

WORLD CONFERENCE ON HIGHER EDUCATION

**Higher Education in the Twenty-first Century
Vision and Action**

UNESCO, Paris, 5-9 October 1998

VOLUME IV

Thematic Debate:

Promoting a Culture of Peace

Note of the UNESCO Secretariat

The present volume is part of the Proceedings of the World Conference on Higher Education (Paris 5-9 October 1998).

Volume I :	Final Report
Volume II :	Speeches and Lectures
Volume III :	Reports of the Commissions
Volume IV :	Thematic Debates
Volume V :	Plenary Speeches
Volume VI :	Listing of Titles of Individual Documents.

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Note du Secrétariat de l'UNESCO

Le présent volume fait partie des Actes de la Conférence mondiale sur l'enseignement supérieur (Paris, 5-9 octobre 1998).

Volume I :	Rapport final
Volume II :	Discours et exposés spéciaux
Volume III :	Rapports des commissions
Volume IV :	Débats thématiques
Volume V :	Discours en séances plénières
Volume VI :	Liste des titres des documents individuels.

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Nota de la Secretaría de la UNESCO

El presente volumen forma parte de las Actas de la Conferencia Mundial sobre la Educación Superior (París 5-9 de octubre de 1998).

Volumen I :	Informe Final
Volumen II :	Discursos y Ponencias Especiales
Volumen III :	Informes de las Comisiones
Volumen IV :	Debates Temáticos
Volumen V :	Discursos de la Plenaria
Volumen VI :	Lista de Títulos de los Documentos Individuales

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Introduction

In organizing the World Conference on Higher Education, UNESCO's goal was to create favourable conditions for a sweeping debate and to increase awareness of the principal issues in this important field.

The Thematic Debates were organized in parallel with the Commissions and the Plenary sessions and so constituted one of the selected frameworks for reflection and for deepening discussions.

Planning the Thematic Debates included the participation of some fifty representatives of NGOs and IGOs, as well as a number of resource persons and UNESCO staff members.

Each working document was prepared under the coordination of a leader with the contribution of partners chosen by the Secretariat from organizations already cooperating with UNESCO.

Working documents of the Thematic Debates were taken into account in preparing the Conference's principal working documents and in elaborating drafts of the Declaration Framework for Priority Action. This synergy marked the entire preparation phase.

The 12 Thematic Debates were regrouped into three large themes:

Higher Education and Development

- *The Requirements of the World of Work*
- *Higher Education and Sustainable Human Development*
- *Contributing to National and Regional Development*
- *Higher Education Staff Development: A Continuing Mission*

New Trends and Innovations in Higher Education

- *Higher Education for a New Society: A Student Vision*
- *From Traditional to Virtual: The New Information Technologies*
- *Higher Education and Research: Challenges and Opportunities*
- *The Contribution of Higher Education to the Education System as a Whole*

Higher Education, Culture and Society

- *Women and Higher Education: Issues and Perspectives*
- *Promoting a Culture of Peace*
- *Mobilizing the Power of Culture*
- *Autonomy, Social Responsibility and Academic Freedom*

The introduction to each Debate was given by the author of the working document. This was then completed by input from the panel members.

Each Debate produced a synthesis report representing the results of the discussions and the recommendations made.

The general coordination of the preparation and organization of the Debates was undertaken by the Division of Higher Education, UNESCO.

Volume IV of the Proceedings of the World Conference on Higher Education regroups for each of the 12 Debates:

- The Working Document;
- The Synthetic Report for each Debate;
- The interventions of the panel members.

With regard to the thematic debates on students and women, contributions which were addressed to the Organizing committee and judged relevant were also taken into account.

Thematic Debate

Promoting a Culture of Peace

Leader: International Association of University Presidents (IAUP)

Working Document Drafted by: Dr L. Eudora Pettigrew, Chair IAUP/UN Commission Disarmament Education, Conflict Resolution and Peace, Member, IAUP Executive Committee, and The International Association of University Presidents (IAUP)

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PANEL

Chair: Dr Donald Gerth, California State University, USA

Moderator: Dr L. Eudora Pettigrew Chair, IAUP/UN Commission on Disarmament Education, Conflict Resolution and Peace, USA

Keynote Address: Dr Oscar Arias , Nobel Peace Prize Awardee, Fundación Arias para la Paz, Costa Rica

Rapporteur: Dr Maurice Harari , Secretary-General, International Association of University Presidents (IAUP), USA

Panelists:

Prof. Saleh Al-Mani
King Saud University
Saudi Arabia

Prof. George Benneh
University of Ghana
Accra

Prof. Betty A. Reardon
Teachers College
Columbia University
USA

Prof. Enver Sehic
University of
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Mr Tunnermann Bernheim
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Synthetic Report

Address by: Dr Maurice Harari
Secretary-General
International Association of University Presidents

The thematic debate on promoting a Culture of Peace displayed a remarkable community of spirit. Every person spoke strongly in support of a culture of peace. The question is to devise ways and means to implement it.

In his inspiring keynote speech, Dr Oscar Arias strongly condemned war, which denies humanity itself. In no case is war human. Universities have a natural leadership calling to promote a culture of peace and all academics should concern themselves with the pursuit of peace. The universities should be the "enlightened consciousness" of nations. They should promote understanding and train humane leaders -statesmen rather than just politicians. While countries, in Central America have set an example for the world by achieving peace and, in some cases, renouncing armies, they have not escaped the shortcomings that we see throughout the world. He called for a code of ethics to stop the sale of weapons. At the end of the debate, he underlined the call for a new values system to reflect the new situation 'in the world. We cannot survive in the 21st Century with the ethics of the 20th Century. Lucidity, solidarity, generosity and love must replace greed, hypocrisy and cynicism. He addressed an ardent call to academics everywhere: "Go, teach, free and bring peace to all."

The five panelists, coming from all regions of the world, addressed a wide range of issues and presented experiences of how higher education can contribute to a culture of peace:

- ❖ religious and cultural tolerance which is needed both within and between religions, and avoiding the "selective intolerance" often conveyed by mass media;
- ❖ involvement of a university in disarmament and security research and teaching, including sponsorship of international dialogues among parties in conflict;
- ❖ use of great potential of new information technologies to promote a culture of peace, including initiatives such as that of 2B1 which aims to reach large numbers of children in poor regions;
- ❖ need to educate teachers, who, in turn, reach millions of children, including building capacities in ecological awareness, cultural proficiency, global agency, conflict competency and gender sensitivity;
- ❖ in Africa, which is torn by conflict, a few universities have started programmes devoted to a culture of peace, but this needs to be expanded to a universities.

In the rich debate which followed, there were endorsements of the views expressed by the speakers, along with many ideas, suggestions and recommendations for action. A few of the major themes are listed below:

Many speakers reinforced the call for higher education to prepare school teachers more in depth in peace education, so that they can influence the masses of school children. Teachers should be life-long learners, and should be involved in transformation as well as transmission of society; and should respect and practice the essentials of a peace culture. Training is also important for other professions, for example journalists so that they promote reconciliation instead of adding fuel to conflicts.

A number of specific suggestions were made to mark the International Year for the Culture of Peace (2000). It was announced that UNESCO will launch a summer school in that Year for a culture of peace. The Canadian Association of University Teachers presented a formal resolution calling upon higher education teaching and research personnel to contribute their expertise to transform the present culture of war into a culture of peace.

The principles and concept of a culture of peace must be made specific, according to some speakers. For example, it was stated that a culture of peace cannot be passive in the face of injustice, but must demand solidarity, freedom of cultural and political expression, and a fair world order.

The voice of students was raised strongly in the debate. They emphasized their great potential to contribute to a culture of peace, provided their ability to organize is respected and supported by the universities. Student exchange among those from different cultures and religions can contribute to understanding- "if we know each other face to face, it's more difficult to go to war against each other".

The culture -of peace is a project that needs to involve all of higher education. It must be multidisciplinary, and must integrate teaching, training and research. It should also link to the community through specific actions and projects. Specific examples were given with regard to UNESCO Chairs, the UNITWIN programme, and the IAUP/UN Commission for Disarmament Education, Conflict Resolution and Peace. The international higher education community is the natural partner for UNESCO for a culture of peace. They need to be mutually supportive.

The need for a new peace paradigm was summed up eloquently by one speaker: "Conflict and violence have changed in the world. The world itself has changed. We need to change. The memory of the past is war. We need a change of values to create a memory of peace. It is not enough to express theories about a culture of peace. We need to practice peace, and to transmit values of peace and reconciliation. We need to overhaul our ethics.

Working Document

Statement of Need

The need to construct a new paradigm for peace in the post-Cold War era and the involvement of universities around the world in this process will be the major focus of a Thematic Debate, to be held during the World Conference on Higher Education convened by UNESCO, October 5-9, 1998, at its Headquarters in Paris, France. The Thematic Debate will be organized and led by the International Association of University Presidents (IAUP) through its IAUP/UN Commission on Disarmament Education, Conflict Resolution and Peace.

Violence has taken on a new face globally with the end of the Cold War. No longer is confrontation between superpowers the central issue of war and peace. Today, intrasocietal violence - violence within nations - overshadows violence that pits nation against nation.

However, intrasocietal violence is not always confined within national borders. As the experiences in Rwanda, Burundi, the Republic of Congo, Sri Lanka, and the Balkans demonstrate, intrasocietal violence can easily spill across communities and boundaries mirroring regions in intersocietal conflict.

In the world today, there are 3500 population groups that describe themselves as "nations" while only 185 such groups are actively recognized as "nation states" by the international community. The potential for intersocietal and intrasocietal conflict involving a large number of these 3500 population groups is enormous and provides a powerful rationale for the vigorous promotion of a Culture of Peace.

Other factors which are very important in the promotion of a Culture of Peace include environmental concerns, sustainable economic development, solutions for the increasing number of refugees and the promotion of international relations among and between countries.

Development of a new paradigm for peace in response to the challenges of increased societal violence is vital. Development of a worldwide Culture of Peace is required. The participation of universities in creating and maintaining the new paradigm, in fostering a Culture of Peace, can be a critical component.

The tools of the past used by nations to solve conflict -- war and diplomacy -- are no longer appropriate, nor sufficient in this new global environment. Military power has severe limits when it comes to arresting violence. When the roots of conflict extend beyond states jockeying for power over territory - often the end result of deep-set enmities - diplomacy too can have limits.

Thus, the challenge today in dealing with violence is the establishment of a Culture of Peace in nations and providing education that causes nations and their people to learn ways to live in peace with each other.

Using education as a tool for transformation of the world from violence to peace has been a traditional mission of UNESCO as well as of IAUP. The Thematic Debate and what will grow out of it aims to enrich this mission by having universities become more fully engaged in the process. The goal is to make it imperative for educators around the world to assist in building societal resistance to violence through peace education.

Background

The changed world situation has sparked efforts by UNESCO and the United Nations to revise the previous paradigm for peace, as expressed, for example, in the 1974 UNESCO recommendations on Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-Operation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.

The Culture of Peace approach has been proposed as a new paradigm both in the Medium-Term Strategy of UNESCO and in the UN General Assembly resolutions.

When defining the Medium-Term Strategy of the Organization (1996-2000), the 28th Session of the General Conference of UNESCO in 1995 declared that: "the major challenge at the close of the twentieth century is to begin the transition from a culture of war to this culture of peace: a culture of social interaction and sharing, based on the principles of freedom, justice and democracy, tolerance and solidarity, - a culture that rejects violence, endeavors to prevent conflicts by tackling their roots, and to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation, - a culture which guarantees everyone the full exercise of all rights and the means to participate fully in the endogenous development of their society."

The United Nations General Assembly at its 52nd session on November 20, 1997 adopted by consensus two major resolutions on the Culture of Peace. One proclaimed the year 2000 the International Year for the Culture of Peace, recalling an earlier resolution adopted by the Economic and Social Council on the reasons that such a year is needed and requesting that UNESCO serve as its focal point. The other resolution requests that the UN Secretary-General, in co-ordination with UNESCO's Director-General, submit a consolidated report containing a draft Declaration and Program of Action on the Culture of Peace to the General Assembly session of 1998.

In adopting the latter resolution, the General Assembly called for the "promotion of a culture of peace based on the principles established in the Charter of the United Nations and on respect for human rights, democracy and tolerance, the promotion of development, education for peace, the free flow of information, and the wider participation of women as an integral approach to preventing violence and conflicts, and efforts aimed at the creation of conditions for peace and its consolidation."

Given the great challenge placed before it at this point, UNESCO is requesting its partners, including those in higher education, to help formulate the International Year, the draft Declaration and the Program of Action requested by the UN General Assembly in such a way that their institutions will be able to most effectively contribute to a Culture of Peace and reconciliation.

The format of the Debate

The Thematic Debate will last three hours. Dr. L. Eudora Pettigrew, the moderator and Chair of the IAUP/UN Commission on Disarmament Education, Conflict Resolution and Peace, will give a brief presentation on the theme of the Debate and will introduce the keynote speaker, a person of international prominence in the field of peacemaking.

The keynoter will speak for 20 minutes. She or he will be followed by a maximum of five substantive speakers who are representatives of major university disciplines. Each speaker will present a paper indicating the relationship of a Culture of Peace to their discipline. An array of individuals are being considered for all the speaker positions. There will be a broad diversity of speakers related to culture, expertise and national origin. It is thus hoped to reflect the major contributions to the epistemological concepts of a Culture of Peace which are being made increasingly by faculty who are not teaching under the

rubric of peace studies, but who have "infused" their courses in varying degrees with concepts of peace and awareness of global issues.

Following the comments from the moderator, keynoter and members of the panel - a one hour period -there will be two additional hours of discussion, guided by the moderator involving those attending the Debate.

Among the key questions to be addressed in the debate, the following will be emphasized:

1. An articulation of the challenges in the transition from a culture of war and violence to a Culture of Peace. How can a *paradigm of peace education* be developed, corresponding to the new *paradigm of peace*, rendered necessary by developments subsequent to the cold war era? This will include the matter of "mainstreaming" peace education -- developing ways of bringing it throughout and across higher education curricula. How can peace education be pursued most effectively? Can certain academic disciplines take the lead in promoting peace education, or should it be pursued in a multi-disciplinary manner?
2. The specific ways in which higher education can best contribute to developing a Culture of Peace through university research, training and service.
3. The role of peace education in both formal and non-formal education along with the effectiveness of networking and co-operation strategies within the higher education community and beyond - bringing together opinion-builders, policy-makers and educators in forging a Culture of Peace.
4. How can new advances in information and communication technologies, including Internet, be most effectively used by higher education for promoting a Culture of Peace?
5. How can UNESCO forge new alliances with universities around the world, with academic and professional organizations, with NGOs, with institutions of higher education to engage in a cooperative effort to institutionalize the creation of a new paradigm for peace education. In light of the decision of the UN General Assembly at its 52nd session to proclaim the year 2000 as the International Year for a Culture of Peace, the conceptual idea of developing a UNESCO Associated Universities Network will be the basis for the discussion.

The role of universities in promoting a Culture of Peace

Universities have several distinctive and related responsibilities, chief among them being to discover and impart knowledge through research and teaching and to educate professionals to use the knowledge.

In the past, the universities have not been immune from involvement in the culture of conflict. Students, historically, have been indoctrinated with their nation's rhetoric for war, indeed trained in many nations at war colleges, but at civilian universities as well, in the techniques of war. Also, the university has been party to the development of knowledge for the purposes of war by conducting military research.

There has been a major change in the last several decades. Now many universities are offering peace studies as well as war studies. This is a transition which has far to go, yet it provides a foundation on which to build.

Peace studies grew out of a concern that while the academic community had invested enormous resources and dedicated some of its finest talent to the rationales and ways of war, efforts at learning about

and striving for peace had been scattered and disorganized, if not ignored in academe. It was felt that the relationship of much of the academic community to "the war system" had been characterized by complicity at best and full participation at worst. Peace studies were considered a way to redirect the higher education community toward analyzing, demythologizing and ultimately confronting that system. Where traditional disciplines treated war either as an inevitable phenomenon or as a useful tool, peace studies sought to treat it as a human problem.

There are numerous examples of such programs at universities throughout the world. Many have existed for more than fifty years. The Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms adopted by UNESCO in 1974 gave added impetus to the integration of activities devoted to peace studies into institutions of higher education.

UNESCO's activities in the development of a Culture of Peace are significant and include the World Directory of Peace Research and Teaching Institutions, published periodically by UNESCO. In its latest edition (1994), there are 502 entries. Of these are international, regional and sub-regional institutes, centers, organizations, foundations and other institutions, while the remaining 455 entries represent major national institutions in over 70 countries. Most of them represent university departments, institutes or centers with a tradition and experience of research, teaching and dissemination of information relative to international education. Also listed in the Directory are 98 major peace periodicals published in various parts of the world.

Among the international institutions, the United Nations University in Tokyo and the University for Peace, established in 1981, in Costa Rica, by decision of the UN General Assembly have been invaluable in promoting studies and research on peace, conflict resolution, human rights and democracy in higher education institutions. The Thematic Debate will consider ways of how UNESCO can facilitate cooperation between universities and these institutions within the framework of the Culture of Peace.

The World Directory of Human Rights Research and Training Institutions (3rd edition, 1994) lists 386 institutions, on all continents. They meet regularly every two years at UNESCO to co-ordinate their work and to plan certain activities. In that manner, they have developed the potential to work as an international network. The networking and co-operation activities will be further promoted in 1998, which is the anniversary year of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Fundamental Human Rights. A new edition of the World Directory is being prepared by UNESCO to mark the same occasion. Most of its entries concern centers, institutes, or departments which are an integral part of, or closely related to universities.

A third World Directory published by UNESCO concerns the Research and Training Institutions in International Law. The 1994 edition lists 578 entries, mostly located in Law Schools and faculties at universities throughout the world. UNESCO co-operates closely with them within the framework of the UN Decade for International Law (1990-2000).

It is also appropriate to note the role played by a large number of NGOs of higher education in promoting studies and research devoted to peace, international understanding, respect for human rights, intercultural studies, tolerance and the advancement of democracy.

UNESCO has established a special framework for co-operation with some 30 NGOs of higher education, including: the International Association of Universities (IAU); the International Association of University Presidents (IAUP); the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU); the Association des universités partiellement ou entièrement de langue française (AUPELF), and the World University Service (WUS). The other members of this Collective Consultation, which reunites periodically to establish priorities in the work, they agree to undertake includes the major associations of universities: the Association of African Universities (AAU), the Association of European Universities (CRE), the Association of Asian Universities, the Inter-American Organization of Higher Education (IAOHE), the Union de Universidades de America

Latina, (UDUAL), the Association of Arab Universities, (AArU), the Community of Mediterranean Universities (CUM), as well as university teachers' and students' organizations. The International Peace Research Association (IPRA), with a membership of over 1000 individual researchers and institutions, plays a special role in efforts to involve higher education institutions more actively in those activities which are known under the generic term of international education.

An initiative launched by UNESCO in 1991 with a view to promote international co-operation in higher education, namely the UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs program, has provided a new impetus to the involvement of universities throughout the world in teaching, research and training devoted to international education. To give just a few examples, some 35 UNESCO chairs, established during the last three years, are devoted to peace, human rights, democracy and tolerance. Their number is on the increase. A meeting of the Chairs is scheduled to take place in Stadtschlaining, Austria, in April 1998, to take stock of the experience they have acquired thus far, and to discuss ways by which they could set up an international network. The results of the meeting will be available for the debate.

UNESCO Chairs and networks in other fields, such as ***sustainable development, international relations, regional studies, refugee studies***, etc. are equally relevant for enhancing the participation of higher education institutions in international education. The network of UNESCO Chairs in communication (ORBICOM) is vitally important. Established in 1994 in co-operation with the University of Quebec in Montreal, the ORBICOM network is a unique mechanism for co-operation and exchanges among academics, communication professionals and specialized industries. Within a short period of time, ORBICOM has grown to count 16 UNESCO Chairs and 170 institutions associated to its program in 50 countries throughout the world. The network promotes studies and research in communication and media management, public relations, advertising, paying special attention to professional training and ethics in communication. The main thrust of its action is to assist higher education institutions in the developing countries, enhance their training and research capabilities in these key fields, through internships and fellowship programs, exchange of professors and researchers, development of new models for the transfer of knowledge and know-how, and the implementation of joint research and development projects. ORBICOM makes intensive use of information and communication technologies and could thus play a significant role in promoting their use in networking and promoting international co-operation in peace studies in general.

Among the important initiatives to promote peace studies at institutions of higher education, the IAUP/UN Commission on Disarmament Education Conflict Resolution and Peace founded by the International Association of University Presidents in 1990 in conjunction with the UN Center for Disarmament Affairs, encourages, assists and participates in the coordination of educational programs in disarmament, conflict resolution and peace. After reviewing such programs in universities around the world, the Commission developed and embarked on a multitude of projects which continue. These include the development of course modules in disarmament, conflict resolution and peace introduced at universities in Latin America, Africa including South Africa, Egypt, the Middle East and countries in the Far East. For example, with the support of the IAUP/UN Commission a significant program has been institutionalized in a major public university in the Far East. The University has established a Peace Institute under the direction of its Teachers' Education Bureau. Courses that are peace and security oriented are taught to potential teachers, security officers, as well as other students, undergraduate and graduate. In addition, course modules have been translated into languages of the countries in which they are taught, and courses have been and continue to be taught to more than 3000 students around the world. The Commission has sponsored conferences in the U.S., the Philippines, Egypt and South Africa and is planning several more in the coming months. The Commission sponsored a workshop on Women and Conflict Resolution at the Fourth UN Conference on Women held in 1995 in Beijing, China, and a monograph has been prepared recording the workshop. The activities of the Commission have been reported in national and international newspapers and have received coverage in newspapers devoted to higher education.

Proposed Strategies for Future Action

Institutions of higher education are encouraged to expand their participation in the development of a worldwide Culture of Peace. The proclamation by the United Nations in November 1997 naming the year 2000 as the International Year for the Culture of Peace and the Declaration and Program of Action on the Culture of Peace to be submitted to the UN General Assembly in 1998 can serve as a catalyst for institutions of higher education to promote the development of curriculum, research and service devoted to an international Culture of Peace.

UNESCO's Culture of Peace Program, their UNESCO Chairs devoted to Human Rights, Democracy, International Understanding, Intercultural Relations, Tolerance and Peace, as well as other programs of the Organization may be used to network with higher education institutions, NGOs such as the IAUP/UN Commission on Disarmament Education, Conflict Resolution and Peace and others who are devoted to peace programs as well as other centers and institutes that conduct instruction, research and service on all aspects of a Culture of Peace.

Institutions of higher education networking with other organizations have an unprecedented opportunity to promote teaching research and service devoted to a Culture of Peace so as to provide for their students and their larger communities the awareness of the global nature of issues relevant to world needs today and for the future. The proposed development of a UNESCO Associated Universities Network along with already existent university peace programs, NGOs, institutes, centers and commissions presently engaged in the development of curriculum, research and service about a Culture of Peace and in close co-operation with the UN University (Tokyo) and the University of Peace (Costa Rica) will foster a worldwide major educational thrust for the promotion of a Culture of Peace. Use of present and future information technology will be of significant assistance in the continued development of the concepts inherent in a Culture of Peace.

International cooperation leading to broad alliances, linkages and networking among and between institutions of higher education in all parts of the world will encourage the exchange of experience, materials, publication curriculum and research projects devoted to a Culture of Peace.

Conclusion

The main goal of the Thematic Debate, namely to further enhance ongoing co-operation between UNESCO and a broad range of partners so as to encourage and assist universities around the world to develop instruction, research and service devoted to a Culture of Peace requires an open dialogue concerning the best ways in which it can be achieved, including the structures, linkages and other networking arrangements that can facilitate reaching that goal. The relationship among the partners fosters additional insight into the complex aspects of a Culture of Peace, many of which are still in need of further clarification. Universities and higher education institutions in general have the best structure and organization to provide a platform for reflection and action devoted to that end. The feasibility of establishing an international Network of UNESCO Associated Universities, with the aim to promote their stronger involvement in peace education, conflict resolution, human rights and democracy, can be examined in this context.

The Debate along with the UNESCO World Conference on Higher Education is not, of course, to be a one-time event, but to be a gateway to the international emphasis on fostering a culture of non-violence, a Culture of Peace.

Higher Education: The Road to Peace

Address by: Dr L. Eudora Pettigrew, Ph.D
Chair, IAUP/UN Commission on
Disarmament Education, Conflict
Resolution and Peace
USA

Education is assuming an increasingly important role in the quest for world peace. Raising children with a peace mentality, nurturing the idea and concepts of peace through education and developing customised courses that relate to conflict resolution and peace, have been goals of the IAUP/UN Commission on Disarmament Education, Conflict Resolution and Peace since 1989.

In 1989, the Executive Committee of the IAUP approved a proposal to work in conjunction with the United Nations on Disarmament Education. In 1990, at the 9th Triennial meeting in Valledolid, Spain, the Association membership approved the formation of an IAUP/UN Disarmament Education Commission for the purpose of advancing the teaching of concepts of disarmament, conflict resolution and peace in institutions of higher education. Today, Commission members include chief executive officers of universities and colleges, faculty scholars, diplomats and governmental officials, arms control experts and others from such diverse disciplines as Literature and the Arts, Journalism, Political Science, Economics, Health and Environment, Business and Industry.

There are more than seventy corresponding members from countries around the world. The Commission has assisted with the development of coursework in Disarmament, Conflict Resolution and Peace in universities in Latin America, Africa, South Africa, Egypt and the Middle East, and countries in Eastern Europe. The Commission has also established relationships with universities in the US that offer coursework on the subject areas, and encouraged them to expand their instruction, research and service in the related areas.

The major focus of this thematic debate is to promote the construction of a new paradigm for peace in the post Cold-War era; the involvement of universities world wide in the development of this paradigm is the key to achieving the goals of a culture of peace.

Universities have several distinctive and related responsibilities, chief among them being to discover and impart knowledge through instruction and research and to educate their constituents to use the knowledge effectively. For centuries, universities have more often than not been involved in the culture of conflict. Students have often been taught their nation's rhetoric about war, and indeed trained in many nations in war colleges, and to some extent in civilian universities. In addition, some universities have been party to the development of knowledge for the purposes of war by conducting military research. In the last several decades, there has been a major change; many universities are now offering peace studies; this is a transition which has far to go, yet it provides a foundation on which to build. There are numerous examples of such programs at universities throughout the world. Many have existed for fifty years.

UNESCO's activities in the development of a Culture of Peace are significant and include the World Directory of Peace Research and Teaching Institutions. UNESCO also publishes a World Directory of Human Rights Research and Training Institutions, and a third World Directory on Research and Training in International Law.

It is also appropriate to note the role played by a large number of NGO's of higher education in promoting studies and research devoted to peace, international understanding, respect for human rights,

intercultural studies, tolerance and the advancement of democracy. UNESCO has established a special framework for cooperation with some 30 NGO's of higher education and I am pleased to note that IAUP is one of those thirty. An initiative launched by UNESCO in 1991, namely the UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs program has provided an additional impetus to the involvement of universities throughout the world in instruction, research and training in peace and related studies.

Our main goal today is to further enhance on-going cooperation between UNESCO and a broad range of institutions of higher education so as to increase the development of instruction, research and service devoted to a Culture of Peace. We hope to stimulate an open dialogue that will extend far beyond this debate and will increase networking, and linkages that will contribute to the achievement of peace, that will be a gateway to the international emphasis on fostering a culture of non-violence, a Culture of Peace.

Let me now introduce our Keynote speaker. IAUP and its Commission are greatly honoured to have as our keynote speaker, a Nobel Peace Prize Awardee. Our speaker has international stature as a spokesperson for developing countries. He continually champions such issues as human development, democracy, and demilitarization. He has traveled the world spreading a message of peace and applying the lessons garnered from the Central American Peace Process to topics of global debate. Dr. Oscar Arias was born in Heredia, Costa Rica in 1940. He studied law and economics at the University of Costa Rica. He received a doctoral degree in Political Science from the University of Essex, in the United Kingdom. He served as professor of Political Science at the University of Costa Rica. In governmental positions, he has served as the Costa Rican Minister of Planning and Economic Policy, served in the Costa Rican Congress, was elected Secretary General of the Costa Rican National Liberation Party in 1981 and in 1986 was elected President of Costa Rica. On the day that he took office, the presidents of nine Central American countries met in San Jose, Costa Rica. President Arias called for a continental alliance for the defense of democracy and liberty. At that moment, Costa Rica led by President Arias assumed a leadership role in the search for democracy and peace for the countries of Central America and ultimately the world. In 1987, President Arias drafted a peace plan to end regional crises, and his initiative culminated in the signing of the procedure to establish a firm and lasting Peace in Central America signed by all Central American Presidents on August 7, 1987. In that same year, Dr. Arias was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He used the funds from the award to establish the Arias Foundation for Peace and Human Progress which has fostered programs for gender equity, strengthened the participation and action of the civil society in Central America and has worked for demilitarization and conflict resolution in the developing world.

Dr. Arias has received honorary degrees from many prestigious universities and has been awarded numerous prizes including the Martin Luther King, Jr. Peace Award and the Albert Schweitzer Humanitarian Award.

Dr. Arias serves in leadership roles with several international organizations, and encourages preventive diplomacy to avert regional arms races and conflict. He recently proposed to all Heads of State in Latin America that they endorse a two-year moratorium on the purchase of high-tech weapons. To date, twenty- four leaders have agreed to this moratorium.

Our keynote speaker epitomizes the commitment to a Culture of Peace that is the goal of this thematic debate. I am deeply honoured to present to you Dr Oscar Arias.

Palabras del Dr Oscar Arias
Premio Nobel de la Paz
Fundación Arias para la Paz
Costa Rica

Amigas y amigos:

Es muy satisfactorio que, en el marco de esta Conferencia Mundial sobre la Educación Superior, convocada por la UNESCO, se haya incluido, bajo el auspicio de la Unión Internacional de Presidentes de Universidades, un debate temático sobre el Papel de la Educación Superior en la Promoción de una Cultura de Paz". Cada día se reafirma en mí la convicción de que el futuro de la humanidad depende vitalmente de que la idea de la paz sea adoptada, no como una simple utopía orientadora del rumbo de nuestra civilización, sino como una meta indispensable y asequible de la humanidad y como segura característica de todas las culturas del futuro.

En tomo a la definición de lo que es la cultura, la discusión escolástica sigue planteada- El hecho de que hayamos venido a hablar aquí de una cultura de la paz contrapuesta a una cultura de la guerra y la violencia podría sumergirnos en un antiguo y nunca concluido debate: ¿cuáles aptitudes humanas son innatas y, por lo tanto, forman parte de la naturaleza, y cuáles integran la cultura por ser el resultado de la acción libre y consciente de los individuos y las sociedades? Reservemos ese debate al ámbito de la filosofía de la cultura y partamos de que, para muchos de nosotros, el concepto de cultura encierra, por definición, una visión positiva del ser humano y de sus actos. Por ello nos resulta difícil aceptar que a los conceptos de guerra y de violencia pueda asociarse el de cultura. Prefiero asignar a las tendencias violentas y guerreras de nuestra especie un carácter esencialmente atávico, repugnante a la razón y a la conciencia humanas; prefiero pensar que la aspiración de paz es inherente al desarrollo de la cultura.

Quien desee apostar a la causa de la paz, debe apoyarse, con la fuerza de un acto de fe, en la creencia de que en ningún caso la guerra puede ser humana; de que en condiciones de paz nuestra especie lleva la marca de la cultura, en tanto que en el estado de guerra la condición humana cesa de existir. Quizás esta simplificación sea inaceptable para muchas y muchos entre ustedes, por lo que accedo momentáneamente a concederle el rango de una cultura a ese conjunto de aberraciones todavía visibles en nuestra civilización que facilitan y tienden a justificar la guerra y, en consecuencia, niegan a la humanidad.

Por fortuna, me seguirán en el uso de la palabra autorizados especialistas cuyas intervenciones orientarán, sin duda alguna, este debate hacia las respuestas más apropiadas para las cinco interrogantes que aparecen en la convocatoria suministrada por los organizadores. Son interrogantes objetivas y precisas, de las cuales las universidades, como instituciones educativas que son, no tienen escapatoria. No estoy seguro de poder contribuir significativamente a la búsqueda de esas respuestas, pues no soy un académico. Ciertamente, tuve, en la Universidad de Costa Rica, un paso por la docencia universitaria que fue muy estimulante y me proporcionó útiles e inolvidables experiencias. Lamentablemente, aquel valioso contacto con la juventud de mi país fue abreviado por las demandas de una participación en la política nacional que me llevó hasta la Presidencia de mi país y, entre otras cosas, a involucrarme en la búsqueda, pragmática y a veces desesperada, de la paz en una región que en aquel momento experimentaba con gran intensidad los efectos de lo que, a mi entender, los convocantes a este debate llaman la "cultura de la guerra y la violencia". De ese modo, por una parte, lo limitado de mi experiencia de docente e investigador académico me desautoriza en este debate temático; pero, por otra, existe la posibilidad de que el testimonio de los dirigentes y gobernantes centroamericanos que participamos en el proceso de pacificación de Centroamérica en el transcurso de la década de 1980 sea, en alguna medida, útil al propósito de definir lo que podría hacer la educación superior en la construcción y la consolidación de la paz.

No intentaré, en este momento, saltar a conclusiones o plantear las lecciones de interés académico derivadas de lo que fue el proceso de paz en Centroamérica. Para ello tenemos la suerte de que, en muchos centros de investigación y en casi todas las universidades de aquella región, en forma independiente o en colaboración con instituciones extranjeras, se ejecuten actualmente proyectos de investigación que, como los que lleva a cabo la Fundación Arias para la Paz y el Progreso Humano, en conjunto con instituciones de varios continentes, representan aportes muy valiosos a la resolución y la prevención de conflictos y a la propuesta de medidas encaminadas; a la reducción del gasto militar y a la redefinición del concepto de seguridad. En todas esas instituciones, docenas de investigadores dedican mucho tiempo y mucho esfuerzo al estudio de las causas y los efectos de la violencia en Centroamérica, así como del proceso de paz iniciado en 1987 con la firma de los acuerdos de Esquipulas. Son estudios e investigaciones que se llevan a cabo, no solo con el propósito académico de documentar históricamente el proceso de paz, sino también con la importante finalidad de sacar de aquel proceso las enseñanzas que pudieran contribuir a consolidar, en la región y en el mundo, una cultura de paz. No vacilo en afirmar que, en ese ámbito, los centros de enseñanza superior tendrán siempre que desempeñar un papel decisivo.

Cumplir con ese papel es una deuda que las universidades tienen con la humanidad. Después de todo, por lo menos en lo que toca a la universidad occidental, esta debe de llevar sobre su conciencia muchas culpas relacionadas con la colaboración, omisa en unos casos y deliberada en otros, de los docentes e investigadores académicos con las maquinarias de la guerra y de la propaganda guerrillera o totalitaria. Culpabilidad que, dicho sea de paso, no se limita a los campos específicos de las ciencias físicas y naturales. Un examen somero de las guerras y otros conflictos violentos del siglo XX nos lleva a constatar que en muchos países las universidades han sido importantes proveedores intelectuales, tanto para el arsenal de armas convencionales y de destrucción masiva, como del arsenal de las doctrinas y las ideologías del odio, el racismo y la intolerancia.

Además, no podemos estar tan seguros de que las universidades no son cómplices de las debilidades observables en los cuadros del liderazgo mundial, regional y nacional de hoy en día. Siempre se ha pretendido, con justa razón probablemente, que la universidad posee una natural vocación de liderazgo, y los universitarios no han escatimado esfuerzos por ejercer esa vocación. En mi país, el orgullo, que algunos llaman arrogancia, de los académicos convirtió en lugar común el calificativo dado a la universidad por los universitarios mismos, de "conciencia lúcida de la patria". Expresión en la que se pretende englobar toda la capacidad individual y colectiva de los académicos para orientar y dirigir a la sociedad costarricense, desde luego en el sentido aristotélico del buen gobierno. Y, al igual que ocurre en casi todos los estados democráticos, el liderazgo intelectual, político y económico de Costa Rica es ejercido por hombres y mujeres que, por ser en su mayoría de extracción académica, deberían poseer toda la sabiduría, la honestidad y el amor por la paz que se requieren para ejercer a cabalidad la función de "conciencia lúcida de la patria". Virtudes que, a mi juicio, en la actualidad no son tan patentes ni tan abundantes como quisiéramos la mayoría de los costarricenses.

No sería justo desautorizar, con una crítica unilateral, al liderazgo político de mi país sin juzgar, al mismo tiempo, a los líderes de otras naciones. Tan solo trato de señalar que Costa Rica no escapa a las deficiencias y debilidades del liderazgo que hoy son perceptibles en todo el mundo, en países grandes y países pequeños, en grandes potencias y en pequeños estados; y a preguntarme, sin olvidar que la palabra patria ha recibido la bendición y el castigo de connotaciones en extremo diversas, si las instituciones de enseñanza superior representadas en esta asamblea mundial deberían o no deberían ser consideradas la "conciencia lúcida" del planeta, patria de la humanidad. En efecto, al examinar la falta de liderazgo que caracteriza en estos días a nuestra civilización, tendemos a resaltar el origen nacional, étnico o, a veces, militar, de los dirigentes; y, por lo general, pasamos como sobre ascuas sobre el hecho de que la dirigencia local, regional y mundial está mayoritariamente integrada por hombres y mujeres que en algún momento formaron parte de la colectividad universitaria, que debería estar llamada a ser la "conciencia lúcida de la humanidad". Si el resultado observable del actual liderazgo global parece ser una combinación de temor, conflictividad, corrupción, liviandad, violencia, desconfianza y desorientación, es lógico que nos

preguntemos dónde figura el impacto de la lucidez supuestamente adquirida en el seno de la universidad por tantos líderes de extracción académica. Desde esta perspectiva, no hay la menor duda de que esta autorizada asamblea debe tomarse muy en serio la necesidad de introducir, en la praxis académica, cambios fundamentales con el propósito de configurar, en beneficio de las nuevas generaciones, un liderazgo más honesto, más competente, más lúcido y más humano que el que han padecido la mayoría de las naciones durante los últimos decenios del siglo XX.

Espero que ustedes incurran en un acto seminal de lucidez que consistiría en recuperar para la institución universitaria aquella visión cosmopolita de la cultura y la libertad que, de no haber sido abandonada, nos habría evitado ver cómo, en muchos casos, los académicos se sometían a las estrechas miras del nacionalismo o del sectarismo político, o aun de la intolerancia religiosa.

No podemos creer, en modo alguno, que la universidad es milagrosamente inmune a la violencia y al sectarismo. No olvidemos nunca que una vez, en el corazón de Europa, la carta de un oscuro decano universitario le informó a Thomas Mann que, por ser desafecto al nacionalsocialismo, había sido despojado de su cátedra y expulsado de su universidad. No hace mucho tiempo, la pira balcánica se alimentaba de la demagogia y la irresponsabilidad de dirigentes a cuyos nombres la prensa solía anteponer las abreviaturas de sus grados académicos y, desde las colinas cercanas a Sarajevo, profesores y estudiantes universitarios, poseídos de la diabólica lucidez del odio racial, eran quienes lanzaban descargas de artillería sobre los mercados y los hospitales de la ciudad. Más recientemente, cuando renacía la amenaza nuclear en la forma de una absurda carrera armamentista entre la India y Pakistán, entre los más articulados defensores de aquella demencial aventura figuraban científicos y propagandistas formados en los centros de la lucidez académica de Oriente y de Occidente. Mucho antes, la guerra de Vietnam, hoy calificada de insensata por sus propios promotores en Estados Unidos, era justificada con base en el consejo de desatacados académicos y, si falta hiciera una prueba de la complicidad universitaria, ¿cómo olvidar que el desarrollo del napalm fue producto de un empeño muy específico encargado a investigadores de excelentes universidades?

No propongo que este debate se convierta en un irremediable mea culpa de la acadernia. Bien sabemos que, mientras el inventor del napalm deambulaba tranquilamente por los pasillos de una universidad estadounidense, miles de estudiantes y profesores de aquella universidad se manifestaban de muy diversas maneras contra la guerra, el racismo y el totalitarismo. En América Latina nunca olvidaremos el aporte que el movimiento estudiantil universitario dio a las luchas contra las dictaduras. En Estados Unidos, la academia fue baluarte de la lucha por los derechos civiles. En África y Asia la independencia política de muchas naciones no habría sido posible sin el esfuerzo y la lucidez de los universitarios. Tan sólo he querido señalar que es necesario ahondar muchísimo en el tema de las relaciones entre la universidad, la sociedad y el poder, antes de descubrir el terreno apropiado para desarrollar, desde la academia, una cultura de la paz. Pero, por otra parte, no es necesario esperar tanto para fortalecer los esfuerzos que, por la causa de la paz, así como por la prevención y la solución de conflictos, realizan las universidades.

A ese respecto, quiero tomarme aquí la libertad de comentar las grandes dificultades que, para la ejecución de estos empeños, significa la escasez de recursos económicos. Es una escasez que suele entorpecer también las labores de activismo directo que se realizan, dentro y fuera de las universidades, en favor del desarme y la desmilitarización, aspectos medulares de una cultura de paz. Es una escasez que, en nuestro caso y para citar tan solo unos pocos ejemplos, experimentarnos en:

1. la campaña, finalmente exitosa, dirigida a lograr que la República de Panamá adoptara la norma constitucional que prohíbe el ejército, sinular a la que Costa Rica había adoptado en 1949;
2. la campaña todavía en curso y hasta el momento promisoria, para que la República de Haití haga otro tanto;
3. la promoción, en colaboración con varias pemnas e instituciones que han sido laureadas con el Premio Nobel de la Paz, de un código internacional de conducta sobre la transferencia de armas;

4. la oposición activa a la transferencia de armas de alta tecnología desde Estados Unidos y otros países industrializados, hacia América Latina, lo cual vendría a desatar una costosa carrera armamentista en la región;
5. la convocatoria a una conferemía internacional sobre el desarme y la desmilitarización en África subsahariana.

Todos estos esfuerzos se enfrentan, no solamente a la resistencia de los círculos interesados en conservar las posibilidades de enriquecimiento mediante la fabricación y la venta de armas, sino que también hemos chocado con la indiferencia y el desinterés de personas, instituciones y gobiernos que deberían, por razones de principio, estar en posición y condiciones de colaborar con la causa de la paz.

Por supuesto, y a riesgo de ser omiso, me siento obligado a citar la colaboración que la Fundación Arias para la Paz y el Progreso Humano ha recibido de los gobiernos de Suecia, Noruega, Canadá, Suiza, Holanda, la República de China y Tanzania, del Banco Mundial, de la Agencia Internacional para el Desarrollo de Estados Unidos, del Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo y las fundaciones Ford, Kellog y MacArthur, entre otras. Y debemos mencionar de manera muy especial a la UNESCO, por haber incorporado, a su Programa de Educación para la Paz, nuestro proyecto de crear en Costa Rica un Museo para la Paz. Más que la apertura de un museo en el sentido tradicional del término, este proyecto pretende establecer un centro permanente de reflexión, discusión, intercambio y enseñanza sobre el tema de la paz, bajo la guía y con la colaboración permanente de la UNESCO y de todas aquellas instituciones que compartan con la Fundación Arias el propósito de fortalecer la cultura de la paz. Con la cooptación de nuestro proyecto por parte de la UNESCO establecimos sólidas bases de confianza que nos permitirán llamar a todas las instituciones de enseñanza, en particular las universidades, a asociarse con el Museo para la Paz y su esfuerzo educativo. Ninguna oportunidad como esta para hacer un llamado a las autoridades académicas de todo el mundo a apoyar y promover esta empresa educativa de la UNESCO y la Fundación Arias para la Paz y el Progreso Humano.

Amigas y amigos:

En la declaración introductoria del documento base de este debate temático, se afirma que, globalmente, a partir del fin de la guerra fría la violencia ha adoptado un nuevo rostro. Se sugiere que, en la discusión sobre la guerra y la paz, el tema central ha dejado de ser la confrontación entre dos superpotencias, y que en la actualidad la violencia intrasocial ha adquirido más relevancia que la guerra entre naciones. Se argumenta que, existiendo varios miles de grupos poblacionales que reivindican el status de "naciones", tan sólo 185 de esos grupos son reconocidos como "naciones estado", situación que genera, por sí sola, un gran potencial de conflicto y constituye la justificación de una vigorosa promoción de la cultura de paz.

Se mencionan, acto seguido, como justificantes adicionales de la promoción de la cultura de paz, las preocupaciones sobre el medio ambiente, sobre la necesidad de alcanzar un desarrollo económico sostenible, sobre el incremento del número de refugiados y sobre la necesidad de promover las relaciones internacionales entre países.

Sin embargo, debemos advertir que los factores de violencia, activa o larvada, que se observan en el mundo posterior a la guerra fría no son nuevos. La pobreza, la desigualdad, la explotación, la ignorancia, el fanatismo, la avaricia económica de los países y las empresas productoras y vendedores de armas, estaban ahí y fueron utilizados irresponsablemente por las grandes potencias para sus fines estratégicos. "La guerra fría impidió enfrentar los factores de violencia que, como estos, se encuentran en la base de los conflictos actuales y futuros. Nada se habrá ganado con el fin de la guerra fría si en el llamado nuevo orden mundial las sociedades y los individuos más prósperos y poderosos persisten en ignorar dónde se encuentran las verdaderas causas de la violencia.

En rigor, la lista de factores que dan sustento a la violencia y la guerra podría volverse interminable. Cada uno de esos factores constituye una buena razón para pensar que las universidades

tienen un importante papel que desempeñar en el desarrollo de un paradigma de la no violencia, un paradigma que proponga, para los grandes problemas de la humanidad, soluciones que excluyan el recurso a la fuerza. De hecho, las vertiginosas transformaciones que han experimentado las sociedades en la última década imponen a los seres humanos grandes cambios de percepción y de conducta; cambios que resultarán imposibles sin una intensa acción educativa que hasta ahora hemos sido incapaces de desarrollar. La clave de nuestro futuro, un futuro inimaginable sin una cultura de paz enraizada en los espíritus de todos los seres humanos, se encuentra en la educación. Y, ciertamente, por cuanto es irrenunciable el carácter esencialmente educativo de las instituciones universitarias, su papel en el desarrollo del nuevo paradigma de la no violencia es fundamental.

El lema original de la Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, la más antigua de Centroamérica, reza: "Id y enseñad a todos". Tal vez ha llegado la hora de adoptar, en esta conferencia, un lema semejante para todas las universidades del mundo: "Id, enseñad, liberad y pacificad a todas y a todos". De ese modo, estaríamos esbozando nuestro primer paso hacia la conversión de la enseñanza superior en conciencia lúcida de la humanidad.

Muchas gracias.

Reflections on Tolerance and Arab- Islamic Societies

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Tolerance or the intellectual acknowledgement of the right of others to live in accordance with their belief system, even if such belief is at variance with one's own conviction, is a new phenomenon in human development. As man had always sought intellectual refuge in religion or common societal bonds, he tended to regard his religion as absolute truth and rejected any other truth as invalid or apostasy. Believers in Islam regard their faith as the last heavenly religion and final revelation. But Islamic teachings require its followers to recognise and respect adherents of other religions, particularly Christians and Jews, and order the faithful to respect their religious rights and freedoms.

Concepts of majority and minority are, however, novel concepts in Arab world and Arab culture in general. This is linked to the predominance of Islam and tribalism in our part of the world, as well as periods of political equilibrium that existed in urban-rural relations. Power has historically rested on the concept of what the historian-sociologist, Ibn Khaldoun, calls *Al-Assabieh*, which he considers as the cornerstone of all traditional state building in the Arab world. While the west rests its state structure on the foundation of the nation state and the general will, at least since the Peace of Westphalia, the basis of the traditional Arab-Islamic state has been an alliance between men of power and religious or intellectual elites, i.e. "the people of the sword" and "the people of the pen". This alliance between a religious scholar and a military tribal chieftain is the basis of most traditional Arabo-Islamic states, including modern-day Saudi Arabia.

This 'assabieh' which moves a tribe from self-defence to a level of self aggrandisement, and eventually to projection of influence and authority on a large domain is at the heart of Ibn-Khaldoun's theory. He showed that such a state could be infused with vigour by its adoption of a state religion or an over-arching ideology. Tribes, thus, in his opinion succeeded in building strong states that lasted three or more generations, depending on their ability to maintain their strength and power through the succeeding generations of state builders to state sustainers, and finally, to a weak and feeble generation that could not expand, neither hang on to what the original builders of the state have established. The vastness of the Arabian desert and the Sahara in North Africa could afford any tribe or group of population, not merely to maintain its cultural norms and values through physical isolation and remoteness from other tribes, but a tribe can also theoretically succeed in establishing itself as a political entity and a future nucleus of a state given favourable political and military circumstances. This concept of 'assabieh' is similar to what American scholars label the political-military establishment that constitutes the foundation of the modern American republic.

The multitude of these tribes may perhaps parallel the dyadic relationship between the majority and a minority, particularly as those tribes challenged the established states that came to amalgamate them, and/or resisted a certain interpretation of state religion or ideology. The social phenomenon of minority did not exist in the countryside, since there was no society, urbanisation, or an overarching powerful state. No single state, regardless of its power, could continuously maintain its domain over a vast land mass. Thus most traditional Arab and Islamic states' power was largely restricted to urban dwellers, over which the weight and influence of a central authority can be felt and maintained.

Minorities, religious or tribal, nevertheless, could exist in the countryside and ascertain their independence in politics and culture through geographic separation or isolation. They did not come in contact with the central government except during periods of taxation which could be collected on behalf of the central government by their tribal chiefs and then transferred to coffers of the central government, as a form of religious tax "zakat". Some of these tribes could pay additional tax in lieu of participation in

military campaigns waged by the state. Depending on its landed wealth, these tribes either participated in “jihad” or found it more advantageous to pay a substitute tax. Likewise, urban minorities, particularly non-Muslims, could either partake in the state campaigns (e.g. the Ottoman Empire 1500-1750) or could pay a religious tax, “jizieh”.ⁱ

Unlike the present population boom, the number of citizens living in the cities was historically not large. Urban population, particularly during the Ottoman period, could be stratified according to their recognised association of craftsmen, guild, or to their religious beliefs. Ezel Shaw has argued that the Ottoman Empire was a federated system of autonomous religious groups (millet), in which the Sultan recognised four millets, regardless of their nationalistic or racial origins. These four millets were the Moslem, the Orthodox Greek, the Armenian, and the Jewish millets.ⁱⁱ

Sometimes we witness in Arab-Islamic history the emergence of a single influential cleric who succeeds in winning the support of a sizeable following, both urban and agricultural, and in the process this cleric succeeds in establishing a cult. Such cults are tolerated as long as they did not challenge the central authority, or remain purely religious or intellectual. Once they challenge the established authority, they unleash the wrath of its violence. Persecution is thus brought against these cults, or sects on political grounds, which forces them to abandon the metropolis of the empire in favour of its fringes and outlying regions, that could provide them refuge and allow their ideas and membership to flourish. This was the case in our history, for example, with Al-Khawarijs, the Alawis, and other sects that multiplied during the Ommaid and Abbasside empires. The desert and mountain valleys became natural sanctuaries for any persecuted minority cult that could no longer co-exist with the majority, or the established interpretation of state religion. Other religious sects like the Zaidis of Yemen could enjoy uninterrupted autonomy as a Muslim minority as long as they did not challenge the central authority in the seat of the Empire.

As towards other religious groups, particularly non-Muslims, the state and the established religious authority could not be discriminatory. Islam and the Holy Koran establish that any truly religious state must recognise the rights and privileges of its non-Muslim citizens, “the people of the Book”, namely Christians and Jews. Abbasside rulers could also extend such state protection to followers of other Eastern religions such as Zoroastrians and Hindus, since their realm extended far enough in the east to encompass Persia and parts of India.

Christians, Jewish and other non-Muslim minorities who were citizens of the Islamic states began to take the names of “Dhimmies” or those who are bound to the state in a semi-treaty legal framework. According to this religious contract, the state guarantees the safety and civic rights of these non-Muslims, as long as they pay a poll tax (jizieh) in lieu of military service or could enter the world of Islam through conversion and forfeit payment of this tax. In fact, the Islamic state found the talents and services of most of its Christian subjects to be enriching to its administration and society. The Ommaid dynasty in Syria inherited the Byzantine civil service and bureaucracy. Muaawiih Ibn Abu-Sufian, its founder, enlisted the services of these civil servants to organise the affairs of his state. His grandson and heir, Al-Walid, brought hundreds of Christian architects and masons from neighbouring Byzantium to build his majestic palaces and mosques, even though his state was theoretically at war with its neighbour to the north.ⁱⁱⁱ

It has been argued by many scholars, western and Muslims alike, (like Mohammed Al-Jabiri) that the Islamic state was more tolerant with its non-Muslim religious minorities than with adherents of splinter Islamic sects and cults, since there was direct Koranic verses prohibiting maltreatment of the latter, and nothing in the Koran pertaining to the former. Such tolerance towards Christians and Jews would reach its apogee during periods of economic and political expansion of the Islamic State, and vice versa. Strong states are self-assured and, therefore, tend to be more tolerant with its minorities than weaker ones. Many Christian and Jewish physicians and administrators were elevated to high ministerial posts during the zenith of the Mamlukite and Ottoman rules. When the Muslim and Jewish citizens of Andalusia (Cordoba and Grenada) were forced to flee their homes and towns in Southern Spain in the fifteenth century at the time of the inquisition, many of them found hospitable refuge in North African

and Arabic cities of the Mediterranean coast. Unlike the Mamlukes of Egypt who favoured local Christian Copts in their tax administration, the Ottomans once occupied Egypt in 1517, entrusted these jobs to local and to Andalusian Jewish refugees.^{iv}

To these refugees of conscience, Arab and Ottoman cities and provinces were what America was to the Quakers and other European refugees who escaped political and religious persecution in the continent two centuries later.

Pogroms and other genocides experienced by minorities in Europe were not experienced by Christian and Jewish minorities in the Arab and Islamic world, prior to the twentieth century. We can witness, however, some instances of clashes in the second part of the last century and the beginning of this century, and this was related to massive external colonial penetrations by Russia, France, and Britain, who legitimised their increasing ambitions in cutting up the Ottoman Empire, through championing the cause of certain minorities. The Druzes of Syria and Lebanon were the presumed protected minority of the English Crown. Mohammed Ali of Egypt, first (1925-30) attempted to use the Maronites of Lebanon in his campaign to dislodge the Ottomans from the Levant. The French later would act in a similar manner and be their mentors. The Druzes and Maronites of the past century would be almost the parallel vehicles of today's Iraqi minorities. Power projectors are not blind actors and they will always find a way to juxtapose their power and influence to advance their cause by adopting nominally the cause of certain minority. The Bedouins of Israel were the favourite ethnic minority that was used to garrison the state's boundaries and desert frontiers. Today those same people suffer the same maltreatment experienced by their Palestinian brothers.

Maltreatment of a certain Islamic sect or cult occurs when a zealot, be he religious or political actor, finds it advantageous to cultivate dissension among his subjects to cover up his monetary or military misfortunes or both. Internal intolerance became the mirror image of external intimidation through the presumed championing of minority rights. Both unfortunately are masked instruments of political manipulation. For tolerance cannot prevail except by truly ingrained civic culture emanating from within. In other instances, intolerance is not limited to majority-minority relations, but also evident in intra-minority competition and sometimes, conflict. This perhaps was the case in Iran and in Eastern Arabia, particularly Bahrain, during the period of three centuries (i.e. 15th to 17th century). Rival schools of Jaafari Islam were competing to win the hearts of people in these lands, and in the process gain seats of influence and power in the Safvid Empire.^v

Sometimes rival regional powers would champion rival ideologies or interpretations of religion. This was the case of four centuries of conflicts between the Ottoman and the Safvid empires. Such conflict was fought over territorial and sectarian issues and succeeded in weakening both states to the point they both lost their lease on territories and life.

It is this tenuous relationship between adherents of rival Islamic schools, each claiming absolute and unequivocal right, than between Muslims and non-Muslims, that has dogged our history to the present time. Today those very states that build their rule on religious foundations tend to exhibit conflicting traits towards each other, more than with relations with the outside non-Muslim world. The case of Afghanistan's Taliban government relationship with Iran today is a case in point. Both states championed the cause of Islam, but both found ideological and doctrinaire differences, inter alia, to justify their regional competition.

To breakaway from this internecine and inter-communal chasm, some political activists called a century ago to bring about a new harmony and unity in Islamic inter-state relations. A debate took place between Sheikh Mohammed Abduh and the Syrian scholar Farah Anton on the nature and task of the emerging Arab State. The sheikh saw the new political entity as a reincarnation of the old prophet's state with rights and privileges of minorities enshrined in its basic laws and constitution. Anton, on the other hand, saw the future state cast in a western secular form.

The Arab State and tolerance today:

While the Arab-Islamic state of yesterday was weak and centred in major metropolitan cities and towns, the new state in our region, whether based on civilian, or military role, exercises tremendous impact on the life of its citizens, majority and minority alike. Tensions in state building have tempted some of the supporters of the regimes to call for suppression of some minority rights. While the prospects wetted the thoughts of some of the leaders, the existence of international and western influence sometimes hegemonic, sanctioned against this prospect. At other instances, external powers have looked the other way particularly if their own allies committed those violations.

While some of those leaders may have adopted excessive or inclusive policies, they were always far from being influenced by the liberal heritage of Voltaire and John Locke on religious and cultural tolerance. Westernization of the Arab and Islamic state system has ushered a dawn of theoretical equal economic membership in society, rather than equal political participation. Since there was no civil political rights for the majority (religious and ethnic), there were likewise no political rights for minorities. For all still are subjects, not citizens, of the realm.

While collective intolerance may have been kept at bay, individual intolerance in Arab societies began to take some manifestations in stereotype and prejudice. Two factors helped realise this

This process brought different workers, particularly government white-collar workers, to compete with one another for the same jobs. The level of education of applicants, naturally, influenced employee selection. Those hailing from regions long in touch with the outside world hence had more developed modern educational facilities, fared better than the others who did not have access to modern schooling. Likewise, with huge influx of people from the countryside to the cities, the new immigrants could not afford better housing nor good education, at least for the first generation. Urbanisation began to create social cleavages between old immigrants and the new ones. This phenomenon is in existence in many Arab countries as well as other countries of the third world. This process may lead to future personal forms of intolerance, or a differentiation between the “in-groups and outgroups” which is the basic ingredient of intolerance in the view of Michael Sullivan.^{vi}

Cultural determinant of the term:

In fact the concept of western tolerance, per se, is new to our language, but not to our culture. There was no notion of majority-minority definitions, as religion was global, and all adherents of Islam regardless of race and creed are considered part of the nation or “Umah”. Such belief receives existential reincarnation on an annual basis during the grand pilgrimage to Mecca or “Hajj”. In our historical experience, cultural differences took an intellectual and populist pursuit known in “Al-Shubiyah” (populism) school of thought. Non-Arab writers would glorify their pre-Islamic culture through poetry and prose. Others, such as the philosophic school of “Brothers of Harmony” of the eleventh century would extol the virtues of racial and cultural harmony in an Greeko-Islamic humanist wave. The masses, on the other hand, found a daily refuge in the highly ritual and festive collective activities of the Sufi movements.

The jinni that exploded the old harmonic relations between the religious and tribal communities of the east was nationalism. Centric tendencies and mighty power of the western state system arrived in our lands two hundred years ago, in the sails of Napoleonic ships moving to Egypt. Nationalism was the new political religion that took everybody by the heart. All of a sudden, new ethnic identities and nationalism have challenged old religious bonds. Just as the young Turks began to glorify their distinct past in terms of Turanic nationalism, or later Turkish nationalism, so did the Arabs, Kurds, Iranians and so on, who claim a certain uniqueness of one’s nation, even to the point of trespassing the rights of their neighbours. Those eastern varieties of nationalism all found their intellectual roots in European or French nationalism. Arab nationalism as part of third world type, prided itself that it sought to shield its

supporters and people from the expansionist tendencies of its European counterparts. But like European nationalism it claimed to melt all ethnic and religious differences in a single melting pot.

Within the confines of state-centric system that people found themselves trapped in, they began to struggle to understand notions of citizenship, of individual rights and freedom, and all worldly goodies enjoyed by citizens of other countries. They were told that “form followed function”, but they found the form without the intended function. The new political institutions of the state, the military and bureaucracy, lacked any systems of checks and balances that accompanied their parallel evolution in western countries. Suppression of old social bonds did not result in springing up of new political institutions at the popular level. What counted was the state and it had its own requisite machinery in place. And as the might of the state increased, society was unable to rebuild its bodies. Even its old institutions were either left to die, rot, or were largely “nationalised” or taken-over, as the case of religious endowments (Waqf). These institutions of the regime became the loci of power. In a sense, whoever could put his hand on state machinery could likewise usurp its powers. The military became the handiest instrument of political and social control and as military leaders could take hold of power, they likewise hold the reign of the whole society. Furthermore, as the most important centre of power, the military became the prize to be won. Any single person or clique of officers, be it form a small or a large group or tribe, could use absolute power qua non-in society. The majority and minorities alike could not stop the usurping guards.

The whole concept of minority rights and majority rule, of political tolerance, became therefore obscure and indistinct.

The establishment of the military state in the Arab world, but also in Turkey and Israel, brought officers and their allies to the fore. It is this time, the minority, functionally speaking, acting against the majority. They could rule directly as in some Arab states, or indirectly as in Turkey and Israel. This militarization of society and amalgamation of its resources did not lead to strengthening or enriching these societies. But, on the contrary, this led to neglect and degrade the cultural heritage and talents of its people.

Political decisions taken by heads of juntas or cliques surrounding them were not taken with active participation of civilian experts or through public debates, but were largely decided on whims of the moment, and sometimes on most irrational of expectations. At times those juntas succeed in pulling a fete, but in most cases involving issues of peace and war, their calculations were disastrous.

Unceasing transition:

The past few pages have shown that old social and political regimes had been shattered both internally and from without. The old cultural harmony that pervaded social groups faded away as the whole society not only lost its old institutions, but also lost its power vis-à-vis the state. No new real political structures, including the bureaucracy and the military were allowed to blossom into meaningful participatory institutions. The geographic void and space that allowed individuals and groups to seek freedom in solitude in the past were not available, nor functionally desirable. For people could no longer afford remoteness, and by-pass access to education and public employment in big cities.

From without, the Arab state system was no longer an island unto itself. It had been penetrated time and again by external forces and factors that brought with it, its own rules and procedures. Ideology intertwined with nationalism tended to create tensions than harmony, and western penetration disrupted old tranquil relations without supplanting them with democratic values and fair play. Whether this state of affairs is transitory or permanent, and whether they will lead to a new social and political contract is a mere speculation.

Endnotes:

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Higher Education and the Promotion of the Culture of Peace in Sub-Saharan Africa

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The general expectation at the end of the Cold War was that our world would be ushered into a period of peace and stability when resources would be used to address humankind's most pressing problems such as poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance instead of paying for arsenals of war. This has not been fully realised. While we have been able to prevent a Third World war, and the incidence of interstate wars has been few, there has been an increase in internal armed conflicts in almost every continent of the world. Peace researchers have documented some 30 cases of endemic armed conflicts in the 1990s and the number could definitely rise if the listing included casualties of less than a thousand¹. Africa has become a major theatre of internal armed conflict. A number of countries including Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Burundi, Rwanda, the Congos, Angola and Uganda have had a deal with this human tragedy. According to the FAO (1996) 14 countries in Africa are reported to be in a state of war and another 18 are experiencing systematic violence². Thus in order to promote the culture of peace in Africa one has to prevent armed conflicts.

This paper examines the causes of these conflicts, their types and how universities in collaboration with international organisations, governments and civil society can help to promote a culture of peace instead of culture of war through research, training and service.

Sources of conflict in Africa

Although there is the tendency to explain the wave of armed conflicts simply in terms of ethnic rivalries in Africa, at the heart of these conflicts is the question of how the state manages its business in the new global society which is moving toward recognition of multi-cultural, pluralistic global system. Underlying these conflicts are issues of good governance, devolution of power from a highly centralised and personalised system of government to a decentralised one which ensures the right to effective participation in the economic and political life of a country, equitable share of the fruits of development among the ethnic groups in a multi-ethnic state and reducing inequality and ethnic social disparities. It is in this respect that prevention of armed conflicts ultimately requires a radical socio-economic and political reforms.

This is not to underestimate the importance of ethnicity in the explanation of the armed conflicts in Africa. Indeed as Manning Nash states in the *Cauldron of Ethnicity in the Modern World*³, "ethnicity is a reservoir for turbulence in a world where power, wealth and dignity are unevenly and illegitimately distributed within and among nations". Leaders of ethnic groups resort very readily to the issue of ethnicity in their search for political power. These leaders often express their objectives in terms, such as, "advancing the interest of our own people" or protecting ourselves from another ethnic group "in order to give their ambitions legitimacy". As Assefa remarks "As we have seen in many instances in the continent, the major beneficiaries of such aspirations might be the elites but the whole ethnic group becomes associated with these aims since they are pursued in the name of the entire group'. Once this cycle starts and conflict begins to be waged in the groups name, fear and further animosity pervade the

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whole group since all members become perceived as the enemy by those against whom the conflict is being waged. Pre-existing ethnic prejudices further fuel the conflict”⁴.

The search for a culture of peace should therefore begin with an analysis of the potential sources of conflict which political elites can take advantage of. Garcia⁵ classifies internal conflicts into Ideological conflicts: this occurs when social inequality between classes becomes the dominant reality which sparks off civil strife; governance and authority conflicts: triggered by concern for the distribution of power and authority in society; Racial conflicts: brought about as a result of diversity of races and the impact of discrimination in a given society; Identity conflicts concern situations where ethnic religious, tribal or linguistic differences play a more pronounced role and Environmental conflicts: which are broadly resource – based conflicts over land, the control of rivers or the protection of forests. Examples of these types can be found in Africa but some armed conflicts combine any of these types. The approach adopted to deal with these conflicts may vary from type to type.

It is not always that a potential source of conflict flashes up into full scale armed insurrection. Conflicts go through a number of phases. Strategies for dealing with each phase would necessarily vary.

Dr. Rupesinghe has identified the following phases of conflict⁶.

Conflict Phase	Type of Intervention
Conflict formation:	Early warning
Conflict escalation:	Crisis intervention
Conflict improvement:	Negotiation/problem solving
Conflict endurance:	Empowerment and mediation
Conflict transformation:	New institutions and projects

The most important phase is the first phase. As the old adage says, prevention is the best medicine. It is important that problems are solved before a conflict develops into the other phases. Although national intelligence networks may gather information which can serve as early warning to Governments, Institutions of High Learning and Research Institutes can provide detailed data and analysis of problems which potentially can lead to conflict, and thereby influence national policy.

When conflicts explode into violence confrontations, there are few opportunities for intervention. The major concern during this phase is how to assist the victims of such conflicts. Non Governmental Organisations have played the major role in offering humanitarian assistance to such victims. To date an efficient international system has yet to be formulated to address the plight of internally displaced people. The role of Universities is to study the problems of refugees and train high level human power to deal with refugee problems.

The next phase, conflict endurance that is when conflicts have been going on for a long time and there is the willingness on the part of the combatants to negotiate there will be a need for expertise in negotiations. This is not a field for amateurs and institutions of High Learning should provide opportunities for training. When the climate for resolving a conflict improves and cease fire, is possible the need for professional negotiators becomes even more urgent. In the conflict transformation phase structural changes may be necessary to address the issues in contention.

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The impact of armed conflicts on African societies

The impact of these various forms of conflict on African development in this first decade of post-Cold War has, certainly not been positive. Political stability and infrastructure for development such as buildings, roads and highly-trained human lives have been the most obvious and conspicuous victims. The conflicts have also unleashed an enormous flood of displaced people and refugees whose immediate survival needs in most cases defy the combined resources of humanitarian agencies all over the world. Often, the refugee menace spill over into neighbouring states setting off fresh violence and thus widening its scope. Africa accounts for 13 million out of the worlds 20 million displaced persons.

Although our television screens give us an indication of the plight of these large number of people, whether in Congo, Rwanda or Kosovo, as Roger P. Winter, Director of the U.S. Committee for Refugees put it: "We may count their numbers in their millions but they suffer one at a time".

International Response to armed conflicts and promotion of culture of peace

There is, however, one bright spot; one source of cheer and hope in this gloomy scenario. This is the relentless effort of humanitarian agencies and a rather small number of the world's statesmen towards the resolution, control, management and even, prevention of conflicts, not only in Africa, but throughout the world. The first of these organizations in the field is the United Nations, which, through its Security Council acts as the police agency of the world. But the UN is an organization of the states of the world. It has no independent source from which to tap resources and assets in the case of peace. Thus, its fortunes in the drive for peace depend on the motivations, interests and priorities of the member-states. The failure of the UN to move promptly into Rwanda, or to sustain its involvement in Somalia was, therefore, the result of donor-fatigue on the part of the more powerful and able members of its fold.

Regional and Sub-Regional inter-governmental organizations such as the OAU and ECOWAS are also prime contributors to peace efforts in Africa. Their persistence in the pursuit of peace depends on the thrust of the collective interests and priorities of their members variously as well as on their resources. Although OAU was unable to resolve the crisis in Somalia and Rwanda, ECOWAS has been successful in restoring peace in Liberia.

Inter-governmental agencies are not the only ones concerned with world peace. Several NGOs and Humanitarian movements, as well as individual champions of human rights exists and these also contribute in very many ways to the resolution, management, control and prevention of conflict in the world.

The large presence of these various concerned groups has, however, not led to the prevention or prompt resolution of conflicts anywhere in the world. Several reasons may be advanced for this. Among these are: the paucity of resources at the disposal of the groups at the critical times that their intervention may be needed; the simultaneous emergence of several serious conflicts in different parts of the world which challenge the interest and priorities of the concerned groups and over-tax their resources; the often apparent lack of resolve on the part of those engaged in a conflict, and, or their sub-regional neighbours to see an end to the conflict

Peace Education/Promoting the Culture of Peace

The best guarantee for peace and obviously, the most enduring barrier against violence is the culture of peace i.e. a culture of restraint and tolerance; a willingness to dialogue and to wait while the established structures of justice grind along at their own slow pace. The culture of peace renders politics, the natural enterprise through which humans endeavour to resolve issues and find solutions to problems. Needless to say, it is a basic requirement of progress and development. This comes through a long process of education and an equally long process of gestation to allow tolerance and restraint sink into the thinking processes and behavioural tendencies of a people. In this connection, the Universities as prime

catalysts for social integration and political stability are, obviously, the most effective available instruments for building violence-free societies in Africa.

Research and Teaching

Given the spate of armed conflicts in Africa during the past few decades, African academics, especially in the regions of conflict, have ample opportunity to research into conflicts and conflict resolution. Areas of research would include the major types of conflicts, conflict resolution techniques, issues of governance, land and labour disputes, cultural, ethnic, social and political dimensions of conflicts, etc. In order to learn from experiences to guide future policy in conflict management and resolution, it is important to undertake case studies of earlier armed conflicts, which have been resolved.

UNESCO, through its Culture of Peace Programme has given a significant boost to research and other academic activities in peace studies by the creation of UNESCO chairs for the Culture of Peace. A chair has been established at the University of Durban - Westville in South Africa.

The University environment also provides opportunity to promote the culture of peace through its teaching programmes. Peace education is a multi-disciplinary concern. This is because every academic discipline is life-centred; every discipline is ultimately concerned with sustaining and enhancing the quality of life. Indeed, a condition of peace-national and international - is a prerequisite for the effective pursuit of learning in any discipline. However, the humanities - the arts, social studies communication science and the law-seem to be more in regular contact with the subject-matter of peace than the other disciplines. Therefore, as a first step, these disciplines should be the vanguard activists of peace education.

The idea is to give a peace dimension to courses taught in such disciplines. This could be in the form of special modules. The University can also mount special courses to address targeted problems such as human rights and refugee problems and techniques of conflict resolution and peace negotiations.

Strategy for Promoting the Culture of Peace

Specific action can be taken to enhance peace education. First, there is a need for a carefully mapped out strategy for the promotion of peace education by the central policy organ of the University. This must spell out clearly, the objectives and the specific areas of focus for each participating unit of the University. Each unit would then develop its own chain of activities and the time frame within which each would be accomplished. The units would also anticipate networking relations with Universities outside national territorial confines.

Since the peace culture must be embraced as a national concern in order for it to be firmly rooted in society, peace education must necessarily involve activists outside campuses. Drama and poetry, music commissioned to inculcate the culture of peace, public lectures, workshops and seminars, should be organised and the peace message made to reach out not only to opinion leaders and policy-makers but also to the broad masses. Efforts should also be made to encourage civil societies to be involved in building a culture of peace throughout African nations.

Conclusion

The future development of sub-Saharan Africa depends on peace and stability in the region. The costs of armed conflicts are high in terms of human suffering and poverty, which they engender. Conflicts are part of human existence. It is, however, important that conflicts are transformed from those that lead to violence to those that find expression in persuasion and arguments. There can be no better place to promote this culture than the University.

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Educating the Educators: The Preparation of Teachers for a Culture of Peace

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Teachers: Essential Agents for a Culture of Peace

As the discourse on the meaning of and possibilities for a culture of peace has begun to unfold, the focus has been on the problems to be overcome and the policies to overcome them. Little, however, has been written about the processes through which we will develop the capacities for properly diagnosing the problems and creating the policies, and even less about the human agents who will conduct the processes. There appears to be an unspoken assumption that the necessary leadership will appear when the political climate permits, emerging from a citizenry we already recognize as the world-wide, proactive, political force of global civil society. The assumption which underlies the assertions to be presented here, however, is distinctly different. My core argument is that intentional education, particularly the tertiary education of teachers is the necessary and essential means to developing these capacities and preparing the agents who will apply them.

In presenting this argument, special emphasis is placed on the second and fifth questions posed in the theme paper prepared by the International Association of University Presidents and the IAUP Commission on Disarmament Education, Conflict Resolution and Peace as the basis for this debate (The Role of Higher Education in Promoting a Culture of Peace, 1998, p. 4). These questions raise issues related to the development of a paradigm for peace education as a vehicle for the realization of a paradigm of peace and to the ways in which UNESCO can forge alliances with universities toward that end. I will address what my experience of forty years in peace education leads me to believe to be some of the essential components of the paradigm, while asserting the primacy of the role of educators, particularly in public, formal education, in the preparation of both citizenry and leadership to become the agents for the conceptualization and development of a culture of peace.

Each theme panelist speaks from an academic discipline; my observations are from the discipline of education which accounts for the assertion that the education of teachers may well be the most crucial of all intentional strategies to bring forth a culture of peace in a world so devastated by the multiple and ubiquitous forms of violence that constitute the war system, that as our basic theme paper notes is a primary characteristic of the present paradigm which sustains cultures of violence. It has, as we note, had significant influence over the paradigms and practices of education common to our universities, a circumstance intensified in the latter half of this century by the Cold War. As the motivating concern of this paper is the education of the general citizenry, it will confine itself to the education of the teachers who prepare the general citizenry for their roles in society, the economy and public life. The substantive suggestions related to values and concepts, however I would argue are applicable throughout tertiary education. At the very least, they should inform a standard liberal arts education.

To achieve the pedagogical purposes set forth here, I profoundly believe that the notions of *enlistment and training* which currently characterize the paradigm as applied to teacher education must be extended and complemented by those of vocation and formation. And I am equally convinced that focus on skills must be complemented and extended by humane values and human capacities.

Further, I hold that a major catalytic agent in releasing the potential of classroom teachers as a significant contributor to a culture of peace would be adequate and appropriate recognition of the public service of teachers. Next to the family, the most significant agents of the socialization of the citizenry have been teachers. Even in these days where media "educate" our young, teachers have developmental influence. Virtually all societies expect and prepare teachers to transmit the dominant social values and

guiding ideologies of their respective societies. We must now not only expect that teachers will transmit the values of a culture of peace. We must urge that they are intentionally, explicitly and systematically prepared to do so.

For this service to peace, they must again be accorded the respect and reverence truly commensurate with the extent of their social responsibility, respect such as that offered to teachers in times and societies which saw education as the means to better lives for people and greater achievements for the society, not simply as technical preparation for the production system or for competition with other nations. The vision, values, capacities and skills of teachers more than any other factors in education determine the quality and direction of socialization of the young in the public institutions charged with preparing them to function constructively in their respective societies. Thus, it is the tertiary education of educators, both formal and informal, that is the most important sector in higher education with respect to the possibilities for the emergence of a culture of peace (**Declaration**, Section 1; **Framework**, para. 23).

Possibilities and Responsibilities for Education for a Culture of Peace

UNESCO itself has well defined some of the pedagogical goals and social purposes of education for peace in such documents as the 1974 **Recommendation on Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms** (referred to as **Recommendation**) cited in our theme paper and the 1995 **Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy** (referred to as **Declaration or Framework**). Like all of its policy statements and guidelines, these definitions are directed toward member states, NGOs and educational institutions. While the statements deal with education in all its forms and at all levels, this paper is addressed primarily to those responsible for the quality of teaching in our schools, the institutions of higher education devoted to the preparation of those who will become classroom teachers in public, government supported schools, those who serve in ministries of education, those who will in turn become teacher trainers or professors in colleges and graduate schools of education. All are agents who affect the schools and "Proposals or educational change find their natural place in the schools ... institutional policy lines have to make peace human rights and democracy both a matter of daily practice and something that is learned" (**Framework**, para. 20).

None of the recommendations made here nor any those made by UNESCO that these recommendations seek to specify and implement will be realized without the commitment of member states and the active involvement of ministries of education. Public schools are the institutions through which states articulate the fundamental values that, they purport, guide their **policies and inform the national** ethos. The authenticity of those values can be effectively assessed by what is offered to the citizenry in its schools, what is taught to the young, how it is taught, and, most significantly, by whom it is taught. No curriculum, no pedagogy, nor even any course of study has the effect on learners, the influence over the result of the learning process as does the teacher. Thus the main and fundamental purpose of teacher education for a culture of peace should be the formation of members of a profession committed to the principles of peace and capable of engendering similar commitment and imparting the skills of peace making and peace building to their students.

It is these skills and the values which motivate their development and **application that should form the core goals** of education for a culture of peace. The means and mechanism for their inclusion in teacher education now exist. They have been clearly identified; appropriate and effective methods have been devised by theoreticians and practitioners; and they are now applied in schools, colleges and universities in many countries. There is an active and growing interest in peace education and peace studies as well as peace research. Peace education, as distinct from peace studies, is primarily the task of elementary and secondary schools, whether it is presented as a specific subject matter or it is also infused through other subjects. There are many and varied teaching approaches, making it possible to educate for

a culture of peace at all grade levels and in all subject areas. The commitment of states to and the implementation by ministries of education of broad-scale public education for peace is possible.

Peace studies is a multidisciplinary field of study now offered in many universities, providing students with an opportunity for scholarly inquiry into the problems of war, conflict, violence and the various forms of injustice, economic deprivation, political oppression and environmental problems that give rise to conflict and war. More important, the field also provides for exploration of alternatives to war, multiple approaches to national and global security, conflict resolution, human rights and non-violent social change. Many peace studies students go into **professions where** they can practice the arts of peace, conflict resolution and social change and development. Some even seek out graduate degrees in peace studies or conflict resolution or related fields to extend the professionalism they bring to their careers, or to become professors of peace studies to teach coming generations of university students. As with school curriculum, there is no paucity of materials, methods or teaching personnel for the introduction of peace studies on a far wider scale in the world's universities. IAUP Commission on Disarmament Education argues that all universities should offer such studies, and all university students should have an opportunity to undertake the study of the arts and skills **of peace**.

However, while both desirable and necessary, even massive introduction of peace studies into the world's universities would not adequately meet the educational needs to produce the paradigm shift required by a culture of peace. For this purpose, we need public and compulsory basic education to include peace education for all the world's elementary and secondary schools. But we are a long way from such circumstances, and we are not yet well versed in the special characteristics and practices of teacher education necessary to achieve such circumstances.

Little of the growing activity in peace education and peace studies has affected standard offerings and practices in teacher education. While there has been a long tradition of various forms of international education and, more recently, multicultural education, conflict resolution studies, human rights education, development education and gender studies in a peace perspective (much in these latter three areas has been done by UNESCO and other UN agencies, including UNICEF, UNIFEM and DAW, among others), all of which share some goals with peace education, explicit and intentional teacher education for peace is still seriously and, I would say dangerously, limited. My own program is one of only three in the United States in departments or schools of education. (I hope some who read this will be able to challenge this statement and cite more such programs; but even then, whatever the additions, they are far from adequate.) All teachers everywhere should be educated for peace. Indeed, must be so educated to achieve a culture of peace. Comparatively few are.

As UNESCO, has well defined in its two landmark statements, the 1974 **Recommendation** and the twenty-year assessment of the **Recommendation**, the 1995 **Declaration and Framework**, the purposes and has outlined the pedagogical goals of education for peace, there is no need to rehearse them here. My purpose is rather to initiate a discussion of the essential conditions to their fulfilment and to emphasize some of their most fundamental aspects, especially of the 1995 **Framework**. Indeed, the intention of this paper is to serve as a tool for initiation of action toward the implementation of these goals and purposes in modes and with methods consistent with the principles and guidelines articulated in various UNESCO statements on a culture of peace. It is in these latter statements that we find some of the clues to the significance of vocation and formation. In a culture of peace there would be space to express human creativity... [It] will be the fruit of an active struggle to realize human values... **“(Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace, UNESCO Expert Group Meeting, Manila, April 1995).** The schools should be such spaces for creativity and teachers should be preparing learners to participate in the struggle.

It is clear from these statements, as I will detail below, that the most significant content areas for teacher education for a culture of peace are those that deal with universal human rights, cross-cultural understanding and communication, non-violent conflict resolution, critical thinking and ethical decision

making, social and ecological responsibility, all subjects which should be presented with specific relevance to the local, daily lives of the learners within the framework of our planetary system. "The whole of education must transmit this message and the atmosphere and curriculum ... should link the global interdependence of problems to local action" (**Framework**, para. 17). While there is no paucity of curriculum materials nor of teaching methods to introduce these subject areas into the classroom, lamentably, there is very little in required, formal teacher education which prepares teachers to use these materials and methods within the affective, human and social framework I would argue is necessary for any education, but most especially teacher education to become a force for a culture of peace. For that preparation to become a force, a vibrant, committed and effective energy, for a culture of peace, peace education should be a primary purpose of all teacher education and all pedagogical goals should be formulated toward that end.

Vocation: The Basis of Teacher Formation

Without the commitment of national education policies to the formation of teachers capable of and committed to becoming such a force, schools throughout the world will be deprived of this essential catalytic element, teachers of a culture of peace because they are teachers for a culture of peace. Vocation is the most fertile ground in which to cultivate formation. In short, the best peace educators are professionals who have chosen their field because they are *called to* contribute to the formation of a citizenry committed to and capable of bringing about the social, political and economic transformations that would comprise a culture of peace. Vocation and formation are, thus, the keys to the development of a generation of teachers who will be the main agents of the necessary and fundamental cultural transformation.

I want to make it clear that, asserting the need for cultural transformation does not refer to any particular culture or system, but rather to those globally shared social realities, and the multiple forms of cultural validation of violence as a necessary means to what are argued to be essential social ends. The specifics of the cultural changes to transcend violence will vary from culture to culture, but I know of no culture in the world where there are no elements of violence blighting significant numbers of human lives, from gun violence in the schools of supposedly stable nations to lethal and genocidal violence in nations suffering from social and political upheaval.

Violence is a tragic universal of our planetary society, and it will require a planetary commitment to renounce and overcome violence to assure that any people in any circumstances can transcend the particular violence which they suffer. The fundamental and essential transformation for peace that all cultures must embrace and pursue is that of renouncing violence and war as legitimate means to political, social or economic ends. Indeed, it is a commitment to the reduction **and elimination of violence that** informs the vocations of the dedicated, creative teachers who for years have been actively and systematically educating for peace; who, without institutional help or support, have produced many of the tools that could be used to implement serious commitment of member states to the goals of their calling. In many nations, there are individual teachers, and some in associations, who are even now living out a commitment to the vocation of education for a culture of peace.

It has been years since I have heard serious professional discussion of teaching as a vocation, a calling to serve. This is not to say, as I indicated above, that there are not practicing teachers who are consciously, vocationally motivated in their professional endeavours; that the concept of service is not a significant element in the missions of teacher education institutions; nor that many teacher educators do not model teaching as a vocation. It is rather to suggest that the instrumental and technical values that so influence this period in human history have also had a profound influence on teaching as a profession and as a practice. It is quite understandable growing populations to be served, larger numbers becoming aware of the need of education for economic well-being, and in many cases diminished resources to support public education (in no small measure due to the increase in resources devoted to a perceived if not real need for instruments of violence to provide national security) have resulted in efficiency and speed

becoming values in education, as they have throughout our cultures in most spheres. Indeed, given the facts and the needs of education for national development, I would not argue against the imperatives of enlistment and producing as many teachers as quickly as possible, while not undercutting other social needs. (It should be noted, however, that there are periods in some societies when there have been gluts of very well prepared teachers in advantaged countries. But on a world scale the ranks to serve those in the most need are almost always far too slim).

As instrumental, technical and narrowly economic values have overshadowed the more humane, traditional values of education, the social value placed on teaching has declined as the value of more lucrative, materially productive professions has increased. Respect is accorded to the size of income rather than the social significance of the work. For instance, in my country those who work in child care, who are charged with the well being of a large portion of the human future of our nation are among the lowest paid. Nor am I not unaware of the size of the salaries of certain "star" professors, nor of the fact that their stardom was not accorded for work done in the classroom or with students, nor that teaching has less value than research and publishing, even in graduate schools of education. All this while the craft of teaching has been polished and honed with ever more effective instructional methods, and the art of teaching viewed as little more than skill at practicing the craft. Teaching at its best is the art of facilitating the creativity and autonomous learning of students and of selecting the most appropriate tools of the craft of teaching to do so.

Personal Attributes; Criteria for Enrolment; Professional Skills; Criteria for Employment

There is no doubt that the craft of teaching, the mastery of instructional methodology that is the goal of teacher training," is an absolutely essential component of teacher education. Effective teaching cannot be achieved without the mastery of the necessary skills and the capacity to select among them for the multiple purposes of most instructional tasks. What is, however, given little attention are the human and social capacities and values of those who are being trained in the mastery of teaching skills. I submit that adequate teacher education comprises formation as well as training. Whereas training is the development of capacities for particular, educative interactions between teacher and learners, formation is the evocation and articulation of the motivating values that call teachers to engage in those interactions to achieve both personal satisfaction and social goals. Aptitudes for both should be ascertained when accepting applicants into teacher education institutions. Skill development is largely the result of the efficacy of the instruction provided in teacher preparation. Professional formation depends primarily on the human conditions of their professional preparation as well as what the students or teachers in training bring to the learning process, the motivations and values noted above, their world views, creative capacities and personal attributes.

These attributes cannot be assessed by entrance exams, even those that call for essays on why the applicant hopes to become a teacher. Relational and interactive assessments are by far the best means to reveal them. This is most especially the case when seeking candidates who will be teacher-agents for a culture of peace. Peace and a culture which would sustain it is largely a matter of positive human relations and constructive, mutually enhancing social interaction, among nations and peoples, groups within societies, and certainly among and between the young and those who socialize and prepare them for their roles in society. The capacity and the desire to achieve such relationships with others in general and learners in particular is an essential attribute of the teacher for a culture of peace. This capacity must be as carefully and systematically cultivated in students of teaching as are the skills of instruction in which competency is often the test to determine employment or assignment to a school. Teacher formation comprises the cultivation of this and other essential capacities.

Another significant attribute to be assessed and cultivated in those whom we will charge with educating the young in the ways and behaviours of peace is vision, a capacity to see the potential for positive development in learners and constructive change in society. The literature on peace education has long advocated creativity and imagination as qualities essential to designing and achieving the goals of

peace. Creativity is also among the values endorsed by the **Framework** (para. 17). It is usually addressed as something to be nurtured in the young by the curricula and methods applied in the schools. We must, however, take into account that such learning objectives cannot be pursued by teachers whose education has neither been informed by vision nor involved efforts to encourage visionary attitudes and creativity among those preparing for the classroom.

Too much of what does pass as teacher formation is devoted to helping them to become transmitters of present cultures rather than the cultural transformers needed for education to be a route to a culture of peace. In earlier days and simpler societies, teachers were often initiators of change as well as respected community leaders. Even today, there are still many who are, if evidenced by nothing more than their vulnerability to authoritarian or repressive regimes. But for the most part, we still educate teachers to be supporters rather than challengers of what is, or what the powerful say, should be. This condition serves to stifle creativity and change as it inhibits teaching for a culture of peace. Responsible teachers are not revolutionaries nor are they indoctrinators of specific forms of challenge. But, if they are not themselves constructively **critical** and challenging, how can they prepare the young to be? If as the **Declaration** asserts (Preamble, Section 1), "education should promote ... the building of a culture of peace and democracy," then educators must be able to help their students to learn how to be constructive critics and non-violent agents of change in their own societies.

These attributes of creativity and critical thinking must be tempered by the commitment to concepts of human dignity and non-violent social orders that inform our notions and standards of human rights. As the training element in teacher education should provide all teacher candidates with instruction about "the ethical, religious and philosophical bases of human rights, their historical sources, the way they have developed and how they have been translated into national and international standards..." (**Framework**, para. 17), so the formation of teachers should include reflection on the human meaning of the standards, the social and behavioural values they seek to cultivate and the ways in which they should inform all human relations, interpersonal and intercultural, as well as the political, social, economic and intracultural relations addressed by the standards.

A teacher's knowledge of and social and political commitment to human rights standards should be complemented and animated by a deep and motivating belief in the fundamental dignity of the human person. While this belief is manifested and articulated in distinct and different forms by the world's various religions, it is integral to most of them. The student-teacher relationship in which respect for human dignity is experienced by both can be a model for how all authority should be guided by this value. And it is through the relationships among and between students that teachers help to guide and structure that the schools provide their most powerful lessons in human relations that socialize them for the larger world. Students are more sensitive to teachers' personal attitudes toward them and how they manifest or negate the value of human dignity than any other personal attribute of a teacher.

Social Values and Human Capacities: Guidelines for Content and Methods

If formation is to become equally important with training in teacher education for a culture of peace, content and method must also be reviewed and restructured in the spirit of the **Framework** which "calls for a transformation of the traditional styles of educational action" (para. 2). Most of all, it requires that all educational practices be seriously assessed to determine in what ways they might contribute to culture of peace, and more specifically, in what ways educational content and practice contribute to divisions and animosity among peoples and nations. Our theme paper has noted that, among other subjects, the teaching of history has often been such a factor. So, too, has much of the other content of school curricula that is directed toward engendering a strong sense of national identity and unwavering loyalty to the learners' respective states. National identity and loyalty are of themselves positive attributes of citizenship. However, when the cultivation of these attributes have employed exclusionary, ethnocentric instruction, they have contributed to alienation and competition among peoples and nations,

factors which perpetuate a culture of intolerance, war and violence. Teacher formation needs to address and resolve the educational and social problems such past educational practices have spawned.

If schools are to become Ideal places for the exercise of tolerance, respect for human rights, the learning of democracy and learning about the diversity and wealth of cultural identities" (**Declaration**, para. 2.2), then teachers must be thoroughly and specifically prepared to make them such. The values, attributes, capacities and skills of teachers more than national policy determine the atmosphere and the success of schools. If the "atmosphere of the [school] must be in harmony with the application of democratic standards" (**Framework**, para. 17), teachers must be committed to democratic values and skilled in democratic practice at a level of integrity and efficacy that can only be achieved by a professional education that involves holistic, humanistic formation and democratic training. Only a more holistic and integrated professional preparation will "help teachers to link the education process more closely to real social life and transform it into the practice of tolerance and solidarity, respect for human rights, democracy and peace" (**Declaration**, para. 3.2). Teachers themselves must be enabled to cultivate such capacities if they are to forge these links in their classrooms.

These capacities and others to be defined here arise from the fundamental values that have been cited as integral to the mission of UNESCO and to the evolution of a culture of peace. These values are among those that should form the basis of the formation of the curriculum of teacher education to implement the **Declaration and Framework of Action** in the spirit of a culture of peace. It also should be kept constantly in mind that, like all peace education, the curriculum of the schools and the teacher education institutions which educate their staffs, always aware that "wars begin in the minds of men," has as its central purpose the facilitation of learning toward the avoidance, reduction and ultimate elimination of the institution of war and all violent structures, social practices and personal behaviours. Within the practice of peace education we view violence as any avoidable, humanly inflicted harm to persons, societies and the natural environment, including all the living entities who share it with us. Thus, non-violence is the main ethical principle that illuminates all the core values enumerated below.

The values cited here are certainly not the only ones that should inform the higher education of teachers. They are, however, essential and among the most comprehensive, and, like human rights, they are indivisible, interdependent, and interrelated. They are the core values of a system of values to be elaborated into culturally specific and appropriate subvalue components. A primary task of peace education is to make them universal, a task shared with the growing field of human rights education. We hope to form teachers who are not only committed to these values but capable of using them as guidelines in developing in themselves and their students the capacities to live by them and work for their realization in their respective societies. These core values are: environmental sustainability, cultural diversity, human solidarity, social responsibility, and gender equality.

For each of these values, there is a complementary human capacity to be cultivated through teacher education so that they in turn, through the application of particular skills to be imparted by training that is integrally related to the values and capacities, can cultivate them in their students. The cultivation of capacities for peace making is the approach that I have long advocated as the most appropriate pedagogic approach to peace education (B. **Reardon, Comprehensive Peace Education**, Teachers College Press, New York, NY 1985, Chapter 6). However, the capacities noted here are broader than those advocated as integral to peace making because they have a **deeper, more transformative purpose, the facilitation of learning** that will capacitate our respective societies to bring forth a culture of peace. That is a goal beyond the ending of conflicts or the reduction of violence, a profound transformation of human consciousness as the true foundation on **which "peace must be construed."**

These capacities, which in turn depend for their development on the vocational attributes of teacher candidates, form the base of a substantive content which should be offered to all teachers of all subjects and grade levels. This content is the basic knowledge all who are to live in a culture of peace must have about the problems which comprise the culture of violence and the possibilities which can lead to a

culture of peace. The capacities which form the first (but not exclusive) components of the requisite change of consciousness, our fundamental world views are: ecological awareness, cultural competency, conflict proficiency, and gender sensitivity. Each is integrally related to the core peace values noted above. So that there is, as noted, an indivisible interdependence which interrelates the personal attributes (because all students, including student teachers, learn from each other), the peace values, the human capacities, the professional skills and the substantive content of teacher education for peace into an integral, comprehensive, and holistic curriculum.

The general dimensions of this curriculum, the rationale for which (with the exception of the ecological dimension) is clearly outlined in the **Declaration and Framework**, are indicated in the interrelationships. Realization of the value of *environmental sustainability*, recognized in the principle of humanly sustainable development, recommended subject matter for this curriculum, depends upon the *ecological awareness* of the world's peoples. The word ecological is used here not only to connote a focus on the profound significance of the natural environment to human well being, but even more, to emphasize a way of thinking about the world and the tasks of maintaining the planet on which all life depends. Ecological thinking, more than any other approach to reflection on the realities we face, enables us to observe, comprehend and appreciate the complexity of interrelationships, not only among the component parts of the living Earth, but of all the human systems and peoples that inhabit it. It is a way of encountering and addressing problems which attends both the future of the planet and the interconnections among the problems that threaten it. Understanding interrelationships as well as perfecting the particular instructional skills to illuminate them, should be established as major learning objectives of the higher education of teachers.

Cultural diversity is a value often cited in calls for the development of tolerance, usually seen as a prerequisite for a culture of peace. It features significantly in the teacher training resource UNESCO published in observation of the International Year of Tolerance (**Tolerance--The Threshold of Peace**, UNESCO, Paris, 1997, Unit 1 of 3 unit resource). It is the rationale for cross cultural and multicultural education directed toward providing knowledge and understanding of cultures other than that which has designed the educational system in which the education takes place, qualities essential in "a pluralist society and multicultural world" (**Framework**, para. 8). Cultural proficiency, however, comprises more than cultural knowledge and understanding. It requires also the ability and the specific skills of constructive interaction with other cultures, among them languages taught in the spirit of UNESCO's Linguapax Programme. It involves as well a deepening of the fundamental understanding of human universals, the unity of humanity, recognizing that violence towards those regarded as "other" (**Declaration**, para. 2) is in the long term violence toward self, one's own group, an understanding that applies ecological thinking to the realm of human cultures. Cultural proficiency is the capacity to be firmly grounded in one's own culture while being able to function comfortably in others without eroding or undermining basic cultural identity. It facilitates an understanding of culture as a living, dynamic aspect of the human experience which humans can develop and adapt to their needs and values. Without this understanding, a global culture of peace cannot emerge from present world cultures. The understanding of these two concepts, human unity and cultural change, are also to be included among the learning objectives of this curriculum.

The value which most directly complements that of *cultural diversity* deriving from the concept of human unity is *human solidarity*. *Human solidarity* like cultural diversity is becoming paramount among peace values due to the rapidly changing ethnic composition of so many societies, struggling to forge constructive, cooperative relationships among groups unfamiliar with each other's languages and cultures, a task made more complex as more newcomers seek to maintain the integrity of their traditions and cultures. Additionally, the increase in violent ethnic conflict makes it an even more urgently necessary value for world society.

Human solidarity is a product of a universal sense of human identity, cultivated by human rights education. A culture of peace on a global scale requires that the majority of the Earth's peoples

comprehend and adhere to this value. The competency through which this value is realized *is global agency*. Global agency refers to the skills and practices of active citizenship in global civil society, and actions taken to benefit the whole of human society, including unfamiliar and distant peoples. With the emergence of the "education for international understanding" movement following World War II, "world citizenship" was identified as a learning goal to prepare students for participation in the international system. For most educators, this meant educating for a form of national citizenship informed by knowledge of and concern about world issues. A few decades later peace education embraced "global citizenship" as a major goal, later refined to mean "global responsibility" (B. **Reardon, Educating for Global Responsibility**, Teachers College Press, New York, 1988) or the capacity and inclination to engage not only in active citizenship in regard to world affairs, but, when circumstances required, to take a critical stance toward the international policies and actions of one's own nation, if those actions were harmful to other members of the **human family**. More importantly, education for global responsibility aspired to develop capacities to propose constructive, non-violent alternatives both to particular policies and actions, and also to the international structures and systems which served to constrain more constructive, less violent international behaviour.

During the decades of the major world, conferences in which NGOs through parallel fora and other activities surrounding the conferences and the preparatory processes, global citizenship took on new meaning. Private citizens as individuals as well as members of non-governmental organizations had found an arena in which they could directly experience human solidarity, exercise the kind of international cooperation toward which the 1974 **Recommendation** aspired, and actively participate in world politics on a global scale. As global activists learned to influence the direction of international decisions through cooperative action in international settings, they developed the capacity of global agency. Many who do not participate in international gatherings are able to actively participate in global civil society through cyberspace, and many, like myself, also maintain worldwide contacts through the ordinary postal services.

The learning experiences gleaned through this activity can now be integrated into university curricula and certainly should be included in teacher education. My own program is offering such a course to candidates for the doctorate in education. The learning resources we are using are the United Nations and various of the NGOs who actively support and participate in U.N. activities and various other citizens' movements throughout the world with whom we will interact electronically and by post.

Global agency and human solidarity are mutually reinforcing. The value is deepened beyond the essential affective concern for one's fellow human beings in all parts of the world, to an understanding of the essential principle of human unity, one species with a common planetary future. Political efficacy, long the goal of national citizenship education, experienced in transnational endeavours, develops the capacity to act on the principle and live the value. A culture of peace would produce and maintain a world civil order in which all people can act on principles of planetary ethics, and live by fundamental human values as they exercise their global citizenship. People must be explicitly prepared to do so, and teachers must be educated to prepare them

Social responsibility for a culture of peace in all spheres of communal, national and international life calls for a range of skills of democratic practice, most particularly capacitation in *conflict proficiency*. Conflict proficiency comprehends a range of skills which facilitate a broad and varied repertoire of behaviours for processing conflict from prevention through resolution and reconstruction of cooperative relationships. There are a myriad of techniques of and cultural variations on conflict resolution, many of which are taught in schools to even the youngest students. Universities, **including my own, offer degree** programs in conflict resolution, theory and practice and alternative dispute resolution procedures and institutions. Such courses are not, however, as they should be, standard, even required courses in teacher education programs. While conflict prevention methods may be extended and improved, conflict as an integral component of human life, often necessary to constructive social change will continue to confront us. No skills are more essential to daily living, social relations and political efficacy than those of conflict processing, including, I must emphasize skills for reconciling and reconstructing in pmt conflict

situations. These are skills essential to both personal and public life that will be a fundamental necessity to maintaining the peace system a culture of peace would create to supplant the war system. Without competency in non-violent conflict processes war cannot be abolished.

Gender equality, articulated by the United Nations since its founding as "equality between and women," has been acknowledged as an essential peace value, stated in both the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, the term "gender equality" has more profound meaning than the legal equality and equality of economic opportunity that informed the discourse on women's rights and women's role in development in the decades prior to the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. It refers to one of the most complex, delicate and confounding issues to be faced in the conceptualization of a culture of peace, and also one of the least understood.

Gender is not a synonym for sex. It is not an alternative definition to the biological designations of male and female. In all societies, gender is socially constructed within the particular culture of each respective society, and there is great variety in cultural concepts of masculinity and femininity or of the "gendered" person, male or female. Gender is defined and assigned by the culture, and in most societies, feminine gender is almost universally seen as belonging to the domestic realm rather than the public, and subservient to the masculine which is assigned control of the public sphere, usually including communal resources. It is associated with such attributes as cooperation and accommodation whereas the masculine is assumed to be challenging, even confrontational. It is evident that gender role assignment, and the socialization which instructs men and women in their respective gender roles, has served to create and maintain a fundamental and, virtually universal, inequality between women and men, an inequality which is a violation of fundamental and universal human rights. During the years of the International Decades for Women, from 1975 to 1995, most member states have come to recognize the negative social and economic, as well as the legal and political, consequences of this inequality. UNESCO's Culture of Peace Project has placed great emphasis on this obstacle by focusing some significant attention on Women's contribution to various approaches to peace and conflict resolution. The project has also begun to explore the negative and limiting consequences of rigid gender roles to men as well as women. They have especially emphasized the need to develop and encourage *gender sensitivity*, defined here as the capacity teacher education must cultivate if teachers are to educate for gender equality.

Gender sensitivity is that capacity which enables persons to differentiate between biologically determined attributes and culturally determined social roles and to understand the human inequalities and limitations to human potential of both men and women that often result from those roles. Understanding gender inequalities and all forms of discrimination and oppression of particular human identity groups is a core objective of human rights education, an essential complement to other components of comprehensive and holistic peace education such as conflict studies, environmental education and intercultural instruction advocated as a route to the achievement of a culture of peace.

The cultivation of gender sensitivity is an area of teacher education which clearly illustrates the integral relationships among personal attributes and vocation, formation and training aspects of teacher education, and how they develop values, capacities, and skills. These interrelationships are especially clear in human rights education. The personal attribute of respect for human dignity which calls persons to the teaching vocation and motivates them to undertake human rights education is the basis for extending the value of human equality to gender equality. The value of gender equality like those of racial equality, ethnic, religious and political tolerance all derive from the core and comprehensive value that has given rise to human rights movements and standards, *human dignity*. No other value is more essential to a culture of peace. Indeed, it can be argued that were the majority of the world's peoples to embrace this value, a culture of peace would be inevitable, because human beings would be ethically opposed to and affectively incapable of inflicting violence on each other. (Please note that this does not infer that societies would forswear or even necessarily be able to abandon the occasional use of non-violent force or coercion to maintain social order. It would mean, however, that violation of human rights for personal or public purposes, even in the course of restraint by public authorities would not be tolerated.)

Teacher formation to cultivate the capacity of gender sensitivity should form a significant element in the general human rights education that should be included in all teacher preparation. Formation for gender sensitivity can serve as a model for most of the aspects of human rights education that teachers should receive. In this time which we hope is the age when human society comes to recognize that human survival depends in large part on the development of a culture of peace, the substantive content of human rights education may be the most crucial. Of all world problems those that obstruct the human rights of so many of the human family to the fulfilment of their basic human survival needs, the realization of their human dignity and the opportunity to exercise social responsibility are those which most clearly demonstrate the consequences of the culture of violence which now envelopes us. Knowledge and comprehension of these human rights denials and the conditions that produce them is effective in inspiring the exercise of social responsibility and, in some, the catalyzing of creative capacities to envision the alternatives that will be the building blocks of a culture of peace. None of these denials is more universally experienced nor has a more profound effect on human relations, society or our cultural values than those imposed by the global inequality of men and women some have referred to as "gender apartheid." Thus, it is, that knowledge of the denial of the human rights of women are an effective catalyst in the formation of gender sensitivity, the capacity to practice gender equality that teachers must bring to their relationships with their students and to the atmosphere on their classrooms.

Affecting the classroom atmosphere to manifest the value of gender equality requires that the capacity of gender sensitivity be complemented by skills to impart relevant aspects of the realities of gender discrimination and to assure that it does not occur in educational practice. Gender sensitive skills training for human rights education should be developed and introduced in culturally appropriate forms into teacher education in all countries. As with the curricula and pedagogic methods for peace education, conflict studies and other aspects of human rights education, practitioners of women's and gender studies and gender equality trainers have devised various methods and techniques which can be quickly adapted to these purposes. With a strong enough commitment to a culture of peace and an understanding of the urgency of gender equality to its realization, the cultivation of gender sensitivity, and the other essential teaching capacities complemented by the development of a repertoire of classroom skills, teacher preparation for a culture of peace can be undertaken without delay by most educational systems.

Recommendations

These foregoing proposals, assertions and arguments do not ignore the multiple and problematic realities of schools, universities and teacher training colleges. I acknowledge that, in themselves they pose additional difficulties and complexities, but the process of cultural transformation we are asked to contemplate could be nothing other than difficult and complex, constantly challenging and, at times, daunting. Yet, we have to take up these or similarly daunting challenges if we are to even approach the task. Keeping in mind the actualities in which we work, the following recommendations are made, each of which is as practical and possible as the tasks are challenging. They are addressed to UNESCO, ministries of education, educational and professional associations.

UNESCO, in the fulfilment of its mission to construct "the foundations of peace", could undertake some or all of the following:

- Set up an expert task force to design and develop a core curriculum for teacher education, placing special emphasis *on formation*.
- Establish in cooperation with IAUP and in association with UNESCO Associated Universities a global network of teacher education institutions to specify develop and refine the proposals of the expert task force in culturally appropriate ways, placing special emphasis *on training*

- Coordinate a survey conducted by ministries of education to identify currently available curricula and practices in teacher education for a culture of peace, especially in the areas of conflict resolution, peace studies, human rights education and gender equality.

Ministries of education to better serve the needs of preparing the citizenry of their respective countries for a culture of peace could initiate the following:

- Hold national conferences on teacher education to review and discuss the findings of the surveys on curricula and practices for a culture of peace, identify needed developments and design programs for pre-service and in-service teacher education for a culture of peace.
- Establish a national panel of experts consultants to work with individual universities and other teacher education institutions to facilitate implementation of the proposals of the UNESCO task force and the practices devised by the teacher education network of the UNESCO Associated Universities.

Educational and professional associations in cooperation with IAUP and other international education NGOs could:

- Set up professional commissions on teacher education for a culture of peace to formulate suggestions for ministries of education and to provide curriculum change and development services for teacher education institutions.
- Sponsor and organize periodic intensive in-service courses in education for a culture of peace on national and regional levels.

Many other recommendations for action could and should be made by this conference. All such recommendations should be formulated with the intention of we, ourselves, the participants, taking the major responsibility for the implementation of our recommendations. I would also urge that we keep in mind the two fundamental conditions which must pertain if teachers are to be capacitated to fulfil their potential as major contributors to a culture of peace. We must revitalize the role of professional formation in all teacher education programs. And, with as much vigour and speed as possible, we must reinstate in all of our societies the practices and attitudes which accord to teachers the respect and honour that their professional responsibilities and social contributions call for.

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Information Technologies and the Culture of Peace

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1. Introduction

The "Culture of Peace" being a very complex and multi-layered issue, I wish to contribute to the debate by approaching the topic from an aspect, which might perhaps seem unusual to those individuals involved in peace-related activities. My intervention will focus on information technologies and the ways in which they can be used to promote, develop, and enrich this culture world wide. Such a course of action is made possible by the ongoing processes in three major IT areas.

Firstly, we are witnessing a veritable explosion in the number of Internet users. According to a forecast made by Nortel, by the year 2000, almost 475 million people will be using Internet services.

Secondly, the gradual deployment of Information! Superhighways" is already taking place. Conceived is an integrated, high-speed communication infrastructure for voice, data and video traffic, these advanced telecom networks and services are opening a whole spectrum of new application areas, some of which at least could be used very effectively in "Culture of Peace" programmes.

Finally, a new generation of low earth-orbiting satellite systems is emerging. Comprising tens or even hundreds of interconnected so-called LEO satellites, these systems will be able to provide access to two-way communication facilities world-wide.

Leaving technicalities aside, I will focus my contribution to the discussion on the economic, social, cultural and political aspects of the IT-based "Culture of Peace" programmes for which I am arguing.

2. Information Society and Peace and Stability in the World

Being wholly cognisant of the extraordinary potentials of Information technologies, the highly industrialised countries have prepared a consistent strategy for setting up what is commonly referred to as the *Information Society*. This strategy is transformed into a series of inter-related development programmes aimed at; innovative. secure and long-term economic growth, more efficient and more responsive governments; improved environment protection, ; higher-level health care services; new possibilities for accessing cultural assets and achievements, and innovative, educational and life-long training.

Generally speaking, there are no apparent hostilities within or between highly industrialized countries in present-day times. Rather, they are focussing their efforts on individual and collective wellbeing, using information technologies as a powerful tool for attaining this goal. It is in the less favoured regions, particularly those affected by a colonial or totalitarian heritage, that instability, conflicts, and large-scale hostilities occur.

My point is that we must also view Information Society programmes in the context of peace and stability. Various segments of these programmes should become elements of well-prepared and concerted international actions directed against the causes of conflict and instability in the world. Thus, a brief comment on a number of key IT application areas that match these objectives, is required.

IT-based development of economies

Globalization, restructuring, teleworking, electronic commerce and other burning issues that fit into the broad framework of a "networked economy" are presenting new possibilities for regional and world wide co-operation. Economic progress, achieved through joint development programmes, is the most effective barrier against conflicts.

Transcultural communication

Information technologies are providing every nation regardless of its size and power, with the possibility of presenting its own historical, cultural and natural heritage over the net. By becoming acquainted with the cultural assets and achievements of others, and by interacting with them, we contribute to our common values. This form of communication is absolutely vital for the promotion of mutual understanding all over the world.

Interpersonal communication

Communication by electronic means eliminates the constraints imposed by space and time. One should be reminded that this is also a very powerful tool for "information tunneling" inherited or deliberately created barriers between various nations or social groups.

IT-based education and training

Ignorance provides a broad playground for various forms of manipulation, which can often lead to serious conflicts. Information technologies, particularly when used in distance learning, permit educational and training systems to reach wider audiences, and to fulfil their goals more effectively. These activities in themselves constitute an extremely important stage for international co-operation. And the simple truth is that those who co-operate are ensuring that they avoid conflicts in their relations.

Electronic democracy and civil society

Developed democracies and civil societies are, in fact, synonyms, for the "*Culture of Peace*". Advanced information and communications facilities (community networks, electronic agoras and forums, IT-based interaction between citizens and authorities, etc.) add considerable momentum to these programmes.

Following this short sketch of a number of application areas relevant to the "*Culture of Peace*", some key questions must first be answered.

The International Telecommunications Union estimates that 2.5 billion people around the world have never made an ordinary phone call. It is also known that in the small Iceland, with a population of some 250,000, there are more Internet users than in the whole of the African continent, inhabited by 760 million people. When we take these facts into consideration, very reasonable questions such as the following may be posed:

- ❖ Is there any sense in linking Information Society: programmes to peace and stability issues?
- ❖ Do any practical means exist for applying the Information Society agenda (or parts of it) to regions, which are, or could be, epicenters of instability?

These parts of the world lack the resources, infrastructures and expertise to pursue Information Society programmes at full speed. On their own, they are barely capable of benefiting from the potentials offered by ITs in order to eliminate the causes of conflicts, or to alleviate the problems with which they are confronted.

If nothing is done, the gulf between the two worlds is certain to widen still further, and the well-known problems generated by the imbalance - ranging from immigration floods (often accompanied by induced tensions) to terrorism and, serious armed conflicts - will be exacerbated, possibly even to a dramatic extent. Recent events in Eastern Asia and Russia, whose effects have also reverberated throughout the West, are an excellent illustration of this interdependency. Therefore, a substantial breakthrough in global relations is required, and which should be strongly supported through ITs.

The best answer as to whether this can be done in practice is provided by a project prepared and launched by the 2BI Foundation and Media Lab, MIT. From their text, entitled "*Children are the world's most valuable natural resource*", I will quote the following section:

"2BI 's action plan will focus on the provision of computer resources and satellite access to the Internet for young children, notably in the poorest, most rural and remote parts of the world. The strategy will favor the creation of opportunities for children's work and play to be integrated within the larger community - adults included. Children have more time and talent for digital learning; thus, they can take on leadership roles in harnessing the digital resources needed to enhance economic or social life in their community.

In the immediate future, 2BI's Strategy will be implemented through digital "Points of Presence" - sites created in response to proposals from individuals or organizations around the world. Typically, a Point of Presence will be a satellite connection and a cluster of computers. Over the next five years, these sites should provide at least 100 million children in the most isolated and impoverished parts of the globe with access to both, digital technology and the digital mindset, ways of thinking, learning, and interaction that are the essence of what it means to be digital. The 2BI plan of action will be launched using new satellite technologies, both geostationary and low earth-orbiting.

This fascinating project illustrates what can be done with the most advanced Information technologies in "the most isolated and impoverished parts of the globe". If clear objectives, knowledge, resources, good will, and determination are combined, amazing results will be obtained.

My firm belief is that a wide action aimed at establishing an economic, social and political environment in which the generators of the conflicts would be extinguished or suppressed, is required. We should all feel challenged to participate in, and to contribute to these activities, If the education for peace, and in particular the "learning-by-example" paradigm, is integrated into such a wider programme, the "*Culture of Peace*" has every possibility of becoming reality.

3. On a Possible Case Study

I come from a region that has suffered severely from war. A development programme intended to assist Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in overcoming the problems they have had, and to open a new page in their relations, is in course of preparation. Its main points are as follows:

- Political stability should be attained if priority is given to development. The Information Society programme, adapted to local conditions and requirements, is proposed as a platform for further actions.
- Being more developed, and having already deployed an advanced communication infrastructure, Croatia should offer a helping hand to Bosnia and Herzegovina so that it also proceeds along the same path. Assistance should be given to Bosnia and Herzegovina to design and develop its own high-speed network, and to become connected to similar networks throughout the wider world. By extending the broadband pilot network toward Bosnia and Herzegovina, and by involving the Croatian Academic and Research Network (CARNet) in the project, a reasonably wide and interconnected infrastructure will be created in the two countries. Fair co-operation, in which the

interests of both parties will be respected, and where neither side will be patronised, is regarded as a must.

- Applications areas, comprizing modernization and development of economics; substantial modernization of the administration; IT-based support to research, education, health care and culture, as well as civil society programmes, offer tremendous possibilities for co-operation. Concrete international support for these activities is anticipated.
- The Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik, gathering some 200 member-universities world wide, is supposed to play a major role in these programmes. It can provide a framework for very wide international academic co-operation.

4. Proposal for a Research Project

There are literally hundreds of research and development programmes which deal with Information Society issues. Their main objectives are to boost the economy and to improve - in a very broad sense - the quality of life in G7 and EU States. If Information Society programmes are to be adapted and applied to peace-related matters, numerous and quite specific conditions and requirements should be taken into account. Therefore, a multidisciplinary research project, the aim of which would be to seek optimal ways in which ITs may contribute to the development of the Culture of Peace, should be launched.

The objectives of the proposed project are:

- ❖ Practical directions on the ways in which Information Society programmes can be used to attain peace and stability in various regions around the world. Expected users of the results would be governments, international development agencies, banks, IT industries, G7 and EU Information Society programmes.
- ❖ Provision of a communication and information infrastructure for workgroup operations via the Internet that would allow institutions and individuals involved in peace programmes around the world to interact with each other, to receive and provide consultation and suggestions, and to organise and run joint activities. A “Union Catalogue” comprising peace-related documents that have been produced or are stored in institutions which participate in the project, will be created.
- ❖ A case study, that will demonstrate how this scheme works in practice. An IT-based development programme, which will involve Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and, hopefully, some EU or G7 countries, is foreseen.

5. Conclusion

This Thematic Debate is the result of activities undertaken in the IAUP/UN Commission on Disarmament Education, Conflict Resolution and Peace. Every possible effort should be made to ensure that participating scholars remain together. Multidisciplinary programmes that will impart an IT flavour to their joint endeavours should be furthered..