disputes will result. This is far from the truth. Differences of opinion can (and perhaps should) still occur as different people and countries hold varying conceptions of what is good or just. Peace only rules out opposition of the blindly partisan or violent variety. Blind partisanship could not exist in a state of peace; resorting to violence against a person or group of persons whom we consider to be of equal worth as ourselves is logically unjustifiable: each party would act in the way it wanted to be treated, meaning that neither would resort to violence over differences of opinion. A state of peace would only insure that this discourse is free of undue partiality and threats of violence, not a Utopia of universal love.

Brian Sayre was a committed peace-activist who helped form the student group PEAS (Peace Education at Stanford). During a bike tour in 1984, he was killed in a car accident. Brian's father established the memorial fund. Prize money for the contest was donated by Brian's friends and relatives. Essays were reviewed by a committee consisting of J. Adams, E. Fischbach, T. Rodriguez, B. Bland, R. North, J. Ring and G. Johnston.



Resource Directory of Local Peace Groups

The following list of peace-related groups affiliated with the Mid-Peninsula Peace Center only encompasses the local Stanford and Palo Alto areas. The list incorporates internship/research projects or agency descriptions developed by SCIRE. For more information regarding internships or research projects available through a particular agency please contact the UCCM office in Old Union, or the Public Service Center, Owen House. All groups are eager for volunteers and those which haven't listed internships or research projects can be contacted to develop such positions or projects. Only three Stanford groups, those whose title indicates their primary focus is on peace, are included. Numerous other groups who do peace work in addition to work in other areas can be looked up in the Stanford Student Directory. The Mid-Peninsula Peace Center Resource Directory (from which this list of local groups is taken) also includes information on Bay Area peace groups. More information is available from the Peace Center at 415-326-8837. The resource book includes: Peace Center history, member organizations, resources—including books, periodicals, films and slide shows, speakers, newsletters, draft counseling, musicians, graphic artists. It will be updated in fall of 1985. In addition, the UCCM has lists of other national peace groups which may or may not have Bay Area chapters.

Beyond War
222 High Street
Palo Alto, CA 94301
328-7756

National peace organization founded by the Creative Initiative Foundation of Palo Alto.

Campaign for Economic Democracy
P.O. Box 1677
Palo Alto, CA 94302
326-8837 or 322-6584
Associated with the Citizen's Party

Center for Economic Conversion
222C View St.
Mountain View, CA 94041
968-8798
The Center for Economic Conversion is a non-profit organization devoted to converting military production to socially useful purposes. Interns are needed to work on a variety of research and publication projects.

Center for Innovative Diplomacy
644 Emerson Suite 32
Palo Alto, CA 94301
323-0474
Proposed establishment of a peace council in Palo Alto. CID is a non-profit, non-partisan organization striving to prevent nuclear and conventional war by increasing citizen participation in foreign affairs.

Committee Against U.S. Intervention in Central America (CAUSICA)
P.O. Box 11461-A
Palo Alto, CA 94306
948-4106

**Nuclear war is unthinkable:
but tens of thousands of people
are paid to think about it
every day. Richard Barnet**

Community Against Nuclear Extinction (CANE)
P.O. Box 377
Palo Alto, CA 94302
CANE is involved with direct actions to promote nuclear disarmament.

Committee for a Peace Tax Fund
235 Churchill Ave.
Palo Alto, CA 94301
326-6785
The Committee is a group which supports a legislative bill which would allow citizens and conscientious objectors to pay taxes but have them go towards social services instead of military funding.

Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility
PO 717
Palo Alto, CA 94301
322-3778

Educators for Social Responsibility
856-7979

First Congregational Church, Peace Committee
1985 Louis Road
Palo Alto, CA 94303

Friends Meeting of Palo Alto, Peace and Social Action Committee
957 Colorado
Palo Alto, Ca 94303
856-0744

Humanitas International
P.O. Box 818
Menlo Park, CA 94025
324-9077
Humanitas is a human rights agency which speaks out against repression throughout the world. It promotes the concept of nonviolence.

Mid-Peninsula Peace Center
555 Waverley
Palo Alto, CA 94301
326-8837
The Peace Center has several internships available for people interested in working on peace-related issues. Includes a coalition of peace groups in Palo Alto.

Mid-Peninsula Peace Fellowship/Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR)
330 Ravenswood Ave.
Menlo Park, CA 94025
324-1450
FOR promotes nonviolent conflict resolution and active reconciliation of conflicts and works from a spiritual base.

Imagine
1027 Bryant #7
Palo Alto, CA 94301
326-8073
Imagine is an affinity group connected with CANE. It is involved with direct actions to promote nuclear disarmament.

Mid-Peninsula Freeze Campaign
555 Waverley
Palo Alto, CA 94301
326-8837 or 326-2388
Promotes the establishment of a freeze on nuclear weapons.

Pacific Studies Center
222B View St.
Mountain View, CA 94041
969-1545
The Pacific Studies Center is a non-profit, public interest information center, specializing in the social, environmental and military impact of high-technology. The Center maintains a library of clipping files, prepares articles for numerous periodicals, and publishes its own pamphlets and periodicals.

Peace Education at Stanford (PEAS)
UCCM office in Old Union, Stanford
497-3114
PEAS is a student organization that includes faculty, staff and community members as well. It helps promote interest in peace studies through events and a quarterly newsletter.

People Against the Draft (PAD)
318 Pope St.
Menlo Park, CA 94025
853-1656
PAD is a locally based group of people committed to stopping conscription by all possible non-violent means.

continued next page

Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR)

P.O. Box 2337
Stanford, CA 94305
497-9060

PSR is a non-profit organization dedicated to public and professional education on the medical consequences of nuclear war.

Stanford Arms Control and Disarmament Forum (SACDF)

P.O. Box 8544
Stanford, CA 94305
497-9535

U.S. China Peoples Friendship Association

365 Arden Road
Menlo Park, CA 94025

U.S. Peace Council

1710 Crocker Ave.
Menlo Park, CA 94025

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND)

P.O. Box 11724-A
Palo Alto, CA 94306
494-WAND

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

555 Waverley
Palo Alto, CA 94301
326-8837

Local branch of international women's peace group established in 1915 (local branch established in 1922). Works on peace and disarmament issues, economic and other community issues.

Women's Peace Oral History Project

P.O. Box 6553
Stanford, CA 94305
326-1235 (Judy Adams)

A non-profit research project interviewing Bay Area women peace activists, particularly older women. Needs volunteers to aid in conducting, editing, and transcribing interviews; photography; preparing classroom materials, displays; translating (Spanish, German, Russian, French, Chinese, Japanese); editing for book based on oral histories; assistance with graphics and layout.

DIRECTORIES OF ORGANIZATIONS:

The UCCM Office on campus, Old Union Clubhouse, has organization lists and other information from the Peace Studies Task Force.

AMERICAN PEACE DIRECTORY (1984), eds. Melinda Fine and Peter Steven, Ballinger Publishing Company, Cambridge, MA. Lists 1,350 groups arranged alphabetically according to national groups, educators' groups, educational programs, local peace groups and local chapters of national peace groups. Also zip code and focus index. Contact persons and description of each organization's aims.

GRASSROOTS PEACE DIRECTORY, with separate volumes for Alabama, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, N. Carolina, Ohio, South Carolina, Texas and Utah. Directories for more states are in progress. Arranged alphabetically. Appendix with audio-visual materials. Index by constituencies. Copies from Topsfield Foundation, Inc., Route 169, PO Box 203, Pomfret, CT 06258. Plans to keep current on annual basis.

Stanford Libraries Peace Resources

In addition to books, journals and other resources related to peace studies in the libraries' regular collections, the Stanford Libraries have extensive peace holdings of original source materials for primary research; including letters, diaries and papers of individuals, posters, organizational records and other documents. Access to most material in the regular collection of the libraries can most easily be made by a subject search under Peace Research or related index topics in Socrates or in the card catalog or shelves under JX1901-1955 for Green, Meyer or appropriate departmental libraries. The main holdings of primary research materials on peace are in the Hoover Archives which houses the John D. Crummey Collection on Peace which was established by the FMC Corporation with a grant to the Hoover Institution in 1977. The collection totals over two million pages of documentation. A complete description on the holdings is available in the *Guide to the Hoover Institution Archives* by Charles G. Palm and Dale Reed (Hoover Institution Press, 1980). The collection includes personal and organizational papers, books, periodicals, newspapers, pamphlets, posters, and archival materials relating to peace such as the Alice Park Collection and the David Starr Jordan Papers. Both of these collections are good examples of the type of research material available at Hoover.

Alice Park Collection

Alice Park, from Palo Alto, was a renowned feminist, vegetarian, and peace activist. She was among the founding members of the Palo Alto branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) in 1922. She took an integral part in national and international peace activities. She served as a delegate for the Palo Alto branch of WILPF in 1926. The following year she participated in the National Peace Convention held at York, England and in the International League for Peace and Freedom in Germany. Her work in pacifism earned her a passage on the Ford Peace Ship Expedition in 1915 which aimed to end World War I. Her collection includes diaries, correspondence, pamphlets, clippings, and leaflets relating to her various interests and activities. Major subjects include the Ford Peace Expedition, pacifism and the peace movement, civil liberties, and a variety of other reform movements in the United States.

David Starr Jordan Papers

David Starr Jordan was Stanford's first president from 1891 to 1913, and chancellor from 1913 to 1916. Jordan was very much interested in Peace Studies and envisioned a Peace Center for Stanford University. His collection includes correspondence, writings, pamphlets, leaflets, clippings, and photographs reflecting his widespread interests in a movement for world peace, disarmament, U.S. neutrality in WWI, and problems of minorities in the U.S. The collection also provides information on his personal and family life.

The Crummey Collection also holds organizational papers for groups such as the League of Nations, Paris Peace Conference, Stanford Draft Counseling, and the New Left Collection. The League of Nations Collection (located in the Hoover Institution Library rather than in the Archives) contains all of its official publications from 1920-46 when Hoover served as a deposit library for them. The Paris Peace Conference material (also located in Hoover Institution Library) is divided into many different collections. The three most notable are the documents presented at the Conference from 53 delegations, the minutes of the entire Conference, and the U.S. Division of Territorial, Economic and Political Intelligence which proposes suggested boundaries for Asia Minor and Latin America. The collection also includes transcripts of the proceedings of the founding session of the United Nations in San Francisco. The New Left Collection dates from 1964 to 1974. It includes booklets, tactics, and activities of various new left and right-wing groups, draft resistance, student movements, and the anti-Vietnam War movement. Within the same time period is the Stanford Draft Counseling Collection (1967-1974) which contains material relating to military conscription in the U.S.

These examples serve to show the kind of material found in the Crummey Peace Collection, which provides resources for undergraduates to do original research with the primary documents. Green and Hoover Libraries have printed lists of their archival material: *Lists of Holdings of the Stanford University Archives* (1973), and *Archival and Manuscript Material at the Hoover Institution* (1978). Be sure to check ahead for the hours during which these materials can be used since they are non-circulating. Also check the rules and conditions for using the materials.

Continued attention to development of world order and conflict resolution curricula, as part of peace studies, may enable educators to take the cognitive leap required to refashion education to address these critical issues in a viable, well-structured academic discipline, and enable their students to deal with complex global issues and conflicts in a positive and non-violent way. Educators and researchers working on world order and conflict resolution curricula express again and again that an issue in their work is learning the skills necessary for human survival.

Re-evaluating the Structures of Knowledge

In addition to the various approaches to the study of peace, some educators are re-evaluating the very context and methods by which knowledge is conveyed:

"The UN, the global arms race, the limits to resources, the information revolution, and genetic engineering are the kinds of forces which are shaping our future . . . At best they are grafted on to the present curriculum in interdisciplinary courses, a new unit, or a special day of emphasis. At worst they are totally invisible while young people study careers, political processes, and values choices which no longer exist. Our present curriculum structures have not been able to assimilate the new global problems . . . It is time to consider a fundamental re-examination of our basic structures of knowledge. Only then will we be able to present our students with a hopeful image of the future." (Finn, *Peace and Change*)

Peace Studies Programs: Place in the University Curriculum

Where does peace studies belong in an educational program? "There is no special or ideal place in the curriculum. The placement is largely dependent upon the individuals interested and the internal workings of the university. One finds peace programs in many of the traditional liberal arts departments, but they also appear in the physical sciences (biology, environment, chemistry), and in colleges of law, business administration, engineering and fine and applied arts. They also can be found in interdisciplinary or general education programs." (University of Akron, *International Peace Studies Newsletter*, Fall 1985)

Some universities have established peace institutes within the university, to act as an advisory body to develop curriculum and resources and to assist faculty from any department in "infusing" a peace studies focus into regular coursework. Some state university systems have established "central" institutes that serve campuses in the system. Other universities have no central institute, but have developed special courses within the tradi-

tional departmental disciplines that address issues related to peace studies. Students at these universities can structure self-designed, interdisciplinary, individual majors with a peace studies focus.

But many universities have established separate peace studies programs or departments, usually multi-disciplinary, which draw upon faculty from several other departments to teach core courses for a minor, co-major or major in Peace Studies. Nearly all of the established peace studies programs encourage interdisciplinary coursework in relevant departments. Many recommend and some require internships or field research to complete the major.

Appropriate Courses in Peace Studies

What kinds of coursework do the programs in peace studies generally include? "Courses naturally reflect the academic discipline of the individuals or groups involved. A decade ago extensive discussion ensued about making peace studies a distinctive field on the assumption that it encompassed a clearly defined area of knowledge. That idea has largely disappeared, in part because of a greater sensitivity to the wide range of peace studies, and also because of a growing awareness that even established disciplines are not nicely compartmentalized . . . thus it is not necessary to justify peace as an academic discipline or assume the need for a definable character." (U. Akron *International Peace Studies Newsletter*)

Most programs are inter/multi-disciplinary, and cover the areas of study identified by COPRED in a balanced presentation. There appears to be a balanced emphasis among the issues of war and peace, the arms race and disarmament; conflict resolution, non-violent civil defense and peacekeeping; social justice, economic, political and other related issues; and world order issues.

All the programs include a core with introductory courses on the basic concepts of peace studies; for example, on the nature of war, the nature of peace, the theories and practice of conflict resolution and non-violence. Many include an internship with an appropriate agency to give students practical experience in the field. Beyond the core, programs either tailor courses from the traditional disciplines to address key issues in peace studies to expand the core, or give the student latitude in choice of a co-major or complementary courses. The choice of related coursework is usually a wide one, but remains centered within the context of the peace studies core focus. The range of coursework includes:

Anthropology (war cross-culturally; development of social systems)

Arms Control and Disarmament

Biology (aggression; development theory)

Business, Economics (economics of war;

principles of negotiation; conversion economy; multinationals)

Communication (media; propaganda)

Education (value theory; decision-making; social responsibility)

Environmental Studies

Foreign Languages

Geology (politics and mineral resources)

Global and Futures Studies (environmental issues; resources; international organizations; world hunger/nutrition/food distribution; systems modeling and prediction)

History (of specific wars; peace movement; military and diplomatic tactics; imperialism)

International Studies

Law (international law; war criminals)

Literature (Holocaust; artist as political actor; songs, poetry, literature as propaganda; debate)

Math/Computer Science (research; modeling; game theory; statistical analysis)

Philosophy and Religion (concepts of peace; ethics; the 'just' war, theories of non-violence; philosophers and issue of war and peace)

Physics (energy and environment; weapons systems)

Political Science (foreign policy; development; diplomacy; international relations; power theory; world order)

Psychology (behavior; politics and power; criminal justice; aggression)

Public Policy (ethics and public policy; decision-making)

Sociology (theories of behavior, violence, aggression; social systems, conflict resolution; development of community; social stratification)

Urban Issues

Peace Studies at Stanford

Aside from the Arms Control and Disarmament Program, which has relevant coursework, and the one interdisciplinary peace studies course which is usually offered once a year, there is no formal curriculum or major in peace studies at Stanford. But interested students can seek advice about coursework, internships and research projects in the field, either to supplement their major, or to structure an interdisciplinary, self-designed major in peace studies.

We cannot recommend specific course combinations, since the choice should be an individual one, but as we have noted, the Task Force has compiled information on what coursework other university peace studies programs include. These could provide a general framework and some sound examples. Also, students and faculty participating in the Task Force and PEAS (Peace Education at Stanford, a voluntary student group) have examined the Stanford curriculum for courses relevant to a peace studies focus that might be combined with a major or form the basis for a self-designed major. The course list is

continued next page

available at the UCCM office and AIC.

The courses accommodate a variety of interest areas which could be combined in a peace studies focus. For example, a feminist studies major interested in also learning about peace studies, could structure a focus in peace/war issues for third world women; or the role of women in the military in the U.S.; or the economic results of the U.S. defense budget on domestic programs in child care, education or other programs affecting women. An undergraduate math or computer science major could explore the viewpoint of Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility and do research on computer technology and the arms race; or study methodologies for developing computer networking for conflict-resolution databases. A public policy major might explore issues in decision-making as they relate to national defense policy or citizen participation on the local government level in issues of military conversion projects. An economics major might explore issues in economic conversion; the effect of military budgets on the national deficit or governmental social services funding; or analyze "socially responsible" investment theories. Students majoring in English could develop a focus in the literature of protest or war novels. Human biology majors could combine an interest in medicine and medical research with a study of the effects of radiation on the human ecology and natural environment, or study the psychological, sociological, or medical effects of war and war-preparedness.

In addition to taking coursework to complement a major—or constructing a self-designed major with a peace studies focus, undergraduates can do community volunteer work, volunteer or accredited research projects or internships with local or national peace groups, design individual research projects or work with faculty who have an interest in the peace studies field. The UCCM office in the Old Union and the Public Service Center at Owen House have up-to-date information on community peace groups. Contact the URO office in 590 A Old Union for faculty research projects in a variety of fields; some may complement your interest in peace studies, conflict resolution, or global issues.

The choices are wide open to the innovative undergraduate interested in understanding the dynamics of war and peace and the impact of conflict and conflict-resolution on human beings, human social systems, economy, literature, ethics and any of the traditional academic disciplines. The resources of the SCIRE Peace Studies Task Force, now in the Peace Studies Resource Library in UCCM, the staff of UCCM, PEAS, and the faculty, staff students and community groups involved in peace issues are available to help in guiding your choices and structuring a program of study.

Peace Studies Efforts at Stanford, continued

1) Participate in non-academic peace-related activities. Talk with a member of the campus group PEAS (Peace Education at Stanford), Byron Bland from the United Campus Christian Ministry (UCCM), or one of the faculty or staff members involved in Stanford's interdisciplinary peace studies course. They can give you some initial direction to assess and/or guide your interests in appropriate channels. For example, through PEAS or with UCCM, you can join a regular informal discussion group on peace issues and perhaps help write for the PEAS newsletter or plan a public event. These non-academic activities might help you decide if you want to explore academic options.

2) Use resource materials: reading lists, internships, research projects. Review resources in the SCIRE Peace Studies Resource Library at UCCM, at the Clubhouse wing of the Old Union (second floor). These include a small tape library of lectures on peace issues; a peace studies bibliography (including information on Stanford library materials); survey information, including syllabi, from other universities' peace studies programs; information (also available from the Public Service Center in Owen House—next to the campus bike shop) on undergraduate internships, research projects, and volunteer positions with local peace groups and national programs.

The resources will give you ideas for a direction: do you want to focus on reading on your own time, to survey the peace studies field? Do you want to do a volunteer (or accredited) internship or research project with a community agency, to understand their goals? Do you want to just get an idea of the breadth of the field? The resource materials give you a place to start shaping your general interest into some specific activities—some may be eligible for credit

3) Take advantage of the curriculum in peace-related coursework. Explore the existing curriculum—departmental and extradepartmental courses (through the Innovative Academic Courses program, which now includes SWOPSI, Undergraduate Specials and Freshman and Sophomore Seminars)—to see if there are courses that appeal to your interest in peace studies.

The resource library at UCCM has a list of Stanford courses which the Peace Studies Task Force and PEAS identified as similar to courses that other universities include in global education, international studies, arms control and disarmament and peace studies curricula. Remember, the field of peace studies is a broad one which includes many disciplines.

Of special interest should be the interdisciplinary peace studies class at Stanford, offered in '85-'86 for the third

time. Byron Bland at UCCM can give you information about plans for offering the course in a given academic year. It draws together in one course content from several disciplines, and provides an excellent introduction to the field's breadth. Any of the faculty, staff or TAs in the course can aid you in finding direction for future work.

4) Do independent work in peace studies

If you decide that you want to integrate a focus on peace studies into your major, your next step should be to talk to your academic advisor and staff at the Academic Information Center. They can help you make the decision whether to major in political science, public policy, human biology, or any other departmental major, with a self-designed minor or focus in peace studies appropriate to the major. They can also give you guidance in designing an interdisciplinary or self-designed major so that you can structure your major along individual lines in peace studies. Here again, the resources collected by the SCIRE Peace Studies Task Force might help you in your decision-making. Be sure that you begin to make these important academic plans early enough to meet deadlines. Some courses integral to your academic goals may only be offered once a year.

Stanford's first interdisciplinary peace studies class, for example, offers a microcosm for such a concentration. The course is taught by faculty in sociology, psychology, political science, statistics, and history, and covers subjects such as the structure and content of international conflict, technical aspects of the arms race, relevant political and economic history, the psychology of conflict and conflict resolution, and the history of peacemakers and social movements, (from particular individuals such as Gandhi to Utopian concepts of peace and peacemaking).

Self-designed majors are just that, individually designed to meet your needs and the University's academic requirements. The field of peace studies is a relatively new one, but there is a lot of information to guide you in making your own decisions.

5) TA a course in the field or teach your own course. At some stage in exploring your interest in peace studies, consider whether you might have enough interest and expertise to TA in a relevant course, or design a course through IAC. Students can earn UPSE credit for teaching SWOPSI or Undergraduate Specials courses.

6) Research options: While exploring academic options, include in your plan the possibility of research: you can design your own research project, and possibly acquire funding for your independent work; you can work with a faculty member on their research and earn credit, or you can do research for a community agency as a volunteer or for credit.

7) Help explore interest/feasibility of a peace studies major or program at Stanford If student and faculty interest is sufficient, Stanford may be able to develop a peace studies major or program with your help. The Peace Studies Task Force has collected information that could be used to begin this process. A Stanford program could be "modeled" on any one of over a hundred university peace studies programs. It could make its own innovations in the field.

...by getting started on an introductory peace studies course we're making it more likely not just that we, but a large number of people who have competence and interest will start to do more.—Sandy Dornbusch

The Task Force did not reach any conclusions as to whether there is sufficient faculty student or administrative interest to warrant the development of a peace studies major or program at Stanford at this time—that was not our goal. Rather, we researched how other universities developed their programs, how they were structured and what disciplines they represented. We looked at their peace studies curricula and programs and compared them to courses, departmental structures and other resources available at Stanford. We concluded that if individual students have an interest in the diverse field encompassed by peace studies—which includes arms control and disarmament as well as the study of pacifist theory and literature and a whole realm of behavioral, political, economic, sociological and psychological studies—there are already ample resources and interested faculty to support individual academic plans to explore those subjects. We were encouraged to find a well-developed body of scholarship in peace studies and a proliferation of thoughtful academic programs.

But the task force encourages students, faculty and administrators to go further, to continue exploring the option of developing a major or program in peace studies. Especially with the establishment of the U.S. Institute of Peace, which can provide visiting scholars in peace studies, and educational program funding, and whose very existence should serve to validate the emerging field of peace studies, Stanford should not only keep pace with the growing number of universities providing programs in peace studies but also provide leadership in the field.

We cannot but agree with Professor Sandy Dornbusch, one of the founding

faculty of the Stanford peace studies class, who commented, "The area of peace studies is not one where there are answers . . . The people who are participating and teaching and learning in this disagree among themselves. It's going to be a challenging intellectual and emotional experience. All of us will be exposed to issues we hate to think about and to perspectives we despise, but which may have something to be said for them. Nobody is being naive and believes that we are going to solve the problems. Yet, as one of the world's great universities, we are devoting insufficient intellectual resources to these kinds of problems. We think that by getting started on an introductory peace studies course we're making it more likely not just that we, but a large number of people who have competence and interest, will start to do more." (*Campus Report*, Dec. 7, 1983).

In the same issue of *Campus Report* was an article citing "renewed sense of patriotism, job security" boosting interest in ROTC on college campuses. The study of war and the study of peace pose complex problems and raise thorny issues at universities exploring the dynamics of both human situations; the SCIRE Peace Studies Task Force goal to open the issue of peace studies in the University to debate has been accomplished. We offer the resource materials our two-year task force has compiled to the University community as a starting place for future research and thought.

U.S. Institute of Peace, continued

The U.S. Institute of Peace in 1985

What has the USIP accomplished since its passage into law and funding by the federal government? In fact, there is presently neither a location nor an Institute in real terms. Although the appropriations were passed by Congress, the Reagan administration attempted to rescind the congressional authorization and budget. After the administration's review the president decided to include the USIP in his fiscal year 1986 budget. But the '86 budget does not include any additional appropriations for the Institute; instead, it makes the estimate that \$3 million will be carried over from fiscal year '85 to operate the Institute in 1986. The budget will be re-authorized every two years. The Appropriations Subcommittees on Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education in both the Senate and the House will consider in September 1985 whether additional funds are to be allocated for the Institute in fiscal year 1986. Re-authorization for 1987 and 1988 will be considered by Congress in the spring of 1986.

The administration also made clear that it would favor a revised charter for the Institute. In fact, eight days before the statutory deadline for the president to nominate the institute's board of direc-

We know that peace is not simply the absence of war. It possesses a positive side that must be valued, preserved and promoted in every way. The Peace Academy stands for that positive side. Its creation will certainly advance the cause of peace. —Sen. Edward Kennedy, D. MA

tors—and five years after the completion of the extensive legislative process of discussing and revising the Peace Academy legislation—the State Department (not the president) proposed to Congress seventeen amendments to the Institute's charter which would transform the Institute from an independent national educational institution with a central core of researchers and educators into a very small grant-giving agency under the control of the State Department. The amendments include the following: 1) modifying the approval process for the stipends and fellowships for U.S. and foreign fellows, making appointments more difficult to make and putting them under the control of the State Department; 2) changing from 1/4 to 3/4 majority, the required approval vote for annual appropriations; 3) changing the process for the selection of the chair of the board of directors, which would make it possible for the Secretary of State to serve as first and permanent chair, rather than having the first year's chair selected by the president for three years with subsequent chairs named by the board itself; 4) adding a fifth government ex-officio board member, thus further emphasizing the State Department's role on the board (and deleting one of the private sector board members); 5) dropping the political/partisan test for ex-officio board members, thus changing the controlled bipartisan nature of the board. In addition, if the State Department's proposed amendments are adopted, the chief executive officer of the Institute would be changed from "president" to "executive director," giving him or her more day-to-day control over the Institute. Unless the chair is a private sector representative, the Institute will be de facto controlled by the federal government.

A final amendment would limit the Peace Institute staff to nine employees, a staff size that few see as sufficient for a living national institution. Taken as a whole, these proposed amendments would change the character of the Institute drastically, making it organizationally and structurally dependent on federal agencies for administrative and program support.

The State Department's proposed amendments have yet to receive the Congressional sponsorship required to bring them to floor discussion. Peace Institute sponsors recommend deferral of consideration of any amendments until the regu-

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larly scheduled, bi-yearly Congressional re-authorization hearings, thus allowing the Institute to begin its operations as soon as possible without the delay of further amendment.

President Reagan has also delayed the establishment of the Peace Institute by failing to name the full board of directors, who were to have been named, by law, by April 20, 1985. The Institute cannot function or receive its budget until the board is named. There are four ex-officio members: the Secretaries of State and Defense, the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the President of the National Defense University (or their designates). The remaining eleven are presidential appointees.

To assist the president with the nomination process, in February the U.S. Peace Institute Foundation presented Reagan with a list of sixteen distinguished men and women from a list of over 700 nominees screened by an ad hoc working group in a nation-wide search. Nominees were selected from a field of expertise including law, religion, labor, diplomacy, military, conflict resolution, peace and justice, education, foundation administrators, scholars, elected officials and other eminent people.

Finally in August, four months after the legal deadline for naming the full Board, President Reagan submitted the names of four of his appointees and indicated those who would occupy the positions of ex-officio members. As ex-officio, government agency representatives he named the Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; a member of the Geneva Negotiating team (as State Department designee); and Assistant Secretary for International Security Policy. His nominees included the Director of the Center for Oceans Law and Policy, and the Center for Law and National Security, University of Virginia; a clergyman from the First Church of Christ, Connecticut; Director of the Center on Religion and Society, New York City; and the Director of Foreign Policy and Defense Studies at the Heritage Foundation.

In September Reagan named an additional four nominees, including an associate director of Hoover Institution at Stanford; and representatives from the American Enterprise Institute, The Center for Democracy, and the Fletcher School of International Relations. Only one nominee was on the extensive foundation list—Reagan did name this nominee as chair of the board. No women were named (the list of foundation nominees included two women). Several of the nominees are with conservative research institutes, some of which openly opposed the peace institute proposal as conflicting with their own programs.

Activities of the U.S. Peace Institute Foundation in the Interim

Considerable lobbying efforts have been mounted to urge the president to maintain the original Congressional charter and promptly to name the full board, so that the Institute can begin its work. In the interim, the U.S. Peace Institute Founda-

tion, which is the chief organizing group of present lobbying efforts to establish a functioning Peace Institute, is considering "modeling" the national institute by establishing of its own private peace institute, which may continue even after the USIP is finally functioning.

In November 1984 the board of the foundation set several goals. Its first task, already completed, was to provide nominees for the public Institute's board. Second, it plans to launch a program to "increase visibility and public understanding of the procedures surrounding the start-up of the Institute . . . including a media campaign to inform citizens about the new Institute of Peace." The foundation will also "develop programs for private sector understanding of the USIP, prepare background materials for the Executive branch and the Senate for use in the nominations and confirmation hearings, and prepare briefing books for the nominated directors highlighting the goals of the creators of the USIP."

In addition to lobbying for the survival, growth and expansion of the USIP the foundation provides a number of direct services to members: ongoing analysis, research and evaluation of programs and proposals relating to the USIP; making techniques of peacemaking and conflict resolution available to the general public through seminars, workshops, tapes, and computer-aided instruction; sponsoring international conflict resolution conferences; working with religious, educational, broadcasting and international institutions to provide conflict resolution education throughout the country, and providing "insider" briefings as part of overseas study tours.

As part of the foundation's efforts to continue lobbying and educational efforts in support of the Peace Institute, Françoise Hall, M.D. (in psychiatry and international public health) who is a Vice President and Program Officer for Education Research and Planning for the Peace Institute Foundation, traveled around the country to meet with supporters of the Peace Institute and review with them the status of the Institute. (The Foundation was greatly in debt after the successful conclusion of its Peace Academy campaign and it took several months of fundraising for the foundation to get back in the "black" so that it could even inform its membership of the passage of the legislation and discuss the proposed future role of the foundation). Dr. Hall spoke at Stanford this August on the role of the foundation. Questions she raised for discussion included:

- 1) What should be the future role of the national peace academy campaign, now that federal law has established the USIP? Has it completed its mission or should it evolve into a focus for citizen involvement in international conflict resolution and peace studies?
- 2) Should the foundation establish regional councils for USIP? what should be their roles: e.g. clearinghouse for peace information, research fellowships, co-operative graduate programs, training, education in state issues, relations with local peace activist groups, etc.

I submit that the Peace Academy will not say to the world, we are weak. Rather, it will say to the world, we are strong; we are imaginative, we are dedicated to new and bold ideas to help bring peace to the world. *Sen. Jennings Randolph, D. W VA*

A long-time San Francisco supporter of the Peace Academy who attended one of Dr. Hall's presentations on her national tour this summer called her " . . . an optimist who radiates confidence. She believes in the Academy Peace Institute and that it will have an appreciable effect in resolving conflict and promoting peace. Yet she is a realist in her belief. She is engaged in the day-to-day struggle to overcome obstacles."

Dr. Hall's optimistic attitude was clear during her presentations at Stanford (one to a group of faculty and community peace activists, and one to contributors to the Peace Academy campaign). Peace Institute supporters at the meetings expressed disappointment at the budget and appointment delays of the Reagan administration, the State Department's proposed amendments (which have not yet been sponsored by the Congress for discussion on the floor), and by some of the presidential nominees. She tried to look on the positive side, expressing confidence that the broad public and Congressional support for the institute augured its success and strength, under conditions relatively close to its original charter and intentions. She characterized the public mood and readiness for the Peace Institute as a "super-saturated solution" that would solidify, and crystalize at any moment. Dr. Hall observed that although the president delayed four months past the legal deadline for nominating at least part of the board, and chose only one from the foundation's list of prominent peace researchers, he did choose some top people in the field, thereby dignifying and validating the concept of the Peace Institute.

In her presentations, she exemplified the foundation's dedication to conflict-resolution, by approaching the administration and State Department's actions as a positive challenge. Moreover, she demonstrated the foundation's continuing dedication to grass-roots organizing and citizen participation by encouraging open discussion of future goals for the Peace Institute and the foundation. Those with ideas for the institute and the foundation, or views on the presidential nominees should contact the foundation office in Washington; write to Reagan to urge him to complete the nominations for the institute board, using the nominees screened by the foundation; and contact the congressional committee members responsible for approving the nominees.

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Selected Bibliography: Peace and War

(This is a selection from a 17-page bibliography which includes entries on disarmament; global, futures and development studies; fiction and poetry dealing with war, and other related reading. The full bibliography is available in the UCCM office, Clubhouse, Old Union.)

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