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ABSTRACT

The human species seems to have a virtuoso capacity for making harsh distinctions between groups and for justifying violence on whatever scale the technology of the time permits. This essay explores the possibilities associated with using education as a means to avoiding conflicts or resolving them peacefully. Focus is placed on teaching humans to have more constructive orientations towards those outside their group, while maintaining the values of group allegiance and identity. The essay is concerned particularly with childhood and adolescent development and the factors that affect this development. Solutions presented for aiding in education for conflict resolution include: (1) fostering prosocial behavior in early life; (2) empathy training; (3) a framework for conflict resolution in the schools; (4) cooperative learning; (5) learning life skills in early adolescents; and (6) violence prevention training. The paper also explores the role of the international community as well as that of the media in conflict resolution. Lessons to be learned from decent human relations are that each party needs a basis for self-respect, dependability of communication, recognition of some shared interest, civil discourse, earning the respect of the other, boundaries for competition and disagreement, and considering the balance between self-interest and the interests of others. (SR)

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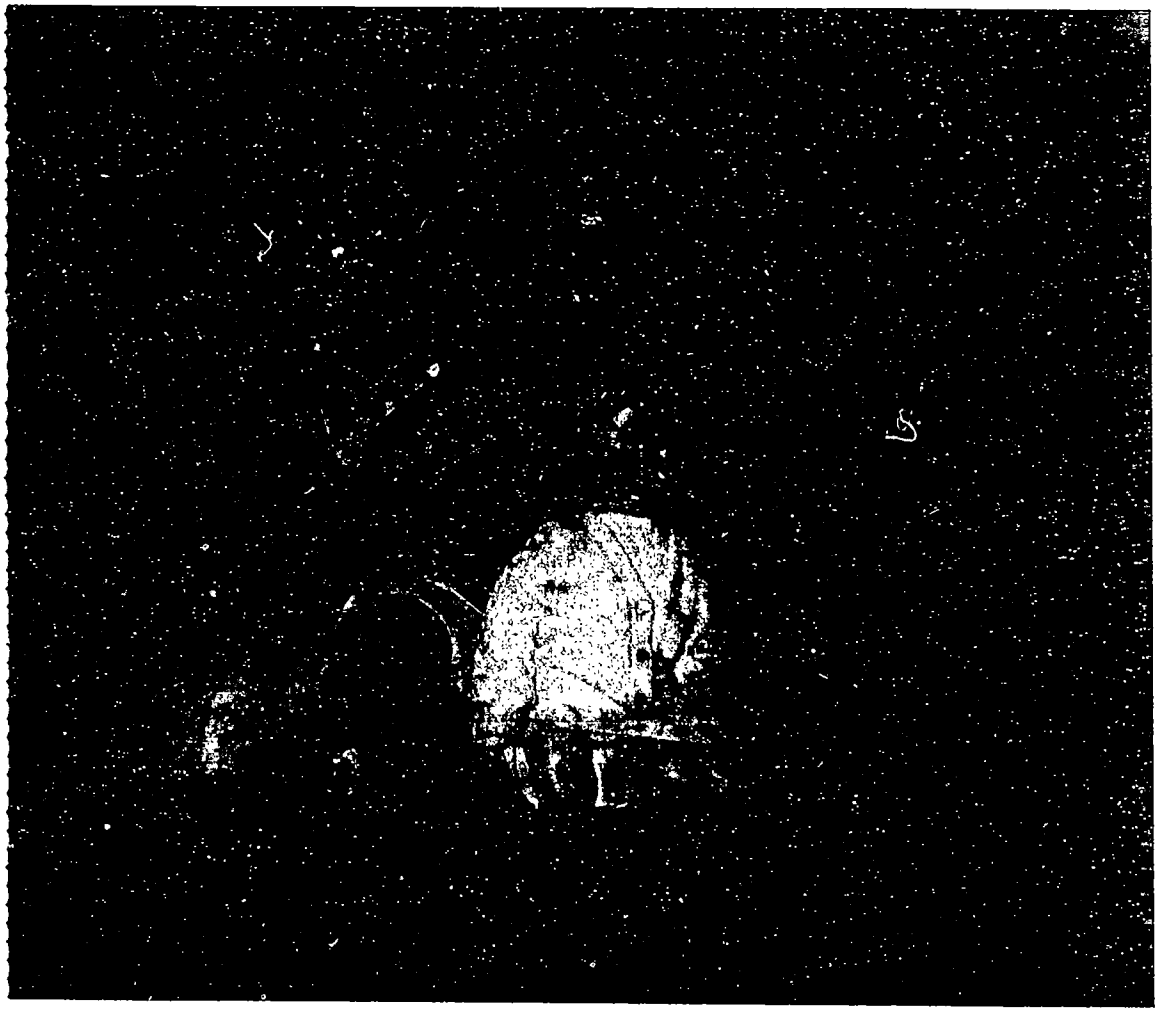
Carnegie Corporation of New York

Education for Conflict Resolution

BY DAVID A. HAMBURG, PRESIDENT

REPRINTED FROM THE 1994 ANNUAL REPORT

Education for Conflict Resolution



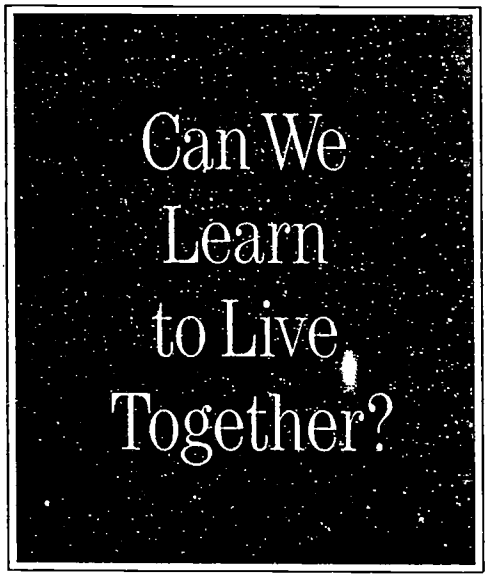
THE DREAM OF SHATA WITH THE WHITE DOLL

cation for Conflict Resolution

the fall of 1994, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, ɔrmer president of the Soviet Union, ɛflected on a decade of intensive ıvolvement with political leaders all ver the world. One of his outstanding ɔnclusions was the large extent to hich they see "brute force" as their alidation. His observation, based on experience, high- ıg-standing, his- eadly inclination ; of many kinds y places to inter- nandate as being ugh, aggressive, ent. For all too is is indeed the leadership. ɔachev, in control ıclear arsenal, not f immense power tional, chemical, gical weapons, enough not to interpret his own lead- ɛrms of brute force. But the world is full who do. More and more often, they will ɨive killing power at their disposal in the ɜt century. Look at the scale of slaugh- nda with penny-ante weapons!

time to take seriously the remark of MacLeish in the aftermath of World ince wars begin in the minds of men, ɛ minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." He was writing about the mission of the emerging international institutions that were vividly mindful of the carnage of World War II and the Holocaust, but his words apply to the furious small wars of today.

The human species seems to have a virtuoso capacity for making harsh distinctions between groups and for justifying violence on whatever scale the technology of the time permits. Moreover, fanatical behavior has a dangerous way of recurring across time and locations. Such behavior is old, but what is historically new and very threatening is the destructive power of our weaponry and its ongoing worldwide spread. Also new is the technology that permits rapid, vivid, widely broadcast justifications for violence. In such a world, human conflict is a subject that deserves the most careful and searching inquiry. It is a subject par excellence for public understanding. Yet



NOTE: *The president's annual essay is a personal statement representing his own views. It does not necessarily reflect the foundation's policies. This essay is based on a presentation made in June 1994 at a Nobel symposium in Sweden. This symposium will be published in a book edited by Professor David Magnusson, Stockholm University, titled* Individual Development Over the Lifespan

v's education has little to say on the subject. se still, education almost everywhere has ocentric orientations.

Can we do better? Can we educate our- s to avoid conflict or peacefully resolve it? possible for us to modify our attitudes and tations so that we practice greater tolerance nutual aid at home and in the world? Perhaps unlikely. But the stakes are so high now even a modest gain on this goal would be edingly valuable. This essay explores a few, only a very few, of the possibilities brought ght by recent inquiry and innovation. The nples are meant to be evocative — better may well be available. They are meant to e this subject higher on the world's agenda.

Insights into Intergroup Hostility

The challenge is immense. Both in field studies and experimental research by social scientists, the evidence is very strong: We humans are remarkably prone to form par- distinctions between our own and other ps, to develop a marked preference for our group, to accept favorable evaluations of roducts and performances of the in-group, to make unfavorable evaluations of other ps that go far beyond the objective evidence e requirements of a situation. Indeed, it seems ult for us to avoid making invidious dis- ions even when we want to.

Orientations of ethnocentrism and prejudice ooted in our ancient past and were proba- nce adaptive. Over the millennia, our esti- of personal worth if not our very survival been built on the sense of belonging to a ed group — a sense that seems to go hand ove with the impulse to assign negative e to those who are not of our group. Both tendencies historically have been reinforced arental and social education beginning in childhood in nearly every human society.

Today, reinforcement occurs at home, in the schools, in the streets, and in the mass media. The cumulative effect of widespread frustrating conditions also exacerbates the development of prejudice and stereotyped thinking. Political firebrands put gasoline on the embers. Worldwide, the education received from multiple sources is still remarkably ethnocentric. In some places ethnocentrism and prejudice are inflamed by official propaganda, the cultivation of religious stereotypes, and political demagoguery, leading to intergroup violence that is justified in the name of some putatively high purpose.

The global outburst of intergroup violence, with its explosive mixture of ethnic, religious, and national strivings, is badly in need of illumination. People everywhere need to understand why we behave as we do, what dangerous legacy we carry with us, and how we can convert fear to hope.

Must Children Grow up Hateful? A Developmental Perspective

Education, via the family, schools, the media, and community organizations, must be turned into a force for reducing intergroup conflict. It must serve to enlarge our social identifications in light of common characteristics and superordinate goals. It must seek a basis for fundamental human identification across a diversity of cultures in the face of manifest conflict. We *are,* in fact, a single, interdependent, meaningfully attached, worldwide species.

The question is whether human beings can learn more constructive orientations toward those outside their group while maintaining the values of group allegiance and identity. From an examination of a great deal of laboratory and field research, it seems reasonable to believe that, in spite of very bad habits from the past, we can indeed learn new habits of mind.

There is an extensive body of research on

› contact that bears on this question. For
:xperiments have demonstrated that the
contact between groups that are neg-
iented toward one another is *not* the
ɔrtant factor in achieving a more con-
›rientation. Much depends on whether
·t occurs under favorable conditions. If
ı aura of mutual suspicion, if the par-
ghly competitive or are not supported
nt authorities, or if contact occurs on
·f very unequal status, then it is not likely
ful, whatever the amount of exposure.
ıder unfavorable conditions can stir up
ns and reinforce stereotypes.

he other hand, if there is friendly con-
: context of equal status, especially if
ıct is supported by relevant authorities,
· contact is embedded in cooperative
ıd fostered by a mutual aid ethic, then
kely to be a strong positive outcome.
:se conditions, the more contact the
ıch contact is then associated with
attitudes between previously suspi-
›stile groups as well as with constructive
ı patterns of interaction between them.
:r experiments demonstrate the power
highly valued superordinate goals that
›e achieved by cooperative effort. Such
override the differences that people
:ıe situation and often have a power-
ng effect. Classic experiments readily
ngers at a boys' camp into enemies by
hem from one another and heighten-
:tition. But when powerful superordi-
· were introduced, enemies were trans-
to friends.

ɜe experiments have been replicated in
ı business executives and other pro-
with similar results. So the effect is
ot limited to children and youth. Indeed,
ɜs have pointed to the beneficial effects
ɜ cooperatively under conditions that lead people to formulate a new, inclusive group, going beyond the subgroups with which they entered the situation. Such effects are particularly strong when there are tangibly successful outcomes of cooperation — for example, clear rewards from cooperative learning. They have important implications for child rearing and education.

Developing Constructive Orientations in Childhood and Adolescence

Ameliorating the problem of intergroup relations rests upon finding better ways to foster child and adolescent development. This fact should present crucial new opportunities to educate young people in conflict resolution and in mutual accommodation.

Pivotal educational institutions such as the family, schools, community-based organizations, and the media have the power to shape attitudes and skills toward decent human relations or toward hatred and violence. If they really wish to be constructive, such organizations need to utilize the findings from research on intergroup relations and conflict resolution. They can use this knowledge in fostering positive reciprocity, cross-cutting relations, superordinate goals, and mutual aid.

Education everywhere needs to convey an accurate concept of a single, highly interdependent, worldwide species — a vast extended family sharing fundamental human similarities and a fragile planet. The give-and-take fostered within groups can be extended far beyond childhood to relations between adults and to larger units of organization, even covering international relations.

All research-based knowledge of human conflict, the diversity of our species, and the paths to mutual accommodation constitutes grist for the education mill. What follows is a sketch of some possibilities for making use of many different educational vehicles for learning to live together within nations and across national boundaries.

Fostering Prosocial Behavior in Early Life

ı the context of secure attachment and val-
ıed adult models, provided by either a cohe-
ive family or a more extended social sup-
ort network, a child can learn certain social
ıs that are conducive to tolerance and a
al aid ethic. Children can learn to take turns,
with others, cooperate (especially in learn-
ınd problem solving), and help others in
day life as well as in times of stress.

These norms, though established on a sim-
asis in the first few years of life, open the
toward constructive human relationships
can have significance throughout the life
. Their practice earns respect from others, pro-
gratification, and increases confidence and
etence. For this reason, both family care
early intervention programs need to take
ınt of the factors that influence the devel-
ent of attachment and prosocial behavior.
is important in parent education, in child
centers, and in preschool education.

There is research evidence, both from direct
rvation and experimental studies, that set-
that promote the requirements and expec-
ıs of prosocial behavior do in fact strengthen
behavior. For example, children who are
nsible for tasks helpful to family mainte-
e, as in caring for younger siblings, are gen-
found to be more altruistic than children
do not have these prosocial experiences.

In experimental studies, typically an adult
umably much like a parent) demonstrates
social act like sharing toys, coins, or candy
have been won in a game. The sharing is
someone else who is said to be in need
gh not present in the experimental situa-
The adult plays the game and models the
ıng before leaving the child to play. The
ts are clear. Children exposed to such mod-
eling, when compared to similar children in control groups, tend to show the behavior manifested by the models, whether it be honesty, generosity, or altruism. Given the child's pervasive exposure to parents and teachers, the potential for observational learning in this sphere as in others is very great. Prosocial behavior is particularly significant in adaptation because it is likely to open up new opportunities for the growing child, strengthen human relationships, and contribute to the building of self-esteem.

Empathy Training

Empathy, defined as a shared emotional response between observer and subject, may be expressed as "putting oneself in the shoes of another person." Empathy training has been tested with eight- to ten-year-olds in elementary school classrooms. In one program, children were given thirty hours of exercises in small groups of four to six. Activities were designed to increase their skill in identifying emotional responses and in taking the perspective of another. The intervention group was compared with two kinds of control groups.

The participants in empathy training showed more prosocial behavior, less aggression, and more positive self-concept than did children in either control group. This elementary school training model may provide a guide for the enhancement of empathy in other contexts—for example, in learning to take the perspective of other ethnic or religious groups. In any event, responding empathically in potential conflict situations helps to reduce hateful outcomes.

A Framework for Conflict Resolution in the Schools

Much of what schools can accomplish is similar to what parents can do—employ positive disciplinary practices, be democratic in procedure, teach the

for responsible decision making, fos-
rative learning procedures, and guide
in prosocial behavior in the various
f their lives. They can convey in inter-
ıys the truth of human diversity and
nity we all share. They can convey the
ın of other cultures, making under-
and respect a core attribute of their
n the world — including the capacity
·t effectively in the emerging global

·essor Morton Deutsch of Teachers
'olumbia University, a distinguished
conflict resolution, has delineated pro-
t schools can use to promote attitudes,
ıd knowledge that will help children
ɔnstructive relations throughout their
ı programs include cooperative learn-
ict resolution training, the construc-
· controversy in teaching, and the cre-
ispute resolution centers.
:s view, constructive conflict resolution
erized by cooperation, good commu-
ɔerception of similarity in beliefs and
ıong the ,arties, acceptance of the
gitimacy, problem-centered negotia-
:ual trust and confidence, and infor-
ıaring. Destructive conflicts, in con-
characterized by harsh competition,
ıunication, coercive tactics, suspicion,
· of basic differences in values, an ori-
ɔ increasing power differences, chal-
the legitimacy of other parties, and
ısecurity.
ts to educate on these matters are most
here there is a substantial, in-depth cur-
th repeated opportunities to learn and
ɔoperative conflict resolution skills.
:ain a realistic understanding of the
· violence in society and the deadly
ces of such violence. They learn that
:gets violence, that there are healthy
and unhealthy ways to express anger, and that nonviolent alternatives to dealing with conflict are available and will always be useful to them.

Cooperative Learning

A substantial body of information during the past two decades has been generated from research on cooperative learning. These efforts stem in part from a desire to find alternatives to the usual lecture mode and to involve students actively in the learning process. They are inspired, moreover, by a mutual aid ethic and appreciation for student diversity. In cooperative learning, the traditional classroom of one teacher and many students is reorganized into heterogeneous groups of four or five students who work together to learn a particular subject matter, for instance, mathematics.

Research has demonstrated that student achievement is at least as high — and often higher — in cooperative learning activities as it is in traditional classroom activities. At the same time, cooperative learning methods promote positive interpersonal relations, motivation to learn, and self-esteem. These benefits are obtained in middle grade schools and also high schools, for various subject areas and for a wide range of tasks and activities.

In my view, there are several overlapping yet distinctive concepts of cooperative learning that offer a powerful set of skills and assets for later life: learning to work together; learning that everyone can contribute in some way; learning that everyone is good at something; learning to appreciate diversity in various attributes; learning complementarity of skills and a division of labor; learning a mutual aid ethic. There is good reason why cooperative learning has lately stimulated so much interest. It deserves more widespread utilization along with continuing research to broaden its applicability.

LY ADOLESCENCE: LEARNING LIFE SKILLS

he Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development's Working Group on Life Skills Training, chaired by Dr. Beatrix Hamburg, in 1990 provided the factual and organizing principles on which such ventions can be based. It also described a ty of exemplary programs.

One category of life skills is being assertive. xample of assertiveness is knowing how to advantage of opportunities — for example, o use community resources such as health ocial services or job training. Another aspect owing how to resist pressure or intimida- oy peers and others to take drugs, carry ons, or make irresponsible decisions about - and how to do this without spoiling rela- ips or isolating oneself. Yet another aspect sertiveness is knowing how to resolve con- n ways that make use of the full range of iolent opportunities that exist. Such skills e taught not only in schools but in com- ty organizations.

Required community service in high ols, indeed even in middle grade schools, lso be helpful in the shaping of responsi- haring, altruistic behavior. It is important ve serious reflection on such community e experience, to analyze its implications, and rn ways to benefit from setbacks. *How* we others is crucial. "Help" must not imply iority over others but rather convey a sense ing full members of the community, shar- common fate as human beings together. orientation can usefully be an important of parent education as well. As the devel- nt of parental competence increasingly comes based on explicit courses of education and ration for parenthood, the elements of car- r others, of reciprocity and of mutual under- ling must be a key part of the task.

VIOLENCE PREVENTION IN ADOLESCENCE

A public health perspective suggests that the prevention strategies that have been successful in dealing with other behavior-related health problems, such as smoking, may be applicable to the problem of adolescent violence. Adolescent experimentation with behavior patterns and values offers an opportunity to develop alternatives to violent responses. A pioneering example is provided by the Boston Violence Prevention Program — a multi-institutional initiative with the goal of reducing fights, assaults, and intentional injuries among adolescents. It trains providers in diverse community settings in a violence prevention curriculum, promotes incorporation of this curriculum into service delivery, and creates a community consensus supportive of violence prevention. The program targets two poor Boston neighborhoods characterized by high violence rates. Its four principal components are curriculum development, community-based prevention education, clinical treatment services, and a media campaign.

The curriculum was first developed in 1983 by Dr. Deborah Prothrow-Stith. It acknowledged anger as a normal and potentially constructive emotion; alerted students to their high risk of being a perpetrator or victim of violence; helped students find alternatives to fighting by discussing potential gains and losses; offered positive ways to deal with anger and arguments; encouraged students to analyze the precursors of fighting and to practice alternative conflict resolution by playing different roles; and created a classroom climate that is nonviolent.

During the initial stages of curriculum development, it became clear that intervention in the schools alone was insufficient. In 1986 a community-based component was initiated in which community educators provided violence pre-

:aining to youth-serving agencies.
materials included informational fly-
otape, a rap song, cartoon characters,
mons, and Sunday school sessions.
project seeks to reach as many com-
tings as possible, including multi-ser-
s, recreation programs, housing devel-
police stations and courts, religious
s, neighborhood health centers, and
here is a referral network for health,
and social services. The community
nas produced television and radio pub-
announcements, posters, and T-shirts
logan, "Friends for life don't let friends
uses on peer influences and the respon-
it friends have for helping to defuse
uations. It also includes a public tele-
umentary.

:nce prevention efforts of such a sys-
id extensive sort are very recent. It
urprising if the first efforts were highly
. because of the great complexity and
f the tasks in terribly impaired neigh-
One clear finding is that the adoles-
d especially disadvantaged males — are
n need of dependable life skills and
:e social supports that foster health,
and decent human relationships.

ISION AND PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR

earch has established causal relation-
ips between children's viewing of
her aggressive or prosocial behavior
i television and their subsequent
Children as young as two years old are
iitating televised behaviors. Television
in affect a child's behavior at an early
e effects can extend into adolescence.
, the relationship between television
nd subsequent viewer behavior holds
y of countries. Cross-national studies
in countries as diverse as Australia,
Finland, Israel, the Netherlands, Poland, and the United States.

There is some research evidence that television need not be a school for violence — that it can be used in a way that reduces intergroup hostility. The relevant professions need to encourage the constructive use of this powerful tool to promote compassionate understanding, nonviolent problem solving, and decent intergroup relations.

Television can portray human diversity while highlighting shared human experiences. It can teach skills that are important for the social development of children and do so in a way that both entertains and educates. So far we have had only glimpses of its potential for reducing intergroup hostility.

Professor Gerald Lesser at Harvard University has summarized features of the children's educational television program, "Sesame Street," that are of interest in this context. The program originated in the United States in 1969 and appears today in 100 other countries. Each program is fitted to the language, culture, and traditions of a particular nation. The atmosphere of respect for differences permeates all of the many versions of "Sesame Street."

Research from a variety of countries is encouraging. For example, the Canadian version of "Sesame Street" shows many sympathetic instances of English- and French-speaking children playing together. Children who see these examples of cross-group friendships are more likely to form such friendships on their own than are children who do not see them. The same is true for Dutch, Moroccan, Turkish, and Surinamese children who see "Sesame Street" in Holland. The findings suggest that appealing and constructive examples of social tolerance help young children to learn such behavior. These are tantalizing results, making us wish for a wide range of similar programming and experimentation.

.EARNING FROM ALL KINDS OF CONFLICTS

rocesses of conflict resolution in any sphere should be examined for their implications in other spheres. It may well be that understanding of the processes of conflict res-ion between groups *within* a nation will con-itantly enhance our ability to reduce conflict *veen* nations—and vice versa.

Are there lessons to be learned from decent ıan relations in various spheres of life? ndant experience and study at the level of personal relations and small-group and com-ıity relations provide a way of thinking about ·nt relations between large groups and even ɔns. What are the major requirements?

.ach party needs a basis for self-respect, a ;e of belonging in a valued group, and a dis-.ive identity.

ach party needs dependability of communi-ɔn with the other.

ach party needs from the other a recognition ɔme shared interests and the fact of interde-ɹence.

ach needs civil discourse, including the abil-ɔ understand the perspective of the other—ı if they do not always agree. Disagreements also be considered in a civil way. And both ies need to keep in mind their common ıanity even—and especially—in times of ɛrsity.

ach party has the possibility of earning the ect of the other—in a differentiated way, ·iring some attributes but not others.

oundaries for competition and disagreement be recognized, even if they are sometimes ·y seen.

Vhen boundaries fundamentally have to do violence, each party can seriously consider and nsider from time to time the balance between ·ests of self and the interests of the other.

Such concepts of decent human relations have considerable operational significance in daily living. On the whole, they serve the human species well at various levels of social organization. Could we learn to utilize them in relations between ethnic groups and even adversarial powers? The experience of ending the Cold War suggests that this may be possible.

ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

The growing threat of prejudicial ethnocentrism as a path to hatred, violence, and mass killing has to emerge as one of the major educational challenges of the next century, with international institutions playing an important role. The international community can be a powerful force in broad public education on the entire problem of intergroup violence. It can help and reward conflict resolution leaders, build education systems worldwide, and provide useful, sensitive, early intervention.

It is of utmost importance for contending parties throughout the world to be educated on the nature, scope, and consequences of ethnocentric violence, particularly the action-reaction cycles in such violence, with the buildup of revenge motives; the tendency to assume hatred as an organizing principle for life and death; and the slippery slope of proliferation, escalation, and addiction to hatred and killing that emerges so readily in festering intergroup conflict.

Adversaries need to grasp how violent extremists and fanatics tend to take increasing control of the situation; they need to face up to the probable degradation of life—even annihilation—that will occur for all concerned in areas of intense fighting. The international community must make these dangers clear and vivid in the minds of populations involved in potential hot spots.

The policy community in much of the world is not deeply familiar with the principles and techniques of conflict resolution. It must become

ıe United Nations and the Secretary
aying one of the leading roles. The
ions, respected widely throughout the
d do more than it has done historically
publics to the need and possibilities
ıng conflicts without violence. The
Jeneral has a bully pulpit of formida-
:ions.

ng other initiatives, the U.N. can spon-
leadership seminars in cooperation
fied nongovernmental organizations
ıversities and research institutes. These
seminars might well include new
:ate, new foreign ministers, and new
inisters.

›ing leadership seminars could also
v the U.N. and other institutions and
›ns can help. Given the contemporary
.s singularly important that such sem-
objectively and in a penetrating way
·ems of nationalism, ethnocentrism,
ıatred, and violence. Through the lead-
inars and a wider array of publications,
ın make available the world's experi-
ıg on conflicts in general and on par-
ıflicts; on the responsible handling of
·governmental leaders and policymakers;
ly consequences of weapons build-up,
weapons of mass destruction; on the
›wledge base, and prestige properly
with successful conflict resolution; on
development, including the new uses
and technology for development; and
ıtive behavior in the world commu-
ding the handling of grievances.

AL REACH OF RADIO AND TELEVISION

›le of media is a powerful one, for bet-
ınd for worse. Books, films, music,
·ision, and radio all carry a variety of
sages, both cognitive and emotional.
· of the mass media, and particularly
television, has revised our concept of what constitutes reality.

Television directs attention to a subject beyond any previous medium's ability. It has the power to focus on one situation and instantly raise the world's awareness. Unfortunately, this power can be and often is used to exacerbate conflict. Terrorists, for instance, have long recognized the power of television to give a small, fanatical group international exposure to their cause.

Political power is more and more associated with media coverage. The primacy of television's linkage with political power was well demonstrated in the recent revolutionary events in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics, when control of television output was at the center of the struggle.

Television has immense latent capacity as a force for global transformation. The medium is deeply international, readily crossing boundaries. Each side in a war may be able to watch the other's television broadcasts. In divided Germany, most East Germans watched West German television, which provided an effective antidote to Communist government propaganda. With new digital technologies and more powerful satellites, it will be increasingly difficult to isolate a country from the global media. Cable News Network already has had a powerful effect through its global news distribution and extensive use of live broadcasting from sites on every continent. Although this was most vivid during the Gulf war, it is a daily fact of life on a global basis.

Television has great potential for reducing tensions between countries. It can be used to demystify the adversary and improve understanding. A Cold War example was provided by U.S.-Soviet spacebridge programs — live, unedited discussion between the two countries made possible by satellites and simultaneous translation. Starting in 1983, U.S.-Soviet spacebridges linked ordinary American and Soviet citizens in an effort

vercome stereotypes. Beginning before the ›achev era, they provided an opening to his :y of glasnost. Later, Internews' "Capital to tal" program, broadcast simultaneously on and on Soviet and Eastern European tele-›n, joined members of Congress and the 'eme Soviet for uncensored debate on arms rol, human rights, and the future of Europe. ›e spacebridge programs were seen by 200 on people at a time. Ted Koppel's "Nightline" :ram on ABC was dynamic in settings of this especially between the U.S. and South Africa between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The natic "Nightline" town meeting between stinians and Israelis in 1988 showed how 'ision can foster reasonable dialogue on ten-ssues even among old adversaries.

Independent, pluralistic media are vital for ocracy. They are the main vehicles for clar-ıg issues and for the public to understand lidates. In the first post-Soviet Ukrainian :ion, President Leonid Kravchuk had total rol over television throughout the process, reas other candidates had hardly any access . Such elections cannot be considered free fair. International election monitors must ›efore observe access to the media as well as voting itself.

Radio is exceedingly important because it hes virtually everyone everywhere almost ıe time. Hate radio has been all too effective citing violence — remember its role in Rwanda Bosnia. What about reconciliation radio?

How can the international community fos-'ducation via the mass media with respect rejudice, ethnocentrism, and conflict reso-'n? Leaders like the extremists in the former ›slavia reap political gain from stirring intense ›d among their people. The world is full of ic entrepreneurs and skillful demagogues :ng acid on the scars, playing on ethnocen-›entiments for their own political purposes, and utilizing electronic media to get their messages across. By doing so they gain power, wealth, and high status. Is it possible to go over the heads of such leaders to educate their publics directly about paths to conflict resolution? After all, it is the rank-and-file citizenry that absorbs the terrible beating of these wars, not the leadership.

Can television and radio help in preventing or coping with deadly conflict within nations? What would be involved in such education? First and foremost, conveying the consequences of continuing on the path of hatred and violence. Television and radio could illuminate slaughter in various areas, both nearby and far away, where ethnocentric violence has gone unchecked and where the consequences for all participants have been far more dreadful than envisioned in the initial phase when wishful thinking predominated. Let adversaries see the disastrous course they are on now, one that others have followed, and how much worse it can get the further it is pursued. Let them not be shielded from the consequences of atrocities in the way most Germans were in the events of the Holocaust.

Conflict areas need independent television and radio news channels broadcasting throughout the region. Mass media communication, not only about the consequences of ethnocentric violence, but also about the possibilities for conflict resolution, and the willingness of the international community to help, should become a vital component of the problem-solving machinery in ethnic conflicts.

Television and radio can also be useful in conflict resolution by clarifying how others have succeeded in achieving it: documentaries, for example, on the experiences of Western Europe after World War II, or programs on the transformation of Germany and Japan without revenge by the United States. Let those in hot spots learn about the best of what conflict resolution, civilized human relationships, and democratic insti-

ve done in the twentieth century and
or them in the twenty-first.
inciple, it should even be possible to
a nongovernmental International
al Telecommunications System that
ectively link organizations in many
sources of creative audiovisual learn-
als. There could be an active pool of
ver a wide range of content and for-
ated for a variety of purposes, mainly
nd democracy, in rich and poor coun-

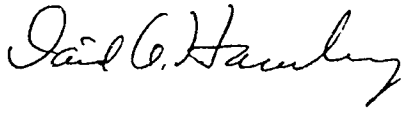
ncing might be provided to the new
ough a mix of governmental and pri-
from many nations. The highest stan-
l be ensured by an international com-
mpeccable standing. The system would
de venture capital for creative pro-
and carefully select the best available
m the world's broadcasting storehouse.
ght present basic concepts, processes,
tions on a level perhaps comparable
National Public Radio in the United
ne British Broadcasting Corporation in
Kingdom. This could be done in a
languages and adapted to many cul-
relatively short time, it might be fea-
nhance the level of understanding
it the world of what is involved in
and its potential benefits for all—
in providing reliable ways of coping
itous human conflicts without resort-
s violence.

Concluding Comment

e close with a crucial question for the
an future: Can human groups achieve
nal cohesion, self-respect, and adap-
effectiveness without promoting
l violence? Altogether, we need to
n research and education on child
nt, prejudice, ethnocentrism, and con-
flict resolution to find out. We must generate new knowledge and explore vigorously the application of such knowledge to urgent problems in contemporary society.

Nowhere should the responsibility for promoting social tolerance be taken more seriously than among leaders of nations — not only in government but in business and media and other powerful institutions. They bear a heavy responsibility, all too often evaded, for utilizing the vehicles of mass education for constructive purposes. They can convey in words and actions an agenda for cooperation, caring, and decent human relations.

There is little in our very long history as a species to prepare us for this world we have suddenly made. Perhaps we cannot cope with it — witness Bosnia and Rwanda. Still, it is not too late for a paradigm shift in our outlook toward human conflict. Perhaps it is something like learning that the earth is not flat. Such a shift in child development and education throughout the world might at long last make it possible for human groups to learn to live together in peace and mutual benefit.



President

About the Photograph

ıting the president's essay is "The · of Shata with the White Doll." The ›graph was taken by Franklin ıkqtla, a ten-year-old boy from Soweto, ca. Franklin was one of thirty black :an and Afrikaner children who were ›tography by the distinguished docu-hotographer Wendy Ewald in 1992. ·d that the children from the two racial d a lot of "fear dreams" about each she asked some of them to try to recre-·ams and photograph them. Shata is ıext-door neighbor and his best friend. d she was up in a tree being attacked · doll. This photograph shows Shata e remembered her in the dream.

had a conversation afterwards about f creating and photographing dreams," !, "and Franklin said, 'Wendy, if you ›icture of your dreams, you can explain ·lf the next day. It is especially impor-›tograph a bad dream so that you can And it won't scare you so much.'"

children fell into three groups from ıesburg neighborhoods: Soweto; a ·mmunity at Orange Farm; and a tiny ass suburb of Glenesk. The students age from nine to fifteen. Each week ·ved cameras to photograph their fam-ommunities, and their fantasies. "The ı Soweto photographed only inside es and front yards," said Ewald, . "They were afraid to shoot outside, e camera would prevent them from ›tential attackers.

Afrikaner children were also limited mes by their fear of the blacks who the small factories that bordered the ›od. When they were asked to take what they liked and didn't like about their community, they all photographed blacks as an example of their dislikes.

"At the end of the three-month course, the children exhibited their photographs in a gallery in downtown Johannesburg. At the opening party the children from the three groups met each other and saw their photographs enlarged for the first time. The kids were apprehensive about meeting each other.

"John Jackson was incredulous as he watched Jacob Masilela, a talented young photographer from Orange Farm, easily take a well-exposed crisp picture. I asked Jacob to take some photographs of the exhibition. He posed John looking admiringly at his picture of a group of squatters moving into Orange Farm. It seemed the boys could respect each other as photographers, and when I took a final group picture, they threw their arms around each other's shoulders."

Photography

Photograph copyright ©1992, Wendy Ewald

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THE CARNEGIE PHILANTHROPIES

Andrew Carnegie was born in Scotland in 1835. He came to the United States with his family in 1848 and went to work as a bobbin boy in a cotton mill. After a :ession of jobs with Western Union and the nsylvania Railroad, he eventually resigned to blish his own business enterprises and, finally, Carnegie Steel Company, which launched the e steel industry in Pittsburgh. At the age of y-five, he sold the company and devoted the of his life to writing, including his autobi- ıphy, and to philanthropic activities, intend- to give away $300 million. He gave away r $350 million.

Gifts to hundreds of communities in the ,lish-speaking world helped to make his idea ıe free public library as the people's univer- a reality. In all, 2,509 libraries were built ı Carnegie funds. His endowment of the ıegie Institute (now named The Carnegie) in ɜburgh brought important educational and ural benefits to the community in which he le his fortune. From experience he knew the ortance of science applied to commerce and ıstry, and he provided for technical training ɔugh the Carnegie Institute of Technology. establishing the Carnegie Institution of ɜhington, he helped to stimulate the growth :nowledge through providing facilities for ic research in science.

Mr. Carnegie set up the Carnegie Trust the Universities of Scotland to assist needy ɹents and to promote research in science, licine, and the humanities. For the better- ıt of social conditions in his native town of ıfermline, Scotland, he set up the Carnegie ıfermline Trust. To improve the well-being he people of Great Britain and Ireland, he ıblished the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust.

In the United States, he created The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, primarily as a pension fund for college teachers and also to promote the cause of higher education. To work for the abolition of war, he established the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. To recognize heroism in the peaceful walks of life as being as worthy as valor in battle, he created funds in the United States, the United Kingdom, and nine European countries to make awards for acts of heroism. In contributing to the construction of the Peace Palace at The Hague, the Pan American Union Building in Washington, D.C., and the Central American Court of Justice in San José, Costa Rica, he further expressed his belief in arbitration and conciliation as substitutes for war.

In 1911, having worked steadily at his task of giving away one of the world's great fortunes, Mr. Carnegie created Carnegie Corporation of New York, a separate foundation as large as all his other trusts combined. Each of the Carnegie agencies has its own funds and trustees, and each is independently managed.

The Corporation was initially endowed with $125 million and received an additional $10 million at his death. It is the only one of the various Carnegie agencies to be devoted solely to the art of organized giving.

The Corporation was established to "promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States," a charter later amended to permit the use of funds for the same purposes in certain countries that are or have been members of the British overseas Commonwealth.

The Corporation's total assets at market value were about $1.11 billion as of September 30, 1994.

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