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Ninety-Fourth Congress, Second Session on S. 1976.
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ABSTRACT Hearings on the bill to establish the Peace Academy
are presented. The bill proposes to create an educational institution
in the United States to further the understanding of peace among
nations. Major objectives of this institution are to consider the
dimensions of peaceful resolution of differences among nations, to
train students in the process of peaceful resolution of differences,
and to inform governmental leaders of peaceful methods of conflict
resolution. Statements of senators, experts in international affairs,
religious spokesmen, American and foreign educators, professional
arbitrators, and peace organization members in favor of the bill are
presented. Included in the testimony are descriptions of curriculum
design, specific objectives of the academy, structures and policy,
and types of careers that graduates might expect. Also presented are
treatments of educational priorities, worldwide responsibilities, the
need for a U.S. Peace Office, past resistance to the establishment of
a Peace Office, and methods of international mediation. A directory
which describes peace education programs in America, Canada, and
Europe is included. Peace studies resource centers and peace
institutes which do some teaching are listed. Abstracts of recent
peace research activities and Congressional Budget Office cost
estimates are also included. (Author/DB)

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GEORGE WASHINGTON PEACE ACADEMY ACT, 1976

HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

S. 1976

TO ESTABLISH AN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION IN THE UNITED STATES FULFILLING THE GOAL OF THE NATION'S FIRST PRESIDENT, GEORGE WASHINGTON, TO FURTHER THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROCESS AND STATE OF PEACE AMONG NATIONS AND COOPERATION BETWEEN PEOPLES; TO CONSIDER THE DIMENSIONS OF PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DIFFERENCES AMONG NATIONS; TO TRAIN STUDENTS IN THE PROCESS OF PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DIFFERENCES; TO INFORM GOVERNMENTAL LEADERS OF PEACEFUL METHODS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

SP 009422

MAY 13, 1976

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
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GEORGE WASHINGTON PEACE ACADEMY ACT, 1976

THURSDAY, MAY 13, 1976

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 o'clock in room 1318, the Capitol. Senator Claiborne Pell (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senator Pell.

Also present: Senators Hartke and Hatfield.

Senator PELL. The subcommittee will come to order.

This morning we'll hear testimony on legislation concerning S. 1976, the bill to establish a George Washington Peace Academy. It is a proposal to create an institution to further the understanding of peace among nations in cooperation among people. It is fitting to turn our thoughts to this subject since it was the wish of our first President. His spirit is still with us, and no effort could be more applauded. More than that, this act is very appropriate in this Bicentennial year.

Our witnesses today include Senators Hartke and Hatfield, who will join me at the podium, and a number of representatives coming from various institutions interested in the study of peace. I applaud their testimony, and I would add at this time that since there are a great many witnesses on the schedule and the time pressures being what they are, I would hope that all the witnesses would limit themselves to a verbal presentation lasting 5 or 10 minutes only. I think any thought can be expressed in that time. The full text of each presentation will be put in full in the record.

[The text of S. 1976 follows:]

(1)

94TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1976

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 18 (legislative day, JUNE 6), 1975

Mr. HARTKE (for himself and Mr. HATFIELD) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

A BILL

To establish an educational institution in the United States fulfilling the goal of the Nation's first President, George Washington, to further the understanding of the process and state of peace among nations and cooperation between peoples; to consider the dimensions of peaceful resolution of differences among nations; to train students in the process of peaceful resolution of differences; to inform governmental leaders of peaceful methods of conflict resolution; and for other purposes.

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
- 2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
- 3 That this Act may be cited as the "George Washington
- 4 Peace Academy Act".

5 STATEMENT OF FINDINGS AND PURPOSES

6 SEC. 2. The Congress finds and declares that—

11

1 (7) that avenues to the peaceful existence of nations
 2 and peoples between and among themselves are many
 3 and varied, some known others unknown, which should
 4 be analyzed and utilized, to increase the likelihood of
 5 peaceful resolution of differences;

6 (8) it is necessary to train and instruct individuals
 7 in methods of resolving conflicts among nations by util-
 8 izing avenues of peaceful cooperation and understanding;

9 (9) peace studies have accelerated within existing
 10 academic institutions on a disciplinary basis without the
 11 full interdisciplinary inquiry that the Academy will pur-
 12 sue, which disciplinary studies should be encouraged;

13 (10) that governmental leaders should be informed
 14 of the dimensions of peace, and alternatives should be
 15 available to resolve conflict situations; and

16 (11) international communication systems which
 17 have expedited the flow of information, culture to cul-
 18 ture, should be evaluated to determine behaviorial altera-
 19 tion and ascertain patterns of influence on relations
 20 among nations.

21 DEFINITIONS

22 SEC. 3. As used in this Act the term—

23 (1) "Academy" means the George Washington
 24 Peace Academy established under this Act;

1 (1) it is essential to the United States that peace
2 among nations and cooperation between peoples be
3 paramount national goals;

4 (2) that people born into liberty, dedicated to the
5 proposition that life should be cherished, and firm in
6 their belief that the pursuit of happiness is a fundamental
7 right, should examine and determine methods for peace-
8 ful resolution of conflicts,

9 (3) history is replete with instances of the overt
10 resolution of differences between nations and groups of
11 people;

12 (4) that means and methods of destruction of life
13 available to developed nations, and increasingly becom-
14 ing available to developing nations, insure that future
15 conflicts will be even more devastating than those of the
16 past;

17 (5) there is a need for a study of the dimensions of
18 peace among nations of the world in order to inform
19 decisionmakers of alternative resolutions to conflicts;

20 (6) there is a need to inquire into the empirical
21 and historical nature of the process of peace and to ex-
22 amine the disciplines in the social, behavioral, and phys-
23 ical sciences, and the arts and humanities to extract
24 methodologies which will provide information and new
25 techniques to develop alternatives to conflict situations;

1 (2) "Board" means the Board of Trustees of the
 2 Academy;

3 (3) "Executive Committee" means the Executive
 4 Committee of the Academy; and

5 (4) "school year" means an eleven-month period
 6 in each calendar year as established by the Board.

7 ESTABLISHMENT

8 Sec. 4. (a) There is established in the United States
 9 of America an educational institution which shall be known
 10 as the "George Washington Peace Academy". The Academy
 11 shall instruct and train for service in peaceful resolution, and
 12 international development and cooperation activity, selected
 13 persons to be called peace academy students. The organiza-
 14 tion of the Academy shall be prescribed by the Board of
 15 Trustees.

16 (b) The administration of the Academy shall include—

17 (1) the Chancellor;

18 (2) a Dean of the Faculty, who shall be a senior
 19 professor;

20 (3) a Dean of Students, who shall be a senior pro-
 21 fessor;

22 (4) at least ten and not more than twenty senior
 23 professors;

24 (5) Registrar; and

25 (6) a Director of Admissions.

1 BOARD OF TRUSTEES

2 SEC. 5. (a) The Academy shall have a Board of Trus-
3 tees consisting of thirty-four members as follows:

4 (1) the President who shall be Chairman;

5 (2) the Secretary of Health, Education, and Wel-
6 fare;

7 (3) the chairman of the Committee on Foreign
8 Relations of the Senate;

9 (4) the chairman of the Committee on Interna-
10 tional Relations of the House of Representatives;

11 (5) the Secretary of State;

12 (6) the Ambassador of the United States to the
13 United Nations;

14 (7) the Chairman of the Federal Council on the
15 Arts and Humanities;

16 (8) four members, appointed by the President pro
17 tempore of the Senate, upon the recommendations of
18 the majority leader of the Senate and the minority leader
19 of the Senate;

20 (9) four members appointed by the Speaker of the
21 House of Representatives, upon the recommendations
22 of the majority leader of the House and the minority
23 leader of the House;

24 (10) eighteen members appointed by the President
25 of the United States upon the recommendation of an ad-

1 advisory council made up of leaders in the academic com-
2 munity throughout the United States and persons who
3 are recognized educators and persons of prominence
4 associated with the advancement of international co-
5 operation, peaceful conflict resolution, and world peace
6 and understanding; and

7 (11) the Chancellor.

8 (c) The President shall in his absence designate one
9 of the members of the Board to act as Chairman.

10 (c) The term of office of each member of the Board
11 appointed under clauses (8), (9), and (10) of subsection
12 (a) of this section shall be seven years. Each member serv-
13 ing ex officio shall serve for as long as he serves in the posi-
14 tion referred to in clauses (1) through (7) and clause (11)
15 of such subsection. Each member of the Board shall con-
16 tinue to serve until his or her successor has been appointed
17 and qualified, and each appointed member may be reap-
18 pointed to serve an additional term of seven years.

19 (d) The members of the Board shall not, by reason
20 of such membership, be deemed officers or employees of the
21 United States.

22 (e) A member of the Board appointed under clauses
23 (8), (9), and (10) of subsection (a) of this section may be
24 removed by the appointing authority for malfeasance in of-

1 fice or for persistent neglect of or inability to discharge his
2 or her duties.

3 (f) The Board shall meet not less than two times dur
4 ing each school year.

5 (g) The Board shall establish such advisory councils
6 as it shall deem appropriate and necessary to advise the
7 Board on the activities of the Academy.

8 (h) The Board shall visit the Academy annually and
9 file with the Senate and the House of Representatives an
10 annual report which shall be due within sixty days after the
11 completion of the annual school year.

12 (i) Members of the Board who are not regular full-
13 time employees of the United States shall be entitled, while
14 serving on business of the Academy, to receive compensa-
15 tion at rates fixed by the President; and while so serving
16 away from their homes or regular places of business, they
17 may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu
18 of subsistence, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5,
19 United States Code, for persons in Government service em-
20 ployed intermittently.

21 ADMINISTRATION

22 SEC. 6. (a) The Board of Trustees shall appoint the
23 Chancellor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate,
24 The Chancellor shall hold office for a period of six years

1 (4) the Director of Admissions,
 2 from among individuals who by reason of relevant experi-
 3 ence, training, or service, are especially qualified to serve.

4 (e) The Chancellor shall appoint or assign, on a full- or
 5 part-time basis, such assistant and associate professors, visit-
 6 ing professors, officers, staff, instructors, and other personnel
 7 as the needs of the Academy require. Such appointments
 8 and assignments shall be with the advice of the Executive
 9 Committee.

10 (f) There shall be a Chaplain at the Academy, who
 11 must be a clergyman, appointed by the Chancellor for a
 12 term of three years, who may be reappointed.

13 (g) The Chancellor shall be responsible for the adminis-
 14 tration of the Academy and for all facilities and tangible
 15 property of the Academy.

16 (h) The Chancellor of the Academy may grant a leave
 17 of absence for the period of the suspension of the ordinary
 18 academic studies, without deduction of pay or allowances, to
 19 a professor, assistant or associate professor, instructor, or any
 20 other officer of the Academy.

21 ADMISSION OF STUDENTS

22 SEC. 7. (a) The authorized strength of the Academy's
 23 student body shall total not more than five hundred students.
 24 The student body shall be selected and composed in the fol-
 25 lowing manner:

1 (1) Each Senator and Representative and delegate in
2 Congress, including the delegates from territories of the
3 United States, the delegate from the District of Columbia,
4 the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico, shall nominate
5 two candidates to take the competitive examination for ad-
6 mission to the Academy, from among which group one-half
7 of the entering students will finally be selected according to
8 criteria which shall be established by the Chancellor and the
9 Board of Admissions.

10 (2) Not less than 10 per centum nor more than 20 per
11 centum of the entering class may be citizens of a foreign
12 country, selected in order of merit as established by competi-
13 tive examination and other criteria established by the Chan-
14 cellor and Board of Admissions.

15 (3) Not less than 30 per centum nor more than 40 per
16 centum of the entering class will be selected from those stu-
17 dents who have graduated from an accredited four-year col-
18 lege or university and who have applied for admission under
19 the regular admissions procedure for graduate school. Such
20 students shall be chosen on the basis of competitive examina-
21 tion and other criteria which shall be established by the
22 Chancellor and Board of Admissions of the Academy.

23 (b) Each student shall be appointed by the President.
24 Each appointment is conditional until the student so ap-
25 pointed is admitted.

1 (c) No individual shall be eligible for admission to the
2 Academy unless such individual has been awarded a bac-
3 calaureate degree from an accredited institution of higher
4 education, or a degree which the Registrar determines is
5 generally recognized as the equivalent of a baccalaureate de-
6 gree awarded upon graduation from an institution of higher
7 education located in the United States of America or in a
8 foreign country, or unless the individual has experience which
9 the Chancellor determines is equivalent to, or of equal value
10 with, such a degree.

11 (d) The Chancellor shall appoint a Board of Admissions,
12 whose constituency shall comprise at least three students
13 and seven faculty members, including the Dean of Students,
14 which shall be under the direction of the Director of Admis-
15 sions. Admission criteria shall be set by the Chancellor and
16 the Board of Admissions with the advice of the Board of
17 Trustees, and should include the results of competitive exam-
18 ination as only one index of a variety of indices which among
19 others would include the applicant's leadership qualities,
20 personality, variety of experience and expertise, and com-
21 mitment to the cause of peace and cooperation.

22 (e) The Board may limit the number of students au-
23 thorized to be appointed under this section to the number
24 that can be adequately accommodated at the Academy as

1 determined by the Board after consulting with the Executive
2 Committee.

3 COURSE OF INSTRUCTION

4 SEC. 8. (a) Each student of the Academy shall complete
5 two years of instruction and training for a master of arts
6 degree, which may include periods of appropriate internship
7 and field traineeship.

8 (b) The Executive Committee shall prescribe the courses
9 of instruction and training offered by the Academy. Special
10 emphasis shall be placed upon the skills necessary to achieve
11 national, regional, and international cooperation, the early
12 identification and avoidance of possible areas of conflict, the
13 ability to resolve conflicts in a peaceful way, and in the
14 promotion of humane and just national policies with respect
15 to international peace and intercultural understanding and
16 the preparation of teachers of peace studies.

17 (c) Upon the satisfactory completion of the prescribed
18 course of instruction and training, the student shall be award-
19 ed a master of arts degree.

20 (d) The Executive Committee under the general super-
21 vision of the Board shall establish the school year of the
22 Academy.

23 (e) The Academy may arrange for short courses of
24 instruction and seminars for Government employees, and
25 leaders in the public community. No degree may be awarded

1 for this course work, but a certificate describing the activity
 2 may be granted at the termination of the course or seminar.

3 STIPENDS AND TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

4 ALLOWANCES

5 SEC. 9. Each student of the Academy shall be entitled
 6 to receive—

7 (1) a stipend in an amount determined by the
 8 Board of Trustees to be within the range of stipends
 9 payable under comparable Government program pro-
 10 viding for the education of students; and

11 (2) reasonable travel and transportation allow-
 12 ances, including transportation for his immediate family,
 13 household goods, and personal effects, under regulations
 14 prescribed by the Board, but such allowances shall not
 15 exceed the allowances payable under section 5723 of
 16 title 5, United States Code.

17 AGREEMENTS BY STUDENTS

18 SEC. 10. (a) Each student selected for admission to the
 19 Academy, who is a citizen of the United States, shall sign an
 20 agreement that if he completes the course of instruction and
 21 training at the Academy he will serve in a public or private
 22 nonprofit agency or international organization or with an
 23 agency, office, or department of Government in any area ap-
 24 proved by the Executive Committee for a period not to
 25 exceed two years.

1 (b) The requirement of subsection (a) of this section
2 may be waived by the Executive Committee, but only for
3 good cause shown.

4 ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

5 SEC. 11. (a) In addition to any authority vested in it
6 by other provisions of this Act, the Academy, in carrying out
7 its functions, is authorized to—

8 (1) prescribe such regulations as it deems necessary;
9

10 (2) receive money and other property donated,
11 bequeathed, or devised, without condition or restriction
12 other than that it be for the purposes of the Academy
13 and to use, sell, or otherwise dispose of such property for
14 the purpose of carrying out its functions;

15 (3) in the discretion of the Academy, receive
16 (and use, sell, or otherwise dispose of, in accordance
17 with clause (2)) money and other property donated,
18 bequeathed, or devised to the Academy with a condition
19 or restriction, including a condition that the Academy
20 use other funds of the Academy for the purpose of the
21 gift;

22 (4) obtain the services of experts and consultants
23 in accordance with the provisions of section 3109 of title
24 5, United States Code;

1 (5) accept and utilize the services of voluntary and
2 noncompensated personnel and reimburse them for travel
3 expenses, including per diem, as authorized by section
4 5703 of title 5, United States Code;

5 (6) enter into contracts, grants, or other arrange-
6 ments, or modifications thereof, to carry out the provi-
7 sions of this Act, and such contracts or modifications
8 thereof may, with the concurrence of the two-thirds of
9 the members of the Board, be entered into without per-
10 formance or other bonds and without regard to section
11 3709 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (41 U.S.C.
12 5) ; and

13 (7) make advances, progress, and other payments
14 which the Board deems necessary under this Act without
15 regard to the provisions of section 3648 of the Revised
16 Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 529) .

17 (b) The Chancellor shall submit to the Congress an
18 annual report on the operation of the Academy under this
19 Act, which shall include such recommendations as he deems
20 appropriate.

21 COMPENSATION OF OFFICERS

22 SEC. 12. (a) The Chancellor shall be compensated at
23 the rate prescribed for level IV of the Executive Schedule
24 under section 5315 of title 5, United States Code.

1 (b) The Dean of the Faculty and the Dean of Students
2 shall be compensated at the rate prescribed for level V of such
3 Schedule.

4 (c) Section 5108 (c) of title 5, United States Code, is
5 amended by striking out the period at the end of paragraph
6 (12) of such section the second time it appears and inserting
7 in lieu thereof a semicolon and by adding at the end thereof
8 the following:

9 “(13) the George Washington Peace Academy,
10 subject to the standards and procedures prescribed by this
11 chapter, may place an additional 31 positions in GS-16,
12 GS-17, and GS-18 for purposes of carrying out its
13 functions.”.

14 AUTHORIZATION

15 SEC. 13. There are authorized to be appropriated to the
16 Academy such sums as may be necessary to carry out the
17 provisions of this Act.

Senator PELL. Would Mr. Spencer Grin come forward, please?

You're representing Norman Cousins of the Saturday Review?

Mr. GRIN. Yes. Norman couldn't be here, but we were both scheduled, as I understand it.

Senator PELL. I greatly regret he could not be here. He is an old friend of mine. I hope you'll give him my affectionate and warm regards.

Mr. GRIN. Thank you, Senator Pell. He did drop us a note and asked to be remembered to you and to the members of the committee, because he is particularly interested in the bill.

Harlan Cleveland will be along because we had breakfast and he's on his way here, so he will be here to testify shortly.

STATEMENT OF S. SPENCER GRIN, J.D., D.O.L., Ph. D., SATURDAY REVIEW

I find it particularly appropriate that the hearings on the Peace Academy should be held before this committee. Mr. Chairman, because the chairman of the committee, Senator Harrison Williams of New Jersey, and yourself, Mr. Chairman, of the Subcommittee on Education, have a special educational heritage which harkens back to before the Revolutionary War. On the eve of the American Revolution there were nine colleges in existence in the Colonies, one of which was named Rhode Island, and another, New Jersey; the others were Harvard, William and Mary, Philadelphia, Yale, Queens, Kings, Columbia, and Dartmouth.

My task this morning is to avoid any aphorisms and get down to some of the practical and educational curriculum aspects of the bill, and to answer a number of questions which have already been posed with respect to S. 1976.

My credentials are a J.D. and D.O.L. in international law, having taught international education, and a Ph. D. in international education, and so aside from being associated with the Saturday Review as its former publisher and vice chairman of the board, I think I can directly talk to some of questions which have been asked. For example, the magazine editor of the U.S. News and World Report, Howard Flieger, asked the question in his full-page editorial "How Do We Teach Peace?" Senator Buckley wrote "Although the goals of the proposed academy are certainly admirable, can the country afford to institute such a program at this time, and would this institution duplicate services already being offered in existing universities?" Senator Stevenson wrote, "On the face of it it makes a lot of sense, but I wonder whether it would work out in practice."

I have developed a dialectical method used by Socrates in my paper, which is to have a fictional docent asking the questions and a factual respondent, myself, answering, "Will it work in practice?" And to the more humorous one of Professor Zuckercandle, who might ask, "It works in practice, but will it work in theory?" And I suggest that it will work in both areas.

I will eliminate all the definitions which are in the paper and get right down to the question of how do you teach peace and what will be the focus of the academy.

I might note that Dr. John Wallace of the International School of the Experiment in International Living, when he filed with the U.S. Office of Education his annual report he noted that the list went on for 24 pages, but there was no listing or provision for peace studies as an academic discipline, despite the fact that there are over 300 different colleges and university graduate courses in peace studies in this country today.

The predilection of the student toward the Academy would be to have his skills sharpened and abilities focused for Government service. I use the word "his" meaning either his or her, for our language still has not come up with a meaningful all-encompassing pronoun.

What will be the focus of the Academy?

First: The Academy will train individuals in the development of a posture to early identify and to relieve the tension of a conflict situation. Experimental and new methodology will be extracted from those who are expert in the art of negotiation, arbitration, and mediation. Labor lawyers, Members of Congress, union negotiators, diplomats, all have experience in this field.

Second: The Academy will hone the skills of its students to understand the complexities of extracting and communicating necessary data relative to the potential conflict situations.

The most important thing, Senator Pell, I think, is that a graduate of the Academy who serves an internship in Government will ideally not only be expert in the art of peaceful conflict resolution, but will also have sharp skills in computer systems and budget analysis, report writing, communications, behavioral and cultural analysis, and problem solving. Such a graduate should also be able to provide a fresh orientation to any task to be undertaken, for it is hoped that this training will provide new insights into our interdependent world, and Harlan Cleveland will have much to say about the need for new institutions in the world.

Third: The Academy will provide researchers and teachers of peace studies and create a climate hopefully like Rockefeller University creates for science study.

Fourth: As part of the internship naturally these students will go right into Government, and it's hoped that at least 15 percent of the total student body will go back to their host country, that is, that there will be foreign students as well taught in the ways of peace rather than the ways of war.

On pages 8 through 12 of my paper, there is a definitive curriculum which I was asked to give, although I suggested early on that the final curriculum should be left to those who finally establish the Academy, but in the curriculum from page 8 to 12 you will notice that it is broken down to division 1, division 2 and division 3. Division 1 has 32 credits of required courses, which includes such things as mathematics for management, which would be to have mathematical concept employed in budget analysis, optimization problems, public speaking and effective communication, in addition to the normal history and philosophy of nonviolent resolution of conflict, arbitration, mediation, and conciliation.

Division 2 would actually be an internship working in Government and also simulation of conflict techniques.

Division 3 would be a series of electives.

As I go on in my statement to pages 11, 12, and 13, you find various other functions that the Peace Academy could give to the body at large, such as lectures to people in Washington, taking seminars for Government officials who are interested in this type of work, a journal of peace studies, and provide other relations with Government agencies relative to the peace movement and peace study.

I think the most important thing I would submit is that a study of educational progress in the United States suggests that new institutions are needed to provide change. Old institutions have sufficient difficulty in adapting to change, but have not been the precursors of change. As new needs are perceived new institutions have been created. Look, for example, at how educational institutions were born because of need. Before the American Revolution there were only nine colleges, and after the Revolution our Founding Fathers put great stress on new educational goals and more institutions, but already there was skepticism. For example, Alexander Hamilton's father-in-law said about the establishment of Union College, "May indulgent Heaven protect an institution calculated to promote virtue and the weal of the people."

In the period of 1780 to 1802, more than twice as many colleges were chartered in the United States than in the previous 150 years.

In 1802, when Congress created the Military Academy at West Point, there was a changed emphasis on technology, and that was already apparent. Edgar Allan Poe, who went to the Military Academy for 1 year, wrote a sonnet. He said:

Science, sweet daughter of old time thou art
Who alterest all things with thy peering eyes
Why preyest thou thus upon the poet's heart
Vulture, whose wings are dull realities.

What is meant by that is that not everyone believes that this is the only root, although a very necessary root, to security in our lifetime. We need the military, but we also need a discipline in peace studies.

When the need for more broadly based popular education was perceived after the Civil War, the land grant college movement came into being and became one of the great forces of economic and social mobility. Charles William Eliot of Harvard was moving Harvard toward university status and noted in 1902: "The graduate school of Harvard did not thrive until the example of Johns Hopkins forced our faculty to put their strength into the development of our institution for graduates."

Could a Peace Academy have the same effect?

I submit that it can.

As the university developed, other needs were perceived. For example, a need for teachers; the Teachers College came into being. A need for less expensive and more convenient education after high school gave rise to the junior college, and as we move toward contemporary history after World War II, we see the idea of a more universal college education evolving in this country, and so the concept of the community college was accelerated to fill this need.

Now there is a new need, and we really believe that an academy of this sort can start to fill that need.

As I move on in my paper to pages 15 and 16, I discuss some of the journals that have arisen in this new discipline. They are around the

world. There are over 50 programs around the world. And so I would like to suggest that just as Reverend Gates, the advisor to John Rockefeller, when he was thinking of how this money should be spent, what type of philanthropy should be envisioned, he decided on the Rockefeller University, and at that time I don't think that he could have foreseen the accomplishment of just 100 students of what happened at Rockefeller University: blood plasma, the new methadone program, all coming out of these 100 students in a very small, highly selective institution of quality, and really, that is the key, so it's difficult to be for or against a Peace Academy. It depends on how it's going to be born, who is going to lead it, and what place it will have in government. But I do believe we cannot think of a lesser accomplishment than was foreseen in the early days by Reverend Gates.

I think that the institution deserves to be born. I hope you share my view, Mr. Chairman, because it is both practical and realistic, but it is not without a dream, a dream which suggests that this type of endeavor is in the noblest tradition of our Founding Fathers and that the awesome reality of our new interdependent world requires new institutions in government which can cope with these realities. The Peace Academy may be one designed for such needed change. I tend to think that it is and believe what holds men back today is not the pressure of budgets or realities but the absence of vision and imagination, for if our imagination and vision is good enough there is little we cannot accomplish in a free society which can still bring forth yet undreamed vistas of knowledge, understanding, and wisdom.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator PERL. Thank you very much, indeed.

[Addendum to testimony of Mr. Grin follows:]

ADDENDUM TO TESTIMONY OF S. SPENCER GRIN IN HEARINGS ON
PROPOSED BILLS, 1976 HELD UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF
SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL ON May 13, 1976

Docent: How can we insure complete independence of the Peace Academy so that it does not merely become an instrument and extension of the prevailing foreign policy of the government at the time?

Respondent: The best way is for Congress to eventually create an endowment so that the principal would not be touched and still throw off sufficient income (about \$5-million to start and later about \$15-million a year) for the operation and grants of the Academy. Also to insure that the Chancellor is appointed for a 6-year term (limit being two terms) by an outstanding board of Trustees, a majority of whom would be from outside of government.

Senator PELL. Senator Hartke. I am delighted to welcome you.
As I said earlier, you are very welcome to join me on the podium after your testimony.

**STATEMENT OF HON. VANCE HARTKE, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE
STATE OF INDIANA**

Senator HARTKE. Mr. Chairman, it is a great honor for me to appear before you, one of the most distinguished members of the United States Senate, and certainly one of the most devoted to world peace.

It is a great honor for me to appear here before the Subcommittee on Education to present my views on a bill which I introduced, Senate Bill 1976, the purpose of which is to establish the George Washington Peace Academy. The Bill was introduced about 1 year ago.

It is also a pleasure for me to see so many of my friends here today to present testimony and listen to their views and to listen to the views of experts in the field of peace studies and research. By airing the views of the experts many more people will understand the capabilities of trained individuals in the use of the instruments of peace in a world which too often has witnessed the resolution of disputes through the use of violence.

We in America have come to the celebration of our first 200 years with the basic tenets of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, which our forefathers set for us as a people and a Nation, they have been firmly established in our fabric. Let no nation, no people, no friend or foe dare doubt the fabric of America.

The year 1976 shall witness vast local and State celebrations in all corners of America and in the Nation's Capital, by all Americans, regardless of their political ideology. That is and will continue to be why America is a democracy for all the people and all seasons.

While it is impossible to fully consecrate the ideas and ideals of Americans for the past 200 years which have gone into our fabric, it is within our capacity and understanding to pay respect to the storehouse of blood, sweat, and tears that Americans have given to the cause of liberty they have held so dear. We may not be able to here touch the brow of every man, woman, and child who have touched America, who have worked in the fields and mines, who have worked on the assembly lines and in the factories, who have built America and tamed its plains and meadows, who have walked the corners of America tall, proud, and honored to be a part of this vast experience with democracy and liberty, and who have selflessly worn the uniform of liberty and justice for all with great sacrifice of their lives, fortunes and time.

But we can now look to the past for wisdom, guidance, and courage while standing on our firm foundation, and begin to build a new wing which will study and understand the process of peaceful resolution of differences between nations as conflicts may arise.

It is altogether fitting and proper that the Congress pass and the President sign S. 1976, to establish the Academy, as the first piece of legislation for the 1976 celebration. Peace among nations and understanding between peoples are paramount national goals that we the

people should dedicate ourselves to as we look forward to our next 200 years.

Nearly 200 years ago, George Washington frequently wrote about peace. In order to fully appreciate the man for all seasons that was our first beloved President, it is appropriate that we examine his writings to better appreciate his brotherly love. In a circular to the States on June 8, 1773, George Washington wrote as follows: "As there can be little doubt but Congress will recommend a proper Peace Establishment for the United States. . . ."

He did not entirely leave the cause of peace to the Congress, but in 1779 he charged the people to the task, and he said: "I trust the goodness of the cause and the exertions of the people under divine protection will give us that honourable peace for which we are contending."

George Washington not only directed the attention of the people and Congress toward peace, but he earnestly believed and stated in a circular to the States in 1783 that peace should be a cornerstone, a pillar, of the new Nation.

He said:

There are four things, which I humbly conceive, are essential to the well being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States as an Independent Power: first, an indissoluble Union of the States under one Federal Head. Secondly, a Sacred regard to Public Justice. Thirdly, the adoption of a proper Peace Establishment, and fourthly, the prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the People of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advances to the interest of the Community.

These are the Pillars on which the glorious Fabric of our Independence and National Character must be supported; Liberty is the Basis, and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the Structure, under whatever specious pretexts he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured Country.

The words of President Washington were truly ones of peace, peace with the rest of the world, and so in 1794, he stated to the House of Representatives:

My policy in our foreign transactions has been, to cultivate peace with all the world; to observe treaties with pure and absolute faith; to check every deviation from the line of impartiality; to explain what may have been misapprehended, and correct what may have been injurious to any nation; and having thus acquired the right, to lose no time in acquiring the ability, to insist upon justice being done to ourselves.

And in 1798 he wrote to his friend, Reverend Boucher, and said: "Peace, with all the world is my sincere wish. I am sure it is our true policy and am persuaded it is the Ardent desire of the Government."

George Washington, who commanded and led the Continental Army, was a man deeply devoted to peace. When he died in 1799, his last will and testament bequeathed in perpetuity 50 shares in the Potomac Company, in his words in the will: "Toward the endowment of a university under the auspices of the general Government." This was intended to be the proper "Peace Establishment" President Washington wrote about in 1783. Unfortunately, shortly after Washington's death the Potomac Company ceased to exist, leaving frustrated his intention and his gift.

Just as it was the ardent desire of our first President to have the people, the Government, and the world know that the new and independent Nation sought a course of peace, it is now important to the moral direction this country takes during her next 200 years, that we establish with George Washington's zeal a fervent commitment to the study of peaceful existence among nations.

We in America, born into liberty, dedicated to the proposition that life should be cherished, and firm in our belief that the pursuit of happiness by our fellow man is a goal that should be cherished, set our sails upon a course that will lead the universe of humanity by our deed and our tasks to begin to fully understand peaceful relations among nations.

It is not enough for a Nation of free men to discuss the concept of peace with little understanding of the process, the state, or the art. We continuously read that peace may come to an area, though the area is not in war, and that an area may find peace though it is in open aggression. Little is known or understood about peace.

The reason seems clear upon careful examination. The concepts of war and strategies are used not only in daily discussion but in the discussion of peace. It is inescapable that the vocabulary of war is the vocabulary of peace. Such as it is, we must use the present to build the future and a vocabulary of peace shall hereafter gain in stature.

It is no less noble to die for peace than for war. The courage and conviction of Thomas Dooley and Albert Schweitzer were no less than the courage and conviction of Sergeant York and Audie Murphy. Those soldiers who have worn the uniform of their country with valor and honor have no less courage or conviction when they return to Gadsden, Alabama, Wichita Falls, Texas, or Everett, Washington, and resume their lives.

No war is a memorable experience. The veterans of foreign wars of this Nation know better than any others the heartache, misery, and sadness associated with war. We have experienced battle on four occasions in this country alone, and the veterans of America famously and courageously were there when America needed them. They will be there to defend freedom when their valor is called upon, if it is.

S. 1976 does not lessen nor minimize the significance of the actions past or future by America's servicemen.

It is important to note that not all cases of open conflict may lend credence to peaceful resolution of differences. The attitudes of certain leaders and countries may be beyond the use of peaceful resolution. It is, therefore, axiomatic that this Nation maintain a strong defense to protect the values we hold so dear.

To the contrary, with the establishment of the George Washington Peace Academy this Nation shall not lessen its guard nor its honor nor its defense of freedom and liberty. As you are aware, the Congress has passed defense authorization legislation at record levels.

With the quality and quantity of our defense capabilities, we now have the opportunity to study in a new academic community whether or not peaceful resolution of differences is feasible. With the establishment of the Academy, the dimensions of the concept "peace" will be explored to fully acquaint the leaders of this country and the world with the process, state, and art of peace.

The birth of an institution, no matter how large or small, passionate or calm, sacred or despised, must understand the dimensions of its pursuit, of its spirit, and of its ambitions. The birth of the George Washington Peace Academy is no exception.

The establishment of the Peace Academy is more than the birth of an institution, it is the birth of a study of a relationship between nations, a relationship wherein conflicts are resolved in a manner other than with the use of force, and that is thousands of years overdue.

This is a relationship that was called for by our late President, Franklin Roosevelt, in an address he was preparing to deliver when he died. President Roosevelt in those words would have said:

We are faced with a pre-eminent fact that if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationship—the ability of peoples of all kinds to live together and work together in the same world, at peace.

Peace has been the desire of former Presidents, and notably the last President, Dwight Eisenhower, who knew the sacrifices and sadness of war better than anyone, called for an intercultural exchange to better understand the similarities and differences that exist between cultures and nations. The Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship was created in honor of the late President to foster these ends.

In our pursuit, universal peace among nations and between peoples must be our purpose. The machinery of peace that we establish with this legislation must be capable of borrowing the methodology of many disciplines, and ascertain the character and personality of nations and cultures. Some have said the science of right is pure reason. Often, though, pure reason does not provide the leverage and flexibility that is needed to examine the characteristics of each part of the concern. Psychological and sociological methodology may lead the students of the Peace Academy to discover new relationships between cultures and governments.

We are all aware that the means and methods of devastation of life available to developed nations, and increasingly becoming available to developing nations, insure that future conflicts will be even more costly of lives than those of the past. This is a concern of all of us, and should not be forgotten as we consider the establishment of the Academy, as an institution to study and understand conflict situations.

As I have mentioned before, there is a need for an intense study of the dimensions of peace among nations in order to inform decision-makers of alternative resolutions to conflict situations. The philosophy of peace does not have boundaries nor bases which can be understood within the academic community. It is important that peace be considered in total as an interdisciplinary study which will explore the many disciplines of which a few are the following: political science, economics, psychology, sociology, anthropology, history, law, geography, demography, linguistics, intercultural communications, international relations, ethnology, physics, philosophy, and literature. This exploration will result in the development of new methodologies and new understandings.

The cost of the Academy is small in comparison to existing like entities and governmental programs. Locations and facilities have been mentioned which may be donated to the Government for the

Academy. If the Government accepts an existing facility, the cost shall be limited to faculty salaries, student stipends, and administration costs. Such costs to the Government shall be minimal. Grants that the Academy shall make to existing educational institutions carrying on peace research shall depend upon the budgetary process which Congress shall determine. Applications for grants approved by the Academy shall be included in budgets submitted to the Congress for congressional approval.

But more important, the cost-effectiveness of the Academy is immeasurable. The cost to our taxpayers and to other peoples and governments involved in conflict situations goes into the trillions. The peaceful resolution of a single conflict which otherwise would have resulted in overt determination would more than offset the long-term cost of the Academy. This is important to keep in mind with the austerity approach many are pursuing on Government spending. Moreover, donations, bequests, and other sources of income to the Academy shall reduce the overall cost to the Government.

I would be remiss if I failed to address the question that will often be asked: whether such an institution with a national background will be able to establish international credibility?

We dare not let speculation of credibility lessen our spirit. Of course, those who are associated with the Academy will in part determine its credibility. But more importantly, the discussion of peace that the Academy will generate and the trained individuals who will go into the world from the Academy, will significantly contribute to our quest for peace. Some have speculated that with the establishment of the Academy in the United States, other countries, some of different ideologies, will also establish peace academies.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, persons trained in the use of the instruments of peace will have a profound impact on future international relations between nations. More specifically, such individuals may be employed by the United States as front-line people endeavoring to manage disputes. Thereafter, military personnel shall assume a secondary function, of greater credibility, which will provide for the effective defense of our values in the event individuals trained in peace are unable to deter violent aggression.

So I encourage you, Mr. Chairman, and all the members of the subcommittee to carefully review the testimony here today, and report out S. 1976 to the full Senate at the earliest opportunity for debate and passage. Such action, I am sure, will mark this Congress as contributing more to the peaceful existence of mankind than any other in the history of civilization.

I must say, it is rather ironic, Mr. Chairman, that this subcommittee is meeting here to discuss peace while the Secretary of State is testifying before the Committee on Foreign Relations regarding his recent trip to Africa. We have no real national policy and no clear understanding in Africa about how to avoid a definite trend toward violence; and, it seems ironic that here we are, allegedly the most powerful nation in the world, showing our greatest weakness, of not having an instrument ready to go forward and find a solution in a peaceful manner.

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Senator PELL. It's one of the reasons why I feel under pressure this morning, because I should be at the Foreign Relations Committee hearing as well as here.

We are aiming at a project of very real interest. It's a goal that men everywhere preach but don't follow. In our government the Pentagon outspends the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency hundreds of times over.

I recognize the objectives of the Senators from Indiana and Oregon, the witnesses who are here today. It is a wonderful objective.

I remember a similar idea came up about 10 or 12 years ago before Senator Symington for a diplomatic academy. The thought was that if we have Army and Navy and Air Force Academies; there ought to be a Diplomatic Academy. However, as we thought that idea through we realized that we might get more imaginative diplomats out of the private universities, and that it might be a better idea to put money there. This same thought applies here. I like your idea tremendously. I think it would be a more successful endeavor if perhaps, one of the great private foundations would do it so that the school would not be run by the U.S. Government. The government would, I think, exert it's influence over the school and that would counter our intent.

Senator HARTKE. What is envisioned here is the direction of a nation. We are talking about the direction of human conduct. This Nation, in the past, has encouraged violent behavior, unfortunately. We cannot rely totally upon those institutions which historically have established the direction for our country. Some people argue that existing institutions which have peace studies may provide the direction. We are celebrating the 200th anniversary of the birth of this Nation. The ideas in that Declaration of Independence were not new. The philosophers of Europe had been talking about the ideals that were in the Declaration of Independence for many years. The distinction is that the United States of America made the turn, the next step, we made that turn and established those ideas into a government. Until we take that important step, the rest of the discussion will be an appendage which you can either sever or keep at will.

This is not just the establishment of another agency of government. This is the formulation of the direction this Nation should take as it begins the next 100 years.

Some argue the State Department is an instrument for peace. That is not true. The State Department is a political instrument solely dedicated to carrying out the international politics of the United States of America, whether it be peace, war, or somewhere in between. It can be as much an instrument of war and violence and hatred as it can be of love and charity.

The Academy should not be totally idealistic. There should also be the practical application to resolve international disputes.

For example, the State Department did not have a national policy regarding Angola. The Congress and the President were in disagreement whether we should employ troops there, but the policy of peace was never there. The only question was whether or not we were going to put military forces in there. No one was talking about sending somebody in there to bring those parties together.

The problem in Lebanon is another example. We want to claim that we are quasi-arbiters of the Middle East, and yet what we do is send people over there who have no training in dispute management or resolution. They are not evil or devious people, but it is in the very

nature of the instrument to represent the political instrument in our government which has no training in peaceful resolution of disputes.

Senator PELL. I appreciate your views. I would love to continue this dialogue, but there are so many witnesses that I am afraid we must continue.

Senator HARTKE. Thank you.

Senator PELL. Senator Hatfield and Senator Hartke, would you like to join us on the podium?

Senator Hatfield, if you would care to have your statement inserted into the record; we will, of course, print it in full.

**STATEMENT OF HON. MARK O. HATFIELD, A U.S. SENATOR FROM
THE STATE OF OREGON**

Senator HATFIELD. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I am very grateful for this privilege of appearing before you and knowing of your long interest in matters of education. I think it is very appropriate to have you chairing these sessions, and I am very happy to have Senator Hartke, the author of the bill present, and to have had the opportunity to hear his testimony.

Mr. Chairman, I think it is very important that this matter be dealt with at this time, because of the long period during which the Congress has had a proposal of some kind or another relating either to a Peace Academy or a Department of Peace. Having recently read the will of President Washington, I think it is about time the American people keep faith with the proviso in that will that this bill I think would handle very nicely.

I want to give particular credit this morning to my colleague from Indiana, Senator Hartke, for conceiving and developing this piece of legislation, because I know his interest in related matters goes back many years.

I trust this hearing today will be only the first step in the legislative process which will enable this institution to become a reality.

When Senator Hartke introduced this bill last June he spoke of President Washington's desire that some type of peace establishment come into being. At first, it may seem to be an irony that the first great military hero of our country would have asked to be remembered in such a way. This should not surprise us, however. Often those who have experienced the most brutal and devastating manifestations of warfare become some of the most eloquent spokesmen for finding ways to avoid wars in the future.

The words of another great military hero, Dwight Eisenhower, are frequently quoted as a caution against excessive reliance upon military solutions for international conflicts.

Senator Hartke has explained the intended structure of this academy. While there may be certain parallels with the military academies, it should be kept in mind that the Peace Academy would be strictly a graduate institution. It would operate in close cooperation with other graduate programs in this field, complementing their efforts: not competing with them. While it would be organized as an adjunct of the Federal Government, its Board of Trustees would be free to develop its curriculum in the best tradition of academic freedom.

One of the virtues of American higher education has been its capacity to adapt to changing social realities and the changing perceptions of our human environment. Thus, we have seen the emergence of new fields of study which in time may become bona fide academic disciplines. For example, environmental studies, systems studies and American studies. Accordingly, the field of peace studies has emerged from among the related work which has been done in international relations, conflict studies and military science. Peace studies focus upon cooperative relationships between individuals, groups and nations. Relationships based upon mutual hostility and violence are studied and ways by which those relationships may be changed into peaceful ones are sought. Those involved in peace studies normally have been trained as economists, sociologists, political scientists, historians, or scientists. They apply their knowledge and experience to the various issues of conflict resolution and avoidance.

In spite of the youthfulness of the field, there are nearly 100 members in the Consortium on Peace Research Education, representing 30 colleges and universities with peace study programs.

Mr. Chairman, I am sure that many different ideas about the nature and function of the Academy will emerge through these hearings. I agree with Senator Hartke that this institution for teaching and research should not confine itself to any one view of conflict resolution. The retired military officer whose interest is in arms control and disarmament should be welcomed, along with one who subscribes to total disarmament and nonviolent action. Those who concentrate on violent conflict within the society should find their place alongside those who deal only with international conflicts.

Although we are only discussing an authorization bill today, we must ultimately face the question of appropriating the necessary funds. Obviously, there is no room in the Federal budget for frivolous or unnecessary new programs. Through the use of existing facilities and by keeping the program relatively small, we do not need to undertake an immense outlay of funds. Moreover, given the massive expenditure of funds for training personnel and equipment for one method of dealing with conflicts, the military method, it would definitely be in order to allocate a modest portion of these funds for research in teaching the ways of seeking peace, which have not been practiced sufficiently by our Government society.

If even one major conflict at home or abroad could be prevented or halted as a result of the Peace Academy, this small beginning today would be one of the greatest legacies of the Bicentennial year.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much.

The student body will be approximately 500, is that right, not more than 500, with a faculty of about 30, is this a good rough idea?

Senator HATFIELD. Mr. Chairman, this is as the bill is proposed. I am sure that Senator Hartke, by his testimony this morning, indicated a degree of flexibility, and I would also like to indicate it in this further statement.

I would like to feel that out of this committee's hearings we could look at this academy in a broader sense than a physical situation at a specific geographic location. Let me give you an example.

The Woodrow Wilson Institution here in Washington, D.C. that is housed in the Smithsonian today and that is providing for graduate programs for scholars and fellows—

Senator PELL. Which came out of my legislation.

Senator HATFIELD. Yes, it came out of your legislation as the Federal memorial to President Wilson. This is a flexible kind of institution, in the broadest sense of the word. Our newest Federal memorial, to President Harry Truman, was the establishment of a scholarship program.

I am talking totally from my own thoughts and not with any reference to the exact wording of the bill. I would like to see us with a very flexible use of the word "institution." There are in existence today great resources that need not be duplicated. It would be far better to send the student to the resource than trying to establish here a great institution in the physical sense, with library and all the other requirements to make up a meaningful and prestigious kind of institution.

I would see the possibility of following the Woodrow Wilson model and then providing opportunity for the student to go to the Hague to study those documents and resources. The student could also go to the Hoover Institution at Stanford, which incidentally is the largest private archives today in the world, and as you know, the full title of that institution is the Hoover Institution of War, Revolution and Peace. Now the interesting thing is, that institution started as a peace institution, but when they got into the study of peace they found they had to study the causes of war and revolution.

In my view a Peace Academy should not merely train technocrats to go over to Sinai to maintain a peace that may be a temporary and perhaps not even an equitable peace. I see this as the kind of institution that is going to train people to know the causes of war and to help remove them, because I do not consider peace as merely an absence of conflict. If we take that narrow definition of peace then the only thing we are interested in is training technocrats. A more adequate concept of peace is conveyed in the ancient Hebrew word, "Shalom," which means fulfillment. When you look at peace in that sense you have to look at the causes of violence, revolution, war and destabilizing forces. To me the greatest destabilizing force in the world today is famine and hunger, a far greater destabilizing than the armaments of the Soviet Union or mainland China. I would think the Peace Academy ought to be broad enough to deal with all of these various problems that become causes of war and revolution.

In conclusion, I would hope we will protect the flexibility of this academy, utilizing existing resources, instead of trying to build another resource library in Washington. There are many resources here already and there are resources all over the world that ought to be utilized by the academicians and students involved with the Academy.

So I would hope that this committee, with its experience with the Woodrow Wilson Institution would take a hard look at just how much institutionalization we want to undertake in this program as far as geography and physical structures are concerned. I would much rather see the money go into the students' pursuit of knowledge and study than into brick and mortar.

Senator PELL. Obviously, I agree with your objective. I think back 40 years ago when those of us who were opposed to the Vietnam war were called doves and were called traitors at times, when negotiate was like a dirty word, when you never saw the dove on a Christmas card until several years later; it was considered an un-American

symbol. We forget very conveniently that that was our national policy then and that basically my concern is seeing the schizophrenia of the Government which on the one hand is now the largest exporter by twofold of arms in the Free World and where they have the department—I think it should be labeled “offense,” many times, not “defense”—in conducting a Peace Academy, because I think it will be in conflict with itself. This is my basic problem that I have here, just as I had a basic problem many years ago with the setting up of a diplomatic academy where I felt the people would not be taught the same freedom of the sort as they would in a private university.

The objective is excellent, and I think it should be applauded. I thank you very much.

Senator HATFIELD. Thank you very much.

Senator Pell. Would you care to join us at the podium? We would be delighted.

Senator HATFIELD. I would like to, but I have another committee I have to go to.

Senator PELL. All right. Thank you very much.

Now the Honorable Harlan Cleveland is here.

I would like to say welcome to an old friend and a fellow Bostonian, and I am delighted to see you here.

STATEMENT OF HARLAN CLEVELAND, DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, ASPEN INSTITUTE OF HUMANISTIC STUDIES

Mr. CLEVELAND. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I am afraid I do not have a prepared mimeographed testimony because—

Senator PELL. I think it would be more stimulating if you just spoke briefly and then moved into a discussion rather than if you just read from a text.

Mr. CLEVELAND. I have been a little unclear about the status of the legislation before you, but I have been interested for many years and am today in the development of the Government's interest and support for the training of Americans in what I have come to call coping with interdependence.

I would like to suggest that you might want to consider for the record two pieces of paper which I will leave with the staff; one I have left with the staff. One is the final report of the National Commission on Coping with Interdependence, chaired by Robert O. Anderson, which just self-destructed recently, and with a final report, a relatively short one, that primarily emphasizes the fact as they said:

Wherever we have looked at the capacity to cope with interdependence—in the business community, the labor movement, the non-profit field, the communications media, the educational system, and government—the main obstacles to coping seem to arise from the pervasive assumption that the line between “domestic” and “international” is still a useful and relevant tool in making institutional policy.

Senator PELL. Is this any relation to the group who are pushing the Declaration of Interdependence in Philadelphia?

I know I signed that, and I find that those of us who signed it are being attacked as being traitors, left-wing, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

We are interdependent in this world today, and I was just curious if this—

Mr. CLEVELAND. This particular enterprise was not part of that, although the banker who is the head of that World Affairs Council was a member of this Commission, Frederick Heldron.

I believe myself that one of the most constructive things that is being done in connection with the Bicentennial this year is the creative effort of a group in Philadelphia to call attention to the fact that the name of the game in the future is interdependence and that the celebration of our Declaration of Independence, as I am sure you know, Mr. Chairman, also happens to be the sesquimillennium or the decline and fall of the Roman Empire in 476 A.D. We had better take that into account in all of our new activities, and the new activities will increasingly feature, I believe, a blurring of the lines between what is domestic and what is foreign, and the people who are trained to work on these matters will increasingly have to work both sides of the increasingly nonexistent fence between the two.

I think we are heading into, in the next decade or so, what is not too grandiose to call the century's third try at world order, the League of Nations having failed, the United Nations being unable in its present condition to cope with most of the issues that are bugging us these days. The reconciliation of free institutions with full employment and fuller lives inside the industrial democracies, which each of the industrial democracies is treating as if it were a national problem, but in fact it is a global epidemic, with dealing fairly with what I have been calling the global business revolution, the problem of poverty, not just the distribution of wealth among countries but primarily the distribution of wealth within countries, within the poorer countries, which is where the real problem is: action on international scale on the emerging—to bring to light and to make institutions out of the emerging environmental ethic, which increasingly has to do with issues such as the weather and its modification, that are international in character and threatening in their potential, and meanwhile, in the keeping of the peace in a world where astonishingly the largest weapons cannot be the most usable weapons and create the most stable stalemate.

In all of these issues, if you take them together, I think it is precisely the kind of education we need to give ourselves and our students these days is the capacity to take them altogether, to look at the situation as a whole. I think we see another spate of international—the development of international institutions, each of which is indissolubly linked with internal issues in our own society. We cannot have a world food system without thinking of U.S. agricultural policy, for example. I think we have to see this as a great spate of new institution building comparable to the period between 1943 and 1950, whose legacy we are essentially using as the world system in economics and in security matters. The problem is, are we ready for such a period, and I think the answer clearly is that we are not ready for such a period, and one of the main things to do about it is to prepare the kinds of people that can think in the interdisciplinary and integrative ways that are necessary for tackling these problems.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, for 5 years I managed a university system, the University of Hawaii, and I noticed that there were

many interdisciplinary courses, most of which were team-taught by professors, each of whom taught his own discipline. It was the students who were supposed to be interdisciplinary.

Senator PELL. I don't think there is any skepticism about what the witnesses are saying. However, the specific problem is, do you consider that this is a fit role for Government. I believe the Soviet Union, if I am correct, has a Peace Academy. Yet they are not necessarily the most peaceful people.

Can you see people under the instruction of the Federal Government really boring in with the right objectivity into these sensitive areas?

I do not, and this is my reservation about the bill.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Well, my own instinct is for a combination of strategies, of which the development of a Government sponsored institution or institutions can well be one. I would like to submit some negative comments about the particular provisions of this bill in a minute. But on your point, Mr. Chairman, I rather like the concept that Senator Hatfield just expressed, a combination of strategies in which we use the best of what is done in the private, but now in this country mostly public, higher education and give that the kind of support that is needed, and I gather yesterday the House passed the Citizen Education Amendment to NDEA title 6. I must say, I hope that the Senate will agree with that, because I think that there is a—that, too, is a part of coping with interdependence.

But on the matter of a Government institution, I believe with the relationship between the Government and higher education, and I have seen a good deal of it in my life, I must say that it seems to me that by and large in the area of science and technology, in the area of marine studies, increasingly now in the area of environmental studies, that it has been possible to develop baffles between the direct political domination, on the one hand, and the kind of academic freedom that is necessary for independent thought and the learning of independent thinking by students, on the other. The National Science Foundation has not taken over the science establishment in the country, and the National Endowment for the Arts and the Humanities have proved to be, I think, very constructive approaches, and I think we need a—

Senator PELL. That is the point. I wouldn't want such a crucial area to be affected by government influence.

Now in this case, I think you are getting into much more sensitive areas, and that is why I would have some skepticism.

What would be your thought to providing, just as you mention the NDEA program, where foreign languages are being studied and special assistance is given for science studies, that special assistance might go to students who are studying the causes of peace, revolution, and what you will, and approaching it that way rather than setting up a Government academy.

Mr. CLEVELAND. I think only a part of the problem is the absence of sufficient subsidy or bribery for students to get into this kind of work. A part of the problem is that we haven't even developed the conceptual base for the period that is just right ahead of us, and too much of what is done in even the regular university programs and public and private think tanks is, sort of, in this respect, behind the

times, and I think it is important that the Government take some interest not only in making it possible, financially, for students to take advantage of programs in this field, but to make sure that the programs are worth taking advantage of. It is a little like the revenue-sharing with the States and localities and very little talk about helping the States and localities develop the manpower to use those funds effectively. The Intergovernmental Personnel Act, and so on, finally did something about that.

Now what is contemplated here, I take it, is a combination of some grant making kind of capability for research and the development of programs that would be widely shared within the academic community, and the development of a graduate program which would have kind of a yardstick function. Now, on that program, I thoroughly agree with you that it is important that it be isolated from a political pressure and from the views of whoever happens to be Secretary of State and President and members of the Foreign Relations Committee and so on at the time. For this reason it did not seem to me that it would be useful to have as less publicized an arrangement as I believe the present draft of the bill would have. I think this would almost guarantee that the Academy, with a capital A, might never become an academy with a small A.

I have some views on this which I believe were available to the staff. Specifically, if you really do not want all of those Government members and especially you do not want the President on the board of trustees, the best arrangement, I think, would be to have all non-government people, or at least people who are there because of their personal qualifications for being trustees and not related to the job they happen to hold in the Government. The arrangements for appointing the chancellor, I think, are not appropriate for this kind of an institution. The bill has him being appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. I think a chancellor in that position would have the views that you just expressed of making sure that that was alright with all of those sponsors.

But the most important task of the board of trustees of an educational institution is to appoint the chief executive. Maybe that is because I was once a chief executive. But I think that power should be in the hands of the trustees and that the chancellor should be to that extent, at least, insulated from the direct feeling that he has to be responsive to every change of mood in Federal Government policy, because obviously this thing is not going to be very helpful both chancellor and the faculty, on the one hand, and the students, on the other, are somewhat out ahead of the Government in thinking through the problems which go behind the tactics of diplomacy and policy today.

I do think it is a good idea, as is provided in the bill, for the chancellor to have a term of office rather than being removable any day he makes a speech that somebody disagrees with.

The other thing I would say about the present draft is that the bill specifies far too many things. I do not think the number of students should require congressional action if you are going to have 501 or 502 students instead of 499. Similarly, the percentages of the entering class who may be foreigners, I think it is a good idea to have a

class that has some foreigners in it when you are studying interdependence. I think all of this sort of thing ought to be much more fluid.

I believe that the appointment of students by the President, taken over, I suppose by analogy with the military academies, since this is a nonmilitary academy, I think that provision would be inappropriate.

In short, Mr. Chairman, I think the bill should be written more like the Constitution of the United States, with a lot of flexibility for development, and not like the constitution of the State of New York. I believe it is true that if you want a new ski-lift in the Adirondacks you have to get a constitutional amendment.

So I think there is a good deal of work as far as the bill is concerned. And in addition, Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that it is important that the kind of flexibility, that Senator Hatfield spoke of, be developed in consultation with the higher education community, because if the higher education community believes this to be competition rather than assistance to their mission, it obviously is not going to fly in any case.

So those are my very informal views.

Senator PELL. Just to ask you in brief, because there are so many witnesses to come, what would be your reaction to the thought of having the same assistance given to private institutions or to individual students?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Well, my own feeling here is that the most important bottleneck is not the inability of students to afford this kind of training, because there are many sources already for that kind of thing, and that is relatively easy to develop, and so it is noncontroversial. The real bottleneck is the sluggish rate at which the American higher education system, public and private, has reacted and is reacting to the enormous changes in the nature of our relationship with the world, and the fact that the programs do not yet exist that in most cases are appropriate to subsidize students to take. So I think something has to be done in that field that is comparable to what was done after Sputnik for science and technology and exotic languages and that is comparable with what has been done through the space program, for the science parts of academia.

Senator HARTKE. Perhaps the heart of the problem that the chairman has, and the distinction which I would like to see drawn, is that what you are saying in substance is that right at Indiana University, for example, we have an excellent studies program in that field. That is out there. It is the other step that you are talking about here that we are trying to cure. After all, this is not a policymaking instrument. This is to train individuals, but specifically to train them in an area which at the moment there is not that kind of dynamic to keep the country moving in a direction which we are going to move rather rapidly.

A general, when he was questioned about his early developing of relations between France and Russia, General DeGaul, was asked why he was making such a move with Russia. His answer to President Johnson at that time was:

It is very simple. In a megaton age it is not a question of who is the most powerful anymore. But most certainly the probability of nuclear war, rather than the possibility of nuclear war, faces us before the year 2000. We are in a whole different age and a whole different set of circumstances, of new concerns, and we have to be willing to adjust ourselves and come to grips with that new dimension.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Stanley Hoffman got off a good comment the other day, I thought, when he said that "More power might just make us the biggest fly on the flypaper."

But I believe it is important not to think of this as training diplomats or to think of this as training a whole countryful of people who can deal with international matters.

We have 100 years of agricultural legislation based essentially on the assumption that the thing to fear is surpluses. If you think of North America as the grainary for a world food system, the thing we had better fear is deficits. But that is going to require an enormous shift of attitude and legislation, and it is the people who can think of the new problems in that way that are not yet being trained by existing institutions.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much, indeed.

Our next witness is Dr. Robert McCAN, former president of the Dag Hammarskjold College and special assistant to the director, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT L. McCAN, Ph. D., FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE DAG HAMMARSKJOLD COLLEGE AND SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR, WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. McCAN. Mr. Chairman, I have come as the founder and former president of Dag Hammarskjold College, which was to have been the international college with cross-cultural understanding as a basic theme with helping students deepen their identity in appreciation of their own heritage while learning to live and work and understand cultures much different from their own in various parts of the world, and learning to live and deal with the problems of interdependence. That college did not quite make it when the financial downturn hit us a few years ago and when the bloom went off the rose in terms of experimental colleges. I think from that experience there may be some things I have to share which would be helpful.

Senator PELL. I notice you have a rather long statement. Would you like to put that in the record and just summarize it?

Mr. McCAN. Yes. I will be very brief. I know the time is very rapidly going by.

I think one of the challenges for a national Peace Academy is to conceptualize a field of study. When one studies war the central core is quite obvious; one studies strategy and tactics, firepower and weaponry, command and discipline, but just what one studies when one gets into the field of waging peace, of building a stable political community on a global basis?

It seems to me the word "peace" is analogous to the word "education." What does one study to become an educator? The answer, broadly, is everything. In a real sense peace is the positive face of

humanity, the harmonious balancing of all forces, the at-homeness with ourselves and with our world and with our conception of the ultimate, but after this has been granted and not in any way belittling this aspect, believe there is a focus curriculum which is broad and deep, philosophical and practical, cognitive and effective in its style of teaching, and while there is no attempt here to set forth in my statement a detailed curriculum, I would like to suggest some aspects which might be important.

First, I think there is little peace in the world unless there is individual peace planted deeply within ourselves, and therefore to me the starting point in preparing the students for being peacemakers is to help them to know themselves and to develop a philosophy of life, an ethic, which will make them sensitive and aware of the needs of others and of justice, while preserving our own concerns as a nation. So in this division I would see psychology, philosophy, ethics and counseling for students: I would see broad studies in political social studies and historical cultural studies, and then a specific curriculum in peace studies.

As to the kinds of careers that might evolve out of such an academy, I see them, Mr. Chairman, in two categories. From the perspective of working in Dag Hammarskjold College I have observed the kinds of vocations that students have entered, and one group went into vocations that could be considered as overtly peace oriented. These students are going into foreign service: in their governments; they are working in agencies of the United Nations, in voluntary agencies abroad, in developing countries, in the field of arbitration, and that category of direct peace involvement.

There is the other group that will perhaps be just as effective in their long-term impact for a peaceful world. Some of these have gone into elementary-secondary teaching with the vision of a world to be appreciated with children. Others have entered international business, international banking, have become artists or writers, but having been deeply involved in an experience of cross-cultural living and having peered deeply into the potential for human community and concern for world issues, their lives have been deeply touched and effected so that whatever their vocation they will have influence and an impact for peace.

So I suggest that that person coming out of such an academy would have an influence, also.

Now, I would add my voice to urging consideration for such an academy for at least 20 to 25 percent of the faculty and students to come from other cultures. It is far better, in my judgment, to learn about the perspectives and styles of life of other cultures, about their ways about looking at us and at world peace through the direct experience of being involved with them as over against simply studying from books.

Would it not, Mr. Chairman, be an immeasurable service to the world to educate some of our brightest and best young people of other lands in that side of America's character that is devoted to peace?

In this way students from other lands can become teachers of their own culture while learning about our culture, and some of the tensions which are present in the international community can then be felt

and considered by the students in the context of their own experience while they are preparing for their vocations.

Mr. Chairman, another area I would consider to be very important, and this follows on the testimony of Senator Hatfield, I would consider it to be very important for students to have a direct involvement in experience as it is related to international organizations, to tension areas, to learning to know through firsthand experience what others are doing and thinking, and so I would suggest an internship, an external research program, an on-the-job training program, that could have a significant impact where students could go out from one area to another, depending on their particular interest.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I should like to add my voice to others in urging that this bill be given positive consideration.

Since World War II, for some very valid reasons, our country has been conditioned toward war. The military plays a necessary role in America's leadership in the world community. So many feel, Mr. Chairman, that alongside our military power we need to develop further that other side of our national character, our concern for peaceful resolution of potential conflicts, and there are positive ways to work with potential enemies, either to neutralize deep-seated differences or even in the long term to modify their attitudes so that cooperation and friendship are possible. There are ways to restructure the basic patterns of international trade, which will provide a greater measure of hope for larger numbers of the world's dispossessed people without hurting the American standard of living in the long run.

Finally, there are techniques and methods to be learned and applied for conflict resolution which can perhaps make a difference between war and peace.

In short, I feel, Mr. Chairman, that the establishment of the George Washington Academy would provide an opportunity for young people to train systematically and then apply their learning in careers that emphasize the positive side of American character. Stated differently, I do not believe there needs to be a competition between military needs of the Nation and the George Washington Peace Academy, but those who understand the requirements of statesmanship know that there is need for many approaches in diplomacy, and we have been weak. I believe, in the postwar World War II era in this positive thrust of waging peace. So in a world that is marked by high prospect and yet with great peril such an Academy can be a positive initiative; it can make a major contribution to world peace; it can increase our understanding of other people and cultures, and it can produce men and women who, in the words of the late Dag Hammarskjöld, "are committed to turning the dynamics of change into the stability of peace."

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator PELL. Do you have any knowledge of any similar institutions in any other countries?

Mr. McCAN. Any similar institutions to the Peace Academy?

Senator PELL. Yes.

Mr. McCAN. Not directly. There are colleges that have a peace emphasis, a few of them.

Senator PELL. In other countries, I said.

Mr. McCAN. In other countries. There is a movement for an International College, a world college of peace orientation around the world. Many of these are small, struggling little—

Senator PELL. Excuse me. If we could get simple answers.

Do you know of any other similar institutions in other countries? If not, say no. If yes, what are they?

Mr. McCAN. No, I do not know of one similar to this.

Senator HARTKE. Senator Pell, there is the Institute of Peace in Stockholm, which is government sponsored. The Prime Minister told me the control of the organization rests with the board of directors. The only connection between the institute and the government is the appropriation of operational moneys.

Senator PELL. I will ask the staff to ask the Library of Congress to give us a study on this and submit it in the record.

[The study referred to appears on p. 314.]

Senator PELL. One other question. I know we discussed it and I was very impressed with your thoughts.

Why did Dag Hammerskjold College collapse?

Was it lack of financial support, basically?

Mr. McCAN. Yes.

Senator PELL. How much money did you spend in toto?

Mr. McCAN. We spent approximately \$1 million in cash; we had a lot of volunteer service; we had property worth some \$2 million which had been given to us in Columbia, Md. But we were not able to mount a financial drive which would put together the \$10 million which was really necessary to establish the school.

Senator PELL. Well, if the government had given you \$10 million, do you believe you could have gotten your institution going?

Mr. McCAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PELL. So a simple bill might establish a private institution that might achieve the same results, do you think, or not?

Mr. McCAN. Well, that would be another avenue to give the initial funding and then have a private board of trustees and a private institution which would have a close relationship to Government but which would be outside the framework of Government.

Senator PELL. As far as expenditure goes, I think \$100 million would be cheap, if that would bring peace.

Mr. McCAN. It is hard to measure the effect it would have on peace, and many types of programs and movements that can be directed to this area I think can have an impact, even though it is hard to measure.

[The prepared statement of Mr. McCAN follows:]

TESTIMONY ON SENATE BILL 1976

Prepared by: Robert L. McCann, PhD.
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May 10, 1976

"

Robert L. McCan, Ph.D.

October 1, 1974 - Present

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October 1967 - 1974

President, Dag Hammarskjöld College

1966-67

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1965-66

Acting Director of Older Persons Programs and
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1963-65

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Educational Background:

B. A. • Central Missouri State College
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"It is the duty of society," said Dag Hammarskjold, from his perspective at the United Nations, "to shoulder the responsibility for the development of ways in which men can live together in this shrunken world, turning the dynamics of change into the stability of peace."

These phrases 'live together', 'shrunken world', 'dynamics of change' and 'stability of peace' will, I think, become basic concepts in planning for the George Washington Peace Academy.

Mr. Chairman, I come to this project from my experience in establishing Dag Hammarskjold College, which was to have been a unique cross-cultural college, bringing together faculty and students from all parts of the world. In this experiment students deepened their identity with their own cultural heritage, while learning to live together with respect and appreciation for the many cultures. The college operated in modest fashion for a period of two years before the economic recession and the trend away from experimental colleges forced us to close. The planning that took place over a five-year period, Mr. Chairman, and the insights from two years of operation gave me, I believe, a perspective that is worth sharing.

I shall speak, Mr. Chairman, to ways in which such an academy might begin, its objectives, its curriculum design and the kinds of students it might produce. These remarks are meant to be suggestive rather than definitive, and represent my own views. Nonetheless, I believe they can be instructive in helping us get a grasp of the potential value of the George Washington Peace Academy.

Organization Development

Turning first to a consideration of the organizational development of this Academy, I envision, Mr. Chairman, a procedure such as the following: First would come the appointment of the Board of Trustees. Its first major task would be the selection of a Chancellor. He, in turn, would recommend to the Trustees a Dean of the Faculty, a Dean of Students and perhaps four or five Senior Faculty members for initial appointment. After these academics have set their objectives, designed an initial curriculum and made a flow-chart of the development process, they would announce the opening of the Academy. I strongly recommend, Mr. Chairman, that a small Alpha Year Class be selected for the initial

experimental year. The results of the year would then be analyzed by students as well as faculty, staff, and trustees. The longer-term design would then be modified to take into account the early experience. Over a period of four to five years the Academy would grow to its full size and shape. This organic growth is much more healthy, in my judgment, than to initially structure a full-scale operation.

Specific Objectives

The institution can be developed with far more vigor and direction if specific objectives have been considered and adopted. Then, for example, the curriculum can be designed to meet the objectives in very specific ways. Some worthy objectives for such an institution might include but not be limited to the following:

- To provide an international and interdisciplinary approach to learning, so that students see the whole as well as the component parts of reality.
- To help students appreciate their own national and cultural heritage and find their identity within its context.

- ° To help students appreciate the unity of the human family while accepting the varieties and diversities of cultures.
- ° To help students learn to deal with change, drawing on the experience of the past in planning for the future.
- ° To help students acquire skills that can be applied to conflict resolution whether in international, national, or community concerns.

The Curriculum Design

One of the basic challenges of a national peace academy is to conceptualize a field of study. When one studies war, the central core is quite obvious; one studies strategies and tactics, firepower and weaponry, command and discipline. But what does one study in regard to waging peace and building a stable world community in which our national interests are protected and in which we do not seek to dominate or control others?

The concept "peace" is analogous to the word "education." What does one study to become an educator? The answer, broadly, is everything. In a real sense peace is the positive face of humanity, the harmonious balancing of all forces, the at-homeness of us all with ourselves, with our world, and with our conception of the ultimate. But after this has been granted, it is possible, I believe, to design a focused curriculum which is both broad and deep, philosophical and practical, cognitive and affective in its style of teaching.

While no attempt has yet been made to design such a curriculum, I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that it might be separated into four divisions.

A. Personal Awareness

There can be little peace in the world unless individuals have peace planted deeply within themselves. Therefore, the starting point in preparing youth for peace-making is to help them to know themselves and to develop a philosophy and ethic which will prepare them for their special vocations. This division would, therefore, emphasize psychology, philosophy, ethics, and counseling as desired by students. The emphasis would be less on an abstract, theoretical study and more on finding oneself and one's understanding of life.

B. Political-Social Studies

In this area would come the study of national goals and foreign policy. Similarly, because we live in an interdependent world, the students would study international organizations and project new ones that might be required to serve the children of future generations. Institutions and broad policies would be the focus of consideration.

C. Historical-Cultural Studies

This department would look at the history of war and find examples of the peaceful resolution of conflict. It would teach students to analyze the history books of opposing nations to see how they tend to interpret their history according to their interests. Again, anthropology would help students understand cultures, their variety and amazing difference, yet see their similarity. In the areas of the humanities and fine arts, students would come to understand the varieties of cultures by becoming familiar with the best expressions of their values. Finally, students would analyze the impact of science - technology on society (when new technology is introduced) to understand how forces are released with far-ranging consequences.

D. Peace Studies

I see this fourth division as more specifically and technically concerned with strategies and programs for peace, and with analysis of ways to wage peace in tense times. Courses might include "The Art and Science of Mediation," "Peace-keeping in the United Nations," and "Methodologies of Peace Studies."

Mr. Chairman, again I mention the aspects of a possible curriculum, not to suggest that this should be the detailed design of the George Washington Peace Academy, but rather to open the windows of our vision so that we might glimpse something of the style and potential of a peace academy.

Kinds of Careers

The bottom line is, of course, to be read in terms of how the graduates of this national peace academy contribute to the nation and to a world endangered by war and threatened by unresolved tensions.

From the perspective of my observations of Dag Hammarskjold College, students' vocations can be seen in two categories. One group went into vocations that could be

considered as overtly peace-oriented. These students found jobs in the foreign service of their governments; they work in agencies of the United Nations, in voluntary agencies with people in developing countries, or in the field of arbitration. Those in the other group are perhaps just as effective in their commitment to a peaceful world. Some have gone into elementary-secondary teaching with the vision of a world to be appreciated and shared. Others entered international business, international banking, or became writers or artists. Having been deeply involved in the experience of cross-cultural living and having peered deeply into the well of human potential for community, their lives were changed. They are oriented toward finding positive solutions to complex problems. Let me cite a couple of examples.

Last week I received a letter from Kenneth Slemko, son of a western Canadian farmer who got his Master's at the University of Chicago. Mr. Slemko is now working for the Central Bank of Canada in Ottawa in their international division. In the letter he said, "Although Dag Hammarskjold College has been closed, its ideas and philosophy live on. I remember my year there as one of great joy, a time when I made some life-long friends, and when I gained a vision of working toward

world community." His letter brought news of his two roommates while at Dag Hammarskjold College. A Japanese student, son of a prominent Diet member, is going into the foreign service of his government, wanting to work in the field of Third-World development. The other, a young man from Chile, is studying at an Advanced Peace Institute in Sweden.

International Dimension

Mr. Chairman, in my judgment, careful consideration should be given to the question of having an international student body and faculty. I strongly urge consideration for a policy of reserving at least 20 - 25% of the faculty and students' positions for youth from other cultures. It is far better to learn about other perspectives and styles of life through direct experience than to learn from books. And would it not be an immeasurable service to the world, Mr. Chairman, to educate some of the brightest and best youth of other lands in that side of America's character that is devoted to peace? In this way students from other lands can become teachers of their own cultures while learning about ours. The tensions

which are present in the international community can be felt and considered by the students in the context of their own experience while they are preparing for vocations.

Direct Experience

Another area to be considered is the question of whether the entire curriculum should be one of academic classes alone, or whether direct involvement in agencies, organizations and tension areas should be studied by direct experience. I hold, Mr. Chairman, that for most students at least one term of internship, external research, or on-the-job training could have a very significant impact. The faculty would then need to devise structures for student-sharing and evaluation of these experiences.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I should like to add my voice to others here today in urging positive consideration of this proposal. Since World War II, for some very valid reasons, our nation has been conditioned toward war. The military plays a necessary role in America's leadership in the world community. But many of us feel, Mr. Chairman, that alongside our military power we need to develop the other side of our national character -- our concern for the

peaceful resolution of potential conflicts. There are positive ways to work with potential enemies, either to neutralize deep-seated differences or even, in the long-term, to modify their attitudes so that cooperation and friendship can develop. There are also ways to restructure the basic patterns of international trade that will provide a greater measure of hope for large numbers of the world's dispossessed people without hurting the American standard of living in the long-term. Finally, there are techniques and methods to be learned and applied for conflict resolution which can, perhaps, make a difference between war and peace. In short, I feel, Mr. Chairman, that the establishment of the George Washington Peace Academy would provide an opportunity for young people to train systematically and then apply their learning in careers that emphasize the positive side of the American character.

Stated differently, I do not believe that there needs to be a competition between the military needs of the nation and the George Washington Peace Academy. Those who understand the requirements of statesmanship know that there is need for many approaches in diplomacy. We have been weak in the post-World War II era, I believe, in this positive waging of peace.

In a world marked by high prospect and great peril, such an academy can be a positive initiative and make a major contribution to world peace. It can increase our understanding of other people and cultures and produce men and women who are committed to 'turning the dynamics of change into the stability of peace.'

Senator PELL. Thank you very much.

The next witness is Mr. Bryant Wedge, president of the Institute for the Study of International Behavior.

I am sorry. It is supposed to be Mr. Jerome Frank, who has to teach class, and if he would come forward now, vice chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, professor emeritus of psychiatry at Johns Hopkins.

**STATEMENT OF JEROME D. FRANK, M. D. VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE
FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS AND PROFESSOR
EMERITUS OF PSYCHIATRY AT JOHNS HOPKINS**

Dr. FRANK. Mr. Chairman and Senator Hartke, let me say first of all that I have been authorized to speak for the Federation of American Scientists and SANE, a citizens committee for a sane world, both of whom have endorsed this bill.

I will be attending a board meeting of the Council for a Livable World on the 18th, and I hope I can get them to endorse it, too, but I cannot speak for them at this point.

Senator PELL. You say you are also speaking for the Council for a Livable World?

Dr. FRANK. No, I am not yet. I haven't had a chance to clear that with their board. I hope to do it on the 18th of May, when their board meets.

Senator PELL. I think the council is doing an excellent job, and I am always very interested in its view.

Dr. FRANK. Thank you.

I have submitted this statement and I will try just to read a few parts of it, and will be brief here.

Senator PELL. I think the whole statement will be put in the record. You will hold our attention more closely with spontaneous remarks.

Dr. FRANK. I am not quite sure that I can do that yet. I am not comfortable enough in testifying.

Although, with the threat of destruction hanging over humanity, the need to develop a substitute for war deserves the most urgent priority, efforts to do so have been ridiculously small—at the most a few million dollars as compared with the trillions spent on weapons. The Government barely supports the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, which at best can only ameliorate the war system, and peace research in private universities is minuscule and fragmented among various academic disciplines.

The proposed George Washington Peace Academy would be a small but significant step toward rectifying this alarming state of affairs. Like the war colleges, it could devote itself to developing and perfecting the arts of nonviolent conflict resolution, unhampered by operational or policymaking responsibilities. It would supply a setting in which members of different disciplines could collaborate, an important consideration since maintaining peace, like waging war, as you already heard, involves all aspects of individual and group behavior. The study of peace-keeping, therefore, requires inputs from many fields of knowledge.

Although the Academy quite properly will not be able to exert direct political influence, the composition of its Board of Directors would assure that any significant results of its work would promptly reach the attention of national decisionmakers. Finally, it would promote research into the arts of peace and train practitioners to apply what is learned. The requirement that, in return for financial support, students spend 2 years in an appropriate agency or international organization assures that this application will occur.

The inclusion of students from other nations is, as has already been mentioned, I think a strong point of the bill. There is no problem of security; maybe that is the point that I can add to that, since the promulgation of knowledge about peacekeeping is to the advantage of all nations, and the presence of foreign students will speed dissemination. In this connection, whereas national security dictates that much knowledge about warrmaking be kept secret, the opposite is true of knowledge about nonviolent resolution of conflicts. The more widely such knowledge is disseminated, the more it can be used by groups in conflict, thereby reducing the overall danger of resort to force.

The two points I did want to comment on were in paragraphs 6 and 11 it states the broad aims of the Academy, and my point is, I think the actual description of what the Academy will do is too narrow. It emphasizes simply negotiation, arbitration, conciliation and mediation. Now, this is very fine, but the trouble is that in today's world there are many conflicts in which the basis for negotiation and conciliation and so on is not yet present, because the problem here is that we have to have some kind of test of strength first before they are willing to sit down and negotiate, so I would like to see that the curriculum be expanded, as indicated in paragraph 6 in section 2. Expand it along the lines of developing effective forms of nonviolent power, which is something new which is possible in the world today that wasn't before. For example, the growing interdependence of nations and the immense strides in telecommunications raise hope that the peacekeeping potentials of economic and psychological forces can be greatly strengthened. The oil-producing nations have convincingly demonstrated the new effectiveness of skillfully used economic power. International radio and television, coupled with communication satellites and the transistor radios and TV monitors set up in public squares could make it for the first time literally possible to reach everybody on Earth at once with some message, and this will skip the literacy barrier, as well. This is the kind of area I think needs study. For the long range, of course, communication in itself won't do the job. The only ultimate means of bringing international violence under control lies in the creation of some sort of world government which maintains peacekeeping institutions with sanctions, analogous to systems of justice within societies. Such a world government could maintain itself only through the consent of the governed. Steps toward it would depend on the growth of consensus among nations that it would be preferable to the current system or nonsystem of international anarchy. Telecommunication can be a powerful tool for achieving such a consensus, if used to promote international tolerance and appreciation of differences rather than antagonisms.

There is a much stronger opportunity now than ever existed before, which is the fostering of international cooperative programs to achieve aims that no nation can achieve alone. The IGY, the International Geophysical Year, is the best example. As you remember, it started out with an 18-month mandate, and it has now been set up for 30 years. I was even more struck in reading about the Barcelona Conference to stop pollution of the Mediterranean, which was attended by all but two countries around the Mediterranean, in which the Jews and Arabs cooperated enthusiastically, apparently, in developing resolutions and plans to protect this.

Furthermore, as benefits for all participants accruing from such activities accumulate, incentives for armed confrontations which would jeopardize them diminish.

Now, it seems to me that these should be much a part of the curriculum of the George Washington Peace Academy.

While the substantive achievements of the proposed Peace Academy would probably be modest at first, there is no limit to the importance they could attain. From its inception the Academy would serve an important symbolic function as an official expression of the belief of the world's greatest military power that development of means of peaceful resolution of conflict is worth systematic study. This should encourage other nations to make similar commitments, leading to an increasingly rapid development of alternatives to war.

That is the end of my statement.

Just yesterday I received a letter—may I read a letter?

Senator PELL. Yes.

Dr. FRANK. It is from Mr. Stone, who is the executive director of the Federation of American Scientists, which bears directly, Mr. Chairman, with your concern about whether this Peace Academy should be a Government-sponsored institution. He says:

F.A.S. understands very well from observing the governmental scene for more than a quarter century of critical institutionalized point of view if one is to gain government attention. This is an age when individual opinion has been supplanted by group studies and studies supplanted in turn by agencies and institutions. The concept that does not have an institution in its name which wishes to train a devoted cadre and to pursue its point of view inevitably loses out to better entrenched ideologies. The military excesses, which F.A.S. perennially deplors, are organically connected to the over-institutionalization of the military point of view. The Peace Academy would go some small distance in reversing this imbalance.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much.

Incidentally, you said that at the Mediterranean Conference on the Environment, all but two countries participated. Out of curiosity, what were the two that did not?

Dr. FRANK. Unfortunately, I do not know.

Senator PELL. I thank you very much, indeed, for your testimony, particularly for Dr. Stone's letter, which will be made a part of the record.

It is hard to focus public attention on the need for a movement in this direction. This is shown to us again—I see now we have lost the press entirely. On the other hand, if this was an investigation or if we were hearing Secretary Kissinger describing his latest adventures in Africa, then the press would be on hand. The problem is to try to

bring the public attention to the fact that the future of mankind and peace is an acute personal concern to their children, and to them.

Senator HARTKE. Dr. Frank, I appreciate your coming, too. Let me ask you about broadening the curriculum. I believe we should provide a flexible legislative mechanism for future course determination. We must provide direction, but we must also provide the students with practical training.

Dr. FRANK. I absolutely agree with that, but I imagine the opportunities to work in the Voice of America, for example, or in whatever television opportunities are available to see if the international use can be improved, let us say, or to assign people to some of these conferences, which try to reach ever widening goals, to see what they could learn how those could be improved. That is what I had in mind more than just simply theorizing about them. I think there are opportunities that are not being exploited because we have not captured people's imaginations sufficiently.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Frank follows:]

Testimony Prepared for Hearing of the Senate Sub-Committee
on Education on S 1776, May 13, 1976

Jerome D. Frank, M.D.

From time immemorial, societies have poured a large share of their resources into preparing for and waging war, since this has ^{been} the final resort for settling international conflicts. In recent years, as the technology of weaponry has become more complex, governments have supported military colleges whose function was not only to teach the current state of the art but also to explore innovations. The United States has also invested in university-conducted research, which has led to rapid advances in armaments.

Until recently, America's massive support of programs to improve weaponry has paid off handsomely. Napalm, guided missiles, nuclear bombs and similar inventions have made the United States the strongest military power on earth. Unfortunately, weapons have now reached the point that they are becoming a source of danger to their possessors. War is ceasing to be a useful instrument of national policy not only because weapons have become too destructive but also because of the growing interdependence of nations. No international war but one has been fought to victory since World War II. The exception, the Vietnam war, is especially instructive because it was lost by the side that possessed overwhelming military superiority. Nothing more vividly

illustrates the increasing futility of sole reliance on military strength to protect a nation's interests and security in today's world.

One cannot, however, replace something with nothing. War will only be eliminated to the extent that substitutes for its traditional functions are created. These include protection of the physical and economic integrity of societies and the winning of power contests. Although, with the threat of destruction hanging over humanity, the need to develop substitutes for war deserves the most urgent priority, efforts to do so have been ridiculously small--at the most a few million dollars as compared with the trillions spent on weapons. The government barely supports the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, which at best can only ameliorate the war system, and peace research in private universities is miniscule and fragmented among various academic disciplines.

The proposed George Washington Peace Academy would be a small but significant step toward rectifying this alarming state of affairs. Like the war colleges, it could devote itself to developing and perfecting the arts of non-violent conflict resolution, unhampered by operational or policy-making responsibilities. It would supply a setting in which members of different disciplines could collaborate, an important consideration since maintaining peace, like waging war, involves all aspects of individual and group behavior. The study of peace-keeping, therefore, requires inputs from many fields of knowledge.

Although the Academy quite properly will not be able to exert direct political influence, the composition of its Board of Directors would assure that any significant results of its work would promptly reach the attention of national decision-makers. Finally, it would promote research into the arts of peace and train practitioners to apply what is learned. The requirement that, in return for financial support, students spend two years in an appropriate agency or international organization assures that

this application will occur.

The inclusion of students from other nations is a strong point of the bill. There is no problem of security, since the promulgation of knowledge about peace-keeping is to the advantage of all nations, and the presence of foreign students will speed dissemination. In this connection, whereas national security dictates that much knowledge about war-making be kept secret, the opposite is true of knowledge about non-violent resolution of conflicts. The more widely such knowledge is disseminated, the more it can be used by groups in conflict, thereby reducing the overall danger of resort to force.

In the remainder of these remarks I should like to elaborate briefly on paragraphs 6 and 11 of Section 2 of S 1776. Paragraph 6 mentions the need to involve representatives of social, behavioral and physical sciences as well as the arts and humanities; paragraph 11 proposes evaluation of the potentialities of the international communications system.

As stated in Senator Hartke's speech of June 18, 1975, effective peace-keeping requires further development of the arts of negotiation, arbitration, conciliation and mediation. While essential, the applicability of these methods requires that certain prerequisites be met which are not present in many international conflicts, including agreement by the parties that the issues at stake are at least potentially negotiable. Often negotiations can begin only after antagonists have tested their relative strengths. For this and other reasons, I would hope, as is implied in paragraph 6, Section 2, that the curriculum of the Academy would encompass a much wider scope than processes of conciliation. That certain aspects of modern military technology itself could be effectively employed to reduce the likelihood of armed conflict is strongly suggested by the ingenious proposals

of Howard and Harriet Kurtz.¹

From a broader standpoint, one area that is of vital importance for peace-keeping is the development of effective forms of non-violent power. The growing interdependence of nations and the immense strides in telecommunications raise hopes that the peace-keeping potentials of economic and psychological forces can be greatly strengthened. The oil-producing nations have convincingly demonstrated the new effectiveness of skillfully used economic power. International radio and television, coupled with communication satellites, make it possible for the first time to communicate with virtually everyone on earth at once through transistor radio receivers and television receivers in public squares. Television and radio, moreover, have a much greater impact than the written word and, of course, circumvent the barrier of illiteracy. The use of both these new tools to wage non-violent conflicts and promote peace deserves intensive exploration.

For the very long range, the only ultimate means of bringing international violence under control lies in the creation of some sort of world government which maintains peace-keeping institutions with sanctions, analogous to systems of justice within societies. Such a world government could maintain itself only through the consent of the governed. Steps toward it would depend on the growth of consensus among nations that it would be preferable to the current system or non-system of international anarchy. Telecommunication can be a powerful tool for achieving such a consensus, if used to promote international tolerance and appreciation of differences rather than antagonisms.

1. Cf. War Safety Control Report, 1963, War Control Planners, Inc., Box 35, Chappaqua, New York 10514.

A much more powerful means toward this end is supplied by programs of international cooperation to achieve goals all nations want but none can achieve alone. The impending shortages of natural resources and the growing menace of pollution of the air and oceans have created new, powerful incentives for this type of joint international effort. Prime examples are the Russian-American space program, the International Geophysical year, which rapidly expanded from an 18-month to a 30-year program, and, more recently, the Barcelona Conference on preserving the Mediterranean from further pollution. The necessity of achieving such over-riding goals fosters cooperation among nations who in other realms may be extremely hostile. Jews and Arabs, for example, worked in close harmony in the Barcelona Conference. As is happening with the International Geophysical Year, such activities, if long continued, force the creation of rudimentary governments to deal with emerging problems which no existing institutions can handle. An hypothetical example would be the problem of who owns the minerals mined on an American segment of the Antarctic by Germans using Russian equipment. Furthermore, as benefits for all participants accruing from such activities accumulate, incentives for armed confrontations which would jeopardize them diminish.

The exploration of these and other new potentials for the reduction of international antagonisms should be as important a goal of the proposed George Washington Academy as the peaceful resolution of conflict.

While the substantive achievements of the proposed peace academy would probably be modest at first, there is no limit to the importance they could attain. From its inception the Academy would serve an important symbolic function as an official expression of the belief of the world's greatest military power that development of means of peaceful resolution of conflict is worth systematic study.

This should encourage other nations to make similar commitments,
leading to an increasingly rapid development of alternatives to war.

Senator HARTKE. Thank you. I know the chairman wants us to move along, so hopefully we will have the opportunity to pursue this line at a later time. Thank you.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much.

Our next witness is Mr. Bryant Wedge, president of the Institute for the Study of International Behavior.

STATEMENT OF BRYANT WEDGE, M.D., PRESIDENT OF THE INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR, ALEXANDRIA, VA.

Mr. WEDGE. I would like to give you some pictures, not for the record, but for the Senators.

Senator PELL. All right. Well, pictures can on occasion be inserted in the record, but I guess not in this case.

Mr. WEDGE. Mr. Chairman, I am grateful for the opportunity to speak to this committee and honored by it, but I do not regard the honor as coming to myself but rather to a rather considerable community of scientists and scholars and academics and youth and women who are thoroughly integrated into this particular interest, a question to which I will return.

I have submitted a rather lengthy statement in which I discuss some of the difficulties in establishing a Peace Academy, but I will not repeat that but rather keep my comments to you very brief.

I will try to deal with three questions—

Senator PELL. Your statement will be inserted in full in the record, I just want to assure you.

Mr. WEDGE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Why do we need a Peace Academy?

What would it do?

And is it attainable?

I have just returned from a meeting at the Mark Hopkins Hotel, and you have a photograph before you which shows 100 persons from 60 different countries standing in front of the Mark Hopkins Hotel. They had all just participated in an Eisenhower exchange fellowship, which has been going since 1953, and we are now moving our first worldwide meeting. I will tell you that at that meeting were Greek Cypriots and Turks from Turkey. There are Israeli persons from Israel and Lebanese Egyptians and no direct Palestinians since they have no nation. But at that meeting we met over common issues which are much greater than the local conflicts: the problems of food in the world, of capital for development, and of political relationships generally. In that context, each of these people from different countries could, despite their differences, speak together and speak together well.

I will tell you I was an Eisenhower exchange fellow in 1959, at which time I was a simple country doctor at Yale University and was chosen because I was a simple country doctor, and it caused a great dislocation in my life because the officials and ambassadors of the United States whom I met on my travels to some 15 countries literally begged me to lend what capacity I could from the field of psychiatry to a better understanding of the human dimension in international relations, and particularly that dimension which has

to do with communication between peoples, including the finest negotiation in which deep misunderstandings, conflict, and unnecessary quarrels often arise, so I devoted myself to that for those years since. I follow in this President Eisenhower who, as you know, wrote his memoirs on his second term with the title of "Waging Peace." He felt very strongly about it, and we have asked such persons as General Goodpasture to speak, but he was not eager to speak outside of his area of special competence in military organization, but I tell you that he also reported that General Eisenhower felt strongly about the need, especially during his last term, to have alternatives to have what he spoke of as the military and industrial complex to mesh the interests in peace and in relationships among people and interdependence with those of national security in the narrow sense.

The purpose of a Peace Academy or of this peace movement or my personal purpose is to increase the security and welfare of the United States. The question is not whether one wants more security, but the means by which it is obtained. We have no problem of disagreement. The difficulty, as President Eisenhower pointed out, was that we understand war very well; war is checkers; peacemaking is chess. It is a difficult, complex field. I think, however, in the years since he was in office that we have developed very considerable capacities in that area, capacities to move into disputes, to move into communities, to move between nations.

I am sorry that I do not have the time to tell you a very interesting, I think, story that occurred in the Dominican Republic when the State Department asked me to do something that only an independent citizen, a peacemaker, could do, which was to move between the radical revolutionaries penned up behind American troops in the center of Santo Domingo, and the American Embassy, who had no other contact with them, and the Dominican establishment on the other side, and that we did in fact succeed over a period of time involving many people in bringing together representatives of those radical so-called communist revolutionaries, who turned out to be most democratic reformists when they had an opportunity, and the American Embassy, so that they have ever since worked together over the small matter that we decided that we could work together on, the development of the autonomous university at Santo Domingo and the other institutions for higher education.

It was possible and is possible, therefore, to move between people at conflict even at war, even the bitterest enemies, and to find means to link the pieces together.

Why do we need a Peace Academy in the Federal Government?

I think that has already been dealt with to some extent, but I think that the American genius needs to be represented at a Federal level. My personal conviction is that there will be a great explosion of talent, of energy and exercise of increasing security in the welfare to the United States when there is a Federal institution.

I have been in this business long enough to have remembered the foundation of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, whereupon it became legitimate for the Ford Foundation and other foundations to give vast amounts of resources to the study of strategic relations. It had not been so before. It has to be made a respectable

security interest of the United States at a Federal level for us to be able to expect this from——

Senator PELL. I remember in that case that even President Kennedy was skeptical whether it could be given legislative authority or whether it would have to be set up by Executive Order, and it took some encouragement from the World Federalist, Mr. McGill, who is such a remarkably fine person, and Mr. Warhead, spurred Senator Humphrey, Senator Clark and myself; I think we went down and tried to persuade the White House to consider it, and, as you say, gave a respectability to a cause that was not as respectable before.

Mr. WEDGE. I think that agency or its work has probably saved more lives than all of the doctors who you have trained through the National Institutes for Health, because——

Senator PELL. I am not sure I would agree with you. The agency has never been permitted to do the job and have the scope that we had hoped.

Mr. WEDGE. But you are exactly right. Had that developed as Governor Stassen and others and even President Eisenhower had hoped it would, we would not be here today. It has become an arm of strategic negotiation, for the most part, and that is a very valuable thing; when I say it saved more lives, the 1963 Minimum Three Environment Test Ban Treaty arose out of the activities and the understanding which were generated by the activities of that institution within the United States Government, and we saw that nuclear deficit floating around the air and water of our planet was a direct and immediate danger to the lives of American people, and we became quite willing and so did the Soviet Union, partly because they were educated by our representatives in this Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Senator PELL. But if it had been set up as an independent agency we would now find that this proposal would be part of an amendment to the authorization for A.C.D.A., and that agency would be like a government department.

Mr. WEDGE. Sir, that is exactly what we do not wish, and I will return to that. I hope very much that the Peace Academy becomes a child of the Congress, and there are a number of reasons for that.

Let me just tell you that after I went on my Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship in 1959 I had no choice but to respond to these requests from our distinguished people and had the support of President Eisenhower and others in entering a field. I found that there were no, literally no suitable sites for my work. I went to the University of Michigan and the Center for Conflict Resolution; it was small and weak and actually scrounging off of other departments and many other places, and that is when I established the Institute for the Study of National Behavior in Princeton, to forward this interest. Since then I have worked steadily with the strategy of working through the established instrumentalities of foreign relations in the United States. I worked with the State Department, AID, USIA, CIA, the Defense Department; I worked with them, I would say, new for them; and the U.S. Navy where we have trained Marine generals in how to get along with local people out at Quantico out at the Marine Corps Command and Staff College because many of us, including

a number of marines, feel that the next sort of Vietnam circumstance which, God forbid that we are ever in, would have to be very different, but that depends upon top commanders understanding a different way of going about relating to indigenous people, so there are always good security reasons for this.

I have come to the conclusion that General Eisenhower also did, that the combination of interests known as the military industrial complex, but we might now add the words military-industrial-financial-political and diplomatic complex—are entirely enamoured of and captured by some theories of international relationship which can roughly be called the peace through strength balance of power, negotiation as a result of an international shoving match kind of theory. I would say that that is not the only reason people will come to agreement or negotiate, but as long as that is a dominate point of view in the whole foreign policy establishment, we deeply need alternative institutions. I can tell you that a great many American people feel we need alternative approaches somewhat insulated from and separate from that establishment, not to displace it, but to complement it, to force or encourage, as President Eisenhower said in his very last speech, nearly the last words to the final address to the American people, he said “Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel.” and I like that word in this context, “can compel the proper mission of a huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals so that security and liberty may prosper together.”

Now, I can go on in the 17 years I have been working on this I have collected so many quotes, and we have already heard from President Franklin Roosevelt, and I would say his son, John A. Roosevelt, was at the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship meetings in San Francisco, and fully supports this movement, that this is totally nonpartisan, that it has no party, because it appeals to people of all sides, so not only can Arab and Israeli sit down together in San Francisco in this context, but even democrats and republicans can, and they were there.

I want to summarize very briefly what the Peace Academy would do. The purpose, the theory of peace, is that the ambition is to connect the pieces together to the present advantage of all participating parties by nonviolent means we are able to define peace. Peace is a condition, for a working definition, in which two or more parties or groups may conduct their relationships with each other, including the relationships of conflict by an array of methods which minimize military and violence. That is all. This is not the opposite of war; it is an alternative; it is a different set of methods. So it would center its curriculum around the distinctive capacity to link people together by other than confrontational and military means.

My own work in passing between Egypt or Jordan and Israel many times shows that it can be done, that people can move, not as Secretaries of State very easily, but rather as lesser citizens as people who are attempting peacemaking.

Now, I want to address a final question, Mr. Chairman, and that is, is this an attainable goal?

I have reviewed the legislative history, and I want to start with first piece of legislation proposed, if I may, by quoting from Dr. Ben-

jamin Rush, my professional ancestor, in the city of Philadelphia, who signed the Declaration of Independence, and pledged his life, his fortune and his sacred honor to the cause of liberty and the United States of America. Twenty-three years later, he rose again to write a paper which is called "A Plan for a Peace Office for the United States," and that paper begins: "Among the defects which have been pointed out in the Federal Constitution, it is much to be lamented that no person has taken notice of its total silence upon the subject of an office of the utmost importance to the welfare of the United States," and I stress that, this is a welfare purpose, "that is, an office for promoting and preserving perpetual peace in our country. Let a Secretary of Peace be appointed—" Now I do not agree that that is even now a practical aim — "Let him be appointed to preside in this office, who shall be perfectly free from all the present absurd and vulgar European prejudices upon this matter," and I quote Benjamin Rush because the balance of power theory, which so dominates our present thinking and is quoted by our major diplomats and diplomatic spokesmen, is a European theory. It was a 19th century prejudice, and my paper tries to show that it absolutely did not work beyond the 19th century, that the violence, the length, the destructiveness of World War I was because balance of power was working so very well. I do not want to go into that, but I want you to notice that Benjamin Rush also said that.

So that he proposed a Peace Office and laid out a peace plan, which is still very strong, a plan for a Peace Office, and many people have done so since.

Is this attainable?

One hundred and forty bills that I can count have gone forward in the Congress of the United States since 1935, which have precisely a Department of Peace or this sort of aim, and they have all died. We have not had hearings on this and, Mr. Chairman, I am very glad we are now since 1947, and there has been no committee report. I have analyzed why that is in my paper and I will not do that now, but I want to tell you that my own experience in the last few weeks has been very interesting. When Senator Hartke and Mr. Cloud found it necessary to go out to Indiana they turned over to me the task as an advocate, to some extent, of exploring what people were interested in this question. We have gathered 120,000 names of persons who have responded to a peace ballot provided by the World Without War Council, of whom 80 percent endorse—this the highest number of the Peace Academy idea—more endorses than a Department of Peace or any other, those that we have. We have among those gathered about 10,000 names of persons who were ready immediately to go out and ring doorbells. In the process of this somebody gave me the name of a banker, Thomas Westbrook, who is the president of a savings and loan association in Cleveland, Ohio, and he has come forward and volunteered his services as national finance chairman to mount a national campaign.

We have been in discussion with a counsel for a Department of Peace, and they have decided, on the whole, at least the major officers, that this is an attainable goal soon and that they are willing to give up their more long range utopian purposes, not permanently, but

temporarily, in order to help in this particular cause. They, and the Council for a World Without War, are able to mobilize something like 150 significant organizations. A Governor in another State has called and asked to appear, but was not able to appear and testify at this hearing. These are things that are spontaneously coming forward in the almost total absence of public notice in which a word of mouth system is passing from person to person. the idea that this is attainable, and I can tell you that several persons in Connecticut and Illinois and Nevada and California are right now mobilizing their capacities in their constituencies to support the Congress if it chooses to take leadership in this field and to press the Congress if it does not, to do so.

I thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Wedge follows:]

Statement before the Hearing on S.B. 1976, The Peace Academy Bill .
Subcommittee on Education: Senator Claiborne Pell, Chairman
Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

May 13, 1976

Biographical Note: Bryant Wedge, M.D.

Bryant Wedge, M.D. is President of the Institute for the Study of National Behavior of Alexandria, Virginia. He was born in Coldwater, Michigan in 1921, attended Kalamazoo College and the University of Michigan Medical School. He has held teaching posts at the University of Chicago, Yale University, Princeton University, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and George Washington University. He is a member of the American Psychiatric Association, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. He was United States Eisenhower Exchange Fellow in 1959 and in 1962 founded the Institute in Princeton, N.J. to study the human dimension in national and international relations. He has carried out problem-solving studies for the Department of State, U. S. Information Agency, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Central Intelligence Agency and the U.S. Navy. Among his studies have been analysis of the public personality of Khrushchev, international communication, the causes of political violence and mediation of revolutionary crises as in the Dominican Republic.

Strength Through Peace :

The Need for a United States Peace Office

A considerable community of scientists, scholars and thoughtful citizens, in whose behalf I presume to write believe that the present pattern of international relations of the United States and the world community depends unduly, dangerously and unnecessarily on relationships of power, force and international violence.

We believe that new and proven methods can facilitate cooperation between groups and nations in reducing force and violence in their relations, and that these methods will encourage voluntary constructive change on the basis of national self-interest, particularly for the United States. We propose that a Peace Academy, independent of but cooperative with the foreign policy apparatus of the Government, is an essential element in organized action toward a safer, saner world by exploring alternatives to forceful confrontation as a means of resolving conflicts of interest.

My involvement in this began when friends of President Dwight D. Eisenhower established the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship program in 1953 as a birthday gift to the President in recognition of his conviction that future peace and progress of mankind depended on understanding and cooperation between peoples. Because of my work in the mental health of university communities, I was honored to be a U.S. Eisenhower Exchange Fellow in 1958 and to travel to some fifteen countries of Europe, Asia and Africa, meeting my colleagues and government officials in each, including United States Ambassadors. I saw a profoundly important human dimension in international relations and I feel that this dimension is overlooked in the typical conduct of international relations, sometimes at great cost to our own security. What I realized was that friction, distortion and misunderstanding contribute to conflict with attendant costs and risks.

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With encouragement from General Eisenhower and others, I decided to work for better understanding and management of human factors in international relationships. General Eisenhower was right when he said that "...friendships have defended more borders than arms and cannon ever have." Despite such sponsorship, however, I found that there was no natural site for such activities -- a matter to which I will return when I comment on the need for a Peace Academy -- so I left my post at Yale and founded the Institute for the Study of National Behavior in Princeton.

I became convinced that the instruments and institutions for waging war must be balanced by methods and goals for waging peace (incidentally Waging Peace is the title of General Eisenhower's memoir of his second term) if security and welfare interests of our nation are to be truly served.

1. Strength, Security and Peace:

The first belief I hold, that the present pattern of international relationships depends dangerously and one-sidedly on adjustments of power, echoes President Eisenhower's farewell address in which he warned of the risks of unwarranted influence from the "military-industrial complex" and concluded that "only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together." While President Eisenhower's worst fears have not been realized, neither have his hopes. The belief that national security depends principally on military strength and that the best path to peace is through strength occupies a central role in our international policy; sometimes to a degree that obscures and blocks other methods and instruments of conducting international relations. Preoccupation with strength and the ability to exert force carries the danger that we may neglect opportunities for accommodating changing world conditions.

3.

We see challenges to our strength in distant places where local conditions of civic disorder accompany decolonization and new nationhood -- the inevitable sorting out of jurisdictions in a century of liberation from empire -- especially when there is some degree of Communist contact or "penetration". This tendency is heightened when the theory of peace-through-strength is coupled with the theory of balance of power. As the present Secretary of State insists, "The first requirement of stability is to maintain our defenses and the balance of power." The outcome has been that the United States too often intervenes or threatens to intervene with force in local conflicts as we have done in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic and has tried covertly to do in Angola. Elsewhere, we have supported regimes that can only be termed repressive.

Secretary Kissinger follows his balance-of-power formula with offers to negotiate. The sentence just quoted has been followed by another: "But the highest aim of policy in the nuclear age must be to create out of the sterile equilibrium of force a more positive relationship of peace." This seems extremely persuasive so long as power -- the capacity to make ^{people} ~~we~~ do by force or the threat of force what they would rather not do -- is regarded as the principal instrument of international relations. However, a preoccupation or bias toward the use of force creates a situation in which negotiations are the outcome of an international shoving match in the process of which we may create enemies where we could have had friends.

(I do not advocate the opposite of strength -- weakness. Nor did General Eisenhower or any thinking citizen. No great nation -- or lesser one either -- can allow itself to be pushed around by force. We must be prepared to defend our vital interests wherever they are truly threatened, by military force is necessary. In the contemporary world this requires an adequate, strong, military establishment. The problem, of course, is the uses to which our strength is put.)

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But the effects of the dominance of the ^{power} model of foreign policy thinking in the conduct of United States foreign policy is terrible.

Political Decay

The first consequence is an astonishing, and possibly unconstitutional, centralization of decision-making power. While the Constitution specifically assigns military command and treaty-making powers to the President, it reserves responsibilities for raising and maintaining military forces, regulating commerce with foreign nations, and declaration of war to the Congress. Yet, we have seen foreign involvements that are undeclared wars, wars regardless of how they are described, in which the Congress has had little voice. Meanwhile the balance-of-power negotiation-from-strength model (borrowed from 19th Century Europe) requires such subtlety, complexity and secrecy, backed by a willingness to use force in the service of the policy, effectively by-passing Congressional, and certainly citizen, oversight. In the end, we are in the awkward position of having to rely on the judgment of a small group of men who govern our military, diplomatic, and intelligence forces. We have, in effect, a foreign ministry arranging our international affairs as in the days of sovereigns, rather than an Administration consulting the will of the Congress and the people. Power, by its nature, tends to centralization, and the dominance-of-power theories in foreign affairs leads to the dominance of a few individuals in decisions that affect us all. And, in the internal workings of the Administration itself, dissenting voices are suppressed; I know generals and admirals, diplomats and intelligence agents whose dissent from specific actions has been summarily dismissed because it has not fitted a global theory. Congressmen, too, although they are less easily silenced. National unity, for which we hear such pleas, does not -- in a democracy -- mean following orders.

5.

Moral Erosion

A second consequence has been a profound erosion of the moral content, the idealism of American foreign policy. The central moral idea of the American democracy is that nations should be self-governing. We believe in liberty, autonomy, self-determination, the right of peoples to arrange their own lives in their own way. We believe that peace arises from the free choice of nations without the imposition of foreign despotism. We believe that, on the whole and given time, the forces of liberty, following our own example, will prevail in the nations of the world.

Power theories, however, radically applied, have no such moral content; the only question is who can do what to whom. The great affirmative morality of America may, and often has, become contaminated or lost in the actual conduct of foreign affairs, especially with respect to newer nations. The outcome is tragic. As an investigator of national images, I find that many peoples -- including sometimes our own youth -- are profoundly suspicious of American intentions and believe that we favor repressive governments subservient to our demands, that we arm dictators and punish popular forces for change. In fact, this image has gone so far as to permit Communist propaganda to claim with considerable success that they stand for "national liberation" although from the democratic point of view the dictatorships of the left which they actually seek to impose are as abhorrent as the dictatorships of the right which we are accused of supporting. National security is not enhanced.

It needn't be this way. As a small example of an alternative possibility I may cite the readiness of "revolutionary" youth in the Dominican Republic to accept cooperative assistance from the United States when it was offered on acceptable terms. After the 1965 uprising in that country it was found that virtually all of the politically active youth of the nation considered themselves "revolutionaries" and were extremely vocal in their hostility to the United States. I was invited by the Department of State to establish contact

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with this rising generation to encouraging democratic participation instead of the Caribbean communism toward which some people thought they were headed, for they surely sounded like it. I met them behind truce lines manned by American troops but even under these conditions I found that they -- or the majority consensus -- would prefer democratic reform of the backward condition of their nation if they could find an opportunity. When the United States Mission and the State Department agreed to recognize and support their national university although it was a hot-bed of reformism, they welcomed the cooperation which has continued ever since. For this, I was denounced in a local Communist newspaper and at the Tri-Continental Congress in Havana as "an agent of cultural penetration who, by clever psychological means, has weakened the true [i.e. Communist] revolutionary spirit." My "clever psychological means" were those of showing them that the United States Government would recognize and support their own thrust for self-determination which the Communists clearly did not.

Economic Distortion

A third consequence of reliance on balance of power models for foreign policies is economic. I am not an economist, but anyone can see that we have been paying for the guns and butter miscalculation of the Vietnam War era with inflation and belt-tightening. We don't need a Samuelson to tell us that military expenditures of 13% of the national economy, year after year, into non-productive, non-service sectors ruinously distorts the economic structure and the market place, even while public needs are relatively short-changed. A global web of military costs exceeding half a trillion dollars (and rising) does not enhance the economic welfare of nations. Meanwhile, the military-industrial complex about which President Eisenhower warned shows great capacity to tap the public purse at home and internationally, sometimes with bribery and corrupt dealings. Unfortunately, the impact of the unbalanced dominance

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of power theory has been to enlarge the scope of the complex to encompass military - industrial-diplomatic - political components. The balance of power theory has certainly led to escalating costs, dislocations and strains. Does this improve our security? We need to ask.

I was once invited by the Intelligence and Research Division of the State Department to submit suggestions for studying the psychological forces that drive the arms race among East African countries. But even a cursory survey forced me to insist that such an investigation would be faulty and incomplete unless it took into account the role of Pentagon arms pushers. Interest in that subject died fast. Does it increase our security to arm nations whose conflicts are with each other?

Questioning Assumptions

Now, all these effects -- concentration of decisional powers, erosion of moral content, economic dislocation -- might be considered the irreducible price of security if great military strength and striving for a global balance of military power were the best guarantee of national security in an uncertain world with an active and powerful adversary, the Soviet Union, seeking to expand its influence and reach. But is the strength-balance-negotiation theory on which our policies are based the only or even the best way to achieve security? Are there alternative approaches, compatible with national safety? One thing is certain. The diplomatic-military-intelligence apparatus now charged with carrying out current policies is wholly incapable of seriously examining alternative possibilities, much less how they could be effected. People deeply trained in the arts of war, of intelligence and hard-nosed diplomacy and with careers dependent on these functions have the greatest difficulty examining the premises on which they are based.

8.

Let me offer an example from personal experience. During my work in the Dominican Republic, I was present when the University of Santo Domingo was re-opened. Within an hour, an American jeep with two armed G.I.s came driving down the main street, Alma Mater Avenue, ignoring the sign which - in Spanish - placed the grounds off limits even to local police forces. In the ensuing uproar a bloody incident was barely averted, partly by my vigorous intervention, after our brave but frightened soldiers had been forced to menace the student - crowd with their automatic weapons. I quickly called our Embassy and found that everyone, the Ambassador, the DCM, the Military Liaison Officer and later the CAS Ambassador agreed that the patrol was politically offensive and militarily unnecessary. This was conveyed to the operational commander, General Bruce Palmer, and he came back that even though the patrol was established on grounds of convenient routes and in total ignorance of violating local sanctuary, it would not be stopped. "The Military", I was told, "does not back down in the face of protest -- it only encourages the enemy." This, in a police action where there were theoretically no enemies. In response to my suggestion that apology for an inadvertant violation of national law and norms was in order, I learned that "the Military never apologizes." It required eighteen days of negotiation to have the patrol suspended; meanwhile the problems of persuading students of United States impartiality was considerably complicated.

It would hardly surprize anyone that when I went to Dr. Walt Rostow, who was Director of the National Security Council, and later to Mr. Marshall Wright, who was the NSC's Southeast Asia assistant, carrying reports from American officials in the field who had been frustrated in their efforts to communicate through official channels, I was relieved by men who were self-admittedly unable to consider alternatives to the manner of execution of policies which they had themselves set in motion.

9.

Does power theory work?

I must raise a final question about the strength-balance-negotiation theory. Even at its finest, can it work in the contemporary world? Is it apt to prevent, or may it actually encourage, the outbreak of devastating war? I very much fear that it may encourage war, and that we have, at least temporarily, embraced a doctrine that undermines our safety.

There is little doubt that the strength-balance-negotiation approach worked quite well in Europe after the ending of the Thirty Years War in 1634 and especially during the nineteenth century after the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15 when the statesmen of Europe, led by Metternich and Castlereagh arranged a durable system of balances. Europe of the nineteenth century was characterized by a sufficient approximation of ratiocination, state and territory to allow adjustments between national state units to proceed within the power calculus, especially since colonialism served as an outlet for expansionist tendencies of individual states. The European wars of that century were modest and contained. It may be noticed that these arrangements among powerful sovereignties were quite conservative and essentially hostile to emerging liberal and nationalistic sentiments. It is simply not true that the First World War grew directly out of the workings of the power balance system gone awry -- actually it worked just as it was supposed to, or nearly so. The savagery and duration and destruction of that war owes much to the nice balance of forces that had been achieved.

I must concede that the strength-balance-negotiation approach did serve us and the world well for a while after the Second World War and, in one respect, that of strategic policy, it is still needed. The power vacuum in Europe after 1945, coupled with Soviet expansionism justified the policy of containment which required military and economic and political confrontation and the strength to establish a stand-off. That

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era had passed by 1963 or 1965 at the latest as Europe had gained strength, multi-polarity had appeared in the Communist bloc, and the boundaries of spheres of influence had stabilized. We entered the era of negotiation several years before it was given that name.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union had developed and demonstrated nuclear weapon and delivery system capabilities and attention to strategic balances became imperative. Here, clearly, strength or parity or sufficiency is necessary as a precondition to negotiation.

Unfortunately, strategic balance requirements provided a vehicle for the reappearance of nineteenth-century European real-politik, the cynical balance of power approach which glorifies force as the principal factor in international relationships. Applied to post-War Europe or to strategic balances this approach is appropriate, but terribly wrong if applied to every issue in every corner of the globe. Insistence on force as the arbiter of policies belies the American idea of self-determination, alienates peoples and nations and, in any case, doesn't work. In relation to smaller and emerging nations, force has lost its utility to a large extent and, if we truly believe that self-determining peoples will defend themselves against foreign domination, we would be most careful in our reliance on force as an instrument of policy with respect to their political development.

In any case, the American idea has spread so far in the world that emerging peoples everywhere have become remarkably able to resist foreign force. Foreign force has rapidly diminishing influence in the face of indigenous developments; this is true even when the foreign forces are ostensibly aligned with indigenous allies as the United States should have learned in Vietnam. It is ironic that the use of force in the service of the theory of the balance of power has actually weakened the position of the user. But the truly terrible irony is that Communist support for national liberation movements has allowed the Communist powers to pose

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as the champions of self-determination, the American idea, and to claim, with some persuasiveness, that the United States is an imperialist power. All of this from the misapplication of the balance of power theory.

It is not true, of course, that the Communist powers support self-determination or that America is imperialistic. The Communists support Communist imperialism; that is, the imposition of Communist governments as subservient as possible to Communist - particularly Soviet - command. That is not self-determination and it is not national liberation except in terms of twisted Communist definition. It is not true that the United States is imperialist; our leaders say and truly mean that we seek no hegemony. It is simply unfortunate that an obsessive concern with power balances with the Soviet state has led us to use power tactics in inappropriate arenas, as in Vietnam.

Another respect in which force is an outmoded instrument of human organization is in coping with the demands of committed groups of persons who believe that they have a just cause but are relatively disempowered, people and peoples who refuse to be "realistic" and bow to force and who turn to terrorism and guerrilla means of asserting their causes. All systems of power are profoundly vulnerable; they are complex, technologically dependent, inter-linked. The more complex the system, the greater its vulnerability to spreading disturbance. Actual power in the sense of capacity to disrupt these systems has diffused outward from the centers of control to such an extent that a few determined men, desperate or fanatical or angry, can disrupt whole nations and, of course, delicate international balances. We have seen this happen in the Middle East, in Northern Ireland, in Cyprus, and we will see it happen elsewhere -- wherever force is used to over-ride human demands.

I criticize the strength-balance-negotiation formula as the dominant basis of United States foreign policy on several grounds but centrally and ultimately because it fails to serve adequately the interests of security and peace. I do not wish to review all the modifications or alternatives that might better serve

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these basic interests. Further, I urge the establishment of a Peace Academy as a means to carry out a review systematically and to develop alternative methods and policies for the conduct of international relations as the foreign policy establishment already committed to a policy stance cannot do. An analysis of what is wrong is the first step in searching for better answers.

2. Alternatives: Strength Through Peace

We know well enough what war is; for practical purposes we might adopt the definition in Quincy Wright's monumental Study of War: "War is a condition which equally permits two or more hostile groups to carry on a conflict by armed force". Later he states, "The causes of war are the absence of the conditions of peace." Nowhere, however, do we find peace operationally defined. My own working definition is that "peace is a condition which equally permits two or more groups to carry on relationships, including those of conflict, by an array of methods that minimize the exercise of armed force and military violence."

One kind of relationship, the conduct of conflict by armed forces, has been extensively studied. We maintain military academies and training programs in the military arts. Much of the substance of history is the study of war, its causes and outcomes. We devote a vast technology to the service of the military cause. Much of diplomatic training and of diplomacy -- sometimes called the conduct of war by other means -- is concerned with adjustments of power, with military force and the threat of war as the bargaining chips; even economic policies and cultural exchange and information programs have subserved the power equation.

Much less attention has been paid to the processes of peace, to finding means to conduct conflict in ways that will minimize the element of force and violence while enhancing the security and welfare of our nation. We do not have a Peace Academy; while there is a vast technology adaptable to the purposes of the peace process -- the technologies of communication, transportation, agri-

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culture and production -- it has scarcely been considered as a peace instrument. We do not produce "peace scholars" or "peace makers" as we do strategic theorists and war makers. Our security lies in peace yet we prepare for war.

Despite this relative neglect, mankind has a long history of spokesmen for the peace process, from Isaiah who called on men to reason together, to Jesus Christ the Prince of Peace, to Gandhi the advocate of non-violent methods, and Einstein who observed, "Peace cannot be kept by force. It can only be achieved by understanding." In our universities there is going forward right now a profound scholarship directed to searching out the conditions of peace; not well funded, not much recognized, only occasionally given a hearing in councils of state, but nevertheless moving forward with substance; with theory and evidence and example. Every one of our Presidents without exception has spoken feelingly, profoundly, seriously of the commitment to peace; Probably only one, however, Woodrow Wilson, could speak from knowledge of the scholarship of the subject. What a pity that our Presidents; so often generals, have had so often to speak of peace without knowledge of the substance of the subject, as they had of war; but what a triumph that they have so often sought and found ways to articulate the very heart of the matter, from General Washington onward.

The Condition of Peace

I will not attempt to outline the substance of theory and method for the study of peace, alternatives to now political approaches to international relations, for that must be the knowledge base for a Peace Academy and had best be worked out as planning processes. But every approach has in common the searching for means to connect the pieces together to the present involvement of all participating parties in the words of Professor John Platt.

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The very essence of the peace process, at least in terms of the working definition that I've offered, is forging linkages that can restrain unbridled force anywhere in the world. I liken it to tying Gulliver down with threads of self interest. A life-time of study of human behavior has satisfied me that perceived self-interest is virtually the sole motive for national policies and national actions. Altruism among and within nations may be an important well-spring of action but I have found no evidence of altruism in international behavior of nations. It may be that at some future time, after the human race has established a global network of linkages, consciousness of the unity of mankind will become a basis for policy as some visionaries -- incidentally, also starting with Isaiah -- have foreseen. For the evolutionary trend of human consciousness, the changing nature of man, has been toward inclusiveness. But in our era, still the age of nationalism, we have the task of learning to live together in peace and, as the world now is, this involves bringing coherence to the global city of man.

We must learn to live together because there is no longer any place to hide for any group or any nation in an age which has come upon us only in this century, an age of interlocked, global, technological interdependence. The world has never been like this. No nation, small or large, can isolate itself. Disruptions in any part of the system of man, monetary, political, ecological, distributive (energy, commodities), soon affect us all. For instance, so long as a single sovereignty provides sanctuary for terrorists, we will face international terrorism. So long as ideas -- the greatest force of all -- cross all national boundaries they will be seized and used internally in any state; he who seeks to suppress these invites peril. The astonishing explosion of global systems of communication, of business, of ideas and of military linkages since mid-century locates us all into the world. No nation can drop out, except briefly. No nation can dominate. All must accommodate to global imperatives for their own survival. In such conditions the habit of mind that finds national safety in military strength is anachronistic for it is factually

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false. International war, except perhaps on the smallest scale -- and even then we have yet to learn how to keep these localized -- is obsolete, for nobody can win; national interests are not served. The capacity to make and maintain peace provides a considerable competitive advantage to the United States. Every time we contribute to peace between allies and among emerging nations, we add friends to our list of nations who will withstand any foreign alignments. Every year that we sustain a viable peace with our adversaries, the forces of liberty grow within their fabric. In the war equation, there is little to choose between democracies and dictatorships except that the latter have an edge because of their capacity to allocate resources regardless of popular demands. But in the peace equation, the democracies have great advantage for they can tolerate diversity among systems.

The Peace Academy Curriculum

The general theory of peace that I've put forward, that it is a process of global linkages among the nations and of accommodating the conditions of our time, must be broken down into the lines of theory and research, training and method for its realization. That is the function of a Peace Academy. Its curriculum would rise out of approaches to this process; studying the advantages and defects of world government and the United Nations, analysing military relations and power theories, examining the role of law -- the study of which is well advanced in the massive International World Order Model Project of the ^{Institute for World Order} ~~World Order Project~~ -- studying diplomacy as it is and has been and might be, research on transnational institutions such as multinational corporations and world systems of weather and disease and food and population and resource and communications and transportation and economic exchange, the problems of arms control and disarmament, acquiring newer knowledge of means of conflict regulation, the broader theories of systems and their functioning. The curriculum is easy to outline, the knowledge base is considerably developed and calls on literally all of the resources of history and science and reason

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that can be brought to bear on the issues.

Because I cannot review in detail the entire curriculum of such an enterprise, perhaps it will be sufficient to touch upon what I regard as a central method, peace-making. My definition of this scientific art is broad. The first element is to develop a capacity to talk with and understand other peoples of the world in their own terms without for a moment losing sight of our own purpose. Incidentally, this accords with the advice of Mao Tse Tung who said, "Know your enemy and out of a hundred battles you will win a hundred victories." This capacity for cross-cultural communication can be taught, as we have done with Marine Colonels at the Marine Corps Command and Staff College, Air Force Officers as at the Air University, diplomats as at the Foreign Service Institute, and elsewhere. It is basic for getting along with people while retaining our own identity wherever we move or do business of any kind in the world.

How do we teach this? In my view, only in the real world. We insist that our students establish communicative relations with people different from themselves. The scientific art of communicating with strangers, foreigners, adversaries, is precise and crisp; it involves knowing communication and culture and techniques for applying this to getting into the other fellow's outlook. It is new. It is as significant in the conduct of conflict as in relating to friends. For the world of the present and the future, it is basic. But the general capacity has been neglected by the theorists of power.

International Mediation, A Sub-Specialty

Training for intermediation is more special, a special discipline within the array of approaches to peace. The essential quality of the intermediary, whether individual or a group, is impartiality; it is the quality of a good psychiatrist. The intermediary seeks to understand and communicate with adversaries, each in their own terms. He then seeks to identify complimentary interests between them as in brokerage or Yankee horse-trading. This done, he

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brings spokesmen of the sides together in exploratory and bargaining sessions. When a deal is struck, he terminates the intercession. In each of these steps there is required a high level of discipline.

The full development of the arts of mediation of interests will provide the essential mechanism for the linking of self-interests of all participating parties of the world and I believe represents a social invention that will prove itself more contributive to national security and much less expensive than all the weapons and all the armies ever imagined. Best of all, mediation does not use force in any form nor challenge power at any point. No participant agrees to anything except voluntarily and in self interest.

We have a good deal of proven experience in mediation of conflict. The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service was founded to regulate labor-management disputes and has contributed significantly to bringing labor peace to our domestic scene. It is always reassuring to hear, as we often do, that "Federal Mediators are on the scene" of outbreaks of industrial or community disputes. The Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice has played similar roles in racial conflict. The American Arbitration Association has established a very special place by providing private, independent and impartial arbitration and mediation of disputes, the parties to which agree to accept clear rules of procedure; more recently the AAA has sponsored a program for Community Dispute Settlement that provides mediative services in dozens of community disputes in schools, prisons, neighborhoods and the like. The Administrative Practices Act has helped the development of the role of the Administrative Law Judge who presides at orderly hearings and reaches advisory decisions in many disputes at the request of the participants; this system has literally saved the courts from complete overload and breakdown.

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At the same time, in the last decade, a number of intermediaries have moved into communities to the sites of conflict. For example, the frightful violence at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago might have been repeated in 1972 had not a number of mediative forces moved in beforehand to cool the scene. Elements of the United Methodist Church, the YMCA, the Department of Justice and the Center for the Study of Violence at Brandeis University appeared in Miami Beach and helped the hippies, yippies and zippies, the Cuban Refugees and militant groups such as Vietnam Veterans Against the War all to find a place without violence and without wrecking the conventions. The City Council of Miami Beach and the heroically professional police chief, Rocky Pomerance, and the party leaderships and Federal Agencies were also involved. There were literally dozens of close calls, of nearness to violence, in Miami Beach in 1972. Anyone who thinks peace-making or crisis intervention is for weaklings should have been there. But, we have passed that crisis in our domestic history and the social support for violent manifestations in 1976 is minimal. Without the intermediaries we would not have gotten by with the convention mechanism so relatively intact.

So far, international arbitration, mediation and conciliation are less well developed; I cite the U.S. domestic development chiefly to illustrate that we have already a good deal of know-how. Nevertheless, Secretary Kissinger's mediation in the Middle East, even though pressed from a position of power and with undoubted wielding of power in the process, shows what can be done. My own experience in the Dominican Republic and the Middle East has shown that an impartial party, acting without any taint of power, can move between the bitterest adversaries, even in the midst of war and can sometimes find common ground between them. UN mediation has had indifferent results so far, although the Congo operation -- which had no great power opposition and some great power support -- under Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld, and peace-keeping missions in the Middle East have had substantial success. We have a great deal to learn about

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the international application of mediative methods, especially at sub-governmental levels, but we do have a start and we know what it is necessary to learn.

These comments on the substance of a curriculum for the Peace Academy are offered only to demonstrate that there is established knowledge, to begin to answer the question: "But what would a Peace Academy teach?" The answer is, plenty!

Nothing I have said about the search for peace suggests that competition between nations is apt to diminish in the near future, nor that it should. I think it will continue and I pray that the democratic forces will win, not by war, but by being better at making peace. We are, in fact, not hindered by the tenets of historical materialism, of so-called Marxist-Leninist science which limits the capacity of the Communist camp to analyze and respond to new realities, particularly in the social and political field. (I have been consulted by Soviet officials on such matters as the inexplicable -- to them -- nationalist behavior of such persons as Alexander Dubcek after thirty years of Soviet "conditioning". My Soviet friends, actually brilliant minds, admitted that 'Marxist-Leninist science has no means to cope with such problems'. I cheerfully advised them concerning empirical analysis of personality and politics because if they accepted the analysis they were that much less able to deal with "contradictions"; if they did not, they'd keep on making the same mistakes.) We've seen the same problem in Soviet genetic studies, where the dominance of theory over reality led to the Lysenkoist debacle.

In short, the Communist adversary can make war and can use the instruments of power, the capacity to push people around, about as well as we can. But they cannot make peace as well, they cannot tolerate diversity as well, they cannot accommodate to a democracy of nations as well. We can perfectly well understand and quite accurately predict their behavior by the simpler rules of Marxism and power equation: they cannot predict and cannot understand the behavior of most of the world, including ourselves, when it fails to

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conform to their theory, their mythology. The point is that if we play the game of nations by their rules we can never win and neither can they, but a lot of people can get killed. If we follow our own genius for liberty and moderation, I believe that our approach will prevail and, in the end, Soviet development will converge toward acceptance of international and eventually, internal democracy, cast of course, in terms of the Russian soul. If we believe in the spirit of liberty, we must believe that it lives in all men; the problem is to nurture it.

3. The Need for a Peace Academy:

Two hundred years ago this year, my professional ancestor, the good Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia signed the Declaration of Independence and pledged his life, his fortune and his sacred honor to the cause of liberty and the United States of America. Twenty-three years later, in 1799, he noted that an important item had been left out of the Constitution and was the need of a Peace-Office for the United States: which began: "Among the deficiencies which have been pointed out in the Federal Constitution...it is much to be regretted that no person has taken notice of its total silence upon the subject of an office of the utmost importance to the welfare of the United States, that is, an office for promoting and preserving perpetual peace in our country. That a Secretary of Peace be appointed to preside in this office, who shall be perfectly free from all the present absurd and vulgar European prejudices upon the subject of government;...the principles of republicanism and Christianity are no less friendly to universal and perpetual peace, than they are to universal and equal liberty."

Since Benjamin Rush spoke out for an Peace Office, literally hundreds of proposals with similar intent have been put forward in our country by great patriots who have had the courage to assert that our security and the advantage of human liberty lies in the defenses of peace. One of the high-water marks

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of American concern was Woodrow Wilson's advocacy of the League of Nations, another was the proposal submitted in 1928 by Republican Secretary of State Kellogg to the European powers proposing renunciation of war; the Kellogg-Briand Pact was signed by twenty-three nations including the United States and our country showed its concrete concern for the peace of the world. Between 1935 and the present, I count more than 140 significant efforts in the Congress to introduce legislation for a Federal Office, most often for a Department of Peace; among the sponsors have been Senators Alexander Wiley, Karl Mundt, Everett Dirksen and Hubert Humphrey. But there have seldom been hearings, never has there been a Committee Report since 1947, there have been no votes on these bills. We must ask why.

Resistances to a Peace Office:

Among the reasons is the structural omission noticed by Dr. Rush; since such an office was left out of the Constitution several agencies have filled the vacuum with zealously guarded bureaucratic empires, empires that have the ear of the Chief Executive and sturdily resist any "incursion" on their territory -- the Department of State, the Defense Establishment, the intelligence community and, of course all of their financial and industrial allies. These forces generally share a stake in reliance on military strength as the principal instrument of policy and honestly believe that this is the best path to security, even to peace. They resist any alternative approaches and they have a lot of clout. There are no similar complexes of self-interest pressing for the methods and goals of international order.

I do not wish to over-paint this picture. Within the foreign affairs establishment there are many projects and many agencies that consider means to connect the pieces together and to diminish the risk of violent conflict. But the bias is clear and constant and strong enough to have restrained any President from welcoming a new office independent of this vast community; President Kennedy's Peace Corps, carefully restricted in its scope, is the closest departure. Anyone

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who has worked with this community, as I have, has found that the prevailing philosophy controls the parameters of discourse.

The same combination of interests has altered the functioning of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency out of recognition in terms of the original proposals worked out by Harold Stassen at the request of President Eisenhower; it is now largely an arm of strategic negotiation. The same combination of interests, and the costs of Vietnam, prevented the funding of the International Education Act of 1965 passed by Congress and signed by the President. And the same combination has subtly opposed every Peace Office bill in the Congress -- which, of course, required little effort in the absence of any interest-group support for the legislation.

A second resistance is found in the nature of the proposals put forward. They have expressed aspiration but not concrete method. They have not specified how a Peace Office would work, what it would teach. The Peace Academy Bill remedies this; here, I suggest that we know precisely what to study and what to teach. We know how to work with, but not work for, the established foreign policy community -- this does not please the radicals who want to destroy rather than build from what we have. We know our purpose, the security and welfare of the nation. I believe that this is the first proposal to be sufficiently concrete to command the respectful attention of the Congress. President Franklin Roosevelt's plea in an address that he was preparing to deliver when he died that, "...we must cultivate the science of human relationship -- the ability of peoples of all kinds to live together and work together in the same world, at peace" can now be satisfied. We have such a science.

The other resistances are psychological; first, the image of peace efforts as "soft" and even vaguely subversive; second, the persistence of historic myths in the face of modern realities; and third, the deeply human tendency to displace one's troubles onto an enemy.

When one asks people to respond to the word "peace" the first responses are apt to be on the order of "Chamberlain's umbrella", "appeasement", and the

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further connotations go to "softness" and "weakness", and "letting your guard down." It is not far, especially in times of conflict, to thoughts of "selling out", "cowardice" and even "security threat". These are not appealing. The fact is however, that no sensible peace strategy, goal or method can be based on turning the other cheek toward external force. Rather, it must rely on a mixture of means, including capacities for military defense of vital interests meshed with vastly increased ability to negotiate at many levels in self interest. At every level a strategy of peace calls for tough-mindedness and courage; whether it is the realism of a Peace Corps Volunteer in the hinterlands of developing countries or the courage of a mediator moving between adversaries or the reasoning of strategists -- for peace strategy is to military strategy as chess is to checkers. William James, in his great 1910 paper on "The Moral Equivalent of War" insisted rightly that ideals of hardihood and discipline are needed in peace campaigns; he proposed a conscription of the whole youthful population into such action.

Six thousand years of the history of warfare have bred into human culture a deep mythology of warfare, of heroism, deeds of valor, of national forces converging to meet great peril, of triumphs at arms. Indeed it is probably true that until this century the needs of warfare have contributed more to human progress than any other institution. American history as it is taught our children glorifies martial triumphs and slogans, "Don't tread on me!" stirs every American heart although the real historic facts are otherwise -- for most of our history we were anything but a great power and we were happily insulated from the conflicts of others while we developed our own nation. But the myth lies deep and it is easier to move mountains than to change the minds of men. We need now to examine the myths of our history and courageously consider whether war is any longer glorious. And by what other means we might achieve our national purposes. Meanwhile, the study of methods of peace is felt by many to be disloyal to our history and even, possibly, weakening to

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our moral fiber. Actually, the most revolutionary idea in the world, the idea of self-determination, is the deepest fact of our history and ~~that~~ fact has required much more negotiation -- among ourselves and with others -- than force.

Finally among these psychological impediments to supporting a Peace Office is the human tendency, which we share with all men, to blame others for many of our troubles, to need an enemy. This mental mechanism of corporate life provides a channel for the draining away of accumulated social tension and an incentive for social cohesion. It is consistently utilized ^{for} ~~by~~ political support. This is not to say that we do not have adversaries and enemies in the world, but that any talk of peace, of detente, is apt to be viewed as politically unpalatable for domestic consumption by any side. It is partly for this reason that the idea of a Peace Office has difficulty in gaining support it is only when it is realized that strength through peace provides a competitive advantage for the United States as the leading industrial democracy, that it will gain support -- and that takes thinking beyond slogans. We should not fear peace.

Where is Support to Come From?

Given the alignment of forces resistant to a Peace Office, where is its support to come from? I believe that it must have three synergistic sources. First is the force of reasoned analysis; second, the leadership of the legislative branch of government, and last, and greatest, the majority of American citizens.

I had a grand experience of inviting ten distinguished professors from as many disciplines -- from civil engineering to pharmacology -- to participate in cooperative consultation with their opposite numbers in the Dominican Republic, some of whom were "revolutionists" some of whom were identified communists. I promised them low pay, miserable conditions, some danger and no honor. In every case the first man invited -- having been designated by their respective professional associations as outstanding representatives of their field -- agreed

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to come and all acted with magnificent impartiality. They were well tested, as when the very Republican engineer was consulted about producing a more flammable effigy of Tio Pepe - Uncle Sam -- and provided good counsel. And they made a lasting impression.

I believe that reasoned analysis will prevail and that once the example and sanction of a Peace Academy is established there will be a great outburst of creative efforts, not only in the Academy, but throughout the American Society.

The principal leadership for this development must necessarily come from the legislative branch. The pre-emption of the foreign policy arena by the complex of forces against which President Eisenhower warned in vain, has produced a great imbalance. In foreign policy there is no such tri-partite division of responsibilities as envisioned in the Constitution; the Executive Branch has usurped the field. Now, clearly, the Congress seeks to redress that balance as it should and to prevent an undue concentration of power. One channel for redress would be the exercise of leadership in the creation of the Peace Academy, or a similar office, to provide a broader range of options to our nation in conducting its international relations. The Congress will have to lead, to explain to the people the need for such an office, its patriotic nature and its moral and practical functions. Congress must lead, the Executive can not; we professors can only provide some reasoning, not the leadership. The step I recommend is a small one, very inexpensive -- the cost of a couple of fighter aircraft -- but the Congress must lead the way. There is no one else.

About the American people there is not the least doubt. We are prepared still, after two hundred years, to "hold the rest of mankind, "Enemies in War, In Peace Friends." If the issues are explained, if there is a clear direction, and leadership from Congress, the overwhelming majority of Americans will support a Peace Academy.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much, indeed, Dr. Wedge.

Senator HARTKE. Dr. Wedge, I want to pay a special tribute to you for the excellent work you have done in this field and the leadership that you have taken. You have been extremely helpful, as you well know, and it is an interesting challenge. I am looking forward to the day when your work in this field will be recognized for what it is, that is, for the definite purpose of promoting peace in the world and doing it in a fashion which will be a reality, hopefully, not alone for an Academy of Peace, but for the concept that will bring some concrete results to the world.

Thank you for your help.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much, indeed.

Our next witness is Mr. James Laue, director, community conflict resolution program, University of Missouri.

STATEMENT OF JAMES H. LAUE, DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY CONFLICT RESOLUTION PROGRAM, CENTER OF COMMUNITY AND METROPOLITAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Mr. LAUE. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I appreciate very much the chance to bring this testimony to you today. You do have a copy of my remarks, so I will just highlight briefly a couple of the points that I would like to have special attention paid to.

First of all, I think my background in perspective is quite a bit different from most or perhaps all of the persons who are testifying in behalf of the legislation today. My background comes from the area of community and racial conflicts in the United States in the recent past, rather, than international conflicts. As you will note, I did work for the Community Relations Service in the Department of Justice for 4 years during the 1960's, and I have spent a lot of time in Selma; I was at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis when Dr. King was assassinated in 1968, and more recently was an advisor in Charlestown, W.Va., to peacemakers there during the textbook dispute in 1974.

As you see by my testimony, there are three essential points that I want to focus on, at least one of which has been supported by a number of the witnesses already, that being the first point having to do with the nature of the curriculum. My essential point as to the subtitle of the causes of peace is that the nature and the notion of the curriculum for a Peace Academy, it seems to me, must be consciously and explicitly focused on such notions as change and perhaps justice as well as peace because we have noticed in community and racial disputes that it is never the disempowered or the disadvantaged parties who are asking for peace or for conflict resolution or for conflict management or for conflict regulation; they are rather asking for some way of empowering themselves to have a stand or a stake in the forum about decisionmaking about the outcomes of conflicts. I say in my testimony that a failure to include in a bill such as S. 1976, failure to include reference to some substantive understanding of the causes of peace would be a negative message. I think, to the disestablished persons of our Nations and to the world.

The second major point that I hope to leave with you is that peacemaking, resolving conflict, doing change at the level of communities and institutions in the United States, in particular, is very, very im-

portant to be included in any type of Peace Academy curriculum. I do believe that any Peace Academy would be sorely limiting its scope and usefulness if it restricts its attention only to the international level to the exclusion of community conflict. You do not have to go very far into history, past or present, to recall various instances, Berkeley, Selma, Watts, Columbia, Boston, Charleston, both South Carolina and West Virginia, and hundreds of lesser known disputes, many of which are right in the areas that members of this subcommittee come from. My major suggestion here is that a good deal of the knowledge and technology which is developed in resolving racial and institutional conflicts is directly transferrable to the international level, and furthermore, it is very difficult. I think to develop the notion of internships and friendships if you are working at the international level, whereas in community disputes, racial conflicts, institutional problems, a good tradition has developed already of having apprentices to experience conflict intervenors who work in that situation, and in my own field of training students and agency representatives and client groups in conflict skills, the part of the curriculum that I would least like to leave out would be immediate experience in an internship in a conflict situation, an internship to a community mediator, for example.

The level of community conflicts that are with us now and are likely to continue to be with us, provide an excellent training ground and a resource that we would very sorely miss and misuse. I think, if we did not have a heavy focus on community conflict as well as international conflict in the legislation.

The final point in my testimony I will comment on only very briefly, and that simply is an attempt to show you in the testimony that is recorded here that there is a developing set of theoretical principles of strategies and techniques for operation of teaching devices and of a national network of persons who are working in the field of community conflict resolution; there is quite a tradition that has developed in the last ten years of mediation, of advocacy, of other types of intervention appropriate for resolving community disputes. While I will not read them, I would call your attention to page 6 of my testimony, which lists, I believe, seven principles under which I think most of the persons and organizations working in community peacemaking in the last 10 years would adhere to, and they are principles I think need to be made explicit and which are being put into operation, particularly the notion that the courts are terribly overloaded as the major institutionalized mechanism of conflict resolution in our culture, and there are alternative diversion processes which can be set up in a mutual joint problem solving way rather than an adversary proceeding.

Let me then just close by suggesting the section beginning on page 8, which really just is a listing of names and organizations and places to give you an idea of some of the variety of experience that has been developing over the last 10 years in the area of community conflict resolution. I would particularly call your attention to existence of the Community Relations Service in the Department of Justice, which was established under the 1964 Civil Rights Act to assist communities in resolving racial disputes and to bring voluntary compliance with certain sections of that law. They have had a great deal of experience

in recent years and are now moving to formal processes of mediation in which they set up a mediation forum in institutions like prisons, in housing disputes, in health care disputes, and actually get a formal mediated written agreement outside of any kind of litigational process.

You will notice, gentlemen, I think, as you look down that list that the types of organizations which have developed and have some experience in peacemaking and change making on the domestic scene are based not only in government but come from the commercial arbitration and labor management field, from lawyers, from religious organizations, we note the United Methodist Church here; the Church of the Brethren are involved in testimony; the Mennonites have been heavily into this. One of the most interesting processes now going on is the work of the Center for Correctional Justice, which is introducing arbitration and mediation into the prevention and solution of inmate grievances in prisons. I am working fairly heavily with them in that in New York State, where there is now a law, as you know, calling for formal inmate grievance procedures, which had much to do with what happened at Attica, of course several years ago.

One final point that I would make, I guess, is to underscore something that some of the other persons testifying have said: it is getting increasingly difficult. I think, to draw a hard and fast line between domestic relations and international relations and between the way conflict occurs on an intranational basis with an international basis.

Looking again at the Community Relation Service, the director of the Community Relation Service, Benjamin Holman, who holds the rank of Assistant Attorney General, spent some time in foreign countries recently; they have been calling on him to talk with them about the kind of techniques that we have developed for dealing with racial and community disputes in the United States. He was in Great Britain last year. His counterpart in Australia, I believe, is coming to visit within a month or so to see what this very small agency has been able to put together.

A last comment, I guess, would be that we are sorely missing, I think, in this testimony and in these proceedings input from racial and ethnic minorities as to their view of conflict and conflict resolution proceedings, and as I mentioned earlier, it is usually folks who look like us who are asking for peace and for conflict resolution and conflict regulation. Minority groups are usually asking for a change and justice instead.

Senator PELL. It is the so-called minority groups that are in the vast majority in the world.

Mr. LAUE. Yes. An excellent extrapolation from what I am saying.

Andrew Young from Georgia and Walter Fauntroy from the District, two Congressmen, are perhaps two of the best resources in the United States for drawing on the kind of techniques for peaceful change, for resolution of conflict that developed in the civil rights movement and the institutions that grew out of that, and I would urge the subcommittee and the staff working to consult with those gentlemen and others for their experience as you proceed with the establishment of this particular piece of legislation.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much, indeed.

Senator HARTKE. May I just say that Congressman Andrew Young is a great supporter of this concept.

How long did it take to develop effective instruments for the resolution of disputes and conflicts? You must have developed the techniques rather rapidly. It must have been within the last 10 years because of the disorders of the 1960's. Now, you are practically in every community with any size, isn't that true?

Mr. LAUE. The Community Relation Service does have a network of Federal regional offices; also, there are a number of private organizations which are growing up in communities and nationally, and I think we are at the level of understanding now of how you get into a community to establish a forum, a private, nongovernmental, non-litigative forum for conflict resolution, which you can do it really pretty quickly now.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Laue.
[The prepared statement of Mr. Laue follows:]



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PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL:
THE ROLE OF MEDIATORS AND OTHER INTERVENORS

James H. Laue
University of Missouri-St. Louis

HONORABLE SENATORS, MR. CHAIRMAN, FRIENDS:

I appreciate the opportunity to testify in behalf of Senate Bill 1976; there could be no better year than 1976 to name and give institutional form to the United States' commitment to peace at last.

But I must quickly add that "peace" has many more dimensions than are stated or implied in the Bill, and it is these implications I want to place on your agenda through my testimony today. My concerns may be summarized as follows:

1. "True peace," in the words of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., "is not merely the absence of tension, but it is the presence of justice and brotherhood."
2. Any "Peace Academy" must focus its curricular offerings and other activities on the community and national levels as well as the international level.
3. There already exists a substantial body of theory, techniques and ethics regarding community conflict intervention, and a growing national network of practitioners in public as well as private settings.

The University of Missouri is an equal employment and educational opportunity institution.

I want to discuss each of these concerns briefly, then turn to their implications for the proposed legislation and the George Washington Peace Academy.

The Causes of Peace

All of us would affirm, I am certain, that the achievement of peace requires the presence of certain societal conditions. We generally name at least economic security, political independence and some measure of racial and social justice.

Yet I have found, in some 10 years of studying, intervening in and programming about community and racial disputes, that, with remarkable consistency, in parties (mayors, agency directors, superintendents, university presidents and senators, for example) call for "peace" per se without reference to its substantive antecedents. Often the goal is phrased as tension-reduction, conflict regulation or management, or simply control or repression of the protesting parties.

Out parties in such conflicts (students, racial minorities, women, young people and welfare clients are good examples) rarely call for "peace". "Change", "justice" or "empowerment" are their more likely goals.

In our work and that of many others who study and practice in the field of community peacemaking and changemaking, we cannot teach about "peace" unconnected from either (a) the substantive issues over which groups fight (power and the control of such resources as land, capital, health services, housing, jobs, education, etc.) or (b) the dynamics of power -- especially the drive for empowerment of the Outs which came so much into the nation's consciousness during the 1960's. It would seem even more difficult to teach peacemaking on the international level out of this context.

I am suggesting, therefore, that S. 1976 needs to go beyond its current conceptualization of objectives and curriculum, and include, at a minimum, considerations of the causes of peace -- justice, development and liberation, for example, as cogently analyzed in the Bishops' Call for Peace and the Self-Development of Peoples of the United Methodist Church. I do not believe that references to "peace", "cooperation" and "conflict resolution" alone are sufficient, for these terms are used mainly by powerful groups and nations. The disempowered and disadvantaged -- whether nations, racial groups, neighborhood organizations or clients -- rarely use these words. Failure to include this kind of substantive understanding of the causes of peace in S. 1976 will, I fear, send the disestablished of this nation and the world a negative message about the intentions of the Academy.

The Community: A Field Laboratory for Education
in Peacemaking and Justice

Achieving "peace" - "resolving conflict" is a task at all levels of human social systems, not only the international level. Social conflict is a natural and inevitable part of all social life, and a major ongoing task of all social systems is making constructive use of conflict without either destroying the system or violating the rights of its members.

My argument in this section is simply that any "peace academy" would be sorely limiting its scope and usefulness if it restricts its attention to the international level to the exclusion of community conflict. Many of the concepts and techniques of international peace and development are transferable to the community level, and are more readily demonstrated and understood in the smaller setting.

If a goal of the Academy is to interest young people (and I still include those of us who were in colleges and universities in the 1960's as part of that group) in peace and conflict studies, domestic events provide an immediately available set of cases for study and action. The period since 1960 has been a time of heightened and highly visible social conflict in American communities; the lunch counter sit-ins, the Freedom Rides, Berkeley, Selma, Watts, Newark, Ocean Hills-Brownsville, the 1968 and 1972 national political conventions, Kent and Jackson State, Columbia, Sounded Knee, Boston and Charleston (South Carolina -- then West Virginia) readily come to mind.

These and thousands of lesser-known disputes have signaled the politicization of grass roots groups aiming to wrest a share of the power and resources away from politicians, planners, lawyers, corporate executives, service bureaucrats, social scientists and other professionals. The disputes have occurred on a community-wide basis, but more often involve conflict within and between some or all of the following:

- racial and ethnic groups
- service agencies and their clients (schools, police, health and welfare, for example)
- neighborhoods
- social class groups
- grass roots organizations

Politicization for the protection and enhancement of diversity is the major social result of the turbulent sixties.

Groups at every level of American society have adapted the confrontation/concessions scenario employed with such success by the black civil rights movement. Consumers, clients, employees, constituents and assorted

Outs organize to challenge providers, employees, politicians and other Ins.

Virtually every city in the nation now has encountered parent boycotts or student sit-ins of public schools; inmates in federal and state prisons engaging in strikes and work slowdowns and demanding collective bargaining rights; ethnic communities seeking to influence housing patterns through direct action, such as recent opposition to scattered-site housing in New York City and Newark, N.J.; and consumer and environmental advocates who are making increasing demands on private and public institutions.

The data from these conflicts -- including the ongoing process, the actors and the emotions -- are a magnificent resource available for instruction to those who would study and practice peacemaking. International disputes provide virtually no opportunity for direct student involvement in mediation, advocacy or other intervention roles; community disputes provide a setting where internships and apprenticeships may be utilized as an instructional tool.

In my own work in training college students, agency personnel and disadvantaged groups in community conflict skills, I use a variety of instructional approaches, including lectures, discussion, strategizing exercises, role-playing simulations, research projects, and internships or apprenticeships in the field. The one element of that instructional package I would be least willing to drop is the last -- direct field experience with an experienced conflict intervenor. Such supervised field learning situations are possible when the level of focus is a community or its institutions; they are rarely available on the international scene.

I can easily -- and with pleasure -- envision a George Washington Peace Academy with curricular offerings on both international and community conflicts culminated by an apprenticeship to a community conflict intervenor. The parties, issues, history, power configurations, resources, possible scenarios for resolution, alternative intervention strategies -- all of these are critical elements in social conflicts, regardless of the system level, and once learned in a community field situation, they would easily transfer to the international level.

Some would say that community and institutional disputes are dwindling or at least coming under control with the responsive law enforcement technology developed in the 1960's. I would argue that such an observation is shortsighted, failing to look beyond the media spectaculars such as Watts, Newark and Detroit to see that resources for municipal services in particular are scarcer than ever throughout this nation -- and that scarce resources inevitably lead to heightened conflict.

We need not look beyond the areas represented on this Subcommittee to confirm that community and racial disputes are very much a part of our daily life: schools in Boston, Indian-white relations in Wisconsin, jails in Jefferson City, tuition in Providence, and all of these issues

and more in New York come easily to mind.

The data of community disputes will be always fresh and available to students of justice and peacemaking; the George Washington Peace Academy would be overlooking precious learning resources if it does not focus on community as well as international conflicts.

Community Conflict Intervention:
Mediation and Other Roles

Many sociologists -- and some politicians -- would argue that social conflict can be healthy and is a necessary component of constructive social change if such conflict is resolved in ways that rearrange and strengthen the tenuous social bonds that hold us together, rather than simply unraveling those ties. Our institutions were ill-equipped to face such conflicts, most of them with a substantial racial component, when they became a daily and major part of our nation's life some 15 years ago. The law and the courts, human relations commissions, labor-management mediators, sociologists, community mental health workers, well-intentioned but ill-prepared religious groups -- none had the package of credibility, technical skills and sensitivities which could provide a forum for the resolution of such disputes.

Yet, rancorous racial and community disputes are being resolved, and in the process the social contract that defines our roles and responsibilities in society is being written. New social norms in the form of a negotiated *quid pro quo* are being established at virtually every level of social and political structure -- organization, neighborhood, community, county, region, state and nation. Their content answers such questions as:

- What is an equitable rate?
- What role should students have in curriculum planning?
- How strong an influence should a neighborhood have on the police department in determining its pattern of law enforcement?
- What role should patients-to-be have in the shape of health care services and their delivery?

Such answers and settlements are being facilitated by a variety of public and private organizations which have developed during the past 10 years in response to community, racial and institutional conflict. I want to impress upon the Subcommittee the range and accumulated experience of these organizations, but first a word about the principles under which they operate is appropriate.

Virtually all of the community conflict intervention practitioners and organizations which have emerged in the last decade work from a similar set of principles. They include:

1. While litigation is the major legitimate procedure for resolving conflicts in our society, it is inappropriate for many disputes because it (a) is very costly, (b) often is lengthy and thus denies justice to the aggrieved party, and (c) yields predominantly win/lose solutions.
2. Win/win outcomes are preferable to win/lose outcomes.
3. Joint problem-solving rather than adversary proceedings is preferable in resolving social conflicts.
4. Outcomes of social conflicts should be jointly determined rather than unilaterally determined.
5. Joint determination is not possible if there are great power disparities between the disputing parties, so often empowerment of disadvantaged groups is a prerequisite for effective resolution.
6. All parties who will be significantly impacted by the outcome of a dispute have a right to standing in the forum in which the conflict is resolved.
7. Criteria for a "good" solution include (a) the outcome is satisfactory to all the parties, (b) there are self-enforcing mechanisms built in, (c) all the parties win something (if only "face"), (d) the settlement is capable of outside review and verification, and (e) some of the previously unmet needs of the less powerful parties in the dispute are satisfied.

In my work in the last 10 years, I have developed (with Gerald Cormick and Alana Cohen Knaster) a typology of intervention roles which aids in analyzing the process of community conflict resolution and peacemaking. I think it will be useful to you in considering the various activities of intervenors. The typology is described in the materials attached to this testimony. Briefly described, the roles are:

Activist -- Works most frequently with the powerless or non-establishment party in a community dispute. Is totally committed to his or her party's cause, and has little or no ability to empathize with opponents. A variant of this role, the Reactivist, may appear in a dispute aligned with an In party.

Advocate -- Works as an advisor, organizer or consultant to a disputing group, advocating its causes and purposes to the wider community. Is able to empathize with opposing parties, and reach out to them for possible packages for solution. The typical in-advocate is the management consultant, while the community organizer

and the advocate planner are the most frequent types of Out advocates. A negotiator representing any of the parties also exemplifies this role type.

Mediator -- Is acceptable at some level of confidence to all the parties, although possessing no formal or coercive power. Assists the parties in reaching a mutually satisfactory settlement, usually involving face-to-face bargaining sessions between the parties. Mediation skills include assisting the parties in putting their goals in negotiable form, interpretation, facilitating communication, arranging negotiating sessions, assisting in the expansion of the resources necessary for solution, advocating multilateral rather than unilateral determination, etc.

Researcher -- May be a social scientist, policy analyst, media representative or a trained lay observer who provides an independent evaluation of a given conflict situation. The impact of the researcher is determined largely by the interpretation and importance accorded his or her findings by the parties and by the wider public.

Enforcer -- Represents power to enforce conditions on conflicting parties irrespective of their wishes, often in the institutional form of a formal agency of social control of the larger system in which the conflict is set -- the police or the courts, for example -- or perhaps a funding agency or an arbitrator. The role brings with it formal coercive power, often including the right to specify behavior or provide a baseline of legality from which the disputing parties must operate. There are few true enforcers in community disputes, for rarely does a single party or agency have a base sufficient to command allegiance to an imposed solution. No statutory process for getting community disputes into arbitration currently exists.

Each of these intervenor roles tends to appear in every community conflict situation. Usually, any individual intervenor or intervention organization can play only one role in any dispute; in fact, getting typed in a particular role in one situation may prevent the playing of another role in another conflict. However, we have observed skillful intervenors playing two or more roles in the same dispute (the advocate mediator is the best example, combining mediation skills with the work necessary to organize and strengthen the weaker party so a settlement that will stick can be reached). The key to this kind of role-mix is the perceived integrity and judiciousness of the intervenor.*

*Professor Frank Sander of Harvard Law School has recently developed a "range of available alternatives" to the courts for resolving disputes, which includes Adjudication (arbitration and administrative process), Mediation/Conciliation (ombudsman and fact-finding operations appear somewhere between adjudication and mediation/conciliation in this typology), Negotiation, and Avoidance. "Varieties of Dispute Processing," prepared for the National Conference on the Causes of Popular Dissatisfaction with the Administration of Justice, St. Paul, Minnesota, April 8, 1976.

It is impossible to describe all the applications of these principles and roles in a paper of this length, but a number of vignettes of organizations and intervention activities are now offered to underscore the range and depth of recent experience in the community conflict intervention field in the United States.

1. The Community Relations Service of the U.S. Department of Justice was created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to assist communities in resolving disputes related to racial discrimination and to facilitate voluntary compliance with the public accommodations section of the law. The agency has been involved in all the major racial crises of the last decade, and has rendered, in my judgment, invaluable service to the nation through its efforts in mediation, conciliation and advocacy of compliance. It was especially effective, I believe, in protecting life and property and facilitating the right of protest in Selma, in assisting peaceful desegregation of a number of southern school districts in the early 1970's, in preventing bloodshed and keeping communication open at Wounded Knee, in assisting school desegregation in Prince George's County (Md.), and in working with law enforcement officials in a variety of conflict situations. The agency's annual report for Fiscal Year 1975 shows that CRS found its heaviest activity during that period in school disputes (190 examples of assistance) and minority-police confrontations (200) cases. CRS has developed a comprehensive program involving conciliation, mediation and other forms of third-party assistance. The agency has done extensive thinking about the need for a training academy for community dispute intervenors which could benefit this Subcommittee's deliberations on S. 1976, I believe.

2. The Institute for Mediation and Conflict Resolution, established in 1970 in New York City, has achieved a number of mediated settlements to multi-party disputes in the City on virtually every type of urban problem. In addition, the Institute has developed training packages which it has applied in several other locations as well as New York. Housing and prison disputes have been a focus of the Institute's recent work.

3. The Washington-based Community Disputes Services division of the American Arbitration Association was established in 1968. It has offered mediation services for community and racial disputes throughout the United States, and currently focusses on training in Washington. Several AAA regional offices have community disputes components.*

4. The Department of Law, Justice and Community Relations of the United Methodist Church, based in Washington, offers community crisis intervention services which focus on organizing church constituencies to exert their strength for constructive conflict resolution. The Department has worked extensively in the aftermath of the Kent and Jackson State killings, in Wounded Knee, in the disputes surrounding the 1972 political conventions in Miami Beach, and in a variety of other settings.

*The IMCR and the CDS have been funded largely through the National Affairs Division of the Ford Foundation.

5. The Center for Correctional Justice in Washington is applying mediation and arbitration to the development of inmate grievance systems in a number of state prisons. The Center's current involvement is heaviest in New York (where a state law requiring formal inmate grievance procedures went into effect in February), California (where, with the Institute for Mediation and Conflict Resolution, procedures have been developed and positively evaluated in the California Youth Authority facilities during the last two years), Colorado and South Carolina.

6. The Office of Environmental Mediation at the University of Washington in Seattle is applying mediation and other intervention techniques to the resolution of environmental disputes with support from the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. The staff resolved a long-standing dispute over Corps of Engineers plans for dams and flow control on the Snoqualmie River in 1974.

7. The Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development is an organization of more than 100 institutes and centers involved in peace and conflict studies, many of them connected with universities. It is playing an important role in developing the emerging discipline of peace studies.

8. In Charleston, West Virginia, the initial breakthrough toward settlement of the textbook controversy in the Fall of 1974 was mediated by a local Bishop who carefully developed relationships with all the parties and eventually created a forum in which they could negotiate their differences away from the attention of the media and the courts.

Other organizations and programs may be cited, including the Center for Teaching and Research in Dispute Settlement at the University of Wisconsin Law School, the Family Crisis Intervention Unit of the New York City Police Department, the development of a program in peace studies which permeates the entire curriculum at Bethel College in Kansas, the projects of a variety of divisions at the National Institute of Mental Health, the community-related activities of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, the Program in Nonviolent Conflict and Change at Syracuse University, and the Peace and Conflict Studies Program at the University of Pittsburgh. There is a recently-formed organization which encompasses the interests of many persons in this emerging field -- the Society of Professional Dispute Resolvers (SPDR).

My activities are centered in the Community Conflict Resolution Program of the Center of Community and Metropolitan Studies at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. The Program was formed at Harvard Medical School in 1970, and moved to St. Louis with me in 1971. Our staff conducts research, training and limited direct intervention in community and racial disputes. Our current work includes evaluation of the inmate grievance programs being developed by the Center for Correctional Justice and the Institute for Mediation, and intervention/evaluation of school desegregation currently taking place under court actions in the

St. Louis Public Schools and a recently-merged suburban district. The work is supported by the National Institute of Education (DHEW). Our Program's newsletter, Crisis and Change, with 2,500 subscribers, is resuming publication this summer.

Implications and Recommendations

Implications and recommendations regarding S. 1976 have appeared throughout this paper. I want to close by summarizing what I believe to be the most important points that should remain before the Subcommittee.

1. Pass S. 1976 -- in 1976.
2. Expand and strengthen the objectives of the George Washington Peace Academy to encompass concerns for such causes of peace as development, justice and liberation.
3. Expand the concept of the Academy to include a strong emphasis on the community level, for many of the principles and techniques are interchangeable between community and international levels, and community disputes offer a training ground for apprenticeships not available at the international level.
4. There is a considerable body of knowledge that has developed in the last 10 years regarding community disputes intervention, and a variety of organizations and individuals working in the field.
5. Community, racial and institutional conflicts are likely to escalate in frequency and intensity in coming years as resources for public services remain extremely limited -- thus providing both a training ground for peacemakers and a need for well-trained intervenors.

* * *

I want to leave with you the strong recommendation that the Congress take the lead in providing a corps of sensitive, well-trained peace- and changemakers which the national will very much need on the domestic front in the years immediately ahead. The George Washington Peace Academy can be the appropriate vehicle -- if it proceeds from the recognition that

True peace is not merely the absence of tension,
But it is the presence of justice and brotherhood.

JAMES H. LAUE is Director-designate of the Center of Community and Metropolitan Studies and Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of Wisconsin at River Falls in 1959, and master's and doctorate degrees in sociology from Harvard University in 1962 and 1966. An active participant in the civil rights movement of the early 1960's, he wrote his doctoral dissertation on the sit-ins and the Freedom Rides. He has taught at Hollins College, Emory University, Harvard Medical School, and Washington University in St. Louis in addition to UMSL. From 1965 to 1969, Laue was an official of the Community Relations Service of the U.S. Department of Justice, directing the agency's program development during the last two years. He was Vice Chancellor for Campus Affairs at Washington University from 1971-74. Laue serves on a number of national and local boards and agencies, including the Mental Health Services Research Review Committee of the National Institute of Mental Health in Washington, and the Peace Research Institute in St. Louis. His publications include Third Men in New Arenas of Conflict and "The Ethics of Intervention in Community Disputes" (with Gerald Cormick), and other articles, chapters, reviews, pamphlets, monographs and training exercises.

Senator PELL. Our next witness is Mr. Sidney Tichon, educational economist, Academy for Educational Development.

**STATEMENT OF SIDNEY G. TICKTON, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
OF THE ACADEMY FOR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

Mr. TICKTON. Mr. Chairman, due to the lateness of the hour I will condense my 10 minute statement to 4 minutes and give a copy to the reporter.

Senator PELL. Thank you. It will be put in full in the record.

Mr. TICKTON. The bill provides for the long term goal of 500 students, and my assignment is to make some estimates of the cost of operating such an institution.

We believe that 500 students is a worthy long-term objective, but you have to start one step at a time.

Senator PELL. I would add that we are asking the Congressional Budget Committee for their estimate of the cost.

Mr. TICKTON. So we start off by saying that you ought to have 500 students as a long-term goal, but you ought to start out one step at a time and that before you spend any money there ought to be a short action plan developed which will say precisely what this institution is going to do and how it is going to do it and who is going to do it and when the activities will be undertaken. We think that kind of an action plan can be developed in 6 or 8 months and shouldn't cost more than a couple of hundred thousand dollars. We worked on plans that costs a lot more, but this could be done for \$250,000 or \$300,000.

As well as a goal of 500 students, the plan as the bill is drawn provides for 10 to 20 senior faculty members, and in line with the one step at a time approach, we would think that you would start with 100 students and with maybe 8 to 10 highly qualified faculty members, and that the budget should be a bare bones affair, should be designed to get the instruction underway and permit the discussion to develop and to let the program lay out an action plan to be worked out, but should certainly run to no more than \$3 to \$4 million a year.

I have, in the testimony that I have prepared, calculated a budget that runs to \$3,100,000 for the first few years, and it is our opinion that the budget for this activity should not be allowed to run very much more than that for the first couple of years.

In calculating a budget we have not made any estimates of the cost of facilities because we believe that the staff and board when it is constituted will probably decide that the organization will have to be located in the New York-Boston-Washington corridor where the research facilities are available, and, as you know, there is a great deal of vacant space now available, particularly in New York City. There is 30 million square feet of vacant space in New York City. We propose that some of that space be borrowed so that this institution could be organized and gotten into immediate operation.

Obviously, in the long run there will be a need to build for some facilities, but this is a long way down the road, and it is our opinion that it is not a high priority during the first few years and that the institution should first get itself organized, get its program underway and get a track record before it spends any money for construction of facilities.

Therefore, our thought is that the Peace Academy should start out small, build on what's been accomplished by many other people in many other activities, utilize the library research and personnel resources that have already been brought to bear on the subjects of greater interest, and then focus on achieving some short term attainable goals with a minimum staff and a rock-bottom level of expenses.

The one-step-at-a-time approach proposed in this statement will provide the Peace Academy with a good opportunity to get well underway, and should permit solid achievement to be reported by the participants within a relatively short period of time.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much.

Do you have a rough idea of the cost, or not?

Mr. TICKTON. The cost of—

Senator PELL. Of the Academy as it is outlined in the bill.

Mr. TICKTON. The bill as it is drawn would cost maybe \$10 million a year, but the bill, as I think, could be redrawn, could run to \$3 to \$4 million a year.

Senator PELL. Also. I was very interested in one thought you had which I think is a very valid one. My own experience is that you try to get the nose of the camel under the tent and eventually the body of the camel follows. I remember in the work I have done with Senator Hartke in the past concerning railroads we started out with a very little study. I think about \$100 million, the next Congress came along a year later and then we got a study of about a quarter of a million, and then we got a grant for an experimental track and then they moved on finally with the Hi-Speed Transportation Act of 1965.

I have somewhat the same reaction that you do. The objectives of this are wonderful. I question whether the final body should be as government oriented as this would be, but maybe one of the best ways to really make it move would be if a serious study were put in by the Government and they had the responsibility for doing it, and that might pass, but what we are concerned with here is something that would pass; then that could be enlarged.

Mr. TICKTON. We think this is so important we do not want it to fall on its face, and what happens with institutions that start out full-blown is that they—they are too likely to be able to trip, so you have to be sure you know what you are doing before you go forward very fast.

Senator PELL. Also, the political climate being what it is, we are not a very peace-minded nation, and I think that to have it start full-blown would be very difficult from a political point. That is my own reaction.

Senator HARTKE. The tent that I am trying to get under right now is the Senator Pell tent. At least you give us an alternative. I am not ready to be pushed into it, yet.

Mr. TICKTON. All I am trying to suggest is that you develop a track record and that this is done one step at a time rather than going full-blown.

Senator HARTKE. I think your testimony has been very useful. I did not in any way mean to detract from it, I think it has been very helpful. Thank you.

Mr. TICKTON. Thank you, sir.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Tickton follows:]

STATEMENT BY SIDNEY G. TICKTON
AT HEARINGS ON
SENATE BILL NO. 1976

I am Sidney G. Tickton, Executive Vice President of the Academy for Educational Development, a private, nonprofit educational research, development, and planning organization. The president of our company and I established the Academy nearly fifteen years ago and put it into full operation in 1963 after we had left the Ford Foundation where we had been involved in the Foundation's education program.

For two decades and more, first at the Ford Foundation and subsequently thereafter at the Academy, my associates and I have been involved in the future planning of colleges and universities, both in the United States and abroad. During these years I personally have been responsible for more than 75 higher education studies. Our organization which now involves more than 100 professional and administrative persons, has been responsible for more than 500 educational research, development, planning, and consulting projects. The cumulative volume of our contracts and grants for services provided to colleges and universities, schools, government agencies, international agencies, and foundations now exceeds \$20 million. In the academic year that will end in a few weeks we will have been involved in 50 different education projects in this country and in 12 countries abroad.

My associates and I have been involved recently in the discussions of planning that have been taking place with respect

to the future establishment of the George Washington Peace Academy. This is not a new activity for us, however, inasmuch as we have been involved in studies with respect to the peaceful settlement of international disputes for half a dozen or more years. We were involved, in addition, sometime ago in discussions about the possible establishment of a University of the United States growing out of the ideas first proposed by George Washington. Our interest in the proposed future Peace Academy is, therefore, one that has been developed over a considerable period of time.

My purpose today is to submit to you and to include in the record some estimates of what it would cost to establish the Peace Academy and to get it into high gear for a long-term successful operation.

Senate Bill No. 1976 provides that the Peace Academy should be established with a board of trustees of 34 persons appointed by the President of the United States, the president of the Senate, and the speaker of the House. The Peace Academy's long-term goal would be to enroll 500 students.

We believe this to be a worthy and achievable long-term objective, but suggest that from our experience the planning of a new institution of higher education or educational research should be undertaken and developed one step at a time. The board of

trustees of such an institution as well as its administrative leaders should have a pretty good idea in the first operating year of where that organization is going in the second year, and so on year by year. It is neither desirable nor necessary for an institution to commit itself too quickly in its initial stages to long-term plans that may be subject to change because of changes in society and in the world, which may make it impossible to accomplish in specific detail the original goals or mission in the manner originally planned.

It is with this in mind that my proposal today is that in planning for the development of the George Washington Peace Academy, the board of trustees use the first six or eight months of the first year after its appointment to develop an action plan with guidelines and parameters designed to answer such questions as:

- Precisely what is the institution going to do?
- Precisely how is it going to do it?
- Precisely who is going to do it?
- Precisely when and how the proposed activities are going to be undertaken?
- Precisely where are the activities going to be undertaken?
- Precisely how much each step of the proposed activities going to cost?

The development of an action plan which will answer these questions could be carried on by the board of trustees or a smaller subcommittee thereof after the board is appointed. Professional assistance could be provided by a small staff of highly qualified persons, who are not specialists so much in the future activities of the proposed Peace Academy but in the planning of the activities that the institution will be expected to carry out. We believe that the development of an action plan could be completed by such a board with a small staff within the six- to eight-month period just mentioned and would cost no more than \$250,000.

A number of years ago I personally was the staff director for the Commission on Instructional Technology appointed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. We produced a document which ultimately became the action plan for the National Institute of Education. The budget for that commission was \$500,000 and the time required to do the research and complete the document was 14 months. Looking back now, it is clear to all of us who were involved that the time taken was too long and the cost too high. In a six- to eight-month period a board of the type proposed for the Peace Academy or a smaller subcommittee thereof could with a small professional staff turn out a working charter and a set of guidelines that would provide all of the direction needed to get the Peace Academy into fullscale action.

In addition to the ultimate goal of 500 students already mentioned, Senate Bill No. 1976 provides for a faculty of ten to 20 senior faculty members as well as the necessary complement of other faculty, administrative personnel, research assistants, and the other persons who would be required to permit the institution to undertake the many assignments outlined in the bill.

In line with the one-step-at-a-time approach, our recommendation is that during the first year or two the Academy's enrollment be limited to a maximum of 100 students, with each student receiving a minimal level of stipend, say, no more than \$2,500 a year. The faculty should consist of no more than eight to ten highly qualified persons who are academic leaders in their fields. They should be expected to organize and be involved in a considerable volume of research and development activities but should be expected to depend for much of this type of work upon funding received from grants and contracts arranged with private foundations, international agencies, and other governmental and nongovernmental organizations already working in the international studies field.

The budget proposed for the operation of this institution during the first few years after the action plan has been developed is, therefore, a "bare bones" affair. The budget is designed to get the institution underway and to make it possible for the participants in the Peace Academy to proceed toward the institution's initial objectives.

With these guidelines in mind, the proposed budget (after the \$250,000 action study has been completed) would run to no more than \$3 million to possibly \$4 million a year for 100 students or thereabouts. A breakdown by major categories of a budget that amounts to just over \$3,100,000 is in the table that follows.

Proposed Budget for the Peace Academy
With 100 Students for the First Few Years
(After the Action Plan Has Been Developed)

Ten faculty members @ \$35,000	\$ 350,000
Administrative and executive leadership	300,000
Secretarial/clerical and office personnel	200,000
Research assistants - six @ \$20,000	120,000
Fringe and social security benefits @ 15 percent of salaries listed above	145,500
Travel and research expenses	250,000
Operation and maintenance of premises	300,000
Telephone and office expenses	300,000
Equipment purchase and rental	150,000
Stipends @ \$2,500 a year for 100 students	250,000
Travel allowance for 100 students @ \$500 per year	50,000
Printing and public information	100,000
Consultants for seminars and forums	300,000
Resident fellows	100,000
Contingency for other expenses	<u>200,000</u>
Total	<u>\$3,115,500</u>

This budget does not provide for any office, research, or library facilities for the institution or even for any rental payments. Our thought is that in developing the action plan for the George Washington Peace Academy, the board and the staff would determine where the institution should be located. My guess is that the study team would be heavily disposed to establishing a location in the Boston - New York - Washington, D.C. population corridor, inasmuch as this is the area in which a large portion of the international activities of this country and, in fact, the world are conducted. Here also are located most of the research sources and information files, including libraries and governmental and international source materials which will be essential for the effective carrying out of the purposes of the Peace Academy.

Here also, however, particularly in New York City, is located a large volume of unused office space. It is estimated that 30 million square feet of such space is vacant at the present time in New York City alone. My proposal is that the board of trustees seek to borrow a small portion of that space for a few years at no cost to the Peace Academy to meet its initial space needs.

In the long run there may be a need, of course, to build specialized and appropriate facilities for the proposed Peace Academy. These facilities, if they are of the size and quality of other government academies or academic facilities, would cost many millions of dollars. My associates and I have visited many of these

institutions and could testify to their nature and cost. But the construction of new facilities for the Peace Academy is far down the road and should not, in my opinion, be a high priority for the Peace Academy during its first few years -- not at least until the institution's program has been well organized and there is a track record of successful performance on which to base plans for facilities at a permanent location.

It is always possible to spend a good deal of money to establish a new institution and to give it stratospheric short-term goals and a worldwide level of approach that we have in mind. Our thought is that the Peace Academy should start out small, built on what has been accomplished by many other people and in many other activities, utilize the library, research, and personal resources that have already been brought to bear on the subjects of greatest interest, and then focus on achieving some short-term attainable goals with a minimum staff and a rock-bottom level of expenses.

The one-step-at-a-time approach proposed in this statement will provide the Peace Academy with a good opportunity to get well underway, and should permit solid achievement to be reported by the participants within a relatively short period of time.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much.
Our final witness is Mr. Allen Deeter, Church of the Brethren.

**STATEMENT OF ALLEN DEETER ON BEHALF OF THE CHURCH OF
THE BRETHREN GENERAL BOARD**

Mr. DEETER. Mr. Chairperson, I will depart from my remarks as written; hope that they would be entered into the record, and simply speak to points that have been made here.

Senator PELL. They will be entered in full in the record.

Mr. DEETER. I should indicate that I am Allen Deeter, that I am an ordained minister of the Church of the Brethren. I have the usual academic qualifications of a Princeton Ph.D. and post doctoral work at Harvard, sitting in the National Security Seminar when Mr. Kissinger was appointed National Security Advisor, and also have studied and worked overseas four times.

All of my adult life has been devoted to peace education and research. I was an undergraduate major in the first peace studies program, to my knowledge in the world, at Manchester College, which started in 1948. I am currently a member of the Board of Directors of Council on Intercultural Studies and Programs, vice chairman. I have served as director of the consortium on peace research education and development (COPRED) in its initial phases. I think I have had an intimate experience with many of the things that are concerned here, and I would like to share out of that experience, if I may.

First of all, I am very concerned with you, Senator Pell, about the independence of this institution. It seems to me its critical capacities to do anything new and useful depend on complete academic freedom and on the fact that it dare not become an advocacy institution for present or past governmental policies. This does not mean that it cannot reflect upon them, that at times members of the staff, members of the student body cannot be advocates, but it certainly seems to me that the institution must not be developed in such a way that will almost necessitate its constant approval by the current government, by the Senate, by the House, whoever has supervision over it, including the board of directors as now stated.

I only obliquely suggest in my written testimony that I am concerned about that. I would like to say openly that I am much more concerned about that than my written testimony indicates. It seems to me, and I agree with Harlan Cleveland at this point, that as now constituted the board of directors would merely guarantee an essentially politicized academy, which I would be greatly fearful of as an American citizen, which I think would not be able to perform the functions that I think rightly Senator Hartke and others have seen this institution performing.

Second, it seems to me the problem of independence is not only one of independence from government; it is independence from private sectors and private pressure groups in our own society. To me, in the long run this means the institution must be endowed. How that endowment is scattered I think can happen diversely; I think it can be partially governmental; I think rightly the bill proposes that private funding and private support be possible. My own guess is that the ability of this institution to represent the people and repre-

sent new directions would very largely depend on the possibility of private support being there. In fact, as a member of the Church of the Brethren, a very peace concerned church, many of whose members are very concerned about the very large proportion of their tax dollar that goes to military means of achieving peace and security, I would like to see the possibility of a check-off system in the Federal income tax where you could designate portions of your Federal taxes to the support of the Academy while the pot is all there. I think it would be a way of demonstrating the numbers and the types of people who would give themselves to supporting this institution.

Third, I would suggest that with an area of my immediate predecessor in testifying, that justice is as critical as the reduction of violence in our world today in achieving a peaceful world. It seems to me this has several implications for the institute. I would be very concerned for minority members of our own society to be a part of this. I would nearly go to the point of saying there should be a quota system, where our society should have the poor, should have those who feel themselves politically powerless, in representation, and I think this would mean that there might of necessity be a bending of the procedures for admission and screening for people who have been handicapped. I do think that the proposal in the bill for an objective test sort of measurement is necessary, though it has some dangers, and I would personally like to propose that a graduate record exam in any one of a number of fields be used as this one objective component. However, I am very concerned that it not be an exclusionary component; it seems to me it ought to be a positive component among others, and it certainly, along with almost all objective testing procedures, is prejudicial against people whose native language is not English, who have not grown up through the American educational system, and particularly through the best portions.

It seems to me terribly important that the student body not be an elite student body, and that the faculty not be an elite body. It is going to be very difficult to make that guarantee for persons from abroad and from the United States. It has been my experience that mainly people like myself who have had the privilege of private education in the best Ivy League institutions get the opportunities to do the kind of thing we are talking about. It is going to be difficult to find faculty members and student bodies who do not have that kind of background and experience. The bill ought to be written in such a way that it would guarantee the inclusion of these people just as the bill now suggests the inclusion of an international component, which I think is also important. This component ought to represent Third World countries, Fourth World, Fifth World countries, as well as the elites from countries now deeply involved.

Senator PELL. This is not an analogy, but by coincidence it happens that in my home city we have a Federal institution, which is a very fine one, called the war college. They have government professors there whom I know and like very much, but I think you find that the freedom with which they can express themselves is inhibited. This is particularly so for the permanent professors who are there. This is exactly the same thing that worries me about a peace college.

Mr. DEETER. Yes, I am concerned about that, too, and I think my next point speaks to that. It seems to me that the major benefit im-

mediately for this institution would be the legitimation of a number of programs which already exist but which are very fringe programs in universities. I personally have been a consultant in the development of 14 of these 30 institutional programs in COPRED, and I know the kinds of problems that it involved.

The two best programs, in my judgment, on the books have both failed; the Conflict Resolution Center at Michigan was written out about 2 years ago, and the Haverford program in peace and social justice lost its funding and was eliminated. The history of peace studies in American colleges and universities is one of marginal existence, dependence upon free time dedicated by faculty and dedicated by concerned citizens to enable them to exist at all.

It seems to me, just as an earlier testimony suggested, that the establishment of a national Peace Academy could provide visibility and legitimation and could cooperate in ways that would be very helpful in the development of current peace studies efforts and peace research efforts. Right now it is extremely difficult to get proposals in the peace research area funded by anyone. I have been a party to a number of proposals from the time I was Executive Director of COPRED through the years I have been on intercultural education types of things. It is almost impossible currently to fund that sort of thing because they are considered out of the main stream of acknowledged academic discipline and they are considered out of the main stream of acknowledged policy of the American Government, and most grants currently tend to follow those two directions. Even the grants that are called interdisciplinary tend to go to the programs that have long been interdisciplinary or that have received wide publicity.

I happen to be chairman of a group that developed our environmental studies program. We have been able to get grants for that because of national publicity and political support by major political leaders. It seems to me it is time for Congress and the Senate to make this visible. Citizens alone cannot create visibility, which is essential for peace research and education.

Now, it seems to me that the idea that the new Peace Academy would be supplementary to present institutions is absolutely essential to the health of both, and I should think there should be a free flow of people back and forth between these institutions. This exchange would overcome much of the weakness that presently exists in the organizations and programs which I worked with for the last 17 years, basically, and intensively for the last 5 or 6 since there has been a burgeoning of these institutions.

The fourth point I would like to make is that the focus ought to be on research and the development of global perspectives. The one thing that the interdependent world tells us is that we cannot go our own merry way unaware of the way problems of energy, proliferation of nuclear weapons, problems of chemical-biological warfare, which we have not paid much attention to but which are very easily accessible to very small groups of people, could be used in terrorist situations much more devastatingly than any terrorist tactics we have had up to now. I think those kinds of things can be worked at best by an institute that consciously sees itself as developing a global per-

spective coming out of a Nation that is committed to active participation in that global world operation.

The final point I would like to make is that we would not depend on Virginia Military Institute, on which campus I was 2 weeks ago, or the Citadel, to train and provide personnel for our professional Army. Equally, we ought not to depend purely on private institutions, however well they might be indirectly funded by scholarships or by aid of one sort or another from the Federal Government. We ought not to depend on them to provide the expertise, the trained personnel and the research that needs to be done. This is a cooperative, private and public obligation. It seems to me that all of us as citizens ought to be concerned about this entering the public domain, creating institutions that can make this a part of the public concern and the public debate, which very largely we have not been able to do through private organizations.

I would like, if I may, to read the final paragraph of my statement, and with that I would be open to any questions or comments or to the conclusion of the testimony.

The reality of increasing global interdependence and mounting problems of hunger, violence, terrorism, energy shortages, and nuclear, chemical and biological warfare potentials demand the attention of the best minds. These scholars and students should have adequate resources and facilities for pursuing answers to these threats. We can no longer leave peacemaking to those inadequately trained for the task. We can no longer rely on good intentions, immediate national self-interest and crisis responses to guarantee peace. Peace is everyone's business. But only because it is the business of people expert in the arts and sciences of peace, as surgeons and physicists are in their professions, will the groundwork for enduring peace be laid. It is time that at least a fraction of the tax dollars and national energies that we have devoted to military preparedness and space exploration be dedicated to research and training for peace. If peace is our paramount national goal, passage of Senate bill 1976 establishing the George Washington Peace Academy is one step toward our goal. We cannot neglect building an institution which might help guarantee a future for us, our children, and humankind.

Senator PELL. I appreciate your testimony very much. I join with you in your thought that peace is our major goal, but our policies do not always indicate that. I think our policymakers do wish to have peace but sometimes it is only a byproduct of the pursuit of their policies.

In regard to the bill that is before us, I have been a little concerned about the very high-ranking nature of the Board of Trustees. Knowing who these individuals are I cannot imagine them giving up the time to sit at trustees meetings.

Do you think there should be a provision for them each to designate a representative?

Mr. DEETER. If they are going to be included, I think that would be essential. Frankly, I think we should lessen the number of those people if they are going to be on it proportionate to the number of citizens who are not governmentally employed and whose primary service has not been in Government or in the military.

I think creative solutions demand a different orientation than present approaches to peacemaking.

Senator PELL. Also, I think the number is rather unwieldy. There are 33 members mentioned. I think that number probably should be reduced.

Mr. DEETER. I would like to see a smaller board with a higher proportion of general citizenry.

Senator PELL. Right, something of that sort, or there would have to be an executive committee set up that would be able to function for the board, because there is no provision for that in the bill.

I have no further questions. Thank you.

Mr. DEETER. May I say in finishing here, I have been in contact for a couple of years as Senator Hartke developed this bill and supplied a number of bits of information that I had access to. I think our institution has very extensive files on most of the peace studies programs that are in existence because of my former role and because I have been called upon so many times by other groups to look into what they were trying to develop. I would be glad to share these with the committee if at anytime these would be useful to the committee in looking after specific points. Unfortunately, I did not come armed to present you with a lot of material. I have a very brief brochure designed for high school students, basically, that might give you an idea of the kind of thing that we do, but I would be prepared to supply much more than that, including a bulletin of the Peace Studies Institute in as many copies as would be useful.

Senator PELL. Well, if we need them we will ask you, and do not feel that you should supply more material. We have got already a lot of material in the record.

Mr. DEETER. Thank you.

Senator HARTKE. I want to thank you very much for coming. Manchester College is an outstanding institution in Indiana, as you well know.

In the first part of your statement, though, you said that you were concerned that the political aspects were deeper than those expressed in your written text. The concern that so many of us have is that if you do not have any type of political contact, if you do not have any type of governmental contact, you have two problems. First, the government should be interested in the techniques developed by the Academy. Without contact they might not pay attention.

The second problem is acquiring funds. If the Academy is a desirable goal there will have to be something more than private donations. Without government involvement in a policy of peace we will be talking about peace again for another 2,000 years, and in the meantime we will probably destroy the planet.

Mr. DEETER. I quite agree. I think that would be the major point I would want to leave with the committee.

Senator HARTKE. Thank you very much. We will be in touch with you.

Senator PELL. The record will be kept open for 1 week for any additional testimony. I think Senator Randolph, who is a cosponsor of the bill, has a statement, but any additional views, any additional information that is filed, as I say, will be placed in the record.

Mr. DEETER. I might say that the statement here as written has been cleared with the general board of the Church of the Brethren and represents a composite view of the general board of the Church of the Brethren. My personal statements have not been cleared, but I think they would represent a number of people in the peace education or research community.

Senator PELL. At this point I order printed in the record correspondence from Senator John Sparkman, Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, the response by Senator Williams, Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, comments on the bill S. 1976 from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Office of Management and Budget, statements of those who could not attend and other pertinent material submitted for the record.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Deeter and the material referred to follows:]



GENERAL BOARD 1451 DUNDEE AVENUE ELGIN, ILLINOIS 60120 / PHONE (312) 742-5100

*Church
of the
Brethren*

TESTIMONY OF ALLEN DEETER
ON BEHALF OF THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN GENERAL BOARD
BEFORE
THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE
IN SUPPORT OF S.1976 TO
ESTABLISH THE GEORGE WASHINGTON PEACE ACADEMY

Mr. Chairperson and Members of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee on Education: I am Allen Deeter, an ordained minister of the Church of the Brethren. I am a professor, Director of the Peace Studies Institute and Associate Academic Dean at Manchester College, as well as Administrative Coordinator of Brethren Colleges Abroad, an intercultural educational program for American students in three European universities and for European exchange students from these universities in our colleges. I am testifying on behalf of the General Board of the Church of the Brethren, the parent denomination of Manchester College and Brethren Colleges Abroad.

WORLD MINISTRIES COMMISSION

Cable address - BRETHREN - ELGIN

The General Board is the highest administrative body of the Church of the Brethren with headquarters in Elgin, Illinois.

Along with the Mennonites and Quakers, the Church of the Brethren is an historic peace church. Our ancestor/forebearers came to America seeking respite from religious wars and persecution. We have sought in times of war and its aftermath to bind up the wounds and to actively serve by ministries of healing and reconciliation. During the Revolutionary and Civil War, our people suffered much for their convictions against killing and military service, convictions judged to be obligatory to persons holding the New Testament as our "rule of faith and practice". Beginning with the first World War, our young men entered military service, many as non-combatants but many others to serve in whatever ways they were called upon to serve. A few went to prison for non-cooperation. During the second World War, along with the other historic peace churches, we operated the Civilian Public Service program for conscientious objectors. During this century we have sought to support both our young men who chose to serve in the military and those who chose alternative responses, each according to his own conscience and sense of God's demand upon his life.

Brethren have increasingly sought ways to make a positive contribution to eliminating the causes of war in mission and service programs around the world. The Brethren have stressed helping people to help themselves. Through agricultural, educational, medical, and community building programs, Brethren have sought to be living harbingers of God's coming peaceable kingdom. The Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP), Helper Project, International Christian Youth Exchange, and other programs which are now fully ecumenical, began as Brethren projects. The Eastern

European Agricultural Exchange Program is another pioneering effort to bridge the gulf separating East and West.

It became increasingly clear after World War II that relief, rehabilitation and refugee work were insufficient peace testimonies. Thus, we began international work camps and peace seminars in Germany, Austria, Poland, and the Middle East, seeking to bring East and West together. We extended our service programs to peoples not directly victims of wars but rather of injustice and the world's economic inequality. The Brethren have been instrumental in channeling tens of millions of dollars and thousands of our youth and adults into these efforts. But this has been a response to symptoms more than to the root causes of war and injustice. Therefore, Manchester College, in consultation with the other six Brethren institutions of higher education, began in 1948 an interdisciplinary program studying war and peace. A series of over 15 special courses and an academic major drawing from many specialized disciplines, plus the insights of hundreds of outside specialists, have enriched the education of Manchester students. (I was myself one of the early majors in peace studies and have taught in the program since 1959.) To the best of our knowledge, this was the first Peace Studies Program in the United States. We have aided in the founding of many others. Moreover, even before the formal beginning of our program, many Manchester students prepared for service with government and international voluntary agencies. Notable among them was Andrew Cordier (also a Brethren minister), an alumnus and for 20 years a professor at Manchester, then with the State Department, and finally with the United Nations as Assistant to the first four Secretaries General, prior to his service as Dean of the International Relations School, and finally, President of Columbia University.

† provide this background to indicate that the Church of the Brethren has sought both directly and through its members and institutions to contribute to the prevention of war and to education for peace and justice. Brethren are dedicated to investigating both academically and through our staff and Washington Office how we can eliminate wars and work for peace.

Senator Hartke's Bill, S.1976, to establish the George Washington Peace Academy, is in line with our concerns to explore new ways of solving world problems, conciliating disputes, and training people from the United States and around the globe in the arts and sciences of peacemaking. We wish to support this bill and to work actively towards its passage.

Certain of the goals and provisions of Senate Hartke's Bill deserve underscoring as essential to the success of the proposed Peace Academy. First, the search for understanding the processes of peacemaking must be carried on through a broad interdisciplinary utilization of the methods and insights of "the social, behavioral and physical sciences and the arts and humanities". It has been our experience at Manchester that any circumscribed approach through primarily political, economic or strategic questions does not adequately handle the inter-related complexities of our modern world situations. On the other hand, approaches limited to the ideological, moral, philosophical or conflict accommodation dimensions of peace miss key particulars. Neither analytic/descriptive methods nor synthetic/prescriptive assessments alone do justice to our policy dilemmas, nor do they suggest long range strategies adequate to the building of a stable global order. Senator Hartke's Bill proposes the needed broad interdisciplinary orientation.

Second, a close working relationship is proposed with a sizable and growing peace research and education community in the United States and

world-wide. Sweden, Norway, West Germany, and Finland currently have nationally supported peace research education. It is essential that the George Washington Peace Academy benefit from these existing resources through joint research and shared results, exchanging faculty, recruiting graduates of the present peace studies programs, and identifying critical career opportunities. Hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of young Americans wish to serve their country and our global community through hard-won expertise in the skills and knowledge required of career peace specialists. The visibility and accessibility, as well as the legitimization, of these vocations would be greatly enhanced by a national Peace Academy. The international character of the student body and hopefully of the faculty and outside experts brought in for consultation, is critical to training for global efforts to achieve enduring peace and justice for all.

Third, the Board of Trustees must be made up not only of government officials but also of a broad range of non-governmentally employed persons of differing political persuasions and should include scholars trained in peace research education. For this Academy to be a center of research and training, it must be clear that it is guaranteed academic freedom and that it is not to be the protagonist of past or present United States governmental policies. The proposed make-up of the Board could well result in a preponderance of trustees who are incapable of granting complete freedom for academic investigation and proposals of alternative peace-making procedures to those current in official policy. In such a place of learning, speculative reflection and criticism along with guarantees of freedom of direction of policy proposals and of approaches to peacemaking are absolutely essential. There is no purpose in duplicating current institutions for training foreign

service officers or International public servants. If new and creative solutions to world problems are to be found, there must be imagination, global perspective and dedication to a peaceful and just world order, whether it always serves the short-term advantage of the United States or not. Clearly, an enduring peace serves the long-range best interests of us all. The nominations and appointment of trustees will be as critical as the selection of a diverse and creative faculty. A guarantee of academic freedom should be written into the bill, by amendment if necessary. Limits must be set to the number of faculty and trustees who have had service in the United States Government or the military. Our global situation is in many respects new. Fresh minds and new solutions are called for.

Fourth, the competitive examination system is fraught with dangers. Still, it is preferable to a nomination and admission procedure without an objective examination component. I would suggest that the Graduate Record Examination in any one of numerous fields be used for this component. While this would be difficult for the students from abroad, and should likely be waived in some cases, any exam system is likely to be difficult to administer fairly for foreign students, those whose native language is not English, and those who have not had American higher education. It is essential that not merely elite students, whether from the United States or abroad, make up the student body. Understanding the plight of the poor, the relatively powerless and those of limited educational opportunities depends on having representatives of these people among the students and faculty. As a quality institution of high integrity and standards, the selection of promising persons of limited backgrounds is among the most difficult but essential tasks. Nothing could gain more credibility than a wide representation of those who are usually excluded from the best

education and opportunities for high level service to their nations and the world community. The quality sought in students, as indicated in the bill, is appropriate so long as special concern is maintained for the representation of the not yet expert and the potential, as well as the proven, peace specialists.

Fifth, the opportunities for individuals and groups to support the Academy in ways beyond their tax dollars is important. However, the Academy must never be dependent upon such support and thereby be subject to private pressures to take certain points of view or to limit freedom of investigation and teaching. The tax appropriation should be secured by a major endowment, so that the whims of the moment do not effect the basic role the Academy must continue to perform under changes of circumstance and possible public disapproval. The Church of the Brethren has members who struggle with their consciences each time they pay their federal taxes because of the high percentage which goes to military approaches to peace and security. It could be indicated in the bill that taxpayers might designate portions of their taxes to support the Academy. This would be a welcome opportunity for those who feel that to refuse military service while paying for military preparedness is inconsistent and against their religious convictions. The important point is that adequate funding be guaranteed without the constant need to rally support which is experienced by state and private colleges and by the Pentagon. Endowment seems the most appropriate way to accomplish this, along with private voluntary support.

The reality of increasing global interdependence and mounting problems of hunger, violence, terrorism, energy shortages, and nuclear, chemical and biological warfare potentials, demands the attention of the best minds.

These scholars and students should have adequate resources and facilities for pursuing answers to these threats. We can no longer leave peacemaking to those inadequately trained for the task. We can no longer rely on good intentions, immediate national self-interest and crisis responses to guarantee peace. Peace is everyone's business. But only when it is the business of people expert in the arts and sciences of peace, as surgeons and physicians are in their professions, will the groundwork for enduring peace be laid. It is time that at least a fraction of the tax dollars and national energies that we have devoted to military preparedness and space exploration be dedicated to research and training for peace. If peace is our paramount national goal, passage of Senate Bill 1976 establishing the George Washington Peace Academy is one step toward our goal. We cannot neglect building an institution which might help guarantee a future for us, our children, and humankind.

JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA., CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

July 16, 1975.

The Honorable
 Harrison A. Williams, Jr.
 Chairman, Committee on Labor
 and Public Welfare
 United States Senate
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Chairman:

My attention has been called to S. 1976, the "George Washington Peace Academy Act," which has been referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The subject matter of this bill is of considerable interest also to the Committee on Foreign Relations and I would appreciate having your agreement to have the bill referred to the Foreign Relations Committee if and when the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has concluded its consideration of S. 1976.

Your favorable attention to this request will be very much appreciated.

Sincerely,


 John Sparkman
 Chairman

HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., N.J., CHAIRMAN
 JENNIFER B. BARNES, W. VA.
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 MARJORIE M. WHITTAKER, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
 LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

August 8, 1975

The Honorable John Sparkman
 Chairman
 Committee on Foreign Relations
 United States Senate
 Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I appreciate receiving your letter in regard to S. 1976, the "George Washington Peace Academy Act" and learning of the interest of the Committee on Foreign Relations in this legislation.

I have discussed this matter with Senator Pell, Chairman of the Education Subcommittee and it is our belief that the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare would be agreeable to a re-referral of S. 1976 at such time as the Labor Committee acts on this bill. I will be in further contact with you should the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare take action to report S. 1976 to the Senate floor.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Harrison A. Williams, Jr.
 Chairman

cc: Senator Claiborne Pell

COPY



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

The Honorable Harrison A. Williams, Jr.
Chairman, Committee on Labor and
Public Welfare
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This is in response to your request for a report on S. 1976, a bill "To establish an educational institution in the United States fulfilling the goals of the Nation's first President, George Washington, to further the understanding of the process and state of peace among nations and cooperation between peoples; to consider the dimensions of peaceful resolution of differences among nations; to train students in the process of peaceful resolution of differences; to inform governmental leaders of peaceful methods of conflict resolution; and for other purposes."

The bill would establish the George Washington Peace Academy, to instruct and train selected individuals for service in peaceful resolution, and international development and cooperation activity. The purpose of the Academy is to develop an understanding of the processes of peace and alternatives available to resolve conflict situations via an interdisciplinary course of study. Because there is no demonstrated need to justify the extremely high costs that would be incurred in establishing such an academy, we are opposed to the enactment of this bill.

A 34-member Board of Trustees would be created with the power to establish advisory councils as appropriate and necessary to advise the Board on Academy activities. With the advice and consent of the Senate, the Board is also empowered to appoint a Chancellor for a six year term, with an option for one six-year renewal. The chancellor is authorized to select all faculty members, officers, staff, instructors, and all other personnel with the advice of an Executive Committee, whose purpose it is to assist and advise the Chancellor on overall administration of the Academy. The Chancellor is also empowered to select the Dean of the Faculty, Dean of Students, Registrar, Director of Admissions,

The Honorable Harrison A. Williams, Jr.

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and Chaplain. In conjunction with the Board of Admissions, the Chancellor would set all admission policies, with the advice of the Board of Trustees.

There are to be no more than 500 students enrolled in the Academy at any given time. One-half of the entering class shall come from a group nominated by every Member of Congress, Delegate, and United States Senator. These students shall be selected using criteria established by the Chancellor and Board of Admissions. No less than 10 percent, nor more than 20 percent, of the entering class shall be foreign citizens. No less than 30 percent nor more than 40 percent, shall be graduates of a four year college who are applying for admission under regular graduate school procedures. All students must have a baccalaureate degree or equivalent experience.

The course of instruction shall be determined by the Executive Committee. Students shall be awarded a Master of Arts degree after two years of study.

Students shall receive stipends as determined by the Board of Trustees within the range of stipends payable under comparable government programs providing for the education of students. Reasonable travel and transportation allowances shall be provided for students, their immediate families and household goods and personal effects.

Each student selected for admission must sign an agreement to serve for no more than two years in a public or private nonprofit agency or international organization or with an agency, office, or department of the government in any area approved by the Executive Committee. This requirement may be waived only for good cause.

This bill is directly contradictory to the Administration's philosophy of assistance to higher education. That philosophy embraces the basic belief that by focusing Federal monies on students rather than institutions, free market forces of supply and demand will most equitably distribute those Federal funds among institutions of higher education most deserving of assistance. This argument is especially valid

The Honorable Harrison A. Williams, Jr.

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given the absence of any compelling justification for the establishment of a separate institution for the studies described in the Act. In addition, this bill could serve as an undesirable precedent for Federally created graduate schools in other areas.

The bill requires the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The amounts required for travel and transportation, particularly for the 10 to 20 percent of the entering class who are foreign citizens, could be staggering.

The guidelines for course coverage provided by the bill are so broad and vague that they provide no guarantee that the Academy's curriculum will satisfy the need outlined in the bill's whereas clauses.

The bill offers no justification for the seemingly arbitrary method of selecting the student body of the Academy. We have no basis to determine whether the percentage allocations are reasonable, and at the least they could add an unjustified rigidity to the administration of the Academy.

We therefore oppose enactment of this bill.

We are advised by the Office of Management and Budget that there is no objection to the presentation of this report from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely,

/s/ Marjorie Lynch

Under
Secretary



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

Honorable Harrison A. Williams, Jr.
Chairman, Committee on Labor
and Public Welfare
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This is in response to your request of June 23, 1975, for the views of this Office on S. 1976, the "George Washington Peace Academy Act."

In its report to your Committee, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare states a number of reasons for recommending against enactment of S. 1976. We concur with HEW's report and would, further, note two additional points.

First, we question whether the establishment of a government-created Federal Academy, as provided in the bill, is the appropriate means for achieving the bill's stated purposes. The needs for personnel skilled in the fields addressed by the bill would, in our view, be better met by the multiplicity of public and private educational and research institutions in the Nation, drawing on diverse approaches and viewpoints.

Second, the appointment and composition of the proposed Board of Trustees may present constitutional separation of powers problems, and the provision for Senate confirmation of the Chancellor of the Academy, who would be appointed by the Board under the bill, raises a constitutional question relating to the appointment procedure.

Accordingly, we strongly oppose enactment of S. 1976.

Sincerely,

(Signed) James M. Frey

James M. Frey
Assistant Director for
Legislative Reference

6515 Chadwell Road
Huntsville, Alabama 35802
April 29, 1976

Honorable Claiborne Pell
Senator, Rhode Island
Chairman, Subcommittee on Education
of the Senate Committee on Labor and
Public Welfare
Suite 4230
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Pell:

I appreciate the invitation to testify before your subcommittee on behalf of the George Washington Peace Academy (SB 1976). Regretfully I can not be there in person and am enclosing written testimony for reading and insertion in The Congressional Record. I am pleased to have the opportunity to support such a fine piece of legislation.

Sincerely yours,



Robert A. Smith, III

Enclosure

SB 1976, THE GEORGE WASHINGTON ACADEMY OF PEACE

Statement of Robert A. Smith, III, former Organization Behavior Analyst with NASA, Air Force historian, and Associate Professor with the Graduate School of Administrative Science at the University of Alabama in Huntsville.

Senator Pell and members of the subcommittee, I am pleased to provide this written testimony. Since I am unable to be present, in support of the George Washington Academy of Peace (SB 1976). Some pertinent personal facts bearing on my testimony are that I am a native of Pine Apple, Alabama; a combat Marine Corps veteran of World War II, and have been part of the Federal Establishment for 30 years.

Growing up in a countryside not disturbed by sounds other than summer thunder storms or the fall hunting season, I learned to appreciate peace early in life. My experience in the Southwest Pacific as a combat marine led me to an even greater appreciation. The vision of one world, brought home by NASA, Adlai Stevenson, Buckminster Fuller, and other great Americans, further whetted my appetite to pursue the quest for national and global peace in meaningful ways through normative institutional processes. The proposed Academy of Peace affords the grand opportunity, I believe, for a meaningful transition into a peace institution with a constant normative context.

It has been my privilege to participate in two recent projects of significance as a reviewer and adviser. The first, Goals for a Global Society, is sponsored by the Club of Rome; and the second, The World Order Models Project, is sponsored by the Institute for World Order Incorporated. I will include some of my responses to these activities, where relevant, as they relate to the George Washington Academy of Peace.

A question often asked but not always answered is why a Peace Academy when we have peace studies being conducted at the University of Pittsburgh, at Harvard, University of Pennsylvania, University of Michigan, University of Colorado, and Princeton, to name but a few of the better known ones. My answer is that there is little normative input to the national and international institutional process and certainly little interface between national institutions through this method.

While saying this, of course, I recognize the tremendous value of maintaining such a diverse array of talent at the different universities. I believe that a national peace academy could provide integration of these multiple elements--not as an umbrella--but as a forum. Other advantages of having a national academy, while we maintain the integrity of peace departments in the various universities, are:

1. Properly financed, the George Washington Peace Academy could establish excellent computer facilities for (a) information networking with the universities, other Federal agencies, the recently established U.N. Peace Academy, and related activities; (b) World Order simulation by working closely with such groups as the World Order Models Project, the Club of Rome and Buckminster Fuller's World Game; and (c) Computer Conferencing and delphi studies with domestic and other national groups for resolving major issues of conflict. Murray Turoff could assist in this aspect.

2. It could provide multi-media facilities (which no single institution could afford) to provide psychodrama depicting world peoples in their own environment so as to better depict what members of the diplomatic corps could expect and thus adapt more rapidly to reality.

3. A national peace academy could attract some outstanding individuals in various fields to interact with the student body.

4. With the great increase in the influence of multinational corporations, it becomes more and more essential for an institutional process to develop that provides more insight into this phenomenon. The proposed peace academy could become such a vehicle.

5. The real possibility of space colonization within 25 years and increasing space travel from 1980 on certainly means, to me, the need to focus in upon aspects of international and space law currently being ignored. A recent book, Living in Outer Space, by Dr. George S. Robinson, Legal Counsel for the Smithsonian Institution, does focus in on this future. He could advise on this as could Richard Falk of Princeton.

6. The proposed peace academy could provide a meaningful forum for transcultural interpersonal relations to be experienced in a worldly context. It could attract some of the better professionals to serve as interpersonal trainers. Kenneth Benne, Bryant Wedge, and Martin Lakin could offer good advice on this aspect.

Page Two

7. As part of the Federal establishment, the peace academy could draw upon the knowledge gained from NASA's ERTS and the COMSAT programs and from the maritime commission, and have an excellent overall repository of information of the world resources. Perhaps then a giant electronic world grid, as envisioned by Bucky Fuller, could be built and the World Game, with all the trans-cultural relations, could be played. Buckminster Fuller could advise on this.

8. Using the principles of organization developed by members of the Society for General Systems Research, the peace academy could serve as an integrative and social metamorphic force finding isomorphic relationships with other peoples of the globe. Kenneth and Elise Boulding, Richard F. Ericson, Gregory Bateson, and other professionals of the society could advise.

I believe we are entering a new age and the proposed peace academy could become a most meaningful symbol for our entry. Its establishment, it seems to me, would indicate our recognition of the changing national priorities and a turn toward a value system which indeed places peace above war.

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I have attempted to present, in a synthesized form, why establishing a peace academy at this time is so vital to the welfare of our people and all peoples. I have attempted to provide the scaffolding; the building details can be worked out later. Future generations await our decision which is either to help humans understand each other in the individual and in the collective sense in their relationships with each other, or to deny that such understanding is possible. The peace academy is an affirmative answer and will provide a means for housing a developing social matrix of national and world **Peace** order.

Page Three



Saturday Review

430 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 10022

NORMAN THOUSAND
1976

May 17, 1976

The Honorable Claiborne Pell
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Pell:

When Spencer Grin testified in front of your Senate Subcommittee on Education relative to the proposed Peace Academy Bill S. 1976, he advised me that you were good enough to make some kind remarks about the writer and that you did leave the Congressional Record open for one week for my testimony.

In discussing the testimony with Spencer, I noted how many great pieces of legislation came from your pen and your Committee, and so feel privileged to enter my views relative to this Bill in the Record.

It would be good to see you again.

All the best,

**Testimony of Norman Cousins
for the Subcommittee on Education
of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare**

Re: S. 1976 George Washington Peace Academy Act.

Five years ago, Lester Pearson, former President of the U.N. General Assembly, set out on an educational venture of international proportions. He had been appalled, he said, at how much time was spent at the U.N. on things that had little to do with the cause of life on this planet. Delegates were more concerned with the political expediency of their own individual nations than with the condition of the human species. Mr. Pearson spoke of the urgent need for leaders who would focus their efforts on making the whole world --not just their own countries-- safe and fit for human habitation.

Together, Mr. Pearson and I went to Secretary General U-Thant and proposed that he bring together some of the world's leading thinkers for a conference at the United Nations. We suggested that the people chosen to participate should be philosophers, writers, theologians, scientists, ex-statesmen --people who could be emancipated from day-to-dayism and from the tyranny of absolute nationalism. U Thant gave his blessing, and the conference that followed was probably the most unusual meeting ever held at the United Nations. Time and again, speakers kept coming back to one central point: despite the hundreds of representatives at the United Nations there is a constituency that is without effective representation --the constituency of the whole.

Diplomacy is a particularized science. Making peace requires just as specialized a training as does making war. The young people who would like to take an active part in international affairs need detailed instruction in all that is required in a leadership career. They need to be taught the techniques of decision-making. They need to be convinced that individuals and groups changed history in the past --and they need to be taught how it was done. They need to learn to recognize their own capacity for effective action; they need to cultivate that capacity.

Pondering the needs of government and the requirements of maintaining the peace, Thomas Jefferson wrote: "Peace is best preserved by giving information to the people. Enable them to see that it is in their interest to preserve peace and order, and they will preserve them. They are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty."

Two hundred years have passed, and Jefferson's words still go unheard --or perhaps more aptly, unacknowledged. It is not too late to listen to them now. It may be too late if we procrastinate any longer. The establishment of a George Washington Peace Academy, dedicated to instructing young people in resolving national differences by building on human similarities, would be a sound step toward a safe future.

Norman Cousins

Yet we pursued this senselessness. We continued to regard other nations as other worlds. We continued to ignore similarities that could bind us together, and to focus on the differences that tear us apart. Tribalism, of course, has been with us since earliest times; but then, it threatened only to shatter bones. Now it threatens to shatter the planet.

Today, an education in differences is obsolete. In order to survive, we must recognize that beyond the differences are realities scarcely comprehended because of their shattering simplicity. And the simplest reality of all is that the human community is one --greater than any of its parts, greater than the divergent faiths and allegiances or the depth and color of varying cultures.

Leaders with tunnel vision --able to see only the single parts, allegiances, cultures-- have no place in the human community. We need men who can represent the constituency so aptly defined by scholars at the U.N. conference --the constituency of the whole.

We would be foolish to expect that such leaders will appear by osmosis. If we continue to rely upon our present method of developing leaders --happenstance-- we will be making a grave mistake. Even the sorely needed overhaul of education --creating institutions that would teach world values rather than Western values-- would not be enough. We would then have citizens taught to live in a human community; but we would still be left with no one to lead them.

Diplomacy is a particularized science. Making peace requires just as specialized a training as does making war. The young people who would like to take an active part in international affairs need detailed instruction in all that is required in a leadership career. They need to be taught the techniques of decision-making. They need to be convinced that individuals and groups changed history in the past --and they need to be taught how it was done. They need to learn to recognize their own capacity for effective action; they need to cultivate that capacity.

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Norman Cousins



AMERICAN ARBITRATION ASSOCIATION

140 WEST 51 STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020 (212) 977-2800

Statement by
 Robert Coulson, President
 American Arbitration Association
 to Senate Committee on Education
 in reference to the
 Peace Academy Senate Bill 1976 - Hearing May 13, 1976

I am the President of the American Arbitration Association, a non-profit, public-service organization which provides administrative and educational assistance to parties who wish to utilize voluntary dispute settlement mechanisms such as arbitration, mediation, conciliation, fact-finding, voluntary election procedures and other techniques for resolving disputes out of court. American businessmen, labor leaders and attorneys have long and justly felt that the best way to resolve their disagreements is to engage in bilateral negotiations, with and without the help of impartial third parties such as mediators, fact-finders and arbitrators. Just as the practice of entering into private contracts has been well established in American society, so the rights and privileges of utilizing contractual methods for resolving contractual and other varieties of disputes has been recognized in our society.

If I correctly understand the practical purposes and intent of Senate Bill 1976, regarding to establish a George Washington Peace Academy, it is to translate and extend these same private sector techniques and procedures for the resolution of disputes and contractual relationships. Just as our nation has long been a leader in learning to create optimum working relationships and dispute resolution, if I am correct, we should continue to be a leader in promoting these and

using the voluntary dispute settlement techniques that are part of our own national heritage. The Academy approach would also allow for limitless opportunities for our nation to learn lessons in dispute resolution systems from other nations of the world.

The Department of Education and Training of the American Arbitration Association has for many years helped individuals and groups make better use of the highly participatory processes of negotiation, mediation, fact-finding and arbitration through training and education programs. We do this by explaining the underlying purposes and philosophies of these private systems and by encouraging conferees to see these systems to be capable of effective dispute resolution. In our training experiences, participants have an opportunity to practice these techniques by participating in mock arbitration and simulated negotiations with and without mediation. In the private and public labor relations sector, the community sector and in many other fields of institutional conflict, the professional trainers of the American Arbitration Association have actively encouraged and proliferated the use of these uniquely American techniques. Collective bargaining and voluntary arbitration provide a vehicle for groups of individuals to exert their combined energies for the purpose of improving working conditions, community living conditions, the governance of institutions, the fairness of non-judicial remedial procedures and many other arenas of potential dispute.

The American Arbitration Association, under its by-laws, is wholly dedicated to the encouragement and propagation of these systems of dispute settlement. We know that the court systems of the United States are badly strained by the mass of

cases that are being imposed upon them by a proliferation of conflict and by regulatory schemes that many times result in generating disagreements rather than quickly resolving them. What is true in the United States, may very well be true in other countries. We believe that as individuals and groups continue to learn to assert themselves, and develop the ability and freedom to articulate their demands, there will be more and more confrontation and litigation around the world. More than that, the delicate state of international affairs at this time cries out for more complex and more participative dispute settlement mechanisms. The bilateral negotiation model is rapidly yielding to the more intricate multilateral model with resultant strains on the participants.

If there is a need for improvement in the methods of dispute settlement here in the United States today, there will be an equally important need for similar techniques in other countries tomorrow. Peacemaking and the settlement of disputes must become an important national and international priority. The very establishment of the Peace Academy will make this statement to the entire family of man.

The American Arbitration Association, through its fifty years of experience and effort, has shown that it is possible for these voluntary highly participatory techniques to be used to resolve disputes, to insulate our hard-pressed court system and most importantly help people settle their own disputes. I am attaching a copy of our 50th Anniversary report to this statement. Additional copies of our report will be made available under separate cover to all Committee members. I recommend to the Committee that the experience of the American

Arbitration Association be considered in conjunction with Senate Bill 1976, because I believe that it offers a successful private model in administration and training for what this legislation hopes to incorporate in a government-sponsored Peace Academy.

I can assure you that the Board and staff of the American Arbitration Association will be glad to cooperate with the founders and leaders of such a Peace Academy in the future, with a view towards helping establish curriculum, training methods, administrative models and a philosophy of peaceful resolution of disputes. In this troubled world of 1976, I can hardly think of any project that merits a higher priority than our common goal of bringing effective peaceful resolution systems to the inhabitants of the world.

Respectfully submitted,



Robert Coulson, President
American Arbitration Association

CODEP

THE COUNCIL FOR A DEPARTMENT OF PEACE, INC.
110 MARYLAND AVENUE, NE, WASHINGTON D.C. 20002

4 May 1976

Dear Senator Pell:

We are just concluding tabulation of the enclosed Peace Ballot. Nearly 250,000 Ballots, in the form I've sent and in reprints, were circulated across the country in the last few weeks, and thus far we've counted 50,000 responses returned to our Chicago office. Ballots are being collected and counted elsewhere, and I hope we will come close to our original goal of 100,000 returns. This project was undertaken by a large coalition of peace, church, and academic groups, and CODEP is one of the organizations on the executive board.

You will note that the proposal embodied in S. 1976, the bill to create a national Peace Academy, appears on this Ballot as #2 in category VI, and I'm writing to express the support of our Council and on behalf of the thousands of people who chose this proposal as one of their priorities on the Ballot.

This Ballot is not about protest. It is an attempt on the part of the growing peace constituency to formulate some positive goals. From the results of this Ballot a committee of experts will formulate a Peace Platform to be announced on Memorial Day, and taken to parties and candidates in the November election, as well as to the next administration and Congress. I believe the Peace Academy will be part of that Platform, because -- without in any way weakening conventional national power--millions of citizens are looking for new initiatives and institutions to develop non-military capabilities in an increasingly interdependent world.

We look forward with great interest to the hearings you will be conducting on May 13. We believe the bill itself needs work, but the principle of tax-supported peace research and training must be asserted as soon as possible. We can no longer accept the idea that war is public business and peace is private business. After the hearings, we would appreciate having your thoughts on S. 1976.

Respectfully,



Mrs. Charles S. Libbman

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PEACE BALLOT

110 SOUTH DEARBORN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60603

THE PEACE BALLOT, 1975

With this Peace Ballot we are asking you to join a unique experiment in participatory democracy: a national referendum on peace issues. On the basis of this referendum, broad public discussion, and the advice of experts, we will develop a Peace Platform for the 1976 elections.

The choices offered in this Ballot represent a survey of proposals supported by organizations and individuals involved in peace research, education, and political action. The Ballot is long, and the choices are not easy; but peace is not ever going to be a matter of quick and easy choices. The proposals reviewed here fall into six categories:

- steps to reverse the arms race;
- support for universal human rights;
- provision for basic human needs;
- measures to protect the global environment;
- alternative approaches to international institutions and law;
- re-organization of the US government for a more effective peace-making and peace-keeping role.

The Ballot gives you an opportunity to evaluate all of these proposals; to endorse some and reject others; and to add your own proposal in each category.

THE PEACE PLATFORM, 1976

From your choices on the Peace Ballot, we can begin to formulate the current objectives and priorities of the American peace constituency. By stating those goals clearly in our Peace Platform, we hope to enlarge that constituency during the coming year.

Above all, we intend to improve communication between the peace constituency and our political leaders; the Peace Platform will be a mandate from the people to the government, recognizing the need for change and encouraging bolder initiatives in international affairs.

The new American policy must be both innovative and realistic. It must be innovative because the old policies are nearly bankrupt. More and bigger missiles, greater efforts to extend competing Superpower hegemonies, even a desirable U.S.-Soviet detente, cannot guarantee national security, much less lasting peace. But our policy must be realistic because new systems will not evolve in a vacuum. The whole world is obsessively militarized and conflict ridden, and our government must deal with that reality while it makes every effort to de-escalate and create the stable conditions on which the survival of human society depends.

We assume, therefore, that this country will continue to maintain an adequate defense capability; and that it will continue to employ the methods of traditional diplomacy when such methods can produce useful results. We realize that words like "adequate" and "useful" need continuous debate; the Peace Platform will help focus our concern on constructive alternatives.

TOWARD CONSENSUS

No policy can succeed unless it truly represents the values and commitments of the people who must ultimately support and defend it; the experience of the last decade has taught us all a painful lesson in the importance of consensus.

We invite every organization and each person who wants to be counted to join this referendum. The Ballot may become a significant quadrennial undertaking of the American peace community; a similar project may be undertaken by peace people in other countries, and lead to the formulation of a world Peace Platform. It is a great experiment, and we need not only your sober judgment on the issues, but your active help in reaching others who will participate. We urge you to take the Peace Ballot to your community, and the Peace Platform to government, political parties, candidates, the media, and the electorate in 1976 — when a presidential election coincides with the nation's bi-centennial. The time is now; the opportunity is great; the cause is yours. Let's begin!

* * *

VOTING INSTRUCTIONS

* * *

In each category, place an X by the three issues you think most important. Cross out any proposals you cannot support. Another member of your household can also vote on this Ballot by adding another column of choices.

I. TO REVERSE THE ARMS RACE:

-1. **Moratorium on Nuclear Testing.** The U.S. should cease underground testing of nuclear weapons and should work toward a comprehensive test ban treaty without limits.
-2. **No First Strike Pledge.** The U.S. should pledge that it will never be the first to use nuclear weapons of any kind.
-3. **Restrict Sale of Nuclear Materials.** The U.S. should pledge not to sell nuclear fuels or power plants, except under the jurisdiction of the International Atomic Energy Agency.
-4. **Support Nuclear-Free Zones.** The U.S. should declare the New England States a nuclear-free zone and open this zone to unrestricted international inspection and simultaneously announce readiness to enter into treaties to create nuclear-free zones in Latin America, Africa, the Near East and the Indian Ocean.
-5. **Reduce Overall Military Expenditures.** The U.S. should reduce military expenditures substantially and pledge to continue to do so if similar action is taken by the Soviet Union and other countries.
-6. **Reduce Military Aid.** The U.S. should reduce foreign military aid substantially and pledge to phase out military aid entirely if similar action is taken by the Soviet Union and other countries granting military aid.
-7. **Step Up SALT II.** The U.S. should step up negotiations with the Soviet Union to limit and reduce drastically the production of strategic armaments.
-8. **Support World Disarmament Conference.** The U.S. should support a World Disarmament Conference to reach agreement on the first stages of general and complete disarmament to be supervised and enforced under adequate United Nations authority.
-9. Your idea:

II. TO CREATE A SENSE OF WORLD COMMUNITY AND ADVANCE HUMAN RIGHTS:

-1. **Genocide Convention.** The U.S. should ratify the Genocide Convention immediately.
-2. **Human Rights Covenants.** The U.S. should ratify the U.N. Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and Economic and Social Rights.
-3. **Convention on Racial Discrimination.** The U.S. should immediately ratify the Convention to end all forms of racial discrimination.
-4. **Convention on Political Rights of Women.** The U.S. should immediately ratify the Convention on the Political Rights of Women.

-5. **High Commissioner on Human Rights.** U.S. should support creation of a U. N. High Commissioner on Human Rights.
-6. **Rhodesian Chrome.** The U.S. should comply fully with the U. N. embargo on trade with Rhodesia.
-7. **Amnesty.** The U.S. should grant unconditional amnesty to all who nonviolently broke the law to resist the Vietnam War.
-8. **Political Prisoners.** The release of persons imprisoned for their political beliefs, throughout the world, should be a central aim of U.S. diplomacy.
-9. Your idea:

III. TO MEET BASIC HUMAN NEEDS:

-1. **Food Aid to Prevent Starvation.** The U. S. should pledge to contribute substantial amounts of grain to a world reserve system under jurisdiction of a U. N. Food Authority.
-2. **A National Food Policy.** The U. S. should adopt a food policy which would encourage the reduction of waste and unnecessary consumption by encouraging the marketing of grass-fed beef, direct consumption of grain and by discouraging non-essential use of fertilizers.
-3. **From Weapons to Food.** The U. S. should reduce military expenditures by 10% and contribute the savings to United Nations programs for emergency relief, food reserves and agricultural development.
-4. **World Population.** The U.S. should plan for U.N. programs designed to help stabilize world population at no more than six billion people (now at approximately 4 billion).
-5. **Aid Through U.N.** The U.S. should funnel most of its foreign economic aid through the U.N. and other international agencies, under appropriate safeguards.
-6. **Towards 1% for Development.** The U.S. should contribute .5% of GNP to the U.N. Development Program next year and pledge to increase this to 1% if other industrialized and OPEC nations make similar increases.
-7. **Global Resources Agency.** The U.S. should press for the creation of a Global Resources Agency under the United Nations to monitor the world's scarce resources and to provide an equitable method for their allocation and distribution.
-8. **Equitable Terms of Trade.** The U.S. should support more favorable terms of trade with developing countries, as expressed in the Declaration of the New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties.
-9. Your idea:

IV. TO PRESERVE NATURAL RESOURCES AND ENVIRONMENT:

- 1. **Pollution Control Legislation.** The U.S. should enact stringent legislation to prevent pollution of the oceans and atmosphere.
- 2. **New Non-Nuclear Energy.** Substantial public funds should be used to develop non-nuclear energy, including solar, tidal and geothermal energy and where possible in cooperation with other nations.
- 3. **Alternatives to DDT.** Substantial public funds should be used to develop ecologically sound pesticides.
- 4. **Enforcement Powers for U.N.** The U.S. should support granting enforcement powers to the U.N. Environmental Agency and begin a policy of voluntary compliance until such powers are granted.
- 5. **International Oceans Authority.** The U.S. should support creation of an International Oceans Authority to reduce pollution and regulate use of resources of the oceans and collect royalties to be used for U.N. development programs.
- 6. **Royalties in Escrow.** To encourage creation of an International Oceans Authority, the U.S. should collect royalties on resources extracted from the oceans beyond national jurisdiction by U.S. based firms and hold the money in escrow for use by the Authority.
- 7. **S.S.T.** The U.S. should continue to reject the construction of supersonic aircraft and should prohibit landing and overflight of such aircraft over territories under its jurisdiction.
- 8. **Ozone Protection.** The U.S. should ban all products such as aerosol sprays which damage the ozone layer in the atmosphere.
- 9. Your idea:

V. TO BUILD GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS:

- 1. **International Court of Justice.** The U.S. should repeal the "Connally Reservation" and support compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice on all alleged violations of treaties or international law.
- 2. **International Criminal Court.** The U.S. should support creation of an international criminal court to try persons accused under international law of war crimes, genocide, aerial hijacking, international terrorism, traffic in narcotics and other violations of international law.
- 3. **Uniform Reciprocal Peace Act.** The U.S. should enact legislation to make aggressive war, against any nation which adopts a similar Act, a crime punishable under domestic law.
- 4. **Multi-National Corporations.** The U.S. should support the creation of a U.N. agency with authority for compulsory licensing and regulation of corporations and national agencies engaged in international commerce.

- 5. **U.N. Peacekeeping.** The U.S. should actively support creation of a permanent U.N. peacekeeping force and press for the adoption of specific mediation and third party arbitration procedures to resolve disputes.
- 6. **Independent U.N. Revenue.** The U.S. should initiate and support diplomatic efforts to establish the authority of the U.N. to secure revenue by taxing international trade and extraction of resources not controlled by nations.
- 7. **U.N. Voting System.** The U.S. should call for a general U.N. Charter Review Conference and work for a complete overhaul of the U.N. voting system.
- 8. **Declaration of Interdependence.** The U.S. should call for a World Convention to draft a Declaration of Interdependence and a Charter for an effective World Government.
- 9. Your idea:

VI. TO DEVELOP NEW STRUCTURES FOR A NEW POLICY:

- 1. **Department of Peace.** A Cabinet level Department of Peace, headed by a Secretary of Peace, should be created to promote nonviolent settlement of conflicts and programs of peace research.
- 2. **National Peace Academy.** A national peace academy should be created to provide professional training for careers in peacemaking and peacekeeping.
- 3. **Congressional Committee on Peace.** A joint Congressional committee should be created to review policies and programs aimed at building international institutions and practices needed for peace.
- 4. **World Peace Tax Fund.** Legislation should be enacted to permit war objectors to designate for peace research and humanitarian programs, the portion of their tax which would otherwise be used for military expenditures.
- 5. **Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.** The budget of ACDA should be doubled (now \$9 mill.) immediately and again next year, to enable it to develop a strategy of initiatives to reduce military spending.
- 6. **Right to Peace Resolution.** A "Sense of the Congress" Resolution should be adopted mandating a foreign policy aimed at achieving security through international agreements and strengthening of peacekeeping institutions.
- 7. **Education for Peace and Human Rights.** In order to comply with the recently adopted UNESCO Recommendation on "Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace", the U.S. Office of Education should actively promote peace education in schools and colleges.
- 8. **Peace Research.** U.S. government funds should be available for peace research by universities and competent non-governmental organizations.
- 9. Your idea:

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PEACE BALLOT
 110 SOUTH DEARBORN, SUITE 820, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60603

Will you help chart a new direction for American Foreign Policy?

VOTE THE PEACE BALLOT TODAY!

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

The Peace Platform will utilize results obtained from tabulation of Ballots returned to the National Committee by March 31, 1976. You need not sign the Ballot to be counted. Further information on proposals presented in the Ballot can be obtained from the National Committee.

Permission to reprint the Ballot can be obtained by making application to the Committee, on the understanding that the questions will appear exactly as worded in this Ballot. Copyright 1975 by the National Committee for the Peace Ballot.

Leaders in three organizations make up the Executive Board of the National Committee for the Peace Ballot:

Alexander Allport	Mary Liebman	Luther H. Evans
Lowell Livezey	Florence Boden Block	Walter Hoffmann
World Without War Council	The Council for a Department of Peace	World Federalists USA

TO SUPPORT THE PEACE BALLOT AND THE PEACE PLATFORM

You may join the hundreds of individuals and organizations who are distributing the Peace Ballot by ordering additional Ballots for your community. Urge your church, college, civic groups, and neighbors to distribute Ballots. Please indicate how many Ballots you need, in the space below. For lower prices on quantities of 500 or more, or for large orders to be imprinted with your organizational name and return address, or any other requests, contact us promptly. Make your checks payable to The National Committee for the Peace Ballot. Thank you!

Please send _____ Ballots @ \$1 per 10; \$9 per 100.

- _____ Send the results of this referendum.
- _____ Send a copy of the Peace Platform when it is completed.
- _____ Please grant permission to reprint the Ballot to the organization identified below.
- _____ Please send additional information on the following proposal(s) listed in the Ballot: _____

- _____ To help defray the costs of tabulating this Peace Ballot I enclose \$1.
- _____ To help prepare and distribute the Peace Platform I enclose a contribution of \$_____

Name: _____ Phone _____

Address: _____ Zip _____

Organizational Affiliation: _____

Please complete this Ballot as soon as possible, and return it, with your orders, requests, and contribution, to:

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PEACE BALLOT
 (212) 674-2085 110 SOUTH DEARBORN, SUITE 820, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60603 (312) 236-7480

COMMITTEE ON ATLANTIC STUDIES
NORTH AMERICAN OFFICE
1616 H Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006

Telephone: (202) 347-9353

Chairman, North America
WERNER J. FELD

May 24, 1976

Chairman, Europe
WERNER LIND

Vice Chairmen
EDWIN H. FEDDER
PETER V. LYON

Vice Chairmen
GUY DE CARMAY
OTTO PICK

Executive Secretary
CHARLES R. FOSTER

Sen. Claiborne Pell
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Pell:

I am writing in a private capacity to ask you to oppose S. 1976, a bill to establish a so-called Peace Academy to train future diplomats.

There are more than adequate facilities in our universities to train diplomats. Furthermore, a West Point for diplomats would make the Foreign Service even more conformist and elitist.

Sincerely,


Charles R. Foster

May 13, 1976

Senator Claiborne Pell
Chairman of The Senate
Sub-Committee on Education

Hearing On S.1976
May 13, 1976

Mr. Chairman:

I am H. Lloyd Hoke, President of The Hoke Furniture Company in Thurmont, Maryland. I established this company to manufacture bedroom and dining room furniture in 1946, following approximately four years in the Armed Services during World War II. I am an engineer by profession having graduated from the University of Maryland, School of Electrical Engineering in 1932.

For many years, I have been concerned about the age old problem of settling international disputes by means of war. In early March of 1973, while discussing this subject with my son, Ronald Hoke, then age 30, he said to me, "Dad, we have a Defense Department with a Secretary of Defense and we have a War College - do you think it would help if our Government could establish a Peace Department with a Secretary of Peace and also establish a Peace College." This impressed me as a new and unique suggestion and shortly thereafter I visited Representative Goodloe Byron in his office in Washington and discussed the subject with him. Following is a copy of my letter written to Goodloe Byron after my visit with him.

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Rep. Byron agreed to do some research on the subject and subsequently furnished me with excerpts from The Congressional Record and with information on Bill S1024 titled The Peace Act. I was indeed surprised to find that such distinguished men as Senator Hartke and Senator Randolph had long been working on a bill which would accomplish the same goals I had in mind. As a result of the unfortunate developments leading up to the Watergate incident and the difficult problems facing President Ford after he became President, I decided to let this matter rest for awhile. Finally, I decided to contact Senator Jennings Randolph and had a very interesting meeting with him on April 28, 1976, at which time we discussed this subject at length and he invited me to attend the Hearing on S.1976 on May 13, 1976. I am highly honored to be present at this hearing and wish to congratulate the gentlemen who have conceived this Bill. It may well be the beginning of establishing a program that will lead to solving man's greatest problem, that of War and Peace. I would suggest that further consideration be given to the title "George Washington Peace Academy Act", for while I agree this academy should stand on American soil, we might consider titling it The World Peace Academy because it will require world participation in order to be fully successful. I also feel that the Peace Academy will be many times more effective if at the same time, we would establish a Department of Peace as an Executive Department

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of the United States Government. The Peace Academy should be established within the Department of Peace and its principal purpose should be to train individuals in methods of resolving conflicts among nations by utilizing avenues of peaceful cooperation and understanding. This must be a research program and should have the support and participation of men and women from all over the World who are sincerely interested in improving man's understanding of the Universe, of living things and of himself. I am convinced that there are many individuals of the caliber of Jonas Salk, from whose book "Man Unfolding" I quoted earlier in my letter to Rep. Goodloe Byron and a facility such as The Peace Academy will enable these people to come together to study and exchange ideas that will lay the ground work for developing enough understanding to find a solution to the problems of War and Peace.

Finally, I do not recommend that the Peace Department or the Peace Academy be used for the purpose of disarmament. The law of survival is the first law of nature and it is essential that we maintain sufficient defense for the protection of our country, however, as Dr. Salk has said, "It is inevitable that a reasonable harmonious community of man will one day develop and that War will be an antiquated method for solving problems." As we move toward this goal, the need for defense in our country and all countries of the World will lessen and disarmament will take care of itself.

In conclusion, I feel the time is appropriate to establish both a

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Department of Peace and the Peace Academy and it is my sincere belief that these programs will enhance our Government's decisive efforts to create and improve the climate of World understanding, which will eventually lead to the achievement of a just and lasting Peace for all nations of the World.

Respectfully,


H. Lloyd Hoke

April 18, 1973

Goodloe E. Byron
1730 Longworth Building
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Congressman Byron:

I would like to thank you for the pleasant meeting I had with you in your office on Wednesday, March 14th.

You will recall I spoke of my strong belief that the time is right for our government to make some new effort toward solving the age old problems of War and Peace.

You will recall I mentioned having read an interesting book by Jonas Salk titled "Man Unfolding." I refer to this book simply because it demonstrates the concern of knowledgeable citizens about this problem. Most important, it demonstrates that men of the caliber of Jonas Salk have thoughts and suggestions, which might help to solve the problems of War and Peace. Following are a few quotes, which illustrates what I mean:

"We are in the early minutes after the dawn of a new era in man's understanding of the universe of living things and of himself. We are beginning to see the emergence of new thought of new concepts, and of new language that will become incorporated into the fabric of man's existence."

"It is inevitable that a reasonable harmonious community of men will one day develop and that War will be an antiquated method for solving problems. Since man needs to be challenged if he is to fulfill the potential that exists within him, must it be War, or destructive competitiveness, that provides the way in which he challenges himself?"

"If man is able to bring under control elements in nature that threaten human life, he should be able to bring under sufficient control their counterparts in the human realm."

Goodloe B. Byron

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April 18, 1973

"Can we say that man now has enough understanding to lead him to a solution of one of his largest problems, that of War and Peace? If these are indeed two separate problems, might it be peace, not war, that is the greater of the two? Does the solution of the problem of war demand first the solution of problems associated with peace? Are the imponderable consequences of peace deterrents to solving the problem of war? Are not the obstacles to agreements frequently resolved only when the consequences of agreement are understood or made certain?"

I have a very strong belief that the time is right for our government to establish a Peace Department, headed by a Secretary of Peace and given an unprecedented status equal to that of our Defense Department. We might even establish a Peace College as a counterpart to our War College, where men and women from every part of the world could come to study and do extensive research on this problem, clearly man's most important disorder.

Now that the war in Viet Nam is coming to a close, the United States simply must take a new position of leadership among all nations of the world and demonstrate our absolute determination to find some of the answers to this dread disorder of the human race.

The program can and should be designed and implemented during President Nixon's final term in office.

You were very kind in offering to search the records to see if this suggestion might have been considered by any recent past administration. I will appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience for I would then like to ask you assistance in helping me to see some additional people in Washington. Frankly, after a thorough check, along the lines we discussed, I would welcome an opportunity to talk with President Nixon.

Thank you again, I will look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

H. Lloyd Hoke

HLH/ra



NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A
World Peace Tax Fund

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**STATEMENT BY DELTON FRANZ, CHAIRPERSON OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
 FOR A WORLD PEACE TAX FUND IN SUPPORT OF FEDERAL AID FOR PEACE
 EDUCATION**

Despite overwhelming evidence that in this nuclear age the use of force to settle international disputes would be as disastrous for the victor as for those vanquished, this nation continues to rely almost exclusively on military power for national security. Yet non-violent measures are known to be not only safer but far more effective.

Federal aid should therefore be made available for peace education, peace research and other projects that would encourage greater reliance on non-violent ways of protecting our national interests.

If Congress decides to establish a Peace Academy as a means of fostering non-violent approaches, one way of financing it might be to use the tax dollars that conscientious objectors to war are now forced to pay for military programs.

A conservative estimate of the taxes that members of the Peace Churches and other pacifists now pay for war, in violation of their deepest religious and moral principles, is \$200 million annually. There is some evidence to indicate that the amount may be over \$4 billion annually.

A bill, the World Peace Tax Fund Act (HR 4897) is now pending in the House Ways and Means Committee. This legislation would permit taxpayers who are opposed to war on religious or moral grounds to put the military portion of their tax dollars into a Federal Trust Fund to be used only for peace projects.

By passing this law, Congress could grant to pacifist taxpayers the First Amendment protection that is now denied them and at the same time provide Federal aid for projects designed to protect ALL taxpayers from the hazards inherent in our present reliance on military power.

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CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION FOR TAXPAYERS TOO?

Under the Selective Service Act, draft-age young men whose conscience does not permit them to fight in the army can serve their country by doing alternative work. If a bill sponsored by a group of Representatives passes, the same kind of option would be open to taxpayers whose conscience rebels at having their money spent to make war. The objector's taxes would not be reduced; the portion going for war purposes would be spent for peace instead.

The World Peace Tax Fund Act, H.R. 4897, would allow a taxpayer conscientiously opposed to war to have the percent of his/her taxes which would otherwise go for military purposes assigned to a World Peace Tax Fund set up within the government as a trust fund. This money would be used for such activities as research on non-military solutions to international conflict; disarmament efforts; international exchanges; improvement of international health, education and welfare; and information programs about such activities.

A Board of Trustees, composed of individuals who have shown a consistent commitment to world peace and international friendship, would advise Congress on appropriations to be made from the World Peace Tax Fund.

Taxpayers who are conscientiously opposed to war are now forced to violate their beliefs by sharing in war through tax payments or to violate the law by refusing to pay taxes owed. There is considerable precedent for changing this requirement. Not only does the Selective Service Act recognize and accommodate the beliefs of conscientious objectors, but certain religious groups have been exempted from Social Security taxation because they are conscientiously opposed to insurance.

Representative Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif.) has introduced the World Peace Tax Fund Act, with the following co-sponsors: Bella S. Abzug (D-N.Y.), George Brown Jr. (D-Calif.), John L. Burton (D-Calif.), M. Robert Carr (D-Mich.), John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.), Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D-Mich.), Robert F. Drinan (D-Mass.), Don Edwards (D-Calif.), Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.), Michael J. Harrington (D-Mass.), Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.), Henry Hultoski (D-N.J.), Robert W. Kastenmeier (D-Mis.), Paul N. McCloskey Jr. (R-Calif.), Helen S. Meyner (D-N.J.), Parren J. Mitchell (I-Md.), John (Joe) Moakley (D-Mass.), Robert N.C. Nix (D-Tx.), Edward W. Pattison (D-N.Y.), Benjamin S. Rosenthal (D-N.Y.), Garner E. Shriver (R-Kansas) and Fortney H. (Pete) Stark (D-Calif.).

Dr. David R. Bassett, a Quaker of Ann Arbor, Mich.; Joseph L. Sax and G. Joseph Vining, members of the University of Michigan Law School faculty; and Michael P. Hall, a law student there, were among those drafting the bill. It has been referred to the House Ways and Means Committee, of which Rep. Al Ullman (D-Ore.) is Chairman.

For more information about the bill, contact the National Council for a World Peace Tax Fund, 2111 Florida Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20008; (202) 483-3752.

2/78

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Colman McCarthy

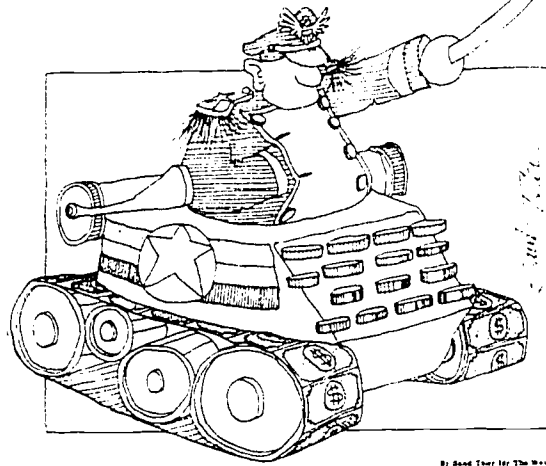
Taxes, Conscience and the Military Budget

The current debate in Congress on military spending comes at a moment when the subject is anything but an "other remote Washington issue" to the citizens. We have just passed through the agencies of April 15. So taxpayers who are worried about military matters are more than usually aware that one part of the government is taking their money and another part is about to spend it on weapons, armies and preparedness for war.

But what of the citizen, moved by his conscience rather than by the arguments of a Right Reaction James Whitcomb, who doesn't want his money being used for weapons designed to kill or inflict suffering? Or what of the citizen whose conscience, after much reflection, tells him that national security is less a matter of military might than of having adequate housing, employment, education and health care? For this citizen, to pay tax money to a government that pays out so much to remain the world's number one military power is to deny his conscience. What should he do—pay no taxes and break the law or live in poverty so that he has no tax income?

A solution exists. It is the World Peace Tax Fund bill currently before the House Ways and Means Committee. That recent hearings were held at all on this legislation is a minor victory, suggesting that at least the bill's sponsors are not being dismissed as pacifist dreamers or anti-American rebels whom the FBI should burglarize. It is clear that the legislation has a fair chance of passage this year, but that is not necessarily a reflection on its worth. Congress after Congress has turned away legislation for such widely supported ideas as handgun control, summer camp safety, land use reform or strip mine control. Yet the "defeated" leaves persist. The idea of giving citizens tax relief for their conscientious objections to war is likely to be around for a long duration. When the World Peace Tax Fund Act was first introduced in the House in 1972, it had 10 sponsors. In 1973, it was re-introduced by 12 members and in 1975 by 23.

Although the tax laws have had any number of loopholes and dodges written into them over the years by the Ways and Means Committee, the purpose of the current legislation is to allow the citizen to reduce his taxes, not avoid them. The amount of money involved would be an estimated \$4 billion, based on the figure of less than one percent of approved conscientious objectors during the Vietnam war. The money would be used by government to non-governmental agencies responsible for assisting non-violent solutions to international conflict, disarmament efforts, international exchanges for peaceful purposes, distributing tax credits for peace rather than weapons, would be a comparatively new expense for America, but credits are already available. When a Georgetown University teacher, Rev. Richard McCarthy, testified before the Ways and Means Committee, he said that at least \$4 billion in federal aid, while only \$25



By Tom Swick for The Washington Post

is spent on conscientious objectors. The current budget for the Department of Defense is more than \$100 billion, while the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency receives only \$10 million.

By amending the IRS code, the bill would give a measure of relief to those citizens who must now violate their beliefs via their tax payments. Rep. Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif.), the bill's original sponsor, explains that, "like the exemption from payment of the Social Security tax, the proposed tax accommodation for conscientious objectors is based on religious and conscientious belief. The conscientious objector to war has a compelling justification for the special tax status he seeks. His concern is fundamental. He asks not to be forced to join in the deliberate killing of his fellow men. His desire not to participate in war and killing through any means, including taxation, is based upon a widely acknowledged religious and moral principle. Fiberglass of the principle is essential to the integrity of the individual. By forcing the conscientious objector to war to contribute to military spending, Congress presently forces him to violate his conscience and severely denies his right of religious freedom.

It isn't known how many Americans would take advantage of this legislation. The notion of millions of citizens

suddenly telling the IRS that they are conscientious tax objectors may frighten Congress. But it is no more frightening than a recent resolution from the Senate and House budget committees that the proposed spending levels for the next fiscal year will cut the growth of social programs but increase the amount of money going to national defense.

What may be needed is a new definition of national defense. Neither Russia nor China has ever so much as fired a missile at America's shores, yet in every city of the country conditions can be found as if a conquering army had just marched through. Slum housing, decaying and overcrowded prisons, unemployment lines, polluted streets, malnourished children—the list is endless of domestic needs going unmet because the people's representatives are unwilling or unable to help America as if a mansion on which the owners choose to spend immense sums on padlocks, burglar alarms, guard dogs, door bolts, surveillance cameras, but, meanwhile, the needs of the inhabitants for food, clothing, heat or repairs are ignored. It would be hard to find an administrator of a social program, whether the head of HEW in Washington or the director of an athletic program in the Beverly Hills, who doesn't bemoan the lack of fed-

eral money available for desperate societal needs.

While the nation continues to decay, political leaders continue to tell Americans that more money is needed for military. The individual who is unswayed by such talk, and wants nothing to do with the value system that supports it, has little choice at the moment but to give the IRS his tax money and see much of it being appropriated for defense. The idea behind the World Peace Tax Fund bill is based on first amendment rights (freedom of religion), but it also has to do with the complaints of a growing number of citizens who are concerned that their government is wastefully wasting money on military needs.

The legislation is by no means the total answer to converting funds into peace. For one thing, any money denied the Defense Department by this bill would likely be made up by Congress—first the taxes of non-objecting citizens. But if the bill deserves to be taken seriously it is not because it takes on the entire military edifice at once, but for the opposite reason. It concentrates specifically on one small national issue, the individual's informed conscience. For some, to refuse to pay taxes to the Defense Department is not anti-military. It is pro-conscience.



NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A

World Peace Tax Fund

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RELIGIOUS SUPPORT

FOR THE

WORLD PEACE

TAX FUND BILL, H.R. 4897



94TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION **H. R. 4897**

A BILL

To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that a taxpayer conscientiously opposed to participation in war may elect to have his income, estate, or gift tax payments spent for nonmilitary purposes; to create a trust fund (the World Peace Tax Fund) to receive these tax payments; to establish a World Peace Tax Fund Board of Trustees; and for other purposes.

By Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. KANTENMEIER, Ms. ARZUG, Mr. MITCHELL of Maryland, Mr. DIGGS, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. MOAKLEY, Mr. STARK, Mr. CURR, Mr. JOHN L. BURTON, Mr. PATTISON of New York, Mr. FAUNTROY, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. HARRINGTON, and Mr. BROWN of California

MARCH 13, 1975
Referred to the Committee on Ways and Means

SINCE MARCH 13, 1975, MR. NIX OF PENNSYLVANIA, MR. SHRIVER OF KANSAS, FATHER DRINAN OF MASSACHUSETTS, MR. McCLOSKEY OF CALIFORNIA, AND MS. MEYNER OF NEW JERSEY HAVE BECOME CO-SPONSORS OF THE WORLD PEACE TAX FUND BILL.



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RELIGIOUS SUPPORT FOR THE WORLD PEACE TAX FUND BILL

Many religious leaders, religious groups, and religious thinkers have registered support for the World Peace Tax Fund Bill.

Following are some statements of support from national bodies of religious organizations:

Quakers: "We urge provision for alternative peaceful uses of taxes paid by persons who oppose war on grounds of conscience."
 Policy Statement approved by the General Committee of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, February, 1972.
 World Peace Tax Fund is a priority issue for concern of FCNL, Friends Committee on National Legislation.
 From Friends Peace Testimony --- "Friends are called: To consider seriously the implications of our employment, our investments, our standard of living, and our payment of taxes as they relate to war making.
 Nine Yearly Meetings of the Society of Friends (Quakers) have gone on record in support of the WPTF Bill -- Lake Erie, Ohio (Conservative); Pacific; Iowa (Conservative); New York; Baltimore; Philadelphia; Illinois; South Central (Oklahoma and Texas); and also Southeastern Yearly Meeting.

Catholics: "We encourage legislative efforts which offer citizens, who object for reasons of conscience to paying taxes to support military programs, the option of allocating a portion of their tax payment to fund peace and development-oriented programs."
 Statement distributed in 1973 by the Division of World Justice and Peace, U.S. Catholic Conference.

Brethren: "We recommend that both the denomination and individual Brethren give strong and active support to appropriate legislation providing alternative tax arrangements for peaceful purposes for those conscientiously opposed to war."
 Statement issued by Church of the Brethren Annual Conference, June 1973.
 Concerning Reconciliation and Peace. A focal concern of the Brethren, this doctrine involves the reconciliation of men to God and to their fellowmen. Upon this doctrine a significant part of the church's program of Christian service has been based. The church holds officially that war is contrary both to the teachings and to the spirit of Christ....
 From the Church of the Brethren by Ora W. Barber, General Brotherhood Board: Church of the Brethren.

Mennonites: "We are accountable to God for the use of our financial resources and should protest the use of our taxes for the promotion and waging of war. We stand by those who feel called upon to resist the payment of that portion of taxes being used for military purposes."
 Excerpts from "Way of Peace" Declaration passed at Triennial Conference of the General Conference Mennonite Church, August, 1971.
 Whereas, we as Mennonites, with our traditional belief in non-resistance, are also opposed to monetary support of war.
 Therefore, be it resolved that our Church, in annual district conference assembled, express our sincere support for the World Peace Tax Fund Act.
 From Resolution passed by Central District of the General Conference of Mennonites, April 17, 1973.
 "...our wealth and taxes contribute to a world of war and suffering...."

Religious Support for the World Peace Tax Fund Bill p. 2

Christian discipleship calls us to direct our material resources toward the alleviation of human suffering and the expression of God's love....our search for security has brought us, as a continent, to an increasing reliance on military arms....the military now relies more on money than on personnel

Be it resolved ---- That we educate ourselves more fully regarding the pervasive militarism of our society and express ourselves more strongly, advocating a reordering of priorities toward peacemaking; That we encourage congregations to study the World Peace Tax Fund considering the possibility of supporting it:

From Resolution adopted at the General Conference of the Mennonite Church, August, 1974

We have appreciated the provisions which our government has made for those who feel that they cannot conscientiously serve in the armed forces. However, with the modern mechanized army the funds needed to purchase such machines and to operate them, cause the tax money which conscientious objectors pay for this purpose to take on increased importance. It seems inconsistent for our young men to refuse to take part in the armed services while we who are older continue to pay to finance war. It would seem that there should be some alternative to such support of war on the part of those who do not believe that God would have them participate in any way in warfare."

Lloyd L. Ramevr, President, Central District Conference, of the General Conference Mennonite Church.

Endorsements for WPTF have come from these official church bodies:

Methodist

Iowa Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church
East Ohio Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church

Catholic

National Coalition of American Nuns, Chicago, Illinois

Friends (Quakers)

Lake Erie, Ohio, Yearly Meeting
Pacific Yearly Meeting
Iowa Yearly Meeting
New York Yearly Meeting
Baltimore Yearly Meeting
Philadelphia Yearly Meeting
Illinois Yearly Meeting
South Central Yearly Meeting
Southeastern Yearly Meeting

Statements of Support for the World Peace Tax Fund Bill from Ministers and Churches have been received from the following. (The list is arranged by denomination and by state. It is compiled from letters sent to the World Peace Tax Fund office.)

METHODIST

Rev. Gilbert H. Veira, The United Methodist Church of Mill Valley, Calif.
Rev. Frank P. Butler, First United Methodist Church, Cedar Falls, Iowa
Rev. Dick Millsbaugh, Associate Minister, First United Methodist Church, Cedar Falls Iowa
Rev. Donald M. Gruber, Collegiate United Methodist Church, Ames, Iowa
Rev. Jack A. Cramer-Heuerman, First United Methodist Church, Pana, Ill. Chairman Div of Board of Church & Society of Central Illinois Conference
Bishop Wayne K. Clymer, The United Methodist Church, 122 West Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.

Religious Support for the World Peace Tax Fund Bill p. 3

Rev. Leroy H. Klaus, President, Minnesota Annual Conference, The United Methodist Church

Bishop Francis E. Kearns, East Ohio Annual Conference, United Methodist Church
 John F. Piper, Jr., Chairperson, Board of Church and Society, Board of Christian Social Concerns of the Methodist Church, Central Pennsylvania Annual Conference
 Rev. Joseph M. Amico, Pastor, United Methodist Church, Edgerton, Wisconsin

PRESBYTERIAN

Vaughn P. Purnell, Pastor, Turn of River Presbyterian Church, Stamford, Conn.
 Rev. Wilbur R. Brendli, Pastor, The First Presbyterian Church, White Pigeon, Mich
 Rev. Donald E. Brown, 123 Grimsby Rd., Buffalo, NY, The Presbytery of Western New York, United Presbyterian Church, USA
 Albert C. Turl, Associate Pastor, United Church (Pres-Baptist), Conandigua, NY
 Rev. Martin L. Buon, II, Pastor, The Federated Church (Pres-UCC) Drexel Hill-Springfield, Penn
 Chaplain F. Peter Rabey, Pastor, The Lafayette College Church, Easton, Penn
 Charles C.W. Idler & Gary Collins, Ministers, Christ Presbyterian Church, Camp Hill, Penn
 J.R. McSpadden, Church and Society, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the U.S., Richmond, Va
 Russell R. Morgan, Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Sheboygan, Wisc

LUTHERAN

Earnest Pihl, Pastor, St. John Lutheran Church, Russell, Kansas
 Barron B. Maberry, Pastor, St. Stephen Lutheran Church, Silver Spring, Maryland
 Robert J. Wilde, Committee on Social Ministry, Western-Pennsylvania-Western Virginia Synod, Lutheran Church, Pittsburg, Penn

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

Dr. Edward W. Gilliland, Associate Director, Institute of Christian Counseling, Church of the Celebration, San Dimas, Calif
 L. Richard Batzler, Pastor, Faith-Mt. Pleasant Charge, United Church of Christ, Frederick, Maryland
 Rev. Kenneth Sherman, United Church of Christ, Western New York Peace Center, 25 Calumet Place, Buffalo, N.Y.
 Randall M. Niehoff, Minister, First Congregational Church, Wellesville, N.Y.
 Rev. Johnson, Pastor, United Church of Christ, North Newton, Kansas
 Rev. L. Bruno, II, Pastor, Colleenbrook United Church, Drexel Hill-Springfield, Penn

ROMAN CATHOLIC

Rev. Msgr. Joseph N. Skilling, Director of Community Relations, Roman Catholic Diocese of Oakland (California)
 James F. Donnelly, S.J., Director, Office of Social Ministries, Jesuit Conference, DC
 Father Vincent Krishe, Toneka, Kansas
 Rev. Donald S. Downer, St. Francis De Sales Rectory, Holland, Mich
 Sr. Rachel Salute, Carmelite Monastery, Indianapolis, Ind
 Rev. James E. Curtin, Pastor, Saint Francis of Assisi Church, New Haven, Mich
 Mariou Palmer Storchems, Secretary, Catholic Peace Fellowship, Long Island Chapter
 Harry Faran, Commission on Catholic Community Action, Diocese of Cleveland, Ohio
 Stella Smetanka, RSM, Associate Director, The Thomas Merton Center-Ministry for Justice and Peace, Pittsburgh, Penn
 Peace & Justice Committee, Catholic Diocese of Richmond, 811 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va (Walter E. Grazer)
 Rev. Robert R. Draeger, St. Hedwig's Church, 1716 North Humboldt Ave., Milwaukee, Wisc
 Rev. John A. Furtman, Catholic Family Life Program, Archdiocese of Milwaukee,

Religious Support for the World Peace Tax Fund p. 4

Milwaukee, Wisc
Fr. Bernard Survil, Missionary, San Salvador, El Salvador, CA

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Phoenix Monthly Meeting, Phoenix, Ariz Marv Lou Copnock, Clerk
Tempe Monthly Meeting, Phoenix, Ariz
San Francisco Monthly Meeting, San Francisco, Calif Pegge Lacey Clerk
Boulder Monthly Meeting, Boulder, Colorado, Richard G. Counihan, Peace & Service Committee
Washington Friends Meeting, Washington, D.C.
57th Street Meeting, Religious Society of Friends, Chicago, Illinois, Robert Ruqq, Chairman, Peace Committee
Orono Monthly Meeting, Orono, Maine
Cambridge Monthly Meeting, Cambridge, Mass, Merrille M. Towl, Clerk
Detroit Friends Church, Detroit, Michigan, Martha Martin
Columbia Monthly Meeting, Columbia, Mo., David G. Wixom
Monadnock Monthly Meeting, Peterborough, N.H., Hulda Brayton Chrm, Peace & Social Concerns Committee
Jack Patterson, Director, Peace Education and Action Program, American Friends Service Committee, New York Metropolitan Region
New York Yearly Meeting, 13 E 17th St., NY, NY 10003, Leo D. Stern, Administrator
Friends Meeting, Poughkeepsie, NY, Peace and Social Action Committee, Helen Phillips
Rossiter Seward, Pastor, Clintondale, (N.Y.) Friends Meeting
Celo Monthly Meeting of Friends, Burnsville, N.C. Clerk, Julia Abramson
Dick Martin, Superintendent, Portland area Friends Churches (Oregon)
Allen J. White, Clerk, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Philadelphia, Penn
Peace Committee of Friends Meeting of Virginia Beach, Virginia Beach, Va

MENNONITE

Edward J. Miller, Pastor, Glenn Heights Mennonite Church, Denver, Colorado
Roder Farmer, Evangelism and Service Committee, Lombard Mennonite Church, Lombard, Ill
S.M. Fletcher, District Secretary, Mennonite Aid Plan, Goshen, Ind.
Pastor S. Roy Kaufman, Pulaski Mennonite Church, Pulaski, Iowa
Pastor Nick Kassebaum, Wayland Mennonite Church, Wayland, Iowa
Cliff Miller, Pastor, East Goshen Mennonite Church, Goshen, Indiana
Palmer Becker, Executive Secretary, Commission on Home Ministries (Missions and Service) General Conference Mennonite Church, Newton, Kansas
John A. Esau, Pastor, Bethel College Mennonite Church, North Newton, Kansas
Ronald Krehbiel, Pastor, Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church, Goesss, Kansas
Harold S. Regier, Secretary, Peace and Social Concerns, Commission on Home Ministries (Missions and Service), General Conference Mennonite Church, Newton, Kansas
Abe Krause, Bethesda Mennonite Church, Henderson, Nebraska
Rev. George Dunn, Oak Grove Mennonite Church, West Liberty, Ohio
Richard Bartholomew, Pastor, North Lima (Ohio) Mennonite Church
Daniel Hertzler, Ed., Gospel Herald, Mennonite Publishing House, 616 Walnut Ave., Scottsdale, Penn

CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

Dean H. Miller, Pastor, Church of the Brethren, Hagerstown, Md.
Donald D. Petry, Office of Stewardship Enlistment, General Services Commission, General Board, Church of the Brethren (Elgin, Ill)
Kenneth W. Hollinger, Cedar Creek Church of the Brethren, Garrett, Indiana
David J. Harkey, Pastor, Northview, Church of the Brethren, Indianapolis, Indiana
Herbert Thomas, Pastor, Warrensburg-Leeton (Missouri) Churches of the Brethren
Paul W. Allen, Pastor, Bethel Church of the Brethren, Carleton, Nebraska
Clarence N. Rosenberger, Pastor, East Petersburg Church of the Brethren, East Petersburg, Penn

Religious Support for the World Peace Tax Fund p. 5

John R. Nantz, Director of Community Ministries, First Church of the Brethren,
Harrisburg, Penn
Joseph M. Mason, District Executive, Church of the Brethren, Middle Pennsylvania
District, Huntington, Penn
Glen F. Taylor, Pastor, Richland (Penn) Church of the Brethren
Lee Weaver, Chairman, District Board, Middle Pennsylvania District, Huntington, Penn
Gerald R. Manning, Pastor, Pleasant View Church of the Brethren, Fayetteville, W Va

CHRISTIAN (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST)

Terry E. Foland, Associate Minister, Christian Church, Disciples of Christ,
Bloomington, Ill
Leland F. Grove, Minister, First Christian Church, Washington, Iowa

BAPTIST

Clinton J. Carter, Pastor, Dividing Creek Baptist Church, Dividing Creek, N.J.
Albert C. Tur1, Associate Pastor, United Church (Pres-Baptist), Canandigua, NY
C. Welton Gaddy, Director of Christian Citizenship Development, The Christian Life
Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, Nashville, Tenn
Edward Goodman, Associate Minister, Seattle First Baptist Church, Seattle, Wash

UNITARIAN

Rev. David Eaton, All Souls Unitarian Church, Washington, D.C.
Rev. Robert West, President, Unitarian Universalist Association, 25 Beaton St.
Boston, Mass.

UNIVERSAL LIFE

Rev. Frank Lovell, Lewisburg, Penn

COMBINED MINISTRIES

Rev. R. Charles Meyer, Protestant Chaplain's Office, Westchester County, Depart-
ment of Correction, Valhalla, NY

Douglas K. Huneke, University Pastor, Cooperative Christian Ministry, Eugene, Ore.
(Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, United Church of Christ, Roman Catholic,
Christian (Disciples of Christ), Baptist, Episcopal)
Richard R. Hicks, Southeastern Regional Secretary, United Ministries in Higher
Education, Cumberland, Va

ADDITIONAL

Richard L. Matera, St. Paul Community Church, Homewood, Ill
Ray Bair, Chairman, The Mennonite Church, Elkhart, Ind
Edward F. O'Grady, St. Alphonsus Church, Dearfield, Mich
Rev. Daniel Slabaugh, Whitmore Lake, Mich (Mennonite)
Rev. Angelo Monfioro, Roundlake, NY
Donald E. King, Chaplain, Lebanon Community, Hospital and Medical Center, Lebanon,
Ore

2/4/76

WORLD PEACE TAX FUND BILL H.R. 4897

What the Bill would do:

- * Extend to taxpayers who are conscientiously opposed to war rights comparable to those traditionally given to drafters who are conscientious objectors.
- * Allocate to a World Peace Tax Fund the portion of their Federal taxes which would otherwise be used for military expenditures.
- * Authorize the Comptroller General to determine, based on the previous year's military appropriations, what percentage of a conscientious objector's Federal taxes could be allocated to the World Peace Tax Fund.
- * Model the World Peace Tax Fund after other trust funds with a Board of Trustees appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.
- * Authorize the Trustees to provide World Peace Tax Fund support for:
 1. Research directed toward developing and evaluating non-military and nonviolent solutions to international conflict;
 2. Disarmament efforts;
 3. International exchanges for peaceful purposes;
 4. Improvement of international health, education and welfare;
 5. Programs for providing information to the public about these activities.
- * Prohibit use of the World Peace Tax Fund as a means of reducing regular appropriations for nonmilitary purposes.

Inadequacies of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954

The Internal Revenue Code does not protect or recognize the First Amendment Rights of those whose religion or conscience prohibits their participation in war, and who hold that we are accountable to God for the use of our financial resources. Those who hold such beliefs are currently caught in a dilemma between the dictates of their consciences and the dictates of their government.

Today's highly technological warfare depends more on money and less on armies and manpower. Service to the military is now rendered more through our monies than through the service of our bodies.

Supporters of the Bill

H.R. 4897, the World Peace Tax Fund Bill, is backed by members and ministers of Church of the Brethren, Mennonites, and Friends (Quakers), and some members of other religious groups. The total membership of the three churches combined is 540,000 in the U.S. An informal poll indicates that about 57% of this church membership would use this tax channeling if it were law.

Estimates of how many other taxpayers would use this provision are difficult. A survey taken at the time of the Galley sentence in 1971 found 9% of those surveyed thought a soldier was not justified in killing an enemy in war, and this might indicate the percent who would elect to use the conscientious objector tax provision. A .4% use by taxpayers would mean about \$180,058,000 in the World Peace Tax Fund Trust, a 10% use would mean \$4,501,450,000. There would be a corresponding subtraction from general Federal revenue funds. These sums if subtracted from the military budget would bring a small part of needed economies and would be a real boost to peace projects.

Precedents

Ministers and members of religions which hold conscientious scruples against insurance have been exempted from payment of social security, particularly the Amish.

Exemptions or equivalents for militia service were granted to those with conscientious scruples in several states during the early nineteenth century.

Equivalent payments permitted conscientious objectors in the Civil War were put into special funds earmarked for humanitarian relief.

12/9/75

National Council for a
WORLD PEACE TAX FUND

2111 Florida Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20008
(202) 483-3752

Mennonite Central Committee
 100 Maryland Avenue NE
 Washington D C 20002
 Telephone (202) 544 6564
 Peace Section
 Washington Office

MCC



May 20, 1976

Dirksen Senate Office Building
 Room 4320
 United States Senate
 Washington, D. C. 20510

Enclosed, we are submitting a statement for the hearing record on bill S. 1976, the George Washington Peace Academy Act.

The attached statement is submitted by Mennonite Central Committee - Peace Section via our Washington Office. The MCC Peace Section is headquartered at Mennonite Central Committee, 21 South 12th Street, Akron, PA 17510.

Our statement was written by William Keeney, Director of Experiential Learning, Bethel College, North Newton, KS 67117. You will note that an attachment to this statement has been submitted on behalf of Bethel College, a Mennonite liberal arts college with a peace studies program.

Further inquiries may be directed to our Washington Office.

Sincerely,

Delton Franz, Director
 Mennonite Central Committee
 Peace Section Washington Office

DF/jk

cc: William Keeney, Bethel College
 Ted Koontz, MCC, Akron, PA

STATEMENT TO SENATE EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE

RE: S. 1976 - GEORGE WASHINGTON PEACE ACADEMY ACT

MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE - PEACE SECTION

The Mennonite Central Committee Peace Section represents constituencies in several different Mennonite and Brethren in Christ church groups. It is on record in its meeting of March 23, 1976 in Washington, D. C. as follows:

"Moved that Peace Section (U.S.) endorse the establishment of the George Washington Peace Academy; that this endorsement be communicated to the proper persons; that our constituents be informed of this legislation and be encouraged to support it. (Consensus)

"Moved that staff be instructed to express our deep concern about the autonomy of the Peace Academy when hearings are held on S. 1976 and that we recommend the appointment of representatives of the traditional peace forces in the United States to the board of trustees. (Carried)"

Thus we would like to urge the passage of S. 1976 and the establishment of a Peace Academy as described in the proposed Act.

Mennonites have always had an interest in peacemaking. The majority of our membership has consistently refused to participate in war because of Christian convictions about respect for all persons and the primacy of love, even for the enemy.

In recent years the Mennonite colleges have had a growing interest in preparing for more positive approaches to peacemaking. Mennonite colleges have always included teachings of peacemaking as a serious concern. More recently several have begun offering programs which prepare persons for peacemaking careers at various levels, from the interpersonal to the international.

The Mennonite colleges are members of the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED). This organization includes about 100 agencies and institutions active in the field. It reflects a growing interest and awareness of the possibilities for peacemaking.

Through COPRED and our own studies of peacemaking we know of the serious research and preparation about peace and conflict. We are now better able to understand the factors that make for peace and the conditions under which conflict may be dealt with in other ways than resort to violence. We are of the firm conviction that much more could, and therefore should, be done to work at peacemaking.

We further believe that a major effort should be made by the United States government to support the education for and research about peacemaking. The proposed Peace Academy could make a significant contribution to the efforts at progress already underway.

- 1) It would supplement the present non-governmental efforts and could supply leadership at points where federal resources can enable some programs to progress where private funding is not available or is inadequate.

page 2 -- Statement on Peace Academy

- 2) It would illustrate to the world the commitment among Americans to peace and justice.
- 3) It should re-examine providing other means for dealing with conflict and thus result in less reliance upon a huge and costly military force.
- 4) A modest investment in peacemaking relative to the huge investments in the military would be productive in many areas other than just the international arena.

We would have some concern about the nature of the Peace Academy.

- 1) We would urge that the Peace Academy be kept as free as possible from direct political interference in the educational and research programs. If the maximum benefit is to be realized from the program, researchers and students should be free to explore a wide range of possibilities, even if they do not at the moment accord with official United States policy as represented by the Executive offices or the Congress.

The study of many alternatives and the examination of the conditions which make for peace may not always have positive support for reasons of narrow self-interest but they may be needed to help the world toward peaceful conditions.

- 2) We would recommend that the Board of Trustees include representatives from the traditional peace organizations, including some of those who are members of COPRED.
- 3) We would consider it important to have a significant research dimension to the Peace Academy. Any educational institution should be constantly exploring new areas of truth if it is to remain vital and creative in meeting the needs of the future.
- 4) We believe the provision for a limited number of international students would be healthy and hope that some persons not necessarily sympathetic to U.S. aims and ideals might be included to provide perspective and to help test the validity of the program.

In conclusion, we would urge passage of the George Washington Peace Academy Act and the funding of the program. We would encourage speedy action to set up such an academy and to insure its freedom to engage in the best teaching and research about peacemaking. Such a program will not resolve all conflicts and is not an immediate solution to world problems. Nevertheless, a Peace Academy could make a significant and important contribution, not only to the United States but to the world.

-William Keeney, Former Chairman
Mennonite Central Committee Peace Section

May 20, 1976

STATEMENT TO SENATE EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE
RE: S. 1976 - GEORGE WASHINGTON PEACE ACADEMY ACT
Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas

We as a group of administrators, students and faculty members at Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas, support the statement submitted by Mennonite Central Committee on behalf of S. 1976 - the George Washington Peace Academy Act.

As members of a college which is seeking to make peace and conflict resolution its central theme we feel that a governmental effort would provide additional resources to programs such as ours. We have a growing number of graduates in peace and service careers as well as an increase in majors wanting to pursue research and graduate education in the field.

Many agencies are giving highest priority to research and education for peace, believing such activity to be a matter of survival for human life on the planet. Organizations such as the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED) and the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) are seeking to coordinate non-governmental efforts. The passage of the George Washington Peace Academy Act and the establishment of such an institution could add significantly to the efforts being made.

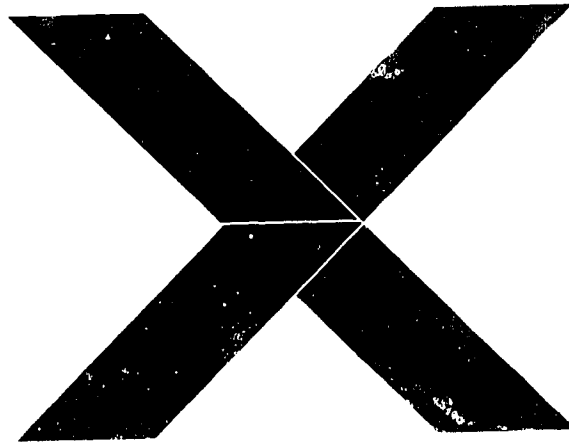
May 20, 1976

Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies
Program in International Affairs



Coping with Interdependence

A Commission Report



I. The Commission

The National Commission on Coping with Interdependence was created in December 1974 to consider the implications for Americans of what Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has called "the accelerating momentum of our interdependence." It originated in a suggestion by John Richardson, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs. The members were assembled by invitation from Robert O. Anderson, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies. A list of the members appears at the end of this Report.

The task of the Commission was described by Mr. Anderson this way: "to assess the capacity of Americans to cope with interdependence, and consider what might be done to enhance that capacity."

The Commission has had three meetings, commissioned some staff work, and published five papers.¹ We agreed that our work should take no more than a year, and the Commission should then self-destruct.

II. A Question of Attitude

The Commission sought to answer for itself four questions:

1 *In view of our growing interdependence with other nations (of which the energy crisis is only one example), what adjustments in American life styles and workways seem to be indicated, and on what time scales?*

2 *What do recent public opinion polls tell us about the readiness of Americans for the projected kinds of changes? Are "the people" ahead of their leaders in willingness to adjust their life and work for reasons of international interdependence?*

3 *To what extent do our existing institutions perceive the predicament, analyze its implications for individual and group behavior, and act in accordance with that analysis?*

4 *What new attitudes and arrangements may be required to enhance the capacity of Americans to cope with interdependence?*

So, what have we learned about Americans coping with interdependence?

We have learned, first of all, that for Americans interdependence is now a condition they must deal with themselves, not a theory about other peoples' problems. We have learned that interdependence is not something to be for or against, but a fact to be lived with now and reckoned with in the future.

People in most countries know by instinct about their international interdependencies, because they are so obviously *dependent* on others for food, raw materials, technology and markets — and because their communications systems are flooded with words and images from outside their borders. Until recently, it was quite different for Americans. We somehow didn't need to worry about

¹ List of papers published, prepared for, and provided to the Commission appears at the end of this Report.

interdependence because it was mostly a one-way street: others needed our food, our computers, our technological and organizational skills, our aid, our weapons, our protection, our advanced education, and (we thought) our movies and television programs. We seemed to need from others only a few of their key raw materials, their specialty imports, their reasonably peaceable behavior and — hardest to come by — their love.

The oil embargo brought us up short, as we focused on the fact that the imported part of the oil we use had risen from 15% in 1960 to nearly 40% in 1974. A sudden world food shortage made it clear that the North American granary — more and more the central reserve for a global market. Second thoughts on non-fuel minerals bore in on agencies and industrial corporations to alter their practices in the same directions. What stockholders, consumers, neighbors and voters expect in the way of environmental caution has changed dramatically over the last decade.

But the most important changes will be modifications in attitudes which, in the nature of our pluralism, must first take place in the reasoning consciences of millions of individuals. The most important adjustment of all will be to blur, then erase, the psychic frontier between "domestic affairs" and "international affairs."

III. The Blurring of "Domestic" and "International"

Wherever we have looked at the capacity to cope with interdependence — in the business community, the labor movement, the "Third Sector" or non-profit field, the communications media, the educational system, and government — the main obstacles to coping seem to arise from the pervasive assumption that the line between "domestic" and "international" is still a useful and relevant tool in making institutional policy.

In the *business world*, there are two main ways for executives to react to the increasing "internationalness" of their environment. One is to try to insulate themselves from international competition or interruptions in international supply. This can be done to some degree: most of the techniques involve bringing your own national government into the enterprise to ward off or assume some of the risk. The other way to react is to go multinational. The most enterprising of our business corporations, including nearly all very large corporations, have become "multinational". Something over a fifth of all international trade is now the internal transactions of multinational enterprises. They seem to be able to solve many problems of communication, accountability, and staffing which the public intergovernmental organizations still find baffling. But the "multinationals" have also shown a talent for making both host and home governments nervous, and sometimes getting into serious conflict with public policies.

This problem is currently being tackled through national regulation of the individual arms and legs of multinationals; corporations; the resulting confusion of purposes and policies leaves both the regulators and the regulated in a

state of extreme frustration. The answer must lie in some form of regulatory structure that can match the reach of global enterprise and enhance the predictability of the business environment for corporations and governments alike. But the first step in making sense is for all concerned to stop thinking of U.S.-based multinational corporations as essentially American, and start working seriously on an international approach to the international problems — and opportunities — to which this new form of business gives rise.

In *American agriculture* what farmers produce must now be regarded as the centerpiece of a world food system and the biggest and most flexible source of world food reserves. But most farmers still believe that surpluses are bad, because they depress prices; for one hundred years most agricultural legislation and the administration of the Department of Agriculture have reflected a similar fear. Coping with interdependence means coming to think of food surpluses not as a burden but as a bonanza — and adjusting our subsidy and support arrangements to match the new attitude.

The *American labor movement*, which leap-frogged management in the 1930s by organizing to bargain industry-wide on a national basis, now has been by-passed in turn by the growing multinationalization of management. The dilemma is a cruel one: there is every reason for workers of the world to unite, but it is hard to find common ground among the genuine trade unions of some of the democratic industrial nations, the politically oriented (often communist) unions in others, and the "company unions" in the totalitarian states. A paper written for the Aspen Institute by an AFL-CIO staff analyst said it in one sentence: "In the interdependence that is imposed upon us as labor movements internationally, it becomes ever more difficult to avoid compromise with forces that seek to undermine the democratic processes wherever they might be." The continuing Cold War on the international labor front has now resulted in a U.S. threat to withdraw from the International Labor Organization.

Fifteen international trade union secretariats do what they can by exchanging information. The International Metalworkers Federation is most frequently mentioned as effective; it brings together workers' representatives from the steel and steel fabricating industry, including the automotive industry. But trade secretariats are not multinational unions, and are no match for a flexible international business. So the AFL-CIO — 110 organizations, 14.5 million workers — falls back on a vigorous defense of national sovereignty and the charge that internationalism in business arrangements deprives American workers of work they ought to be being paid to do. But this attempt to maintain a clear distinction between "domestic" and "international" makes it impossible to develop a multinational form of collective bargaining.

In the field of *non-profit enterprises*, it is equally apparent that a too-clear distinction between "domestic" and "inter-

national" is getting in the way. By and large, the direction of non-profit spending has been a counter-trend to "the accelerating momentum of our interdependence." If coping with interdependence is a new frontier for our American pluralism, much of the non-profit sector is not performing what should always be its unique function: the pluralistic support of innovation in areas which government and the profit sector do not feel wholly free to explore. With the "Third Sector" itself in a state of budgetary siege these days, it is hard doctrine that foundations and private colleges and voluntary organizations should focus more of their effort on international interdependence — and even find ways to "go multinational" in their own programs and their own governing structures — as a few of them have begun to do. But the fate of our American pluralism may well depend on whether the non-profit sector "hunkers down" in inward looking activities or reaches out to create a multinational "Third Sector."

In *education*, it is hardly surprising that school children are not learning to by-pass the distinction between "domestic" and "international" when most of their parents and teachers are still carrying that too-clear distinction around as intellectual hand luggage. In looking for a peg on which to hang education for global perspectives, our school systems across the country might do well to use the Declaration of Interdependence concept which has been creatively put forward as a contribution to Bicentennial celebration by the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia.

There are very great obstacles, structural and psychological, to the spreading of global perspectives in elementary and secondary education; global perspectives have heavy going in university education too. But it is clear and basic that if the capacity of Americans to cope with the future depends on blurring and eventually erasing the distinction between "domestic" and "international," then this creative ambiguity had best be taught in the earliest years of formal education. Some of the lessons already reduced to clichés — that all men are brothers, that we are sisters under the skin — are a good start. But we are ready now to learn the harder, multicultural lesson that all brothers are different, for learning the value of difference is the beginning of tolerance, in international as in local affairs.

The durability of that thick line between "domestic" and "international" is partly due to the fact that Americans get their news and opinions that way. Both *the print and electronic media* try to bring international news direct from abroad; what they gain in drama and immediacy they lose in making it more difficult for the reader or listener to relate the "foreign" news to its American impacts. News magazines divide the news budget too clearly between home and abroad; but because their publishers are themselves multinationals, they do not squeeze the international news budget as unmercifully as do most newspaper editors and radio and TV newscasters. In the world-wide flow of information, the wire services are

the most internationalist — because they must collect and edit the news to meet the comprehension, interest, and needs of a multinational audience. But it is also true that most international news flows on an east-west, not a north-south, axis — which, for example, makes it doubly hard for the communications retailers to tell the full story of the global fairness revolution and the drive for a new international economic order.

The way our federal government handles international communications reinforces the gulf between home and abroad. Most of Washington's international information and cultural programs are still focused on influencing foreigners so as to enhance our national "image". And yet the critical factor in the management of interdependence may not be so much the state of mind of others as it is our own state of mind. A recent report by a policy committee chaired by Frank Stanton has recommended a constructive rearrangement of information and communications; but the Stanton Report, though it endorses the Murphy Commission last summer, is still languishing without action by either the Administration or Congress.

The *United States government*, which should be the nation's teacher about interdependence, is unambiguously divided between "domestic" and "foreign" affairs. It is a curious anachronism that almost the only person in the executive branch of our federal government who is formally responsible for coordinating domestic and foreign policies is the President of the United States himself; nearly everybody else is hired to work on "domestic" or on "foreign" (or "national security") affairs. Even the White House structure reflects this obsolescent dichotomy: the body that has to handle many of the interdependence issues, and most of the important ones, is still called the "Domestic Council".

IV. A Basic Change of Attitude

In all these fields, then, the key obstacle to making sense in an interdependent world is to manage our affairs — and induce others to manage their affairs — on the assumption that all "domestic" policy has international effects, and all "international" developments have domestic effects.

To rethink this fading distinction between "domestic" and "international", so that our plans and our actions match its ambiguity in the real world, is certainly a staggering assignment. But it is, we believe, central to our future for Americans to act, each in his or her own context, as though we really were citizens of the world as well as residents of our favorite part of it.

This basic change of attitude will not come in the first instance from executive edicts or legislative enactments. It will come from a review of the implications of interdependence by each of the major institutions which help govern our pluralistic polity — by corporations and their associations, by organized labor, by farm organizations, by foundations and non-profit enterprise, by school systems, colleges and universities, and educational

associations, by newspapers, magazines, the electronic media and journalism associations, and by governments, municipal and state as well as federal.

During the year our Commission has been meeting and working, a number of initiatives have been taken to stir discussion of what American institutions might be doing to cope more effectively with present and future international interdependence. (The recent formation of a new organization to press for "Global Perspectives in Education" is one example.) Members of the Commission, and the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies which has served as its staff, are more than ready to help those in each field who take such initiative.

No group of citizens can prescribe in detail the actions each American organization should take to cope effectively with interdependence. Our society is too thoroughly pluralistic for that. What we have done, instead, is to suggest an attitude -- already present in some degree in some institutions, but yet to emerge in others. Our central theme is as old as the Declaration of Independence -- that everything Americans do should be measured by its effect on the rights and duties of "all Men," because Americans need to be self-conscious citizens of the world.

Each American institution might usefully create its own tailor-made checklist for the interdependence era, from such general urgings as these:

- We can express our organizations' purposes in world terms, as our Founding Fathers did 200 years ago.
- We can bring non-Americans into our future planning.
- We can place the leadership of any overseas operations in the hands of local non-Americans, just as soon as they can take it on.
- We can make sure our house organs and other publications are carrying news and opinion about international developments that affect our organization's purposes.
- We can focus on American interdependence in some of our year-round local activities, and in part of our annual conference or management meeting.
- We can ask ourselves, from day to day and month to month, Are we doing as much as we can to reflect the fact of growing interdependence in our own plans?
- We can encourage those activities, educational and cultural, which seek to broaden American understanding of other peoples, their heritages, histories and aspirations.

So ambitious to suppose that leadership institutions involving millions of Americans can modify their ways of thinking to take interdependence into account in their year-to-year planning and their day-to-day decisions? Of course it isn't. The new sensitivity of Americans to environmental impact, the wide acceptance of family planning, the changing status of women, the growing recognition of consumers' rights, and the changing attitudes toward war that turned off the conflict in Vietnam -- all these rapid and fundamental changes in American

attitudes have come about in a decade or two. As American opinion moves in these new directions, it is apparent that our "leadership institutions" have mostly been following, not leading the people at large. We Americans can certainly adjust our attitudes on interdependence even faster — if today's and tomorrow's leaders help to point the way.

ANNEX A

Members of the National Commission on Coping with Interdependence

- Robert O. Anderson**, Chairman of the Board, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies - Chairman
- ***Daniel J. Boorstin**, The Librarian of Congress
- Lester R. Brown**, President, Worldwatch
- ***Zbigniew Brzezinski**, Director, Research Institute on International Change, Columbia University
- Leo Cherne**, Executive Director, The Research Institute of America
- Harlan Cleveland**, Director, Program in International Affairs, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies
- ***Ossie Davis**, North American Zonal Committee for the World Festival of Negro Arts
- ***Karl W. Deutsch**, Stanfield Professor of International Peace, Harvard University
- John Joyce Gilligan**, former Governor of Ohio, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
- Sydney Gruson**, Executive Vice President, The New York Times
- ***Hartford Gunn**, President, Public Broadcasting Service
- ***Edward K. Hamilton**, President, Griffen, Hagen-Kroeger, Inc.
- Paul R. Hanna**, Lee Jacks Professor of Education, Emeritus and Director of SIDEC, Emeritus, Stanford University
- Louis Harris**, President, Louis Harris & Associates, Inc.
- Frederick Heldring**, President, Philadelphia National Bank
- Father Theodore M. Hesburgh**, President, Notre Dame University
- Lee Hills**, Publisher, Miami Herald and Detroit Free Press
- ***Nicholas deB. Katzenbach**, Vice President and General Counsel, IBM Corporation
- Sol M. Linowitz**, Senior Partner, Coudert Brothers
- ***Clare Boothe Luce**, author, former Congresswoman and Ambassador to Italy
- Leonard H. Marks**, Chairman, United States Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs
- ***John J. McCloy**, Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy
- Lyle M. Nelson**, Chairman, Department of Communication, Stanford University
- Esther Peterson**, Consumer Adviser, Giant Food Company
- Lucian W. Pye**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- Stephen Rhinesmith**, President, American Field Service, Inc.
- William W. Scranton**, former Governor of Pennsylvania
- ***Frank Stanton**, President, American Red Cross

* Unable to participate in developing Final Report

- Raymond Vernon**, Professor of International Business Management, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University
- Glenn E. Watts**, President, Communications Workers of America and Vice President, AFL-CIO
- William Watts**, President, Potomac Associates, Inc
- Charles W. Yost**, Chairman of the Board, National Committee on US-China Relations, The Brookings Institution

ANNEX B

Published Papers Prepared for the National Commission on Coping with Interdependence

- Michael W. Moynihan**, "Attitudes of Americans on Coping with Interdependence: Findings of Opinion Research Organizations," Interdependence Series No. 1, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, Program in International Affairs, Princeton, NJ. Published in May 1975.
- Abraham M. Sirkin**, "Living with Interdependence: The Decades Ahead in America," Interdependence Series No. 2, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, Program in International Affairs, Princeton, NJ. Published in August 1975.
- Ward Morehouse**, "A New Civic Literacy: American Education and Global Interdependence," Interdependence Series No. 3, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, Program in International Affairs, Princeton, NJ. Published in October 1975.
- Ralph L. Ketcham**, "From Independence to Interdependence," Interdependence Series No. 4, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, Program in International Affairs, Princeton, NJ. Published in November 1975.
- Adam Yarmolinsky**, "Organizing for Interdependence: The Role of Government," Interdependence Series No. 5, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, Program in International Affairs, Princeton, NJ. Published in February 1976.

Draft Papers Prepared as Part of the Work Program for the National Commission on Coping with Interdependence

- Erwin Canham**, "News and Interdependence," draft April 1975
- Harald B. Malmgren**, "Interdependence and Business Enterprise," April 1975
- Antonie Knoppers**, "Interdependence and the International Corporation," May 1975
- AFL-CIO staff paper**, "'Interdependence' and Labor," May 1975.
- B.J. Widick**, "A Critique of Labor's Policies," June 1975.
- Samuel P. Hayes**, "Changing the American Life Style," April 1975.

Other Papers Distributed to Members of the National Commission on Coping with Interdependence

- John Richardson**, "Building the Foundations for Cooperation in an Interdependent World," a staff paper of the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, November 15, 1974.

Harlan Cleveland, "Interdependence and the Little League," December 1, 1974.

John E. Rielly, editor, "American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy 1975," published by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, February 1975.

Harlan Cleveland, "The Management of Multilateralism," a paper prepared for the Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, February 3, 1975.

John and Magda McHale, "Human Requirements, Supply Levels and Outer Bounds: A Framework for Thinking about the Planetary Bargain," a Policy Paper of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, Program in International Affairs, May 1975.

"The Planetary Bargain: Proposals for a New International Economic Order to Meet Human Needs," Report of an international Workshop convened in Aspen, Colorado July 7-August 1, 1975. A Policy Paper of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, Program in International Affairs, Princeton, N.J. September 1975.

Harlan Cleveland, "Our Coming Foreign-Policy Crisis," an article in *Saturday Review*, September 6, 1975.

Additional copies of this report can be obtained from the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies Program in International Affairs.

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Tel: (609) 921-1141	Tel: (303) 925-6410

Mrs. Harriet K. Shepardson
 Merrill House 710
 210 East Fairfax Street
 Falls Church, Virginia 22046 532-5026

13 May, 1976

Proposition on S. 1976, at hearings before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Bill to establish the George Washington Peace Academy in the U.S.

Who needs a Peace Academy? Our Presidents, and the United States Congress, perhaps, as much as anyone; Vietnam, our most recent of wars, serves as an example. I quote the following from Robert Sherrill's review of FRIENDLY FIRE, a book by G.D. Brown:

Who served in the Vietnam War? Of the 234 draft-eligible sons of members of Congress, only 26 went to Vietnam and only eight saw any combat. One of the eight was wounded; none was killed. Vice President Agnew's son served there but he came home O.K. Vice President Humphrey once called the Vietnam War "our great adventure," but none of his draft-age sons was in it. President Kennedy, who edged us into the war, had no draftable children. President Johnson, who heartily desired that America's soldiers bring home a coonskin for the wall, had no sons to give to his country's service, nor did President Nixon, who once mused that the Vietnam War "may have been our finest hour."

So I suggest to the members of this committee today, considering S. 1976, a bill to establish the George Washington Peace Academy in the United States, that if this bill becomes law official Washington, our leaders in peace and war, should be granted the first scholarships. I believe it was General Eisenhower who said "the people of the world want peace so much that one day their leaders will have to give it to them."

The time now is particularly appropriate for America to ponder on such a bill as this, for as the presidential campaign moves on some of our candidates are spending too much time and energy quibbling about America's being, or not being, the No. 1 most powerful nation in the world, when we have arsenals of death sufficient to blow the world to bits, "offensively" or "defensively". Does it matter which?

I'm not sure we have the time to debate this bill, and if it passes, build the buildings, choose the site, the teachers, the candidates, etc. Actually, Congress has had many chances to opt for peace, not war - it could not have voted staggering sums for our most recent military adventure in Vietnam, for instance; it might not have supported President Ford in his "show of force" of the Mayaguez incident. It seems a bit plimicky to take such a long way round toward peace, a bit as though we can seem to be doing something, not having the courage to face the psychological revolution that has to come if we are to change traditional thinking about war.

Mrs. Harriet K. Shepardson
 Merrill House 710
 210 East Fairfax Street
 Falls Church, Virginia 22046

(2)

this said, however, I support Bill S 1976. If this is the only way Congress sees "to have a vocation", the vocation of peace, then so be it. According to Carl Jung, "the original meaning of 'to have a vocation' is 'to be addressed by a voice.'" Jung continues: "Obeying the inner call of his vocation Jesus fulfilled the Messianic mission not so much for his own nation as for the whole Roman world, and pointed out to humanity the old truth that where force rules there is no love, and where love reigns force does not count. The religion of love was the exact psychological counter-part to the Roman devil-worship of terror." *

Harriet K. Shepardson

* from THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY, by Carl Jung.



There is no way to peace...peace is the way

3 Harbor Hill Drive
Huntington, New York 11743

May 10, 1976

Senator Claiborne Pell
Chairman, Subcommittee on Education
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Pell:

I understand that the Subcommittee is holding hearings on Bill S 1976 on May 13th, regarding the proposed National Peace Academy.

I am writing to express my support of this bill and hope that many people will participate in the hearings.

It is a great step forward that such a bill can be introduced, and I trust it will receive favorable action in the Senate.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Leah K. Karpen".

Leah K. Karpen
(Mrs. Morris I. Karpen)

lrk



San Francisco State University

1600 HOLLOWAY AVENUE • SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94132

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

February 18, 1976

Honorable Claiborne Pell
 Chairman, Subcommittee on Education
 Committee on Labor and Public Welfare
 United States Senate
 Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Pell:

May I contribute the following observations for the record of your hearings on S. 1976 to establish the George Washington Peace Academy. I support the educational concept enthusiastically and offer an explanation of my enthusiasm in the hope that this may make some contribution to your committee's deliberations.

The proposal for a Peace Academy seems to follow a longstanding educational tradition exemplified by the National War College and similar service schools. That tradition has recognized that there are some careers and areas of public service skills that require a degree of intensive and specialized training not readily provided in the Nation's universities or similar institutions. Yet, it is clearly in the national interest to discover, develop, and nurture the talents needed by particular public and related enterprises. Thus, the various service schools created and funded by the Congress render an intellectual and training function that is necessary, distinctive, and distinguished. The proposed Peace Academy will surely fit this mold in a field in which there has been an explosion of knowledge, social technology, and opportunities for applied skills. I see the Academy filling a growing need for an educational center that can teach about the theoretical and the long-term in the international conflict field, yet do so within the context of current and practical policy making.

I suggest that the George Washington Peace Academy be located within the central area of the District of Columbia, preferably near the Capitol and the Library of Congress. Such a location would serve both symbolic and practical objectives. Symbolically, a centrally located Academy would offer evidence of the dedication of this Government, and particularly the Congress, to the furtherance of non-violent strategies of change in world affairs and relations among peoples. Certain other nations have, in the

past, endeavored to capture the "peace" concept by incorporating it into the titles of programs and agencies. It behooves the United States, the home of the world's most thoughtful and active peace movements, to also embrace the concept, but in a manner that has real substance of the kind inherent in the Peace Academy proposal.

The practical uses of a Peace Academy in a central Washington location are likely to be numerous. Most of these will relate to the type of instructional programs that, I hope, may evolve. It is a familiar handicap of professional employment in the Federal Government that the pressures of daily crises make it impossible for public servants to pause to reflect, plan, or examine the long-term implications of their daily activity. For most harried and hard-working bureaucrats, the "long-run" is tomorrow morning. In order to counter such daily pressures, keep public servants abreast of contemporary knowledge in their respective special fields, and offer opportunities for reflection and planning, a number of advanced academic programs have emerged for the Federal service, e.g., the Brookings Institution Executive Programs, the Federal Executive Institute in Charlottesville, the aforementioned service schools, and some programs at the numerous universities in the Washington area. The physical distance between those who practice public policy and those who teach and theorize about it is, in all these cases, sufficiently proximate to make advanced educational experiences in the Washington area feasible for professional seniors as well as novices.

S. 1976 proposes to bring students from all parts of the United States and from foreign nations. Here again the Academy's location in the District of Columbia is likely to be a critical part of the educational process for such students. Such exposure to the breadth and depth of governmental operations in a constitutional democracy is likely to afford a profoundly significant extra-curricular education for the fortunate students of the Academy.

There can also be important curriculum implications, for it is in Washington that a wide range of Federal agencies carry on programs pertinent to the study of peaceful relations among nations. Ready access to the concerns and materials of such agencies can be an invigorating influence upon the Academy's instructional programs.

I envision these programs as quickly developing a distinctive format of their own. A good mix of in-service trainees and inexperienced college graduates is likely to make the seminar and the study group a prevalent and effective form of classroom organization. I anticipate that simulation will become important in the applied and problem-solving aspects of instruction. If located in Washington, the Academy should devote substantial attention to policy workshops as a technique for bringing together highly diversified views and approaches to current problems. Field work and internship experiences will surely become a significant feature.

In sum, I am urging a location for the Peace Academy and a curriculum that would stress the intimate and creative connection between the practitioners and the learners. For the practitioners, the Academy can afford an opportunity to stop and think. For the learner, an applied orientation would present a complex real world in which peace policy is an urgent necessity for the national interest and the national security.

At the heart of an educational enterprise is the curriculum designed by its faculty and pursued by its students. A curriculum is to an educational enterprise what a budget is to a public agency, that is, a program of activities which, in the last analysis, constitutes the central character of the organization. It is for this reason that I suggest that your Subcommittee's hearings take a unique form by sponsoring a special Peace Academy Curriculum Conference attended by about 30-50 representatives drawn from the numerous probable constituencies of a Peace Academy: relevant leaders in the Congress and the Executive Branch; representatives of public policy making groups attentive to peace policy issues; academicians with professional involvement in peace research and transnational organization; officers of international agencies, etc. In some ways this could be a "consumers' conference" in that those involved with the practical as well as the academic problems of peace can address themselves to the issues of "product design" relevant to the training of Peace Academy students.

It is my earnest hope that your hearings will confirm the need for a distinctive and practical educational enterprise such as the Peace Academy can potentially be. You have my very best wishes for a successful inquiry.

Respectfully yours,

Ralph M. Goldman
Ralph M. Goldman
Professor

RMG:kd

Biographical Note: Ralph M. Goldman

Professor, Department of Political Science, San Francisco State University (1962 to present). Formerly: Director of Institute for Research on International Behavior (1964-1967), Associate Dean for Faculty Research (1965-1967), Political Science Department Chairman (1971-1974), San Francisco State University. Research Associate, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. (1953-1956).

Has taught at Michigan State University (1957-1961), University of Chicago (1961-1962), University of California at Berkeley (1963), Stanford University (1966).

Ph.D. in Political Science, University of Chicago, 1951.

Author: BEHAVIORAL PERSPECTIVES ON AMERICAN POLITICS (1973), a textbook in American Politics; CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON POLITICS (1972), an introductory textbook in political behavior; THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN AMERICAN POLITICS (1966). Co-author or co-editor: THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTIONS (1960); PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING POLITICS IN 1952 (5 vols., 1954).

Author of more than 30 articles in scholarly journals, encyclopedias, and collected works. Established fields have been American national politics, especially party and electoral behavior. Currently engaged in research on international conflict, particularly at the United Nations, arms control processes, and world party movements.

Married. Born: May 14, 1920. Wife is elementary school teacher and art historian. Son and daughter are teen-agers attending college.



center for peaceful change

Kent State University
Kent, Ohio 44242 ph 216-672-3143

Changing the World Through Education, with William G. Sanders, Richard S. Bassi, Bill Schneider. 1970

April 21, 1976

Senator Claiborne Pell
United States Senate
Washington D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Pell,

It is my understanding that you are planning to hold hearings some time in May or S. 1976 which proposes the establishment of a George Washington Peace Academy. This letter is in support of this bill.

The world is becoming ever more interdependent. We can no longer think of destroying a part of it without endangering the survival and the well-being of the whole. Therefore, the changes that we need to bring about in social systems must be brought about peacefully. And as you well know, to be able to work effectively for peaceful change needs training which has depth as well as rigor just like other professional vocations.

Here at Kent State we have a program in peaceful change (Profile enclosed). The purpose of the program is to produce "humane change agents" who view the world as an interdependent community, who have an understanding of the dynamics of change that is integrative, and who have the personal potency to be effective in the interests of bettering the human condition at a particular level - local, national, world. Ours is a small program. Obviously, the program of the proposed national peace academy would be much more extensive and intensive. But from our experience of the last five years, we can say that there is a felt need and widespread interest in peace work at various societal levels and that training for it can be imparted successfully.

You have our commendation and support for holding the hearings. Needless to say, I will be happy to testify. And if there is any way we can be of assistance, please let me know.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,
Ralph S. Bassi
Ralph S. Bassi
Director

RSS:st



from the desk of

JOHN P. EDDY

April 24, 1976

Senator Claiborne Pell
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20500

JOHN P. EDDY
2419 SIMPSON ST.
EVANSTON, ILL.
60201



Dear Senator Pell,

Would you have all members of your Committee for Senate Bill 1976 present for hearings on Thursday, May 13th? I would support the bill for the George Washington Peace Academy.

Sincerely yours,

John P. Eddy
John Eddy, Ph.D.

Professor of Education, Loyola U. Chicago
Human Rights Commissioner of American
Personnel and Guidance Association
Former World President of International
Association of Educators for World
Peace—related to the United Nations
Vice-President of Society for a World
Service Federation
Vice-President of World Peace Academy
Former Chairperson of American Personnel
and Guidance Peace Commission
Member of United Nations Association of
the United States of America

Institute For The Study Of National Behavior

314 CROWN VIEW DRIVE
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314
TELEPHONE (703) 751-0300

April 28, 1976

Senator Claiborne Pell, Chairman
Subcommittee on Education
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Pell,

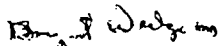
You will be hearing soon from an Ad Hoc Committee for the Peace Academy; meanwhile, I want to alert you to the importance of the hearings that you have scheduled for May 13th.

To my personal astonishment, this is an idea whose time has come; the Ad Hoc Committee has heard from bankers, lawyers, physicians, governors and lots of housewives across the country offering support. By the end of May we will have in hand a list of about 10,000 persons willing to ring doorbells; by then a public committee of prominent citizens will have been organized and financed to manage a citizen's campaign. The fact is that this appears an attainable objective to many people who have become somewhat disaffected by the conduct of foreign policy and would like to support alternative approaches.

However, as I mention on the enclosed page from an article on this matter, leadership must come from the legislative branch.

Please accept my personal appreciation for your own leadership -- I am certain that it will be widely applauded. The Ad Hoc Committee will encourage the Committee Members to attend the hearings, directly and through their constituents; I just want you to know that a significant support is coming down the road.

Sincerely yours


Bryant Wedge, M.D.
President

25.

I believe that reasoned analysis will prevail and that once the example and sanction of a Peace Academy is established there will be a great outburst of creative efforts, not only in the Academy, but throughout the American Society.

The principal leadership for this development must necessarily come from the legislative branch. The prescription of the foreign policy arena by the complex of forces against which President Eisenhower warned in vain, has produced a great imbalance. In foreign policy there is no such tri-partite division of responsibilities as envisioned in the Constitution; the Executive Branch has usurped the field. Now, clearly, the Congress seeks to redress that balance as it should and to prevent an undue concentration of power. One channel for redress would be the exercise of leadership in the creation of the Peace Academy, or a similar office, to provide a broader range of options to our nation in conducting its international relations. The Congress will have to lead, to explain to the people the need for such an office, its patriotic nature and its moral and practical functions. Congress must lead, the Executive can not; we professors can only provide some reasoning, not the leadership. The step I recommend is a small one, very inexpensive -- the cost of a couple of fighter aircraft - but the Congress must lead the way. There is no one else.

About the American people there is not the least doubt. We are prepared still, after two hundred years, to "hold the rest of mankind, "Enemies in War, In Peace Friends." If the issues are explained, if there is a clear direction, and leadership from Congress, the overwhelming majority of Americans will support a Peace Academy.

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 western union



▶ SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL CHAIRMAN
 SENATE OFFICE BLDG
 WASHINGTON DC 20510

DEAR SENATOR PELL,
 WE URGE YOU TO ATTEND THE IMPORTANT HEARINGS ON S.S. 1976, THE GEORGE
 WASHINGTON PEACE ACADEMY BILL, BEFORE THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION OF
 THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, OF WHICH YOU ARE A MEMBER,
 ON MAY 13TH.
 THE LEADERSHIP MUST COME FROM THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH. PLEASE CONSIDER
 TAKING AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THIS VITAL PRACTICAL, AND CRITICALLY NEEDED
 LEGISLATION. WE HAVE A LIST OF APPROXIMATELY TEN THOUSAND PERSONS,
 LAWYERS, EDUCATORS, BANKERS, WORKING PEOPLE, HOMEMAKERS, WILLING TO
 RING DOORBELLS TO HELP SEE THIS BILL COME TO BE.

ADHOC COMMITTEE
 NATIONAL PEACE ACADEMY BILL

10:00 EST

MGMW8HT MSR

**Southwest
College**

7800 SOUTH PULASKI ROAD, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60682 *AEA CODE 312-732-5000

May 3, 1976

Senator Claiborne Pell
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20500

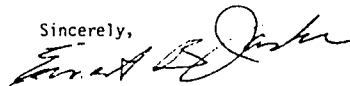
Dear Senator Pell,

I wholeheartedly support the bill to establish
the George Washington Peace Academy.

I hope that you will earnestly strive to secure
passage of this proposal during the hearings sche-
duled for Thursday, May 13th.

Thanks.

Sincerely,



Dr. Ernest B. Jaski
Professor-Education &
Business
Former Chancellor-U.S.A.
International Association of
Educators For World Peace

EEJ:lmc



City
Colleges of
Chicago

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
EDUCATORS FOR WORLD PEACE



ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES
EDUCATEURS POUR LA PAIX DU MONDE

P. O. BOX 3282, BLUE SPRINGS STATION
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA 35810, U.S.A.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL
CABINET DU SECRETAIRE GENERAL

October 20, 1975

The Honorable Marjorie Williams
Chairman
Committee of Labor & Public Welfare
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Honorable Williams:

I am enclosing an article I wrote recently on the bill Senator Hartke of Indiana presented to the Congress in relation to the GEORGE WASHINGTON PEACE ACADEMY.

I was asked by the Office of Senator Hartke to read the bill and to make an evaluation of it. Since my comments are clear I feel I should not add anything else in this letter. However, I would be more than happy to answer or comment on questions you and members of the Committee of Labor and Public Welfare may like to raise.

Please let me take this opportunity to congratulate you for the excellent work you are doing in the service of mankind. We feel proud of your leadership.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Charles Mercieca
SECRETARY-GENERAL, IAEPF
& PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION

A CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO THE
GEORGE WASHINGTON PEACE ACADEMY

Charles Mercieca, Ph.D.
Professor of Education
and Secretary-General of
International Association of Educators for World Peace
NGO of United Nations and UNESCO

A valuable bill which leads to the establishment of the George Washington Peace Academy was introduced recently to the United States Congress by Senator Vance Hartke of Indiana. Its aims and purposes were carefully explained. Historical reasons were given to justify its establishment. And its structure and policies were ultimately outlined in minute details. A constructive evaluation of this bill could be made if its contents were examined in relation to what present colleges and universities are doing in (1) their effective use of their human potential; (2) their present educational priorities, and (3) their eventual promotion of world responsibility among students.

AIMS AND PURPOSES

The aims and purposes of the George Washington Peace Academy were summarized by the Indiana Senator in the following points:

1. To further the understanding of the process, state and art of peace among nations and cooperation between people;
2. To consider the dimensions of peaceful resolution of differences among nations;
3. To train students in the process of peaceful resolution of

differences;

4. To inform government leaders of peaceful methods of conflict resolution.¹

In accordance with these points, individuals will be trained in the art of negotiation, arbitration, mediation, and conciliation through the exploration of methods that could be utilized faithfully. The courses offered will be developed with an art of natural and scientific exploration that would be free of any political influence of any kind. These trained individuals could then be used for consultation by the government, international organizations, and other entities that may be dealing with conflict situations. The problems we face at both the national and international levels could be solved peacefully only after we get a clear understanding of their initial and contemporary aspects.

One of the Academy's principal aims and purposes will be to establish a philosophy of peace which will enable us to transcend artificial boundaries that have generated suspicion, hatred and war from time to time. The best methods of approach that would enable us to correlate the various disciplines of knowledge will be seriously studied. Learning in correlation rather than in isolation, as explained in Gestalt psychology, may become the key criterion of the Academy's approach to its process of teaching and learning.²

¹cf. Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates of the 94th Congress, First Session, Vol. 121, No. 96, June 18, 1975.

²cf. Lewin Kurt, Resolving Social Conflicts, Harper and Row New York, 1948.

-3-

One of the Academy's greatest contributions will consist of the organization of seminars for governmental officials at every level. More importantly, every person elected or appointed to a governmental position will have the unique opportunity of spending some time in the Academy to study present conflict situations nationally and internationally. This would be only fair to our people who have the sacrosanct right by natural law to have the kind of governmental leaders that would lead rather than mislead the country. The mere election or appointment to a governmental post does not guarantee, in any way whatsoever, good leadership in a person that assumes such a job.

In presenting the Peace Academy bill to the U.S. Congress, Senator Hartke must have realized the ironic position the world has found itself throughout the centuries. In scientific efforts the world has progressed constantly from time to time to the extent that nowadays man can fly from one continent to another within a matter of hours, not to mention the fact that he went to the moon and came back within a matter of days. In social relations human beings have remained totally primitive to the extent that they can wipe their opponents out of existence at the spur of the moment without any due process of the law.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

For two hundred years the American people worked hard to build a nation on democratic principles. In spite of numerous diversities in ethnic background and culture, the American people have managed to keep the country together and make it a strong nation. Its motto:

E pluribus unum -- one from many, reveals the country's distinctive characteristics.

That such a Peace Academy should bear the name of George Washington, the country's first President, seems to be very fitting. George Washington's dominant ambition was to direct the people's and government's attention exclusively toward peace. In 1783 he made it clear that peace should be the cornerstone of the new Nation. Speaking of this New Nation to as an "Independent Power," President Washington mentioned "the adoption of a proper Peace Establishment." This Peace Establishment, could be, the proposed George Washington Peace Academy by Senator Hartke.

The highly sophisticated times of our world make the wealth and power of a country virtually meaningless. The race is now between survival or oblivion. If the United States is to survive for another 200 years, its people must be prepared to take the leadership in promulgating peace and understanding among the peoples of all nations. Unesco's preamble needs to be studied seriously: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." And this is certainly the ultimate target of the proposed George Washington Peace Academy.

In spite of the difficulties that exist within our country, the world at large still looks at our Nation for wisdom, guidance, and help. It still looks with admiration and relief at our continuous and courageous efforts in the quest for peace. Although we have succeeded in our peaceful efforts in many ways both nationally and internationally,

the question that still could be raised is this: "Who knows the multitude of human conflicts that might have been solved a long time ago, if the George Washington Peace Establishment were in operation during the last 100 years?"

Nowadays, "peace" has become a catchword which is being used by people in the various realms of society to "sell" a philosophy or a mode of life. The term "Peace" has become increasingly abused to the extent that responsible people who mention it are no longer taken seriously.³ Hence, the time seems ripe for the George Washington Peace Academy, projected by George Washington himself 200 years ago, to come in to existence by an act of Congress.

STRUCTURES AND POLICIES

The initial structure and policies suggested by Senator Hartke could be adopted with some modification and flexibility. The Academy will have a Board of Trustees and an Administration composed of persons who should have furnished evidence of high capability and great dedication in the service of mankind. Criteria need still to be elaborated for the proper selection of persons who may run the Academy in order to safeguard the institution from becoming just an additional academic entity with a new name as we shall see later.

The Board of Trustees will be composed of thirty four members. These will include ex officio the U. S. President, Secretary of H.E.W., Chairman of Senate Committee for Foreign Relations, Chairman of House of Representative International Relations, Secretary of State, U.S.

³cfr. Walter Millis, "The Peace Game" A World Without War, Santa Barbara, California, 1961, pp. 1-15.

Ambassador to United Nations, Chairman of Federal Council of Arts and Humanities, four members appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate, four members appointed by Speaker of the House of Representatives, and eighteen members appointed by the President of the United States all of whom must have furnished evidence of experience and dedication in international relations, understanding and world peace, and the Chancellor who presumably will be the Head of the Academy's Administration. If such were the case, this person ought not to be on the Board of Trustees for obvious reasons.

The Administration will be composed of a Chancellor who will be appointed by the Board of Trustees by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, Dean of Faculty, Dean of Students, the Registrar, Director of Admission, and between ten to twenty senior professors. An executive Committee which is meant to assist in the formulation of policies will be composed of the Chancellor, the Deans of Faculty and Students, four senior professors and four students.

Although the philosophy of the George Washington Peace Academy seems to be quite clear, the policies that will eventually develop are still vague. Of course, such policies are expected to be developed by the members of the Academy's Administration on possible proposals presented by the Board of Trustees. One of the possible weaknesses in the structure and policies of the George Washington Peace Academy may be found in the tempting authoritarian position the Chancellor finds himself in. For all practical purposes he could become like the president of the ordinary college and university across the country.

To make things worse, the Chancellor is appointed for six years with a possibility of reappointment for another term which would bring the amount of years to a rather long period of 12 years. In addition, in accordance with Senator Hartke's bill, the Chancellor has the right to appoint the Dean of the Faculty, the Dean of Students, the Registrar and the Director of Admissions besides the full or part time instructors of the entire Academy. Although in theory this prerogative given to the Chancellor may seem fine, in practice it has proven to be detrimental in institutions of higher learning where academic freedom has been substituted in many ways with administrative tyranny that suffocates highly qualified potentials.⁴

As indicated earlier, a constructive evaluation of Senator Hartke's bill could be better made if its contents were examined in relation to the way present colleges and universities are being handled.

UTILIZING HUMAN POTENTIAL

The George Washington Peace Academy cannot afford to come into existence simply as an "additional" institution of learning along with existent ones. We all know that one of the greatest problems that faces colleges and universities nowadays lies with the institution's administrators themselves. Experience has proven repeatedly that just one bad administrator on campus could easily throw the whole institution off balance. The suffocation of human potential that exists in many institutions of learning should come to a stop and the Peace Academy should be instrumental to this end.

⁴cfr. J. William Fulbright "The Fatal Arrogance of Power" New York Times Magazine, May 15, 1966.

-R-

A careful selection of educational administrators is based primarily on pure competence. Competence is used to signify "fore-sight" which means a capability to see into the future the realities of events and needs as they stem from the changing environment of the times. Such competence requires experience in dealing with people from various walks of life. It is not based on the proven fallacious criterion of the so called "previous administrative experience." Such competence is usually found in persons who are good for independent research which they undergo with dedication and financial sacrifice. The sources of their various fields of knowledge are generally sought from highly reputed educators from around the world most of whom work busily for the promotion of international understanding and world peace through school education at UNESCO. These worthy educators, carefully selected from all over the world because of their depth of insight and keen knowledge of the future, are constantly providing the member countries of the United Nations with valuable educational documents that need to be taken seriously. These beneficial documents are also provided to UNESCO's affiliated agencies including the International Association fo Educators for World Peace.⁵

Since most university officials in the United States not only know nothing of these documents but they do not even care to learn anything about them, the George Washington Peace Academy could develop some kind of research in this area to help solve the countries'

⁵cfr Charles Mercieca, "What Constitutes Proper Education", The International Foundations of Education, Library of Congress Catalogue Card No. 74 - 82626, November, 1974, pp. 23-36.

problem of incompetent academic administrators. Possibly the Peace Academy could become instrumental in making Congress enact a law whereby one would be prohibited from becoming an academic administrator in a state college or university without previous attendance and study at the Peace Academy or at least a period of orientation as a regular professor.

PRESENT EDUCATIONAL PRIORITIES

State legislatures throughout the country are investing millions of dollars in state institutions of learning for the actual and eventual promotion of ignorance and arrogance. Such ignorance and arrogance is revealed in the kind of educational priorities set up by the various schools. Such priorities make the students study simply to fulfill requirements, graduate and hopefully get a job afterwards.

Norms and regulations are set up by committees which could be better described by the word "cliques." The members of these cliques are mostly appointed by their "superiors" in the administrative hierarchy because of evidence they furnished in their capability of promoting the status quo. In addition, entire members of the faculty are put to work on committees more to "fill up their time" than anything else. Anything they propose that reveals some kind of innovation is ultimately ignored. The most important element in the educational priorities of our colleges and universities in general is "to keep in business". This explicitly means that the university administrators are usually concerned with getting of more and more money primarily to fatten their pockets with higher salaries and to provide their buddies with jobs. Every kind of priority, if properly studied, is oriented in

some way or another toward making the administrative personnel feel comfortable as much as possible. Although in theory the students are the focus of attention in a university campus, in practice the administration has assumed the arrogance of declaring itself by word of deed as the university. It is not secret at all to realize today that the students and instructors are employed by the university to "serve" the administration rather than the other way around.⁶

Abuses of this kind have gone out of control to such an extent that not long ago one conscientious president of a Michigan University remarked with awe: "What are the universities doing? The most highly and sophisticated crimes are being organized by former students of our universities all of whom carry academic degrees in various areas of knowledge." Senator Hartke's Peace Academy bill, if enacted by Congress, may serve as a stepping stone toward the elimination of educational abuses in our institutions of higher learning and the re-organization of educational priorities throughout the country.

WORLD-WIDE RESPONSIBILITY

Education for world responsibility should become the distinctive feature of American schools. To our schools has been assigned the difficult task of moulding a future generation of adults that may live at peace with each other in security and freedom. This objective cannot be achieved unless first we understand the needed philosophy

⁶cfr Jacques Barzun, "Where the Educational Nonsense Comes From," Intellectual Digest, October 1971.

of the time. Such a philosophy has its roots in the space era which just began. Hence, it cannot be properly understood unless we first understand the characteristics and impact of the new era of civilization.

Recent scientific developments in space exploration made the world look smaller and man look bigger. Through satellite devices human beings can now see each other from any area of the globe regardless of the distance that separates them. People can now circle the earth in a matter of hours. All this made local environmental problems a matter of international concern. People across the world are beginning to realize that the actions of one person will eventually affect the actions of the entire population. Consequently, an action of even one person cannot be ignored or taken lightly.⁷ As one astronaut stated from space: "The whole world is just one small community." It is a brief statement but it reveals the foundation of the needed philosophy in our universities in order to mould properly the future society into better times.

To conclude briefly, the George Washington Peace Academy needs to be established as long as the criteria for the selection of its administrators will not be similar to those adopted by the institutions of higher learning throughout the country. Let us not perpetuate a practice that has failed miserably.⁸ Such a Peace

⁷cfr. Erik H. Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis, W. W. Horton and Company, Inc., New York, 1968.

⁸cfr. Jacques Barzun, The American University, Harper and Row Publishers, New York, 1968.

Academy could serve as a Center where all those who would occupy positions of administration in state colleges and universities throughout the country must spend a period of intensive training. It may also serve as an inspiration to Congress in the enactment of future laws which may help eliminate present administrative abuses that are slowly but surely disintegrating the nation. Last but not least, like Senator Harke indicated, all those who study at the Academy must sign an agreement of serving for two years in a public or private nonprofit agency, or in a national or an international organization, or with some useful governmental agency.

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Vol. 18, pp. 206-211.
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Dr. Charles Mercieca
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Blue Springs Station
Huntsville, Alabama 35810

October 15, 1975

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PUBLISHED SEPTEMBER 1974



JOHN DEMETER

John Demeter was born in Newark, New Jersey in 1951. He received his B.A. in Government, with a special interest in International Affairs, from Monmouth College in May 1973. Presently, he is working on his Masters Degree in International Relations at the City University of New York.

He became interested in Peace Studies as a discipline while a student at the 1972 Grindstone Island Summer School in Peace Research sponsored by the Canadian Peace Research Institute. In 1973 he was actively involved in the establishment of the Center for Peace Studies at Monmouth College.

His research interests include theoretical studies of conflict resolution and war prevention, and he has recently developed an interest in East Asian history and foreign policy.

KEVIN MICHAEL MARION

Kevin M. Marion was born in Clifton, New Jersey in 1951. He received his B.A. in Political Science at The William Paterson College of New Jersey in 1973. That summer Kevin attended the CPRI Grindstone Island Summer School in Peace Research. While an undergraduate he spent a summer in Sweden as an Outwardbound Ambassador on the Experiment in International Living and then travelled to Brussels where he attended the World Association of World Federalists' Congress.

Prior to his becoming active in the educational concern of Peace Studies, Kevin served as a National Peace Action Coalition Marshall for the April 24, 1971 "March on Washington".

In June 1971 he received a scholarship from the Institute for World Order to attend a two week War/Peace Workshop at Colgate University in New York. Since the conference he has been instrumental in the development and subsequent implementation of a peace studies major concentration at The William Paterson College.

This past fall Kevin completed a semester of study in Peace Science at the University of Pennsylvania under the direction of Professor Walter Isard. He is currently employed by the Religious Coalition of New Jersey in their Social Action Project entitled "We the People".

Kevin is a member of the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED) and of the United States Committee for the United Nations University.

He plans to attend the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University next fall.



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Chapter I. Introduction

As of this writing, there are twenty-nine undergraduate institutions of higher education in the United States that offer either an academic major, concentration or certificate in peace studies. In addition, there is an ever increasing number of colleges and universities across the North American and European continents that supplement their scholastic curricula with one or more semester courses in peace education.

For those readers who are unfamiliar with this particular academic concern, the authors, through the spectrum of programs herein described, hope to give an accurate, up-to-date presentation of the current direction of the international peace studies movement. And for those individuals who have been involved in this area, we hope that this directory will serve as a reference manual for their colleagues aspiring to implement Peace Studies programs at their respective institutions.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank Michael Washburn of the Institute for World Order, Paul Wehr of the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development and Alan and Hanna Newcombe of the Canadian Peace Research Institute, who made this directory possible through their patient sponsorship.

John Demeter
City College
New York

January 10, 1974
Kevin M. Marion
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia

Chapter II. Directory of Colleges and Universities with
Peace Studies Programs

CANADA

Conrad Grebel College,
University of Waterloo,
Waterloo, Ontario.
Donovan Smucker, Director

Dept. of Political Science
York University,
Keele Street,
Downsview, Ontario.

SWEDEN

Department of Peace & Conflict Research,
Uppsala University,
P. O. Box 278,
751 05
Uppsala 1, Sweden.
Ulf Himmelstrand, Director. Telephone (018)-13-5677

UNITED KINGDOM

Chair of Peace Studies,
University of Bradford,
Bradford, Yorkshire,
BD7 1DP,
England.
Head: Professor Adam Curle. Telephone 3-3466

Peace and Conflict Research Programme,
University of Lancaster,
Lancaster, England.
Head: Paul L. Smoker. Telephone 6-5201 (Ext. 4230)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Akron, University of,
Center for Peace Studies,
Akron, Ohio.
U.S.A. 44304.
Warren F. Kuehl, Director.

Alaska, University of,
Peace Arts Committee,
Charles F. Parr
College, Alaska.
U.S.A. 99701.

Bethel College,
Peace Studies Program,
Duane Friesen
North Newton, Kansas.
U.S.A. 67117.

Boston College,
Program for the Study of Peace and War,
Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts,
U.S.A. 02167.
James F. Halpin, S.J., Director

California State University at Sacramento
Peace Studies Center
Sacramento, California,
U.S.A. 95819.
Duane Campbell, Director

Colgate University,
Peace Studies Program,
Hamilton, New York, U.S.A.
Alan Geyer, Director.

Cornell University,
Program on Peace Studies,
Center for International Studies,
Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.
George Quester, Director.

Dayton, University of,
Peace Studies Institute,
Dayton, Ohio,
U.S.A. 45409.
Wayne Wlodarski, Director.

Earlham College,
Peace and Conflict Studies Program,
Richmond, Indiana,
U.S.A. 47374.
Stephen Frick, Coordinator.

Goshen College,
Co-major in Peace
Goshen, Indiana, U.S.A.
J. Richard Furkholder, Director.

Hawaii, University of,
World Order Program,
Department of Political Science,
Honolulu, Hawaii,
U.S.A. 96822.
George Kent, Director.

Kent State University,
Center for Peaceful Change,
Kent, Ohio,
U.S.A. 44240.
Raghubir Basi, Director.

Manhattan College,
Pacem in Terris Institute,
Bronx, New York,
U.S.A. 10471.
Tom Stonier, Director.

Mankato State College,
Peace Studies Program,
Mankato, Minnesota,
U.S.A. 56001.
John Foster, Coordinator.

Manchester College,
Peace Studies Institute,
North Manchester, Indiana, U.S.A.
Allen Deeter, Director.

Massachusetts, University of,
Global Survival Studies,
Amherst, Massachusetts,
U.S.A. 01002.
Stephen Guild, Director.

Monmouth College,
Center for Peace Studies,
West Long Branch, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Samuel S. Kim, Director.

Notre Dame, University of,
Program for the Study and Practice
of Non-Violent Resolution of Human Conflict
Notre Dame, Indiana,
U.S.A. 46556.
Basil O'Leary, Director.

North Carolina, University of,
Curriculum in Peace, War, and Defense,
Chapel Hill, North Carolina,
U.S.A. 27514.
S. R. Williamson, Director.

Pittsburg, University of,
Committee on Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies,
Department of Sociology,
Pittsburg, Pennsylvania,
U.S.A. 15213.
Jerome Laulicht, Director.

St. Joseph's College,
Program for the Study of Peace and Human Development
City Lane at 54th Street,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,
U.S.A. 19131.
Rev. Edward J. Brady, S.J., Director.

St. Louis University,
 Institute for the Study of Peace,
 336 Champlin Hall,
 St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A.
 James McGinnis, Executive Secretary.

Syracuse University,
 Nonviolence Studies Program,
 Syracuse, New York,
 U.S.A. 13210.
 Neil Katz, Director.

School for International Training,
 World Issues Program,
 Room 15,
 Brattleboro, Vermont,
 U.S.A. 05301.

Union College,
 Peace and World Order Studies Program,
 Department of Political Science,
 Schenectady, New York, U.S.A.
 Norman Walbek and Dee Wernette

Washington, University of,
 Conflict Studies Program,
 268 Condon Hall,
 Seattle, Washington,
 U.S.A. 98105.
 Roy L. Presterman, Chairman.

William Paterson College of New Jersey,
 Peace Science Program
 300 Pompton Road,
 Wayne, New Jersey,
 U.S.A. 07470.
 James D. Baines, Director.

Wisconsin, University of, at Madison,
 Center for Conflict Resolution,
 420 North Lake Street,
 Madison, Wisconsin,
 U.S.A. 53706.
 Jim Struve, Director.

Wisconsin, University of, at Stevens Point,
Peace Studies Program,
Stevens Point, Wisconsin,
U.S.A. 54481.
Joseph Harris, Chairman.

CANADA

Conrad Grebel College,
University of Waterloo,
Waterloo, Ontario.

One of the functions of the colleges on the University of Waterloo campus is to innovate academically. The colleges can plan and teach courses that are not easily fitted into the departmental structure of the university. It is this feature of the College role on the campus that has led to Conrad Grebel's interest in working at developing peace studies and research at the University of Waterloo. Conrad Grebel's Director of Peace Studies is Dr. Donovan Smucker.

While the college and university do not offer a degree or certificate in peace studies, the student interested in peace studies may take any of the following courses. The first two courses should be considered as core courses.

ARTS

230G	Nonviolence and Political Reality
271/272G	An Introduction to Peace Research Results*
200C	Issues in Mass Communication
219G	Dissent

HISTORY

267G	Canadian Minorities I
------	-----------------------

G Courses are offered by Conrad Grebel College.

*Arts 271/272 was given last year as Political Science 200A at York University (*vide infra*) together with Political Science 300A and Political Science 423.

CANADA

347/348G Radical Reformation I, II
367R Contemporary History: War and Revolution in the
20th Century
374G The Middle East Conflict

MAN-ENVIRONMENT STUDIES

430 International Cooperation on Environmental
Problems

SOCIOLOGY

360 Political Sociology
332 Social Conflict and Modernization

CANADA

York University,
Dept. of Political Science,
Keele Street,
Downsview, Ontario.

Political Science 423 is a seminar course for fourth year and graduate students in peace research results. The course meets for two hours each week for two semesters and each week a student presents a review of a *Peace Research Review* supplementing this in his/her hour long presentation with any supplementary information which the student wishes to add. The topic of the *Review* is then discussed by all students in the second hour. Since each *Review* is a monograph on one topic and is about forty thousand words in length it serves as a good introduction to a stated topic. Students are marked for their presentation(s), their participation in all discussions and for their written work.

Written work for undergraduates is either twelve abstracts (suggested choice) per month from a journal of their own choosing (which are published in *Peace Research Abstracts Journal*) or a long (twenty to forty thousand words) essay on a topic of their choice. Graduate students are advised to choose the essay. Students choosing an essay are expected to conduct a search on their topic through *Peace Research Abstracts Journal* and at least one other abstracting journal and are expected to read the original publication if it is very relevant to their topic. Essays graded as A or A+ may be considered for publication as a *Peace Research Review*.

CANADA

Colleges and universities entering the peace studies field would find this course offers them quick access to the field of peace research. Although this course has been given at York for two years it will not be given after the spring of 1974 for budgetary reasons.

SWEDEN

Department of Peace and Conflict Research,
 Uppsala University,
 P.O. Box 278,
 751 05,
 Uppsala 1, Sweden.
 Tel. 018/135677
 Head: Ulf Himmelstrand, Director.

The Department of Peace and Conflict Research began in 1966, as a series of seminars, open to the public, in which papers from various institutions at the University were discussed, and in which guest speakers presented problems from within the area of peace research.

In 1969, the Peace Research Seminar was given standing as an independent department within the university. A board was established, whose members were determined by the university constituency and by the plenary meeting of the department's researchers.

During the school year 1971-72, the department developed basic courses in peace research for inclusion in the curricula for the subjects of history, political science, and sociology.

There are at this time a total of seven areas in which work is under way: of these, some are still being handled by individual researchers: the more developed projects, however, have now become group efforts.

(a) *The Structure of the International System*

In the work of the department, research on international economic and social structures is central. Above all, within the topic "The Structure of the International System", the dependency relationships between nations and classes are

SWEDEN

studied. Special attention is paid to the relationships between so-called "developed" and "underdeveloped" countries, with the aim of aiding the underdeveloped countries' economic and political liberation.

(b) *Problems of Armament and Disarmament*

Among the research problems which have arisen within this area are the following:

- the disarmament negotiations in Geneva: an analysis of the discussions (and the political realities behind them);
- the relationship between armament levels and changes in the levels of international tensions;
- the military-industrial complex in socialist countries; international merger and concentration processes in the armaments industry).

(c) *Forms of Non-military Struggle*

The department emphasizes the study of the forms of struggle by means of which peoples can actively fight against long-standing or more transitory oppressions. Subjects for interest here are, among other things, struggles for social revolution as well as struggles for more limited aims, struggles against military occupation and other take-overs, struggles against economic and political interventions of an imperialistic nature, struggles against coups and dictatorships.

(d) *Refusal of Military Duty*

The refusal of military service has, during the 1960s, taken on new political significance. In investigating this topic, the development of refusal in Sweden since the end of

SHEPEN

the 1950s is being studied in order to penetrate the picture presented by official government statistics.

(e) *Ideas, Institutions, and Social Change*

Different kinds of struggle are expressions of different theoretical and ideological formulations. Of decided interest in this connection are those idea-systems which are put forward by institutions, organizations, and movements of different sorts: political parties, militant organizations, interest organizations and business corporations.

(f) *Peace Research: Analysis and Criticism of its Development*

The history of peace research, its institutionalizing, and the social base for its work, are investigated. Also, those results which peace research has hitherto produced are examined. Special emphasis must be placed upon discovering which values the research proceeds from and which theories underlie it.

Another group of questions concerns the spread of peace research: Who reads the reports, the periodicals, and the books? What image do people have of peace research? Are the results of peace research used, and if so, in what way?

(g) *General Conflict-Theory*

The studies here try to formulate the conditions under which conflicts emerge, the patterns according to which they develop, and the various consequences that conflicts have on the contending parties and the encompassing systems. In the foregoing survey of problem fields, three large areas of study are represented: (1) structural analyses: studies of the

SWEDEN

organizational structure of national and international systems; (2) interactional analyses: studies of conflicting as well as peaceful interaction, and especially of the forms and dynamics of struggles to change social structures; (3) ideological analyses: studies of the value-systems and the goals of the parties to a conflict.

In general conflict theory a systematic effort is made to tie together these three levels; the main purpose is to understand the way in which different structures provide different conflicts, different value-systems, and different forms of struggle--and how these latter in turn influence the history of the structures themselves.

Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, (Uppsala: Tofters Tryckeri AB Ostervala, 1972).

UNITED KINGDOM

Chair of Peace Studies
University of Bradford,
Bradford Yorkshire,
BD7 1NP
England.
Tel. 33466
Head: Professor Adam Curle.

The objectives of the Chair is to advance learning, and the application of learning to human welfare, on the nature of peace and the methods by which peace can be developed and extended.

The objectives described require the development of a number of disciplines, and also the techniques of interdisciplinary cooperation in the design of actual models for the advancement of peace in concrete circumstances.

(a) *Philosophical, ethical and linguistic studies*

These are necessary in order to describe problems of the attainment of peace in terms which cross ideological, religious and political boundaries.

(b) *Economic studies*

Such studies will be both of a general and specific nature. The general problems will be those of studying how common economic advantages can be obtained in situations in which economic interests are *prima facie* in conflict. The specific studies will be concerned with applying the methodology to particular cases, for example in connection with situations likely to lead to conflict between particular regions or between particular social and institutional groups. Of particular importance will be economic studies directed to exploring the

common interests between developed and developing countries, and between countries on both sides of ideological barriers.

(c) *Sociological Studies*

(d) *Historical Studies*

(e) The development of interdisciplinary projects concerned both with existing conflict situations and, more generally, cases where, even if conflict does not exist, peaceful cooperation could be extended to common advantage.

Post graduate studies could be for quasi-formal purposes, for example, as a semi-professional preparation for those whose field of work may lie in international organizations, appropriate government departments, voluntary movements, or even in industry. It would also be expected that postgraduate studies would take in short or long seminars of an international nature.

The University proposes to have an advisory panel consisting of eminent scholars in the field of peace or related subjects which will aid in the development of the curricula of teaching and research.

Concern for the Founding of a University Chair of Peace Studies, Society of Friends (Yorkshire: Watmoughs Print, March 1972).

UNITED KINGDOM

Peace and Conflict Research Programme,
University of Lancaster,
Lancaster, England.
Telephone 6-5201 (Extension 4230)
Head: Dr. Paul L. Smoker.

We understand that an undergraduate programme exists at
this university but we have no further information about it.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

University of Akron,
Center for Peace Studies,
Akron, Ohio,
U.S.A. 44304.
Telephone (216) 375-7319
Warren F. Kuehl, Director.

Established in 1970 this program offers a *Certificate of Peace Studies* after completing twenty-two hours of approved courses selected from four separate disciplines: economics, history, political science and anthropology. Two core courses have also been introduced, "Peace, War, and Mankind" and "Value Concepts on Peace and War".

The Center also acts as a clearinghouse for information on Peace Studies programs through its publication *International Peace Studies Newsletter*, with a circulation of over three thousand in every state and several countries. The *Newsletter* focuses on collegiant peace studies programs as well as programs in secondary schools.

It operates a resource center of materials and teaching aids, and serves as a resource agency to meet community needs.

An advisory board of students and faculty members help plan the Center's activities.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

University of Alaska,
Peace Arts,
College, Alaska,
U.S.A. 99701.
Eugene E. Reed III

This program has been established by the University of Alaska as its contribution toward a more peaceful world. It is designed to prepare students for a professional career in achieving and maintaining peace, while at the same time affording a good liberal arts background to those wishing to pursue other careers. The program is administered by a committee composed of representatives from all participating colleges.

At present students majoring in this program must specialize in one of the following area studies: United States, Europe, Soviet Union or Japan. It is planned to extend the program to include Latin America and the Moslem world.

The requirements for a B.A. degree with a major in Peace Arts are as follows:

- (1) Complete the general requirements for a B.A. degree.
- (2) Complete the following Core courses (18 credits).
 - Comparative Politics
 - International Affairs
 - Principles of Economics
 - Political Geography
 - Diplomatic History of the U.S.
 - Peace Arts Seminar
- (3) Complete the following regional courses (6-22 credits)
 - Two years of a foreign language (or receive credit by examination)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

One semester course in history of area in which the language is spoken.

One semester course in geography of area in which the language is spoken.

- (4) Complete twelve credits of the following courses of alternatives approved by the program advisor

Cultural Anthropology
 World Ethnography
 Psychological Anthropology
 Language and Culture
 Economic Development
 Comparative Economic Systems
 International Economics
 History of Economic Thought
 Introductory Geography
 World Economic Geography
 Western Civilization
 Twentieth Century America
 Philosophy of History
 Latin American Government and Politics
 One year of related foreign language at 300 level or above

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Bethel College,
Peace Studies Program,
North Newton, Kansas,
U.S.A. 67117.
Duane Friesen, Director

Established in the early part of 1973, Peace Studies at Bethel was a logical step for a Mennonite College with historical roots in pacifism and peaceful resolution of human conflict. Peace Studies students here pursue a *double major*. Alongside a more traditional area of study, students follow a six-step Peace Studies curriculum:

- (1) Two introductory courses--*The Causes of Human Conflict & The Phenomenon of Peace* (total 8 credits)
- (2) *Liberal Arts Block*--The contribution of various areas of study that lend to the understanding of conflict and peace. (i.e. Bible Studies, Religion Studies, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Humanities.) (total 11 credits)
- (3) *Internship*--This phase could vary from four months to one year depending on the student's interest. Students have the opportunity to work with local professionals in the fields of law, politics, mental health, community organizations or voluntary organizations such as the Mennonite Central Committee or the War Resisters League. (total 14 credits)
- (4) *Field Experience Seminar*--The student would return from the internship and participate in a field experience seminar which would seek to interpret and evaluate the various activities students were engaged in while away from the campus.
- (5) Throughout the course of his or her college career, and particularly at this stage, the student would

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

be pursuing his other choice of major.

- (6) The program would end in an *advanced Peace Studies* seminar in which the student would demonstrate his or her ability to apply his other field of study to the issues of Peace. This would involve a special project that would be presented to all Peace Studies Majors.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Boston College,
Program for the Study of Peace and War,
Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts,
U.S.A. 02167.
Rev. James F. Halpin, Director.

"The Boston College Program for the Study of Peace and War is a joint effort by students and faculty to develop a regional learning center for individuals concerned with questions related to violence and conflict resolution."

The Boston College program employs the "cluster" approach. This method groups courses within five different categories: Sources and causes of Conflict; Human Rights; Perspectives on freedom and responsibility; Violence in Society; Nonviolence; and Conflict Resolution. Each of these "clusters" draws its courses from the following disciplines: Germanic Studies; History; Management; Philosophy; Political Science; Psychology; Sociology; Speech Communication and Theatre; Theology; Economics; English; Physics.

The program offers to enrolled students a *degree minor in peace studies*. The requirements for the program are: minimum of fifteen credits involving at least one course from each cluster and a research paper.

Throughout the academic year, the center sponsors faculty colloquia, a film and lecture series, a variety of symposia, and an intra-university seminar series. Also, the program offers a number of special seminar and weekend teachings open to students and faculty designed to develop a greater awareness of problems related to nonviolent action and conflict resolution.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

California State University at San Francisco,
 Peace Studies Program,
 Department of Physics,
 San Francisco, California,
 U.S.A. 94132.
 Charles Shapiro.

The Peace Studies Program at C. SF grew out of a University movement to offer "thematic course groupings". A thematic course grouping is a set of courses offered simultaneously by different departments all related to a common focus.

The Peace Studies grouping consists of seven courses (three credits each), three of which are designed as "core". Students enrolled in the program would be required to take all three of them. The other four are optional electives and will accept students not participating in the program, if there is room.

CORE COURSES

Approaches to Peace--International Relations
 Science and World Peace--Physics
 World Peace and Literature--English

Optional Courses

The Nation-State World: Project Peace Off-Campus
 field experience--Social Science
 Psychology of War--Psychology
 Broadcast Communication: Focus on Peace--Broadcast
 Communication
 Library Research

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Colgate University
 Peace Studies Program
 Hamilton, New York,
 U.S.A. 13346.
 Telephone (315) 824-1000
 Alan Geyer, Director.

Established in 1971, the Peace Studies Program at Colgate is a "transdisciplinary" approach to peace-making and peace-keeping in international affairs. It offers opportunities to develop interest in both research and action.

Team-taught courses have been shared by the faculty of political science, philosophy, economics, history and geography.

Two approaches are available to students:

Major in Peace Studies: Seven basic courses and three electives.

1. Problems of War and Peace
2. Problems of World Community
3. International Ethics
4. International Politics and American Foreign Policy
5. International Organization and Law
6. Politics of Peacemaking in the United States
7. Senior Project

Concentration in Peace Studies: Any student who wishes to add a sound peace studies background to any departmental program could enroll in any of the above courses.

Electives

Seminar in non-violence and conflict resolution
 U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament
 Cross-cultural communications and International
 Politics

The Ralph Bunche House provides residence for thirty-six students participating in the Peace Studies program. It

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contains a library, seminar rooms, film room, dining facilities, and a guest suite. The house program includes: student-faculty conversation, community dialogue and workshops.

Each year the program selects a graduating senior to serve the following year as a full time "peace Intern". The responsibilities include teaching and administration, as well as serving as a resident advisor of the Ralph Bunche house.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Cornell University,
Program on Peace Studies,
Center for International Studies,
URIS 199,
Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.
Telephone (607) 256-6370
George Quester, Director.

Established--1970

The program sponsors teaching and research on the moderation and avoidance of war, and on political, economic, technological and social implications of such progress toward peace.

Programs include seminars on peace studies and conferences with outside specialists.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

University of Dayton,
Peace Studies Institute
Dayton, Ohio, U.S.A.
Wayne Wlodarski, Director.

The Peace Studies Program at the University of Dayton is centered around three major themes:

- (1) Conflict Resolution
- (2) World Development
- (3) Educating for Peace

Around these concerns the Institute has formalized courses, workshops, and seminars.

Conflict Resolution Through the general procedure of course offerings this part of the program is an examination of the crisis situation. Time is spent on a review of the history of certain crisis situations considering different points of view. The focus is then placed on possible alternatives in resolving the conflict.

World Development The Institute offers three basic courses:

- a. Parameters of Peace
- b. Economics of Developing Nations
- c. Travel/Study to Developing Nations

Educating for Peace

- a. Undergraduate Studies (mini-courses, seminars, workshops)
- b. Secondary Education Program--Peace Education Task Force working to introduce Peace Education materials into Dayton Catholic Elementary schools.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Earlham College,
Peace and Conflict Studies Program,
Richmond, Indiana,
U.S.A. 47374.
Stephen Frick, Coordinator.

The Peace and Conflict Studies program (PACS) offers four entry level courses:

- (1) Dominance and Subordination
- (2) Chiliastic and Utopian Societies
- (3) Religious responses to War and Violence
- (4) Violence and Non-Violence

For those electing to become *PACS majors*, these introductory courses are followed by a variety of individually chosen courses in the fields of Biology, Economics, History, Political Science, Psychology, Religion, and Sociology. Each student, working with the coordinator defines a special program in consonance with his or her own interests.

They are currently developing a field component to supplement the formal PACS course work. There are also possibilities for foreign study and work/study terms.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Goshen College,
Co-Major in Peace,
Goshen, Indiana,
U.S.A. 46526.
J. R. Burkholder, Director.

"Goshen College, with its continuing close relationship with the Mennonite Church, might well be called a peace college. Almost two-thirds of its one thousand two hundred students come from the historic peace churches, and thus share a living opposition to war and violence, with a consequent commitment to service and reconciliation. From this general perspective, a peace orientation is presupposed in the overall philosophy and curriculum of the College."

At Goshen, a student may combine Peace Studies with any recognized academic major to form a co-major, which is then designated as Art/Peace, Sociology/Peace, History/Peace, etc.

In order to qualify for the co-major, the student must complete a minimum of *twenty-four hours in his or her major field*. These twenty-four hours should include the specified required courses listed for that Major. The Peace aspect of the co-major shall consist of two required core courses: *The Ethics of Peace and War*; and *Violence and Nonviolence: A Social-Psychological Perspective*. Beyond these core courses the student is expected to take a minimum of *nine hours of related courses* from an approved, multidisciplinary list. Some related courses are:

- Comparative Revolutions
- Christianity and Marxism
- International Politics
- Sociology of Minorities

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The co-major also requires a seminar, field experience, or other senior advanced study. Usually this will be an exercise in applying the methodology of the traditional discipline to some peace-oriented question.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

University of Hawaii,
World Order Program,
Department of Political Science,
Honolulu, Hawaii,
U.S.A. 96822.
George Kent

The World Order Program is concerned with the interconnected global problems of war and peace, economic welfare, justice and ecological danger. Going far beyond short-term ameliorative adjustments in existing systems, the program is directed to the formulation and evaluation of new designs for the political, social and economic structure of the future world. The World Order Program participants are idealists, concerned with the highest human values, and they are practical realists, working toward the concrete realization of those values.

A number of courses on this theme are offered in each academic year. There are regular colloquia and seminars, a newsletter, and occasional workshops of interest to those concerned with the future world order. The overall program maintains close consultation with the Institute for World Order and COPRED.

Members of all sectors of the University, the East-West Center, and the Oahu and state-wide communities are involved in this venture. Individuals participate in many ways, by requesting and reading the World Order Program newsletter, by attending the public talks that are offered, by taking courses, by helping to arrange for speakers or conferences in a variety of formats, by making presentations at colloquia and other

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meetings, by offering courses, and by working with the program's general planning group.

Requests for the Program newsletter, and questions of any kind, may be addressed to George Kent at the above address.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Kent State University,
 Center for Peaceful Change,
 Kent, Ohio,
 U.S.A. 44242.
 Raghbir S. Basi, Director.

MAJOR IN PEACEFUL CHANGE

The Peaceful Change Major is offered through the center for Peaceful Change in cooperation with the College of Arts and Sciences. "The curriculum seeks to insure the student an opportunity to achieve his or her personal goals while at the same time striving for social relevance. Students are prepared to fill positions of responsibility in those public and private institutions and organizations which function to increase the effectiveness of societal systems through nonviolent change."

The major is formulated around *eight core requirements* which all Peaceful Change Majors must take. These courses account for thirty to forty-six of the seventy-two credit hours in the major. The following is a list of the Core requirements:

- Anatomy of Peaceful Change
- Theories of Change
- Concepts of Nonviolence
- Strategies of Change
- Nonviolent Tactics of Change
- Field Study
- Independent Study
- Seminar in Peaceful Change

In addition to the core course requirements, the student and advisor select twenty-six to forty-six credit hours of major elective courses, offered by other departments of the University. A student may focus on a *level* of change (individual-

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interpersonal-societal-world) and cross *integrative areas* (technological advancement-race relations-economic development-conflict resolution-social justice-others) in choosing major elective courses. Or, he or she might focus on an *integrative area* and cross several *levels* of change. The courses included have been carefully screened with regard to their relevance to particular levels of change and integrative areas of study. The student and counselor may want to choose to substitute certain courses that appear to have greater relevance to the particular goals.

Complementing classroom study, the student is expected to become involved, through the field study program, in practical learning experiences such as working with co-curricular activities, community projects, political processes, national social action groups, and projects in international development.

Beyond the major, the student must satisfy the general requirements of the College of Arts and Sciences. The total credit hours needed for graduation are one hundred ninety-two. Upon completion of the program, the student receives *B.A. with a major in Peaceful Change*.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Manchester College,
Peace Studies Institute
North Manchester, Indiana,
U.S.A. 46962.
Telephone (219) 982-2141.
Allen Deeter, Director.

Established in 1948 by Gladys Muir, this pioneering program offers a *B.A. in Peace Studies*. "Bringing together the expert knowledge and experience of special guests and faculty, Peace Studies related the findings of political science, history, ethics, religion, sociology, psychology, economics, and philosophies underlying various civilizations to mankind's problems of order and justice in the 20th century." Emphasis is placed on questions of value and historical perspectives as well as technical aspects of cultural analysis, political theory and practice, non-violence, social psychological factors underlying strife.

Curriculum in Conflict Resolution An interdivisional major consists of six basic courses staffed by an interdisciplinary team of faculty members. The basic courses include:

- International Politics
- International Law and Organization
- Conflict Resolution: Interpersonal and Intergroup
- The Analysis of War and Peace
- Philosophy of Civilization
- Religions and War
- Peace Issues
- Peace and the Non-Western World

In addition to six of these basic courses, a concentration within a certain area (normally five additional courses) and a language requirement complete the major. A second major is

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encouraged. The five electives can be selected from a number of disciplines.

Practical experience and internship Peace Studies majors are encouraged to take advantage of practical work opportunities during the summer in overseas or service agency experiences. It has often been possible to arrange independent study credits in connection with volunteer service international work camps, or work with a church or public social service agency.

Peace Studies Institute College-wide conferences featuring visiting speakers, debates on issues of public policy are planned through the Institute, all of which are open to the public. The Institute sponsors occasional evening and summer classes on war and peace problems for area teachers, and publishes the *Bulletin of the Peace Studies Institute*, a biannual journal.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Manhattan College,
 Pacem in Terris Institute,
 Bronx, New York,
 U.S.A. 10471.
 Telephone (212) 548-1400
 Tom Stonier, Director.

The Pacem in Terris Institute was established in 1966 to "bring into the formal curriculum of Manhattan College and other educational institutions courses relating to the problems of war and peace".

Beginning in the fall of 1971 a formal undergraduate *major in Peace Studies* was offered. Students in this major would be required to complete *seven courses* from those listed below. Also required would be a *peace studies seminar (six credits)* and a *peace studies field seminar (three credits)*. (A total of thirty credits)

The Institute sponsors workshops, symposia, and convocations on Peace Studies and peace education.

Core Courses

World Economic Geography
 International Relations
 International Organization
 Anatomy of Peace
 War--3000B.C. - 1713A.D.
 The Art of War since 1713
 The Cold War and After
 Philosophy of War and Peace
 Psychology of Social Problems
 Religious Dimensions of Peace
 Nonviolent Revolution
 Social Problems
 Minorities in American Society

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War and Violence in World History
The Biology of Human Behavior
War and Violence in Western Literature

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Mankato State College,
 Peace Studies Program,
 Mankato, Minnesota,
 U.S.A. 56001.
 Telephone (507) 389-2025
 John B. Foster, Director. (Dept. of English)

The objective of the Peace Studies Program at Mankato is to "make the participants aware of the multi-dimensional complexity of peace; to sharpen their ability to detect and analyze societal factors contributing to violence and war; and to give the students some competence in techniques of conflict resolution".

Currently the school is offering a *minor* in Peace Studies in either the B.A. or B.S. programs. *A total of twenty-four credit* hours is required for a Peace Studies Minor. Twelve of these must consist of Peace Studies Core Courses:

Conflict Resolution among Individuals
 Conflict Resolution among Nations
 Conflict Resolution among Cultures

The other twelve credits may be selected from forty approved courses offered by the departments of: Biology; Economics; English; Geography; History; Journalism; Philosophy; Political Science; Psychology; and Sociology. There is no particular distribution requirement, nor is there any particular sequence that the courses be taken in.

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University of Massachusetts,
Comparative, International, and Global Survival Studies,
School of Education - Room 8
Amherst, Massachusetts,
U.S.A. 01002.
Telephone (413) 545-1529
David Schimmel, Director.

The University of Massachusetts has been awarded a grant by the Institute for International Studies of the U.S. Office of Education to develop a problem-centered, interdisciplinary undergraduate program in global studies. The goal of the program is to help each student become globally literate. Global literacy would consist of a minimum knowledge necessary for citizens to participate intelligently in public decision making about issues of global survival. Initially this program would focus on five problems: population growth; war, peace and world order; economic development and environmental deterioration; resource distribution and depletion; and cross-cultural conflict and communication.

The program of Global Studies would make students aware of the implications and interrelationships among these problems, alternative strategies for meeting them, and the hard choices that need to be made. It is an interdisciplinary effort which seeks the cooperation of faculty in the sciences, humanities, social sciences, and professional schools.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Monmouth College,
 Center for Peace Studies,
 West Long Branch, New Jersey, U.S.A.
 Telephone (201) 222-7600
 Samuel S. Kim, Director.

The Peace Studies Program at Monmouth rests on the assumption that peaceful methods of problem solving can be expected to replace violent techniques only if their causes and consequences are subject to a systematic and sustained study. The program includes four separate but interrelated subjects of inquiry:

The Causes of conflict and violence in the lives and activities of individuals, groups, nations and the international community.

Individual, social, cultural, bureaucratic, legal, and international obstacles to peacemaking.

Viable action strategies for overcoming those obstacles.

Alternative warless futures.

Specifics of the Curriculum The program involves three phases of academic progression, beginning in the Sophomore year and ending in the Senior year with a Seminar in Peace Studies. During that time the student is expected to complete *twenty-four hours of guided course work*. Upon completion he or she will be issued a *Certificate in Peace Studies*.

The first phase consists of an introductory, interdisciplinary course, *Peace, War, and Mankind* (P.S. 201-202 six credits) designed to equip students with conceptual and methodological tools necessary to study problems of Peace and War.

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The course examines the causes of conflict and violence and methods of conflict resolution in the activities of individuals, groups, nations, and the international community.

The second, or intermediate level, consists of a fifteen credit block of guided electives drawn from the following disciplines: Anthropology, Economics, English, Government, History, Psychology, Religion, and Sociology. The student must choose either all fifteen from at least two different disciplines or twelve from the list above and three from outside the list. At least two disciplines must be represented.

The final phase is a *Senior Seminar in Peace Studies* (P.S. 401). Major emphasis is placed on the students independent research on a significant issue or problem related to conflict resolution.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill,
Curriculum in Peace, War, and Defense,
401 Hamilton Hall,
Chapel Hill, North Carolina,
U.S.A. 27514.
S. R. Williamson, Director.

The Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense at UNC Chapel Hill will offer a *B.A. degree in Peace, War and Defense* starting in the 1974-75 school year. The program seeks to promote a genuine interdisciplinary approach to understanding the conditions "leading to peace, war, militarism, defense and associated problems".

During the first two years all general college requirements, including the foreign language option must be met. The third and fourth years of the program are planned as follows:

Core requirements - seven courses divided as follows

1. The Ethics of Peace, War and Defense
2. Peace and War

Four of the following in at least three departments
3-6

Primate Social Behavior	Anth.	
Introduction to Public Policy Analysis		Eco.
International Economics	Eco.	
Literature of War	Eng.	
American Military History	Hist.	
Diplomatic History of the U.S.	Hist.	
Defense Policy and National Security		Pol. Sci.
Comparative Civil-Military Policy		Pol. Sci.
Conflict, Aggression and Violence		Soc.
The State and Society	Soc.	

One of the following

Growth and Development of Aerospace Power
Airforce Leadership and Management

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Evolution of Warfare
 Amphibious Warfare
 Navigation and Naval Operations

Major Requirements six courses, two from each of the following groups with no more than four from any one department.

group A

Primate Social Behavior
 Literature of War
 Social Ethics and Political Thought
 Ethics
 Biological Foundations of Behavior
 Religious Ethics and Modern Problems
 Theories of Peace and War
 Polimetrics of International Relations
 Conflict, Aggression, and Violence
 Collective Behavior
 The State and Society

group B

American Military History 1760-1960
 War and Contemporary Society
 Diplomatic History of the U.S. I, II
 History of International Relations I, II
 International Relations and World Politics
 International Organizations
 Organization and Conduct of the Foreign Relations of the U.S.

group C

Introduction to Policy Analysis
 International Resources and National Policy
 International Economics
 Economic Development
 The President, Congress and Public Policy
 Public Administration
 Contemporary Soviet Foreign Policy
 Contemporary International Relations of the U.S.
 Defense Policy and National Security
 Comparative Civil-Military Policies
 The Politics of Guerrilla Warfare
 Community Conflict and Public Policy

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Courses used to meet "core" requirements cannot be counted toward fulfillment of the "Major" requirement.

Electives Seven courses, at least five from divisions other than Social Science.

Directed Reading With approval from the Director, this may be substituted for one of the courses in the Major.

Honors Work with five or more faculty members of different departments.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

University of Notre Dame
 Program in Nonviolence,
 Notre Dame, Indiana,
 U.S.A. 46556.
 John Yoder, Director
 Basil O'Leary, Executive Secretary.

During the first semester of the Program in Nonviolence the student is introduced to the understanding of the prevalence of violence in resolving conflict, efforts to define the concept philosophically, and various explanations of its origins in human experience. At the same time the student is introduced to opportunities to enter conflict situations in the city of South Bend in which coercion and dialogue solicit his support. The student is then led to inquire further, through a variety of interdisciplinary courses, into theories of conflict resolution, international organization, the psychology of aggression, and others dealing with social change.

Courses in Nonviolence

Seminar in Nonviolence
 Introduction to Nonviolence
 War, Peace and Revolution
 Myth, Love and Violence

Interdisciplinary Courses

Conflict Resolution
 Capitalist Critique
 Gandhi--Satyagraha and its Milieu
 Theology of Revolution
 Theology and Community Service
 Diplomacy and Peace

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

University of Pittsburgh,
 Conflict and Peace Studies Program,
 Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania,
 U.S.A. 15213.
 Jerome Laulicht, Director.
 Department of Sociology

The goal of this undergraduate program is to study the causes of war and peace, both within societies and among nations. It focuses on the circumstances and processes which cause large-scale social conflicts. The factors which lead nations, societies, and groups to resort to violence will be given particular attention. These goals involve studying the social, cultural, political, economic and psychological factors which might generate and perpetuate social conflicts and social violence.

The Certificate Program in Conflict and Peace Studies consists of the following:

- (1) Four interdisciplinary core courses:
 - Problems of War and Peace
 - Problems of Social Justice and Human Survival
 - The Analysis of Conflict
 - Approaches to Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice
- (2) Selected courses offered under departmental auspices:
 - Law and Conflict Resolution
 - Biology on Aggression
 - Sociology of the Black Revolutionary Movement
 - Arms Control and Disarmament
 - Institutions for Resolving Conflict
 - Collective Bargaining
 - Introduction to International Trade
 - U.S. World Power
 - War and the Military in American Life

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Comparative Military Systems
 Communist Military Institutions
 Theory of International Relations
 Nationalism
 American Foreign Relations
 Theories and Concepts of Comparative Politics
 World Politics
 International Organization
 U.S. Defense Establishment
 International Systems
 Race Relations
 Social Change
 Revolutionary Social Movements
 War and Peace
 International Communications
 Cross-cultural Communications
 Political Communication and Public Opinion

(3) Independent projects such as individual or small group research, supervised experience with the analysis of conflict resolving agencies, or participation in special seminars.

(4) An annual project for program participants.

(5) A bi-weekly non-credit colloquium for program participants geared toward undergraduates.

The minimum requirement for a certificate would be fifteen credits of work consisting of at least two core courses, related departmental courses, and participation in an independent project or annual project. As experience is gained with the program, it could become a useful base for a self-designed major.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

School for International Training,
World Issues Program,
Brattleboro, Vermont,
U.S.A. 05301.
Jon Booth

The School for International Training was established in 1964 as the formal educational center for The Experiment in International Living. The school is a small, highly specialized institution which seeks in all its programs to help people prepare themselves to live, study, travel, communicate, work and serve cultures other than our own.

One of the school's programs offers a *Bachelor of International Studies* with a concentration on one of four major curricula areas:

Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution
Environment and Ecology
Population and Family Planning
Social and Economic Development

The pursuit of a specific major does not require a delimiting career or academic choice. The four program areas are inter-related.

Students involved in the Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution concentration examine data and concepts linking population growth, poverty and pollution to the problems of peace making. In addition to career orientation and meetings with peace education organizations for majors, the module includes theories of international and transnational conflict: the war system and related threats to survival; the search for actions through which the world can become non-violently ordered;

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examination of models of individual leadership in peace education and peace action; assessment of priorities in peace studies; local and international role models; analysis of statistical data on the relationship between violent conflict and a nation's level of development, arms expenditures, population growth, outlays for education and welfare; case studies in international cooperation and conflict; national policies; human values; basic nature of man and his cultures; sources of leverage in the war/peace system; international negotiation and mediation.

During this two year program the first and fourth semesters are spent on the multinational Vermont campus, while the second and third semesters are spent in overseas or domestic field work. All study is jointly planned by student, faculty, and practicing professionals.

Admission requirements include two years of successful undergraduate study or equivalent.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

St. Joseph's College
 Program of Studies in Peace and Human Development,
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,
 U.S.A. 19121.
 Telephone (215) 381-1000 ext. 531
 Fr. Edward M. ... J., Director.

Established in 1971, this interdisciplinary program stresses the development of an intercultural sensitivity. It focuses on the analogy between the "inner city" and the economically developing world, as areas where people are acted upon by outside structural forces.

After completion of *eight courses plus an experimental* the student is awarded an *undergraduate certificate*. The core courses include:

Introductory Seminar: Educational Theater
 Peace and Politics
 The Christian as a Peace Maker
 Colloquium: Studies in Peace and Human Development

Seniors participate in an interdisciplinary seminar focusing on a common project with each student contributing study and insight from the field of their academic major.

Requirements for entrance into the program is one semester of volunteer community work.

Summer experimental academic seminars are held in Philadelphia and Columbia, South America.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

St. Louis University,
 Institute for the Study of Peace,
 336 Champlin Hall,
 St. Louis, Missouri,
 U.S.A. 63103.
 James McGinnis, Executive Secretary.

"This problem oriented, interdisciplinary curriculum is designed to develop an international perspective and a sophisticated understanding of the problems and strategies in achieving world peace."

The program consists of five core areas:

- (1) Peace and the Person
- (2) Culture and Peace
- (3) Development and Peace
- (4) Strategies and Peace
- (5) Pathology of Peace

Undergraduate Certificate A student must fulfill the degree requirements of his controlling department. In regard to the institute, the student must demonstrate a familiarity with each of the five core areas, while specializing in one of these areas. This would normally include: *three hours in each core area; six hours in the core area of specialization.* (Specialization includes a research project.) Students are encouraged to specialize in a core area that closely corresponds to their departmental major.

Multidisciplinary Ph.D. A non-departmental Ph.D. is offered, provided that the student have five graduate faculty members direct his program.

Resource Studies Program

Extra-curricular research and educational activities

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Tapes, articles and books relevant to peace studies
Films, simulations and discussions
Newsletter/Journal

Community Involvement

Adult Education
High School Lectures
Research on community problems and attitudes

Inter-University Exchange Under the auspices of COPRED, University of Wisconsin (Madison), Manchester College, and St. Louis University, a student exchange is possible ranging from weekend seminars to month-long opportunities for course work and research.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Syracuse University,
 Studies in Non-violence,
 E.S.I.N. Chapel House,
 Syracuse, New York,
 U.S.A. 13210.
 Neil Katz, Director.

The Non-violent Studies Program at Syracuse attempts to "explore human violence at all levels of interaction, from intrapersonal to international."

Emphasis is placed on the following areas of study:

The History of the Peace Movement
 How nonviolence can be used as a vehicle of social change
 How the peace movement can be used to find creative answers to personal problems.

The program consists of the following multidisciplinary courses:

Introduction to Intellectual History on Non-violence
 Introduction to Socio-Political Theory of Non-violence
 Introduction to Non-violent Conflict Resolution
 Models of International Peace

Workshops, ranging from one to three credit hours, have included:

Alternative Education: Critique and Experience
 Feminism as a Political Philosophy
 Broken People: Alternative Communities and Social Movements in Contemporary Society
 Students and the Law
 Poetry, Terrorism, and Justice
 Psychology of Schooling

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Union College,
 Department of Political Science,
 Peace and World Order Program,
 Schenectady, New York,
 U.S.A. 12308.
 Dee Wernette, Norman Walbek, Coordinators.

The primary goal of the *Peace and World Order Major* is to provide an "academic focus on two interrelated problem areas: (1) the problem of world order; (2) the problem of social conflict, violence and conflict resolution."

The program is designated as a joint major between the departments of Political Science and Sociology. Students in the program would be required to take *twelve courses*, five of which are designated as core. Depending on the student's particular interest, the remaining courses (seven) could be selected from a list designated as "peace studies". In addition, a *two term senior project* that would include weekly seminars and a senior thesis is required. Besides Political Science and Sociology courses, others designated as "peace studies" are drawn from the departments of: Economics, Philosophy, Psychology, and Comparative Education.

The specific purposes of the program are: (a) to teach the elements of systemic inquiry; (b) to promote a linkage between the descriptions of international problems; (c) to combine an understanding of broad human problems with an emphasis on practical steps to deal with them; (d) to teach an understanding of group methods of cooperation with increased sensitivity toward personal skills and habits of dealing with

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other people; (e) to provide a solid knowledge of global human problems, combined with a knowledge of social conflict and conflict management techniques, and to provide areas of specialization within the major that allows students to develop particular interest in rigorous ways.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

University of Washington,
 Conflict Studies Program,
 Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.
 Roy L. Prosterman, Chairman.

The Conflict Studies Program at the University of Washington is offered as a subdivision of the General Studies Program. Its aim is to prepare undergraduates, through a carefully integrated interdisciplinary program, for careers in agencies concerned with the understanding, prevention, or resolution of conflict, and for graduate study in which such preparation may be of substantial relevance.

The program consists of both "core" and "specialization" courses. The "core" courses, required of all students in the program, are intended to expose the general problems of conflict at all levels and to provide the student with some basic means of understanding the problem. The following are listed as "core" courses:

- Introduction to Conflict Studies
- Introduction to Conflict Resolution
- Utopias and Dystopias
- Arms Control and Disarmament
- Psychological and Biological Perspectives on Human Violence

Also one of the following are required:

- Project-oriented Study
- Supervised Study
- Senior Study

The above allows for either supervised internship with a community organization or institution concerned with problems of research, education or resolution of conflict or an indivi-

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dually guided study generally requiring the submission of a thesis.

In addition to approximately twenty-five credits of "core" courses, most Conflict Studies majors would take several additional courses that correspond to his or her interest within the field. The university has been offering one or two new courses a semester of direct relevance to the program.

Some have been:

- Total War and Europe
- War and Crisis
- Non-violence and Social Change
- The History of the Atomic Bomb
- War and Society
- History of the Peace Movement in the U.S.
- Boulding's Conflict and Defence

This is not to mention the large number of regular catalogue listed course offerings which would be appropriate to the individual student program.

The University also has a program in "Nuclear Conflict Studies" which has been in existence since 1965. The program involves both faculty research and undergraduate teaching.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The William Paterson College of New Jersey
 300 Pompton Road,
 Wayne, New Jersey,
 U.S.A. 07470.
 Telephone: 881-2126
 Dr. James Bains, Director.

The Peace Studies Program at William Paterson College is a *concentration* within the *Liberal Studies Major*. In order to receive a peace studies concentration a student must first major in Liberal Studies by taking forty-eight credits in at least three faculties of the Social and Behavioral Science Division of the College, with no less than three and no more than eighteen credits in each faculty. Thirty of those credits must be selected from the following peace studies related courses:

International Economics	3 credits
History of Economic Theory	"
Geopolitics	"
Geography of War and Peace	"
International Relations	"
U.S. Foreign Policy	"
Toward a Technology of Peace	"
The United Nations	"
Problems of International Relations	"
Political Socialization	"
Social Psychology	"
Psychology of Social Issues	"
Social Anthropology	"
Human Types	"
Alternatives to Armed Conflict	"
Independent Study	1-9 credits

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University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point,
Peace Studies Program,
Stevens Point, Wisconsin, U.S.A.
Joseph B. Harris, Chairman.

The Peace Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin (Stevens Point) is an academic multidisciplinary, multi-dimensional program coordinated by a committee composed of both students and faculty. The program's purpose is the examination of factors related to the development and maintenance of a peaceful world society.

Although the program has not yet reached the degree-offering status, the committee is in a constant process of curriculum development with this end in mind. Eventually an interested student might draw from a wide range of university courses which could lead to a substantial concentration in Peace Studies. Currently the following courses are being offered under the Peace Studies Program and on regular basis:

- Dimensions of a Peaceful World
- Social Matrix of War
- Biological Factors and Effects of War and Aggression
- Seminar in Nonviolence
- The Personal Element in Peace
- Sociology of Peace and War
- Futures
- Literature of Peace and War
- Psychology of Aggression
- Seminar on Nonviolence

In part, the program is an overview of the various disciplinary contributions to the study of peace. Attempts are being made to integrate the entire program.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Conferences and Workshops Aside from their curricular development responsibilities, the committee is also involved in non-curricular activities which include the community. Peace Lectures and Peace Education workshops and conferences utilizing speakers and organizations from the University and other sources have been offered.

The University also offers a "Semester Abroad" in either London, Munich or Asia. There is also a wide range of "Area Studies" available to interested students.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

University of Wisconsin, Madison,
 Center for Conflict Resolution,
 420 North Lake Street,
 Madison, Wisconsin,
 U.S.A. 53706.
 Jim Struve

The Center for Conflict Resolution is an independently incorporated community of individuals (students, faculty and staff members) working collectively on several project areas. They share a common concern with the predominance of prejudice, violence and war, and are concerned most immediately with responding to the needs of our society "understanding that we are, in fact, all members of a global community".

Their university activities include the planning and development of a *Conflict Studies Theme of Interest* within the American Institutions Department. Presently they are offering two core courses: (1) Conflict Resolution in American Society
 (2) Conflict in American Society

and a number of related courses:

- (1) Gandhi's Thought
- (2) Philosophy of Nonviolence
- (3) Theory and Methods of Nonviolence

In the planning stages are additional course offerings and a more active independent study and internship program.

Other project areas of the Center include: Project on Community Conflict; Center Research/Action Collective; Resource center; a monthly newsletter; a Peace/Conflict Early Childhood Education Project, Workshops.

CHAPTER III Graduate Programs

CANADA

Carleton University

UNITED KINGDOM

Lancaster

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Historic Peace Church Seminaries,
Joint Masters Program in Peace Studies.

Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries
3003 Benham Avenue,
Elkhart, Indiana 46514

Bethany Theological Seminary (Brethren)
Butterfield and Mevers Road
P.O. Box 408
Oak Brook, Illinois 60521

Earlham School of Religion
Richmond, Indiana 47374

Pennsylvania, University of
Peace Science Department
Wharton School of Finance and Commerce
Walter Isard, Chairperson
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

CANADA

Department of Political Science,
Carleton University,
Ottawa, Ontario,
Canada.
Attn: Professor John Sigler.

An M.A. and Ph.D. program in peace research exists here as a sub-division of the international relations division of the political science program. Students wishing to enter the program must have a minimum of six credits (courses?) undergraduate political science or take a make-up year at Carleton.

UNITED KINGDOM

Peace and Conflict Research Programme,
University of Lancaster,
Lancaster, England.
Head: Dr. Paul L. Smoker.
Telephone 6-5201 (extension 4230).

We understand that a graduate programme exists at this university but we have no further information about it.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Historic Peace Church Seminaries
Master's Program in Peace Studies

Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries
3003 Benham Avenue
Elkhart, Indiana,
U.S.A. 46514.

Bethany Theological Seminary (Brethren)
Butterfield and Meyers Road
P.O. Box 408,
Oak Brook, Illinois,
U.S.A. 60521.

Earlham School of Religion,
Richmond, Indiana,
U.S.A. 47374.

The Master's Program in Peace Studies is a further effort to pool resources from a common heritage as it relates to peace education and action from a Christian theological perspective. The primary intention is to facilitate the peace witness of members in local congregations and in their larger communities, as well as the church's mission and service in the world.

The program is basically a two year theological Master's degree offered by each of the three schools. A student is expected to enroll in one school but take some of his work in at least one of the other two. Each school has its own requirements with some variation in credits, course offerings, stipulations for graduation, etc.

It is designed to include first hand acquaintance with the historical identity and ethos of the other peace churches

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

This is provided for by residency in one or more terms in one of the other seminaries. The foundational courses in Biblical, historical, and theological studies required for the M.A. program are all taught from a Peace-Church perspective. Some electives include:

<i>History</i>	The Church, the State, and War Theology of Revolution Nonviolence
<i>Advanced Topics</i> <i>Biblical Foundations</i>	Political Ethics Christian Attitudes toward War, Peace and Revolution
<i>Further Study of Bible</i>	Pacifism and the Biblical Tradition Religious Responses to War and Revolution

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

University of Pennsylvania,
 Graduate Group in Peace Science,
 3817 Locust Walk,
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,
 U.S.A. 19104.
 Walter Isard, Director.

"The Program in Peace Science at the University of Pennsylvania has two basic orientations: one is toward the underlying theory of conflict and conflict management as they relate to interaction of behaving units--nations, communities, cultures, governments, business organizations, ethnic groups, interest groups, religious institutions and individuals in their psychological, economic, social and political contexts; the other is toward a methodology and techniques of analysis for effective examination of conflict problems and for the design of cooperative procedures to provide guidelines for consistent public policies and group and private decisions in coping with conflict."

The school offers both a *Masters and a Ph.D. in Peace Science*. The Masters Program is intended to provide the student with basic theoretical and analytical tools in the field. It is designed to prepare graduates for entry into middle-level professional positions. The program *requires successful completion of eight courses, a thesis or equivalent research papers, plus passing a comprehensive examination*. It usually takes a minimum of three semesters to complete the program. There are no specific requirements for admission other than that of the standard graduate admissions. However, it may be

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

required that incoming students strengthen their background in mathematics and statistics from a series of lectures specially designed for them.

Admission to the Ph.D. program is contingent upon passing the comprehensive examination. *Award of a Ph.D. is based on the contribution and quality approval of a dissertation, the nature of a oral examination on the dissertation and related matters, and the preparation of a paper of publishable quality in connection with the dissertation.*

Additional: It is expected that the student take extra courses or do extensive reading in international relations and the history of international conflict. *Reading knowledge in at least one foreign language must be shown.*

The program centers on courses in the following areas:

Micro-economic Theory
 Quantitative Methods, Statistics, and Econometrics
 Mathematical Model Building
 Advanced Social Science Model Building
 Public Policy Analysis

CHAPTER IV Colleges and Universities at which peace studies
courses are being established or are being already
taught but for which no information was available.

Pelot College
Peace Studies Program
Milton Feder, Director
Pelot, Wisconsin 54511

Chicago State University
Dept. of Education
Theodore M. Anderson
25th and Pine Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60628

Colorado University of
Ad Hoc Committee on Peace Studies
Elise Boulding
Institute of Behavioral Science
Boulder, Colorado 80502

Creighton University
Peace Studies Sub-committee
Tom Habermann, Chairman
Omaha, Nebraska 68131

Duke University
Peace Studies Program
Albert Eldridge
Department of Political Science
Durham, N.C. 27706

Edgewood College
Dept. of Religious Studies
Sister Marie Steven
Madison, Wisc. 53711

Florida State University
World Order Program
Ross Galesby
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

Gustavus Adolphus College
 Dr. Robert E. Karsten
 Vice President for Academic Administration
 Saint Peter, Minnesota 56082

Illinois, University of, Chicago Circle
 Joseph Alloway
 Chicago, Illinois 60680

Indiana University of Pennsylvania
 Peace Studies Program
 Gary Thorpe
 Frank Knapp
 Department of Political Science
 Indiana, Pennsylvania 15701

Iowa State University
 Elizabeth Hoyt
 Department of Economics
 Ames, Iowa 50010

Iowa, University of
 Center for Peace Education
 Burns Weston, Law School
 Iowa City, Iowa 52240

Juniata College
 Peace Studies Program
 John Stauffer, President
 Huntington, Pa. 16652

Le Moyne College
 Alfred T. Hennelly, S. J.
 Department of Religious Studies
 Le Moyne Heights
 Syracuse, New York 13214

Marquette University
 Program for Peace Studies
 Father William Sullivan
 Milwaukee, Wisc. 53233

Michigan, University of
 Peace Studies Program
 Dick Ross, Student Coordinator
 c/o David Singer
 Department of Political Science
 Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

Missouri Peace Studies Institute
 Jerry L. Rosser, Director
 813 Maryland Avenue
 Columbia, Missouri 62501

New York, State University of
 Peace Studies Program
 Barr* Sloan, Student Coordinator
 ULB-35
 Albany, New York 12222

Northwestern University
 Peace Center
 Roseanne Clark
 701 Emerson Avenue, Apt. 3
 Evanston, Ill. 60201

Purdue University
 Lou Beres
 Department of Political Science
 Lafayette, Indiana 47907

Sacramento State College
 Peace Studies Center
 Duane Campbell, Coordinator
 Department of Education
 Sacramento, Calif. 95819

Southeastern Massachusetts University
 Lura Teeter
 Department of Philosophy
 North Dartmouth, Maine 02747

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Wilmington College
Peace Studies Institute
Larry Gara
Wilmington, Ohio 45177

Wooster College
Political Science Department
Gordon L. Skoll
Wooster, Ohio 44691

Ziterbo College
Peace Center
Father John Heagle
LaCrosse, Wisconsin 54601

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CHAPTER V Directory of Peace Research Institutes that do some teaching (according to the 1973 UNESCO *International Directory of Institutions For Peace and Conflict Research*)

BELGIUM

1. Centre of War Sociology
Institut de sociologie de l'
Université libre de Bruxelles
44 Avenue Jeanne
Brussels 1050
Tel. 48. 81. 59.
Head: Victor Verner, Director
2. Institute for Conflict Study
Handelsbeurs, Twaalfmaandenstraat
Antwerpen
Tel. (03) 312266
Head: Pierre Delue, Director

CANADA

3. Canadian Peace Research Institute (CPRI)
119 Thomas Street
Oakville, Ontario
Tel. (416) 845-9370
Head: Dr. Norman Z. Alcock, Director

FINLAND

4. Tampere Peace Research Institute
Tammelan puistokatu 58 B
33100 Tampere 10
Tel. 9311 23571
Head: Veikko Arosalo, Director

FRANCE

5. French Institute for Polemology
7 Rue Gutenberg
75 Paris 15^e
Telephone 250. 94. 67.
Head: Professor Gaston Routhoul, Director

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

6. Study Group for Peace and Conflict Research
D-69 Heidelberg, Hauptstrasse 52
Telephone (H) - 54472
Head: Team; no individual director
7. Free University of Berlin,
Institute for Political Science Department of
Peace and Conflict Research
1 Berlin 33
Innestrasse 21, West Berlin
Telephone 769.023 60
Head: None (Co-ordination Committee)
8. Institute for Peace Research and Security
Policy at University of Hamburg
Falkenstein 1 D-2000
Hamburg 55
Head: Wolf Graf von Baudissin, Director

NETHERLANDS

9. Polemological Institute
Ubbo Emmiusingel 19 Groningen
Telephone 050 - 115585
Head: Professor Bert V. A. Roling, Director
10. Peace Research Center
Verlengde Groenstraat 43, Nijmegen
Telephone 03300 - 58711
Head: Dr. L. Wecke, Director

NORWAY

11. International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO)
 P.O. Box 5052
 Oslo 3, Norway
 Head: Helge Aase, Director

SWEDEN

12. University Commission for Peace and Conflict Research
 Paradisgatan 5, S-22350 Lund
 Telephone 046/145460
 Head: Birgitta Oden, Chairman
13. Interdisciplinary Conflict Research Group
 University of Gothenburg
 Statsvetenskapliga Institutionen
 Fack, 400 25
 Goteborg 52
 Head: Professor J. Westerstahl, Chairman

UNITED KINGDOM

14. J. D. Bernal Peace Library
 70 Great Russell Street
 London, England
 W. C. 1. B 3 B N
 Telephone 01-242-8316
 Head: Professor D. C. Crowfoot-Hodgkin
 OM, FRS, Nobel laureate
15. Peace and Conflict Research Programme
 University of Lancaster
 Lancaster, England
 Telephone 65201, extension 4230
 Head: Paul L. Smoker, Fellow in Conflict Research
16. Richardson Institute for Conflict and Peace Research
 Belgrove House, Belgrove Street
 London, England
 W. C. 1 H. 8AA
 Telephone 837-8921
 Head: Michael Beverley Nicholson, Director

*PEACE-RELATED RESEARCH CENTERS IN THE UNITED STATES**

As noted earlier, a number of scholars doing research which is unquestionably peace-supportive do not yet think of themselves as peace researchers. Listed below are a number of university concentrations which Wehr considers to be within the peace research community. Unfortunately, the list does not identify the numerous individual researchers in various academic institutions who may relate in one way or another to one of the concentrations mentioned herein. We cite below the major ones, some of the individual scholars concerned, and their specific research foci.

17. Colorado, University of,
Boulder (Institute of Behavioral Science)
Head: K. Boulding, E. Boulding, Hammon, White, Midlarsky
et al. working on general systems theory, nonviolent
socialization processes, application of computer tech-
nology to conflict management, peace education curri-
culum development.
18. Columbia University
New York
Head: Melman, Lall, Goetz, Benoit, Gardner et al. working on
international peacekeeping and development, conversion
to peace-based economies, international organization.
19. Harvard University
Center of International Affairs
Cambridge, Mass.
Head: Professor Joe Nye

*This section excerpted from Paul Wehr and A. Michael Washburn, "Toward the Study of Peace" (manuscript). Additional information on peace research and peace studies programs is available in COPRED's current booklet, "Program Description of COPRED Council Members".

20. Hawaii, University of,
Honolulu
Head: Jacob, Kent, Haas, Rummel, Phillips et al. working
on the dimensionality of nations research, trans-
national values research.
21. MIT
Cambridge (Center for International Studies)
Head: Alker, Choucri, Bloomfield, et al. working on
international conflict and world resource allocation,
supranational and transnational institutions,
forecasting international conflict, disarmament and
arms control.
22. Michigan, University of,
Ann Arbor
Head: Singer, Katz, Levv, Heffner, Chesler et al. working
on correlates of war, determinants of civil violence,
psychological factors in violent conflict, conflict
management in public schools.
23. Minnesota, University of,
Minneapolis (Center for International Studies)
Head: Bobrow, Schoettle, Hoppman, Sibley et al. working on
research utilization and policymaking, disarmament
and arms control, history of pacifism and peace
movements.
24. North Carolina, University of,
Chapel Hill (Program in Peace and Conflict)
Head: Azar, Sloan, Kritzer et al. working on international
events data analysis, inventorying peace-related
research, nonviolent national defense.
25. Northwestern University
Evanston
Head: Guetzkow, Park, Anderson et al. working on simula-
tion and gaming in international conflict analysis
and university teaching, decisionmaking analysis,
peace and conflict education materials and techniques.

26. Ohio State University
 Mershon Center
 Head: Alger, Rosenau, Hilliker, Snyder, Herman et al.
 working on international organization, transnational
 systems, peace research utilization in policymaking.
27. Pennsylvania, University of
 Philadelphia (Graduate Program in Peace Research)
 Head: Isard, Wolpert, Saaty, Conroy et al. working on
 conflict analysis, treatment of minorities during
 wartime, games theory.
28. Princeton University
 Center of International Studies
 Prof. Cyril Black, Director
 Prof. Richard A. Falk
 Princeton, New Jersey 08540
29. Richmond and John Jay Colleges
 New York
 Head: Cook, Cooper, Sterns et al. working at historical
 peace research, analysis of domestic and international
 violence as related to US official policy and American
 social structure.
30. Stanford University
 Palo Alto (Institute for Study of International Conflict and
 Integration)
 Head: North, Dinnes et al. working on decisionmaking analysis,
 international interactions and decisions to go to war,
 escalation.
31. Syracuse University
 Syracuse, New York (International Relations Program,
 Nonviolent Studies Program)
 Head: Coplin, Kriesberg, Katz, Barkun et al. working on
 new approaches to teaching about international relations,
 conflict theory, development, applied nonviolent
 strategies.

32. Washington University, St. Louis University
St. Louis (Community Crisis Intervention Center)
Head: Cormick, Laue, Caspary et al. working on theory and training techniques for community dispute settlement, interracial conflict management, new approaches to teaching about creative change in society.
33. Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut
(World Data Analysis Program)
Head: Russett, Milstein, Lee, W. Bell et al. working on business community attitudes toward peace/war questions, futurist models of peaceful societies, international events analysis.

f

CHAPTER VI Summer Schools

BELGIUM

University of Peace
 Dominique Pire Foundation
 35, Rue du Marché
 5200--Huy
 Belgium
 Telephone 085/148.81
 Secretary: Josée Wagner

The University of Peace annually sponsors two International Summer Sessions of two weeks duration during the months of July and August. The summer school has defined the following conditions for participation in the program:

Age: between twenty and forty

Language: English, French, Dutch and German are the four basic languages for talks and discussions. The summer school will try to arrange other translations, if participants request these well in advance.

Stay: Residence should be uninterrupted from the first to the last day of the session. As the smooth running of the session for the entire group is involved, participants are asked not to apply to come if they are unable to observe this rule.

Residence at the University of Peace is compulsory.

Expenses: Participants pay their own travelling expenses. Each person pays a contribution amounting to 2.500 Belg. Fr. which covers full board and lodging. The Administrative Council pays other expenses, such as overheads and invitations to speakers.

Applications: There are no limitations of a national.

BELGIUM

professional, confessional or political nature for acceptance into the summer school. However, applicants may be offered a place at an alternative session, on account of the number of requests for admission. It is therefore advised to apply as soon as possible.

Methods of Work: Talks, discussions, personal accounts, group work and study, including:

- Reflection as to the necessary long-term conditions of an action for justice and peace.
- Reflection on the difficulty of perceiving and accepting reality.
- Looking for practical applications (with emphasis on the need for a well-informed public opinion): what each can do in his or her own country.

Part 1: A Study of the Situation Today

1) The evolution of industrial society, and its impact on the world in general:

- Negative outlook as regards the quality of life, which has been endangered by over-industrialization; uneasiness and unrest due to the lessening of traditional values;
- the economic and ecological stalemate for which this society seems to be heading;
- the exploitation of certain classes and certain countries on which the standard of living of industrial society depends.

2) As regards the average citizen, the absence of interest in

BELGIUM

politics, together with the lack of political power in any real sense.

Part 2: In Search of New Ideas--New Methods

With those individuals who propose them and are putting them into practice and with the session participants themselves.

- the story of an actual experience of cultural action aimed at arousing every citizen's political consciousness.
- the search for an answer to the real needs and aspirations of the generation of 1968--reflections from the Marxist angle.
- the way of life, and strategy, of non-violent action, as applied to the present time.
- of special importance in the Third World: literacy training for the veritable awakening of the individual.

CANADA

The Summer School in Peace Research,
Grindstone Island,
c/o Canadian Peace Research Institute
25 Dundas Avenue
Dundas, Ontario, Canada
Telephone (416) 628-2356
Head: Cheri Wagner, Director.

The Canadian Peace Research Institute was involved in planning International Seminars (and later the Quaker-UNESCO Seminar) at Grindstone Island in Lake Rideau from 1963 until 1969 for the Canadian Friends Service Committee. In 1970 CPRI organized the first Summer School in Peace Research. Since 1970 the School has been sponsored by CPRI. The school takes place during three weeks in July annually.

The summer school surveys peace research findings on the following:

- Historical Studies
- The Playing of Non Zero Sum Games
- Relationships of Ideology and Attitudes
- Mathematical Studies of Wars and Arms Races
- Inter-Nation Simulation in Political Research
- Peace Research Theory and Political Theory
- Impact of the Physical Sciences on Politics
- Theories of Deterrence and Revolution
- Studies on the United Nations

Some actual research is done on the island in the form of attitude surveys of participants, who are university students (graduate and undergraduate), professors, high school teachers, and others from various disciplines.

Peace action receives attention, too; participants describe their past experiences and discuss how to make future actions effective.

CANADA

Students can obtain four to six hours of credit at the following colleges and universities: Michigan State University, State University of New York System, Conrad Grebel College, Emmanuel College, Wayne State, Macalester College, and others. Other students should check at their schools for credit arrangements.

Directory of Member Institutions 1973, Association of World Colleges and Universities (Huntington: AWCU, 1973).

DENMARK

Hesbjerg Peace Research College
Hesbjerg Skolegaard
5579 Holmstrup 92
Fyn, Denmark
Head: Laursen Vig

Study at Hesbjerg centers on Peace Research in which farming, community experiments, handicrafts, music and other arts have an important role. Every summer since 1964 an International Summer School and Workcamp has been held. All kinds of skilled or semi-skilled constructive people may participate.

Educational activities include humanities, languages, and related areas, varying according to preference of the individuals participating.

In addition, Hesbjerg provides facilities for summer meetings of peace research societies, peace action groups and organizations like the World Constitution and Parliament Association.

*Directory of World Institutions 1973, Association of
World Colleges and Universities (Huntington: AWCU, 1973).*

NORWAY

Oslo International Summer School	International Summer School
North American Admissions Office	Administrative Office
c/o St. Olaf College	Post Box 10, Blindern
Northfield, Minnesota 55057	Oslo 3, Norway
(For North American Applicants)	(For European Applicants)

Offered for the first time in 1969, in cooperation with the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo, *Planning and Management* (Graduate Course in Peace Research C-154), aims at providing the students with perspectives, theories, and research findings from the newly emerging discipline of peace research. Lectures and discussions concentrate on theories of conflict, peace, and development, and on the structure of international systems, including models of the future. The course is open to graduate students with a background in any of the social sciences. Applicants from the United States should have completed their sophomore year of undergraduate study. Other students must be matriculated at a recognized university in their own country.

The 1973 Summer school lasted from June 25 to August 4 and applications for the 1974 session should be submitted by April 1, 1974.

Norwegian Government Summer School Scholarships are available to students or teachers from countries with which Norway has a cultural agreement.

International Summer School: 1973, University of Oslo, Norway, p. 19.

CHAPTER VII Centres which have materials which would be useful to teachers of peace studies at the College, High School, or Elementary School Level.

Center for War/Peace Studies
Doris Shamleffer
Director of Resources
218 East 18th Street
New York, New York 10003

Institute for World Order
11 West 42nd Street
New York, New York 10036

Colleges: Attn: Michael Washburn
High Schools: Attn: Betty Beard

Wayne State University
Center for Teaching about
Peace and War
Lillian Genser, Director
University Center
Detroit, Michigan 48202

High School and Elementary Schools

Canadian Peace Research Institute
25 Dundas Avenue
Dundas, Ontario, Canada
Attn: Jack Becka

College & University level books
High School experience

University of Dayton,
c/o Brother Leo Murray,
P.O. Box 104,
Dayton, Ohio, U.S.A. 45469.

Specializing in secondary school

Another Mother for Peace
407 North Maple Drive,
Beverly Hills, California,
U.S.A. 90210.

Specializing in elementary and
secondary schools.

Center for Teaching International Relations,
University of Denver,
Denver, Colorado, U.S.A. 80210.

University and Senior High School

The Christophers,
12 East 48th Street,
New York, N.Y., U.S.A. 10017.

Attn.: Bob Pugsley
College and High School

Women's International League for
Peace and Freedom,
2006 Walnut Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.
U.S.A. 19103.

High School Curriculum
"Learning Peace"

STOCKHOLM
INTERNATIONAL
PEACE RESEARCH
INSTITUTE

Report of Activities 1974

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	Research activities	7
	Financial statement	11
	Statutes of SIPRI	12
	Governing Board	16
	Scientific Council	17
	Staff	19
	Publications	21

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This report was prepared at the beginning of 1975.

Printed in Sweden by
Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala 1975

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The Institute

The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), was set up in 1966 as an independent institute for research into problems of peace and conflict.

History

The idea of establishing a peace research institute in Sweden was proposed by Prime Minister Tage Erlander in a speech in August 1964 commemorating Sweden's 150 years of unbroken peace. In November 1964 a Royal Commission was appointed to explore the proposal. The chairman of the Commission was Mrs Alva Myrdal, then a member of the Swedish Government with special responsibilities in the field of disarmament. In January 1966, the Royal Commission reported in favour of the creation of such an institute in Sweden. The Commission was convinced of the potential value of peace research and felt that Sweden was a natural place for it to be undertaken. The Swedish Government accepted the Commission's conclusions and Parliament subsequently decided that such an institute be established on 1 July 1966 with the legal status of an independent foundation.

Policy

In accordance with the guidelines laid down in the statutes of the Institute (for the text, see page 12) the purpose of SIPRI is to conduct scientific research on questions which are important for international peace and security. The aim of this research is to contribute to the understanding of the conditions for peaceful solutions of international conflicts and for a stable peace.

The policy adopted by SIPRI's Governing Board has been that the Institute should study problems in an independent and pragmatic way. It should select questions which are important to decision-makers in current international politics. Following the recommendations of the Royal Commission, the Institute has so far concentrated its research mostly on problems of armaments, disarmament and arms regulation.

Organization

The *Governing Board* is responsible for the operations of SIPRI. The Board, which meets two or three times a year, has eight members, appointed for five years by the Swedish Government. (For the list of members see page 16.) They serve on the Board in their personal capacity and without obligation to any governmental or private interests.

The *Scientific Council* is a consultative body of 24 highly qualified scholars, statesmen and international civil servants. (For the list of members see page 17.) Membership is personal and for an unlimited period. If a member should retire, a new member is appointed through election by the Council. The Council has met at intervals of a few years. As a consultative body, the Scientific Council is not responsible for the views expressed in the publications of the Institute.

The *Director*, who is appointed by the Swedish Government, has, under the Board, the main responsibility for SIPRI's work programme. The present Director is Dr Frank Barnaby of the United Kingdom.

The *Staff* of the Institute is international, and consists of about 35 people, about half of whom are engaged on research. (There is a list of the staff on page 19.) The research workers come from a wide variety of disciplines, in both the natural and social sciences. As a rule, they are employed to work on a specific project. The Institute may also engage consultants on an international basis for special tasks.

Publications

The results of the research done at SIPRI are published as books and reports. (They are listed on page 21.) Some of the publications are based on the results produced by international symposia arranged by SIPRI and related to its research programme.

SIPRI aims at reaching a worldwide audience with its publications. The SIPRI books are distributed by commercial publishers in various countries, while shorter reports are disseminated free of charge by SIPRI.

Funds

SIPRI's funds are provided by the Swedish Parliament. However, the Board is solely responsible for the use of these funds. The Board has also adopted the principle that the Institute should not accept funds from other sources if this might compromise its independence.

Report of Activities 1974

During 1974, SIPRI continued its research in already well-established fields related to world armaments and to disarmament efforts. It also started to devote some attention to other areas closely connected with the arms race--studies were, for example, carried out on various security aspects of oil supplies and on the strategic situation of Southern Africa.

A number of books and reports were published, the major publication being, as usual, the 1974 SIPRI Yearbook on World Armaments and Disarmament. These publications were sold commercially and circulated to governments, to UN delegations and other international forums, and to other important institutions or individuals in policy-making or opinion-influencing positions. Each SIPRI publication is distributed in numbers of between 3 000 and 6 000 copies.

Generally speaking, SIPRI's activities now cover three distinct areas: research into various special topics (including the publication of the SIPRI Yearbook), the publication of books and brochures for a wider audience, and commentaries on important current events in the field.

The Governing Board

The Board held two meetings during the year: on 15 February and on 9 August 1974.

The Scientific Council

In August 1974, Academician N.N. Inozemtsev informed the Chairman of the Board that he had decided to resign as a member of the Scientific Council. The Council thus now has two vacancies since the vacancy created by Academician M.D. Millionshchikov's death in May 1973 has not yet been filled.

Administration and Finance

The government grant for the fiscal year 1973/74 was 3 497 000 Swedish Crowns. The income and expenditure statement for 1973/74 is given on

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page 11 indicating among other things that SIPRI earned 172 400 Swedish Crowns from the sale of its publications.

For 1974/75 SIPRI has been allocated a government grant of 3 867 000 Swedish Crowns.

Publications

The following books were published during 1974:

The Problem of Chemical and Biological Warfare: CBW and the Law of War (Volume III), January 1974.

Force Reductions in Europe, March 1974.

World Armaments and Disarmament, SIPRI Yearbook, 1974, June 1974.

Nuclear Proliferation Problems, June 1974.

Oil and Security, November 1974.

Tactical and Strategic Antisubmarine Warfare, December 1974.

The following research reports were published during the fiscal year 1973/74:

French Nuclear Tests in the Atmosphere: The Question of Legality, March 1974.

Offensive Missiles, September 1974.

The Effects of Developments in the Biological and Chemical Sciences on CW Disarmament Negotiations, October 1974.

In addition, brochures containing summaries of the Yearbook were published in English, Russian and Swedish, and widely distributed.

The Institute's publishers have been Humanities Press Inc., New York (for the Western Hemisphere market); Paul Elek Ltd., London (for Britain and the Commonwealth); and Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm (for the rest of the world).

In the spring of 1974, a change was made in these publishing arrangements. An agreement was made with the MIT Press, Cambridge, USA, to become SIPRI's new distributor for a number of publications for the Western Hemisphere and the Commonwealth, replacing Humanities and Paul Elek for these areas. Almqvist & Wiksell International will remain SIPRI's publisher for the rest of the world.

SIPRI's agreement with Penguin Books, London, to publish a

shortened version of the SIPRI publication, *The Arms Trade with the Third World* (November 1971), was not fulfilled during 1974. The book is now expected in early 1975.

Research Staff

During the major part of the year, the permanent research staff numbered 14 people including the Director and the Assistant Director. Another four researchers worked at SIPRI on a short- or medium-term basis.

During the year the Director and members of the research staff have participated in a number of international conferences and meetings, in some cases presenting papers. The Director participated in a UN expert group on the Indian Ocean peace zone proposal. One of the researchers, Malvern Lundsten, participated in meetings of the International Committee of the Red Cross on the Laws of War.

Research Activities

The following research activities have been undertaken during 1974:

The SIPRI Yearbook

World Armaments and Disarmament, SIPRI Yearbook, 1974 was published on 18 June 1974.

This Yearbook resembles its predecessors in structure, size and lay-out. It consists of four parts. The first is a survey of some important events and features of 1973, such as the military lessons of the Middle East war, the military developments following the ceasefire agreements in Indo-China, the discussions about mutual force reductions in Europe, the nuclear deterrence debate, and the developments in strategic nuclear weapons since SALT I. The second and third parts deal with developments in armaments and weapon technology. The fourth part describes the developments in arms control and disarmament during 1973.

The Yearbook was very well received internationally.

Preparations for the 1975 Yearbook started in the beginning of 1974. Publication date will be around 1 June 1975. The structure and lay-out of the Yearbook will remain as in previous years.

The research team working full-time on the 1975 Yearbook consists of Richard Booth, Jozef Goldblat, Ron Huiskens and Signe Landgren-Bäckström.

Nuclear Proliferation Problems

A book on "Nuclear Proliferation Problems" was published in June 1974, based on the outcome of a symposium held at Tällberg in June 1973. It was prepared by Bhupendra Jasani.

During fiscal year 1974/75 a number of publications on nuclear proliferation problems will be prepared and published in time for the Review Conference of the non-proliferation treaty to be held in the spring of 1975. In March/April 1975 the following books and reports will appear: "The Nuclear Age" (Frank Barnaby), "Safeguards against Nuclear Proliferation" (Ben Sanders), "The Right to Conduct Nuclear Explosions--Political Aspects and Policy Proposals" (Alva Myrdal), "Preventing Nuclear Weapon Proliferation" (Frank Barnaby), and "Nuclear Disarmament or Nuclear War?" (Frank Barnaby).

Military Implications of New Technologies

During 1973/74 a study on "Tactical and Strategic Antisubmarine Warfare" was prepared by Kosta Tsipis and Randall Forsberg. This study was published in December 1974.

In the coming years, special attention will also be paid to other military implications of new technologies, for example, environmental warfare. Kosta Tsipis and Bhupendra Jasani will be responsible for these studies.

Economics of Defence

This project has concentrated on a number of subtopics, most of which were included in the 1974 Yearbook.

Laws of War

(including indiscriminate and inhumane weapons and warfare)

Three publications are planned to appear within this project, including one on incendiary weapons, one on antipersonnel weapons, and one on the laws of war with respect to specific weapons.

Interim reports have been published and presented to the delegates at on going international discussions on the laws of war, including "Napalm and incendiary weapons" (November 1972), and "Thermal effects of incendiary weapons on the human body" (February 1974). During the spring of 1975 the first major publication in this series will be published. It is being prepared by Malvern Lumsden and its title will be "Incendiary weapons".

A symposium of eminent international legal experts was held in January 1975 to discuss drafts of papers prepared by SIPRI on the laws of war. Oleg Šuković is responsible for the preparation of a publication on the basis of the outcome of the symposium.

Chemical and Biological Warfare

The first three volumes of the six-volume study on "The Problem of Chemical and Biological Warfare" (Vols. I, IV and V) were published in November 1971. Volume II (CB Weapons Today) was published in August 1973 and Volume III (CBW and the Law of War) in January 1974. The remaining volume, Vol. VI (Technical Aspects of Early Warning and Verification), was published in February 1975.

SIPRI has continued to follow up developments in the field. In 1973/74, two researchers (Vitali Zubov and Kirill Babievski) worked on two such projects: "The Effects of Developments in the Biological and Chemical Sciences on CW Disarmament Negotiations" (Zubov), and "The Destruction of Chemical Stockpiles" (Babievski). The report on the first topic was published in October 1974. The second report will be included in a publication now being prepared by SIPRI, and containing also some other papers presented at a Pugwash Chemical Warfare Study Group meeting held in Helsinki in April 1974.

SIPRI is at present also preparing a book containing papers presented at a symposium on "Preventive and Therapeutic Measures in Poisoning by Anticholinesterase Compounds", held in Hereeg Novi, Yugoslavia, in October 1974. This book, entitled "Medical Protection Against Chemical Warfare Agents", is being prepared by John Stares.

On-going Arms Control and Disarmament Issues

SIPRI has throughout its existence devoted particular attention to the technical aspects of disarmament, particularly to those related to the verification of various disarmament agreements. SIPRI has, for

example, published studies on the problems of the seismic detection of nuclear explosions. Particular attention has also been given to the problems of verification of treaties related to CB warfare, as indicated above.

During 1974, the SIPRI Yearbook contained most of the results of the research carried out in these areas, but some major developments were also dealt with in separate publications. In a monograph on "Force Reductions in Europe", prepared by Olga Šuković and published in March 1974, an analysis was made of issues arising from the proposals put forward at the negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe. It also contained a review of the military doctrines of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

During 1974 another general study of verification problems was being carried out, which will continue for at least another year. Andrzej Karkoszka is responsible for the preparation of this study.

Other Studies

A study on "Oil and Security", prepared by Bo Heinebaek, was published in November 1974. A study on "Southern Africa: The Escalation of a Conflict" is being prepared by Signe Landgren-Bäckström, and will be published during the summer of 1975.

A preliminary version of "Arms Trade Registers: The Arms Trade With the Third World" was distributed to all governments in October 1973. A final form of the Registers, prepared by Eva Grenbäck, was published in February 1975.

SIPRI will continue to devote special attention to the security aspects arising from the scarcity of various natural resources, to disarmament and arms control measures in certain regions, regional arms races, etc.

SIPRI will also devote greater attention to the need for more popularized publications which are likely to reach a wider readership than its present often very technical and specialized products.

Financial Statement per 30 June 1974

Income

Government grant	3 499 000.—
Sales of publications	172 400.—
Refund of value added tax	49 306.87
Surplus per 30 June 1973	287 854.50
	Sw. kr. 4 008 561.37

Expenditure

Salaries	2 414 147.57
Administrative costs	597 135.56
Project costs	315 111.43
Surplus per 30 June 1974	682 166.81
	Sw. kr. 4 008 561.37

Translation

Statutes of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

§ 1

The Foundation, 'International Institute for Peace and Conflict Research, Stockholm,' consists of those funds which the Swedish Government or other bodies allocate for the purpose described in § 2.

§ 2

In accordance with the guidelines for the allocation of funds which the Swedish Parliament has approved in pursuance of Government bill 1966: 76, the purpose of the Foundation is to conduct scientific research on questions which are important for international peace and security with the intent to contribute to the understanding of the conditions for peaceful solutions of international conflicts and for a stable peace.

§ 3

The Foundation shall, within its scope of activity, co-operate with authorities, organizations, institutions and individuals in the Nordic countries, as well as in other countries.

§ 4

The Foundation shall have a Board composed of a chairman and seven other members. The Director of the Institute is *ex officio* a member of the Board. The Swedish Government appoints the chairman and other members for a period not exceeding five years. The Board appoints a vice-chairman from among its own members.

§ 5

The seat of the Board shall be in Stockholm.

¹ On 24 January 1969 the name of the Institute was changed to Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, SIPRI.

§ 6

Within the Foundation there shall be a Director of the Institute and other staff in accordance with a list adopted by the Swedish Government. The Foundation may appoint scholars and other staff in case of need and in accordance with available means.

§ 7

The Director of the Institute is appointed by the Swedish Government for a period not exceeding five years. Other staff is appointed by the Foundation.

The employment conditions for the scholars are settled in contracts. The employment conditions for the post of Director of the Institute and for other employees which are on the staff list are determined by the Swedish Government or by an authority to which this task has been delegated by the Swedish Government.

The scholars should be recruited from different geographical regions and from different political and economic systems.

§ 8

The Foundation shall have a Scientific Council as a consultative body.

The Scientific Council shall consist of 24 members. As far as possible they shall belong to nations within different geographical regions and with different political and economic systems.

The initial sixteen members of the Scientific Council are appointed by the Swedish Government. The other eight members are appointed by those members already appointed by the Swedish Government. If a member retires from the Council or dies, a new member is appointed by the Council. Only those having scientific competence or practical experience from working with international political affairs shall be appointed to the Council.

§ 9

The Board shall decide on important matters regarding the activities, organization and economic administration of the Institute.

§ 10

Such matters which are not to be decided by the Board shall be decided by the Director of the Institute.

When the Director is not able to fulfil his tasks, he shall entrust them to another employee of the Institute, if the Board does not decide otherwise.

By a work-plan or a decision *in casu* it can be left to a member of the staff other than the Director to decide matters or groups of matters which are not such that the decision should be taken by the Director.

§ 11

Meetings of the Board shall be called by the Chairman when he finds it appropriate or when at least four members have requested a meeting.

The Board shall be able to take decisions when the Chairman and at least four other members are present.

Decisions by the Board are taken by simple majority. When the voting is even, the Chairman shall have the decisive vote.

§ 12

Minutes are kept of the meetings of the Board. The minutes shall indicate which Board members have been present and also decisions of the Board, as well as dissenting opinions by Board members. The minutes are checked by the Chairman and one other member of the Board.

§ 13

The financial year of the Institute shall run from the 1st of July to the 30th of June the following year.

§ 14

A report of activities shall be prepared for every financial year.

§ 15

The administration of the Institute by the Board and the Director, as well as the accounts of the Institute, shall be examined yearly by two accountants. The accountants are appointed by the Swedish Government for a period of five financial years.

§ 16

The accountants shall annually, before the end of September, submit a report to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

§ 17

The Institute is exempted from supervision according to the law of 24th
May 1929 (No. 116) regarding supervision of foundations.

These Statutes are given on the 29th of June 1966.

GUSTAF ADOLF

Torsten Nilsson

The Governing Board

as of 31 December 1974

Chairman

Governor Rolf Eüberg, Karlstad, Sweden

Academician Ivan Málek, Prague, Czechoslovakia,
Professor of Microbiology

Professor Leo Mates, Belgrade, Yugoslavia,
Ex-Director, Institute of International Politics and Economics,
Belgrade

Professor Gunnar Myrdal, Stockholm, Sweden,
Professor of International Economics

Professor Robert Neild, Cambridge, United Kingdom,
Professor of Economics, University of Cambridge

Professor Bert Röling, Groningen, the Netherlands,
Director, Polemological Institute, Groningen

Professor John Sanness, Oslo, Norway,
Director, Institute of International Relations, Oslo

Ex-officio member

Dr Frank Barnaby,
Director of the Institute

The Scientific Council

as of 31 December 1974¹

Professor Kenneth Boulding Professor of Economics University of Colorado Boulder, Colo. United States	Professor Carl Kayser Director The Institute for Advanced Study Princeton, N.J. United States
Dom Helder Camara Archbishop of Olinda e Recife Recife Brazil	Professor Alex Keynan Vice-President The Hebrew University of Jerusalem Jerusalem Israel
Professor Fujio Egami Chairman Japan Science Council Tokyo Japan	Dr Bruno Kreisky Prime Minister of Vienna Austria
Professor Johan Galtung Chair in Conflict and Peace Research University of Oslo P.O. Box 1070 Oslo 3 Norway	Professor Manfred Lachs Judge International Court of Justice The Hague Netherlands
Dr Robert Gardiner Executive Secretary UN Economic Commission for Africa Addis Ababa Ethiopia	The Rt. Hon. The Earl Mountbatten of Burma United Kingdom
Professor Bertrand de Jouvenel Director Institut des Futuribles Paris France	Mrs Alva Myrdal Ex-Minister without Portfolio Stockholm Sweden
	The Rt. Hon. P. J. Noel-Baker London United Kingdom

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Dr. G. Parthasarathi

Vice Chancellor
Jawaharlal Nehru
University
New Mehrauli Road
New Delhi 57
India

Dr Raoul Prebisch

Director General
Latin American Institute
for Economic and
Social Planning
Santiago
Chile

Professor Bror Rexed

Director General
National Board of Health
Stockholm
Sweden

Professor Abdus Salam

Director
International Centre for
Theoretical Physics
Trieste
Italy

Professor Torgny Segerstedt

Rector
University of Uppsala
Uppsala
Sweden

Commissioner Altiero Spinelli

Commission of European
Economic Communities
Brussels
Belgium

Professor Grigori Tunkin

Head of Department for
International Law
Moscow State University
Moscow
Soviet Union

Professor Carl v. Weizsäcker

Director
Max-Planck Institute
Starnberg
Federal Republic of Germany

Lord Solly Zuckerman

London
United Kingdom

* The Scientific Council had as of 31 December 1974 two vacancies: Academician M.D. Millionsheïnikov, the Soviet Union, died in May 1973, and Academician N.N. Inozentsev resigned in August 1974.

The Staff

The research and administrative staff of the Institute at the end of 1974, were as follows:¹

Frank Barnaby
(Director)

Assistant Director

Bo Heinebäck

Library staff

Gunnel von Döbein

Janet Meurling

Elisabeth Frisen

Editorial staff

Connie Wallf

Felicity Roos

Rajesh Kumar

Clotye Larsson

Desmond Smith

Gillian Fritzheimer

Press-cutting staff

William Jewson

Michal Lucki

Ernst Falta

Accountants

Ingegerd Heilgren

Gunilla Fredholm (assistant)

Distribution

Katarina Frändberg

Research staff

Jan Beckman

Richard Booth

Jozef Goldblat

Ron Huisken

Bhupendra Jasani

Andrzej Karkoszka

Signe Landgren-Bäckström

Malvern Lumsden

Theodor Nemec

John Stares

Olga Šuković

Kosta Tsipis

Assistants to researchers

Eva Hamberg

Ragnhild Jansson

Brian Lilburn

Carol Stoltenberg

Secretarial staff

Eva-Christine Bergström

Bella Kjellgren

Marianne Lyons²

Eva Nordström

Gun Winqvist

Åsa Trulp²

Office supply

Erkki Finell
 Leif Eliasson
 Lars Lindqvist

Telephonist

Eva Axell

Telephone numbers

SIPRI switchboard	15 09 40
Director	15 09 46
Assistant Director	15 09 45
Library	15 09 48
Accountant	15 09 49

¹ The following researchers left the Institute during the year: Professor Kirill Babievski, Ms Randall Forsberg, Ms Eva Grenbäck and Colonel Carl-Erik Lottie. The following researchers spent short-term periods at the Institute: Dr Karlheinz Lohs, German Democratic Republic, Mr. Ben Sanders, International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna, and Dr Enid Schoettle, MIT, Cambridge, USA. Among the administrative personnel, Ms Helena Grönquist, Ms Mary Leiby, Mr Olle Larsson, Ms Inga Lundström and Ms Jill Schimpff left the Institute during the year.

² On leave of absence.

SIPRI Publications

Books

SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament 1958/69

1969. 440 pp. 93 tables, charts and maps. Cloth bound Sw. kr. 70.60 (ISBN 91-85114-03-0); paper bound Sw. kr. 37.65 (ISBN 91-85114-04-9).

This volume brings together material on world military expenditure, the technological arms race, and current disarmament issues. It contains extensive reference material on such matters as the trade in arms, nuclear tests and accidents, and on conflict.

SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament 1969/70

1970. 540 pp. 91 tables and charts. Cloth bound Sw. kr. 88.25 (ISBN 91-85114-07-3); paper bound Sw. kr. 47.00 (ISBN 91-85114-06-1).

The second Yearbook continues with the same basic reference material as the first one, but turns to new subjects: the nuclear arms race and SALT; European security problems; and the militarization of the deep ocean and the Sea-Bed Treaty.

World Armaments and Disarmament

SIPRI Yearbook 1972

1972. 600 pp. 116 tables and charts. 7 maps. Cloth bound Sw. kr. 88.25 (ISBN 91-85114-12-X).

In addition to updating the reference material, the third Yearbook deals with strategic nuclear forces and SALT; resources devoted to military R&D; foreign military troops and bases; the near-nuclear countries and the NPT; and the nuclear test ban.

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World Armaments and Disarmament**SIPRI Yearbook 1973**

1973. 510 pp. 68 tables, 13 charts, 2 photographs. Cloth bound Sw. kr. 85.25 (ISBN 91-85114-19-7).

The fourth Yearbook updates the reference material and deals with SALT and the question of verification by reconnaissance satellites; European security and cooperation; UN peacekeeping operations; domestic defence production; napalm, and other dubious weapons.

World Armaments and Disarmament*SIPRI Yearbook 1974**

1974. 520 pp. 83 tables and charts. Cloth bound Sw. kr. 88.25 (ISBN 0-262-19129-6).

The fifth Yearbook updates the reference material and deals with military developments in the Middle East and in Indo-China; force reductions in Europe; developments in strategic nuclear weapons; reconnaissance satellites; anti-submarine warfare; and the automated battlefield.

Towards a Better Use of the Ocean

1969. 231 pp. Cloth bound Sw. kr. 56.45 (ISBN 91-85114-02-2).

A discussion of the legal problems by Prof. William Burke, with comments.

The Arms Trade with the Third World

1971. 910 pp. 141 tables, 41 charts, 6 maps. Cloth bound Sw. kr. 70.60 (ISBN 91-85114-69-X).

A major study of the trade in major weapons—ships, aircraft, tanks and missiles—between the developed and underdeveloped countries during the post-war period.

The Problem of Chemical and Biological Warfare

5 volumes. 1971–75. Cloth bound.

A study of the historical, technical, military, legal and political aspects of CBW, and possible disarmament measures, with full bibliographies.

I. *The Rise of CB Weapons*

1971. 395 pp. Sw. kr. 88.25 (ISBN 91-85114-10-3).

II. *CB Weapons Today*

1973. 420 pp. Sw. kr. 88.25 (ISBN 91-85114-16-2).

III. *CBW and the Law of War*

1974. 195 pp. Sw. kr. 47.00 (ISBN 91-85114-17-0).

IV. *CB Disarmament Negotiations, 1920-1970*

1971. 412 pp. Sw. kr. 88.25 (ISBN 91-85114-11-1).

V. *The Prevention of CBW*

1972. 287 pp. Sw. kr. 47.00 (ISBN 91-85114-13-8).

VI. *Technical Aspects of Early Warning and Verification*

1975. Approx. 350 pp. Sw. kr. 88.25 (ISBN 91-85114-18-9).

The Near-Nuclear Countries and the NPT

1972. 123 pp. Paperback Sw. kr. 17.65 (ISBN 91-85114-14-6).

An expanded version of a study on the attitudes of fifteen near-nuclear countries to the Non-Proliferation Treaty which appeared in the SIPRI Yearbook 1972, including full documentation on the NPT.

**Resources Devoted to Military Research and Development:
An International Comparison**

1972. 112 pp. Paperback Sw. kr. 17.65 (ISBN 91-85114-15-4).

An expanded version of a study from the *SIPRI Yearbook 1972*, including a comprehensive bibliography on military R&D.

Chemical Disarmament: Some Problems of Verification

1973. 184 pp. 52 tables, 11 charts, 5 maps. Paperback Sw. kr. 61.20 (ISBN 91-85114-20-0).

An examination of the types of data to be reported internationally from economic, statistical and other methods by a national verification organization controlling potential chemical warfare materials.

Force Reductions in Europe

1974. 106 pp. 12 tables. Paperback Sw. kr. 44.70
(ISBN 91-85114-21-9).

A review of the military doctrines of NATO and the WTO and an analysis of issues arising from the proposals put forward for the negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe.

***Nuclear Proliferation Problems**

1974. 312 pp. 36 tables, 7 charts, 1 map. Cloth bound Sw. kr. 68.25
(ISBN 0-262-10015-0).

A collection of papers presented at a 1973 SIPRI meeting of leading experts from 13 countries to discuss the problems of nuclear-weapon proliferation likely to be raised at the NPT Review Conference.

Oil and Security

1974. 190 pp. 11 tables, 1 chart. Paperback Sw. kr. 49.50
(ISBN 91-85114-25-1).

A study of the security problems related to oil. It deals particularly with a number of conflict potentials involved in a situation of oil shortage, and the arms race that this may stimulate.

***Tactical and Strategic Antisubmarine Warfare**

1974. 146 pp. 8 tables. Cloth bound Sw. kr. 42.00
(ISBN 0-262-20031-7).

A review of developments in antisubmarine warfare technologies and strategies, and of the implications of strategic nuclear submarines for modern warfare.

Stockholm Papers**1. Communication Satellites**

1969. 54 pp. Sw. kr. 8.25 (ISBN 91-85114-00-6). *Out of print.*

**2. Seismic Methods for Monitoring Underground Explosions
Report of the Seismic Study Group**

1969. 99 pp. Sw. kr. 17.75 (ISBN 91-85114-01-4)

3. The ENSO and the Press

1970. 77 pp. Sw. kr. 17.25 (ISBN 91-85114-05-7)

**4. International Arrangements and Control for the
Peaceful Applications of Nuclear Explosives**

1970. 39 pp. Sw. kr. 11.75 (ISBN 91-85114-05-5)

5. Offensive Missiles

1974. 34 pp.

Research Reports

**[1] Seismic Methods for Monitoring Underground Explosions
Progress Report of the Seismic Study Group, 1970**

1970. 9 pp. *Out of print.*

**[2] Seismic Methods for Monitoring Underground Explosions
1971 Progress Report**

1971. 24 pp.

[3] The Test Ban

1971. 64 pp.

Early version of a study appearing
in the *SIPRI Yearbook 1972*. *Out of print.*

**[4] Possible Techniques for Inspection of Production of
Organophosphorus Compounds. SIPRI Symposium Report.**

1971. 15 pp.

**5. Strategic Arms Limitation
Part I. The First Agreements**

1972. 39 pp. *Out of print.*

6. **Strategic Arms Limitation**
Part II. The SALT Agreements and the Future of
the Arms Race
1972. 32 pp. *Out of print.*
7. **Prospects for Arms Control in the Ocean**
1972. 29 pp.
8. **Napalm and Incendiary Weapons**
1972. 125 pp. *Out of print.*
9. **The Origins of MIRV**
1973. 28 pp.
10. **The Meaning and Measurement of Military Expenditure**
1973. 39 pp.
11. **Ten Years of the Partial Test Ban Treaty, 1963–1973**
1973. 34 pp.
12. **French Nuclear Tests in the Atmosphere,
The Question of Legality**
1974. 38 pp.
13. **The Effects of Developments in the Biological and
Chemical Sciences on CW Disarmament Negotiations**

Reprints

Nuclear Safeguards

1972. 7 pp. *Out of print.*

The Implementation of International Disarmament Agreements

1973. 75 pp. *Out of print.*

All prices are approximate.

Research Reports and Reprints may be obtained free of charge from SIPRI.

Books and Stockholm Papers Nos. 1-4 may be obtained from the Institute's publishers:

Almqvist & Wiksell International
 P.O. Box 62
 S-101 29 Stockholm 1
 Sweden
 Telephone: 08-23 7990
 Cables: Almqvistbook, Stockholm

In the United States,
 Humanities Press Inc.
 171 First Avenue
 Atlantic Highlands
 New Jersey 07716
 United States
 Telephone: SPRING 7-1771
 Cables: Hillarious, New York

Books indicated by an asterisk (*) may be obtained from the publishers below.

In the Western hemisphere and in Britain and the Commonwealth,
 The MIT Press
 28 Carleton Street
 Cambridge, Mass. 02142
 United States
 and
 126 Buckingham Palace Road
 London SW1W 9SD
 England

In the rest of the world,
 Almqvist & Wiksell (above).

SIPRI
Stockholm International
Peace Research Institute

SIPRI is an independent institute for research into problems of peace and conflict, with particular attention to the problems of disarmament and arms regulation. It was established in 1968 to commemorate Sweden's 150 years of unbroken peace.

The financing is provided by the Swedish Parliament. The staff, the Governing Board and the Scientific Council are international.

Governing Board

Governor Rolf Edberg, Chairman
 (Sweden)

Academician Ivan Malek
 (Czechoslovakia)

Professor Leo Mates
 (Yugoslavia)

Professor Gunnar Myrdal
 (Sweden)

Professor Robert Neild
 (United Kingdom)

Professor Bert Roling
 (Holland)

Professor John Sanness
 (Norway)

The Director

The Director

Dr. Frank Barnaby
 (United Kingdom)

SIPRI

Sveavägen 166, S-11346, Stockholm, Sweden
 tel. 08-150940

ALICE M. RIVLIN
DIRECTOR

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

June 24, 1976

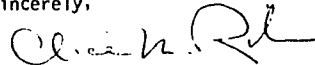
The Honorable Harrison A. Williams, Jr.
Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Pursuant to Section 403 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, the Congressional Budget Office has prepared the attached cost estimate for S. 1976, the George Washington Peace Academy Act.

Should the Committee so desire, we would be pleased to provide further details on the attached cost estimate.

Sincerely,



Alice M. Rivlin
Director

Attachment

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE

COST ESTIMATE

1. BILL NUMBER: S. 1976
2. BILL TITLE: George Washington Peace Academy Act
3. PURPOSES OF BILL: To establish the George Washington Peace Academy in order to: (1) inquire into the empirical and historical nature of the process of peace; (2) examine the disciplines of social, behavioral and physical sciences, and the arts and humanities to extract methodologies which will provide information and new techniques to develop alternatives to situations of conflict; (3) train and instruct individuals in methods of resolving conflicts among nations by utilizing avenues of peaceful cooperation and understanding; and for other purposes. This bill is an authorization and does not directly provide budget authority. Actual funding is subject to subsequent appropriations action.

4. COST ESTIMATE: (\$ in millions)

This bill falls within Function 500.

<u>FY 77</u>	<u>FY 78</u>	<u>FY 79</u>	<u>FY 80</u>	<u>FY 81</u>
5.9	6.1	6.3	6.5	6.7

5. BASIS FOR ESTIMATE: This estimate is based on legislative intent where the authorization is "such sums as may be necessary" for the George Washington Peace Academy Act.

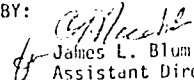
Dollars designated for administration and faculty salaries are derived from the Executive and Government Service Schedules. The average annual fellowship for students is assumed constant over the years at a dollar value of \$6,500 per year. This is comparable to other government programs providing graduate aid. Special provisions for the students' moving expenses are also provided for in the Act and have been estimated to be \$2,500 based on a random sample of individuals participating in similar programs. Visiting lecturers and consultants are paid on a basis comparable to the existing military academies' allowance for this item. Administrative costs are assumed to be 10 percent of salary dollars.

Because the cost estimate consists primarily of salary dollars, the outlays will be projected using the pay raise rates for Government Service and military personnel for all items except student stipends as outlined by Path C of CBO's Economic Assumptions.*

*Student stipends are assumed constant.

Page 2

6. ESTIMATE COMPARISON: Not Applicable.
7. PREVIOUS CBO ESTIMATE: None.
8. ESTIMATE PREPARED BY: Patricia L. Pecey (225-4972)
9. ESTIMATE APPROVED BY:


James L. Blum
Assistant Director
for Budget Analysis

Senator PELL. Thank you very much. It has been a good hearing, and the hearing is adjourned.
[Whereupon, at 12:35 p.m., the subcommittee hearing was adjourned.]

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