

Radical Education Dossier

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RADICAL EDUCATION DOSSIER

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Radical Education Dossier is produced by a group of teachers, students and university staff working to bring about democratic and socially progressive change in Australian schooling, as part of a broad political movement towards socialism in Australia. The magazine aims to present a socialist analysis of a wide range of theoretical and practical issues in education and is not affiliated with any political party.

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PEACE CULTURE / WAR CULTURE

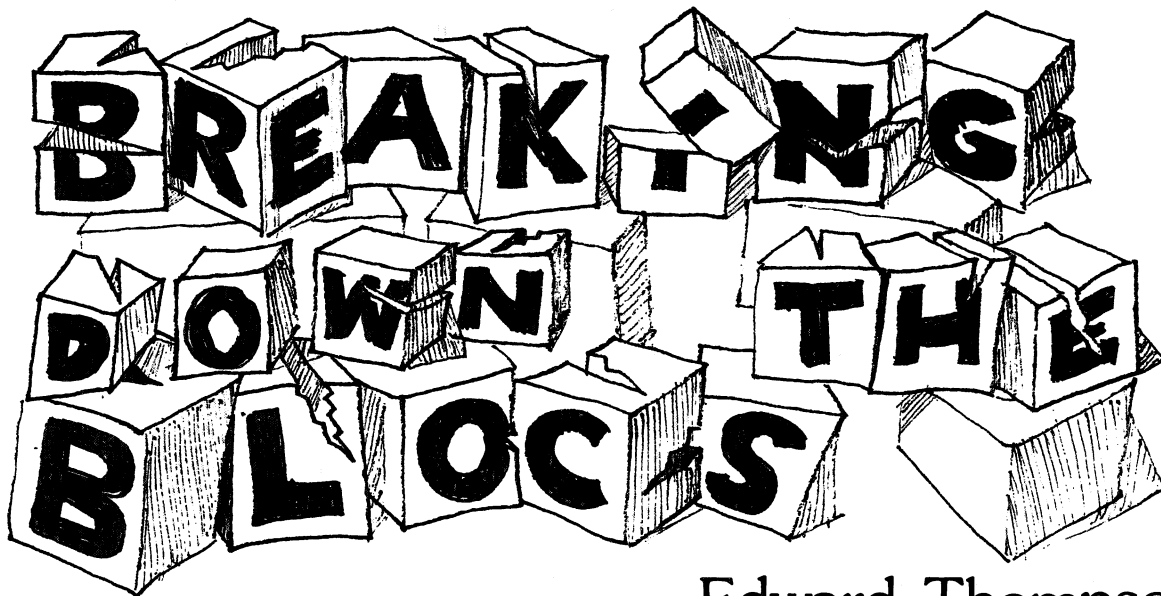
Peace education has been given the go ahead. Almost ten years ago, as a member nation of UNESCO, Australia committed itself to a resolution concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace. . . . Now, Mr Hayden has said that the Labor Government is considering "ways in which it might be practicable to introduce peace studies into schools and tertiary institutions".

Peace education is now officially recognised as a "good thing". We have support for our many and varied educational initiatives. But let's not get too swayed by rhetoric. Let's use our newfound legitimacy to the full. But let's also tread warily. The state's response shows that the peace movement is making itself felt. We must maintain that force; not let it be dissipated and tamed through state incorporation. As peace educators, our challenge is to confront the mind-numbing ideology of the media; penetrate the despair of unemployment in a consumer society; and challenge the reactionary hedonism of a population seeing no future. How much will the state help us in doing these things?

What does all this imply for peace education? Our peace education project must contribute three things. We must work to raise consciousness of the immediate horror we face, and the structures of domination and oppression pervading our lives: we must work to empower those who believe they have no power in the face of these structures. We must work for heightened political consciousness. Clearly, an education based merely on the accumulation of facts is not in itself enough to create peace, as can be seen by the fact that those portrayed as having the most expertise — the military, the technocrats, the politicians — are the very people who are actually creating the intolerable situation in which we live. Peace education means using the facts for a critical understanding of the structures which maintain this monopoly of knowledge and power. Peace education must aim towards action which challenges these structures.

So, who do we educate? Perhaps the most urgent priority is adult community education, since it is, in the short term, adults who must prevent nuclear war. For that, a truly massive movement must be built. In the long term, however, it is the children who must take up the challenge of building a just and peaceful society; for the struggle will need to be continued in the coming generations. Moreover, the culture of competitiveness and militarism begins its influence with the very young: we must counter this effect, therefore, from infancy onwards. Finally, we must educate ourselves: to see the dangers of complacency as a result of short term gains, to cut through the rhetoric of the "reasonable". The struggle will be a long one, in which we may be damaged as much by naivety as by our enemies.

Here, then, is *RED 21*, sequel to *RED 19*; forty more pages full of different ideas, starting points and perspectives on peace and disarmament education. But remember — don't leave it to, or depend on, experts, not even the "experts" of the peace movement (or the Dossier, for that matter). We must learn to transcend individual expertise in creating the collective, empowering knowledge and practice in which our future lies.



Edward Thompson

A very hopeful feature of the movement for peace and disarmament is the growth of international organisations. Within Europe, the movement for European Nuclear Disarmament (END) has coordinated resistance to the installation of Cruise and Pershing II missiles. A key figure in this international protest is Edward P Thompson, who is perhaps best known for his historical study, *The Making Of The English Working Class*. More recently, Edward Thompson has entered the nuclear debate with two influential books, *Writing By Candlelight*, and *Protest And Survive*. Robert Mackie visited Edward Thompson in his home in Worcester and recorded the following interview.

Edward Thompson, why as an historian and academic are you so concerned about the nuclear issue?

I am concerned not only in those respects but also as a parent, and a grandparent, and a citizen. I don't separate these things. The cold war has gone on a very long time now, and you can take it back some thirty-five years to its origin and there is no end to it. The theorists of deterrence can tell us nothing about where it will end. The first obvious thing about the so-called modernisation of NATO's weapons — and that's the Cruise missile and the Pershing II in Germany — is that these decisions were taken in a characteristically military bureaucratic manner by NATO committees in advance of any public discussion, or political discussion in this country, or in the United States. In fact the United States Congress was told that NATO wanted them, and the British Government was told that NATO decided to have them in advance of any discussion. It was obviously an escalation, and very clearly it was seen in Russian perception in quite different terms to the perception presented in the major Western defence ministries.

It was presented to us as squaring off the balance of theatre nuclear weapons but in fact these weapons can reach deep into the Soviet Union. They can reach five hundred miles deeper into Russia than the existing theatre weapons and so are seen from that side as advanced United States strategic missiles placed right forward on European territory, whereas the SS 20 which they are supposed to match can, of course, get nowhere near the United States. So this is in fact introducing an imbalance and is very threatening in their

perception because the Pershing II can hit targets deep behind Moscow in anything from four to ten minutes flat, and could be used for pre-emptive strike. The Cruise missiles are highly accurate. They move more slowly, they smell their way over the ground but they could be used to take out political centres, military centres, communication centres and so on.

Secondly, this introduced denser targeting by the Russians of European and British territory. Yet, Britain, a land of economic decline and unemployment but of escalating military expenditure is going to be one of the most thickly militarised territories in the world with submarine bases, communication bases, radar, satellite, communication centres with airfields, and now with the Cruise missiles.

The third point is of course these missiles are to be owned and operated by United States personnel, and whatever is said about consultation with the British authorities anyone knows that in any emergency consultation will be null. And it will be questionable whether the United States President himself will be given time to consult. So this has a political dimension — a visible decline in the independence, the political independence, of the British people. That is, we are reduced to a position of cliency and subjection to the strategy of the Pentagon.

I could go on but maybe I could just say one other thing. A fourth thing is that we have been half asleep for some years and we have only just really woken up in Europe to a long standing strategy which has been discussed in the Pentagon for ten years of so-called limited or theatre nuclear war. This is the notion that nuclear war can be confined at this or that stage before it crosses the threshold to the next, and this

strategy is one which has very considerable support in certain American military ruling circles as a way of fighting a nuclear war without endangering the United States population and military bases. We find ourselves now in a position where an interminable argument is going on above our heads between "born again Christians" and "still born Marxists" and we are keeping our heads down. We would like to get out of this, and not just simply to save our own skins but in the sense of making a quiet space, a **nuclear weapons free zone in Europe** which expands, which begins to loosen up the two opposed blocks, and maybe then contributes to the possibility of great power disarmament later.

On that sort of scenario it would seem that not only has sovereignty been severely eroded, but this has been going on for some considerable time. Now your involvement both as a historian and as a socialist was for many years with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) which is now being revived and resuscitated in a very major way. I wonder if you would like to sketch something of the development and progress of CND during the period from say, 1955 up until fairly recently? What connections are there between the earlier movement and the current one? You have been involved heavily in both.

There are many connections in terms of people and in terms of organisation as well because CND never died. It went rather quiet and got less support from the mid sixties through to two or three years ago and now has been reviving very fast. In terms of personnel, wherever I go around the country I bump up against people who took part in the earlier movement. People who marched on the Aldermaston road are not necessarily reforming CND branches. There are a lot of new CND branches in many parts of the country. People are forming locally based anti missile groups where they know each other and they form their own policy, and they call themselves all kinds of names, and there is no real competition. They liaise with CND so that both things are happening together. And there are other organisations. There is Lord Phillip Noel Baker's World Disarmament Campaign, and so on. There are a lot of other organisations and they are all working together very well at the moment.

In general terms it would seem that from the period of 1955 up until recently the dominant strategy of the super powers was one of mutual deterrence. They went ahead in a very extensive arms race to build up their stockpiles of missiles. They developed sophisticated means for delivering multiple warheads and so on, and this was predicated on the assumption that neither side would effectively use them. From what you are suggesting there has now been a shift from this policy of deterrence to one of first strike capability and is that essentially the danger in the Cruise missile program?

That's one danger and you expressed it very well. I don't think I have to go over that again. This is certainly true. It is not the only danger though. There is a deep strain of hysteria in this, a deep irrationalism. However rational the arguments, it is deeply irrational. And there is a second danger which as an historian concerns me even more than the local dangers and crises, the local games of bluffing, danger of war by accident or miscalculation. What worries me as an historian is what I call the deep social process, the deep social economic

process by which the military industrial and weapons system sectors of both societies have been getting fatter and fatter and more influential for thirty years, so that now arising from those extremely important sectors are coming the political leaders of the future. In the United States now we have a Vice President Bush who comes from the security end and the former Secretary of State, General Alexander Haig comes directly from NATO. This is classically the case. And this is a reciprocal process in which not only do they match each others weapons, but the military industrial and weapons systems bureaucracy of both sides are strengthened. In the Soviet Union immense priorities are given for resources, for skilled personnel, for delivery dates, to this sector which has overriding priorities over others. This means that around these people you have the growth of a security organisation for the protection of information from the public. We might talk about that, it affects both our countries. It comprises what I call an ideological operation, that is state subsidised, out of our own pockets, out of our taxes. And it is immensely dangerous. It means that as the cold war continues each of the great powers is getting worse. This must result in a collision, I would say in twenty years.

I think you are quite right about the erosion of political and civil liberties and certainly the security dominance that makes the access to information by the general public about what is being spent, what is being organised, and what is being planned extremely hard to discover. In Australia in recent times we have had a considerable controversy surrounding the publication of a book *A Suitable Piece Of Real Estate* that laid out quite clearly the way successive Australian governments had been deceived as to the nature of American installations in our country, and it would seem from what you are saying that a similar process is at work here.

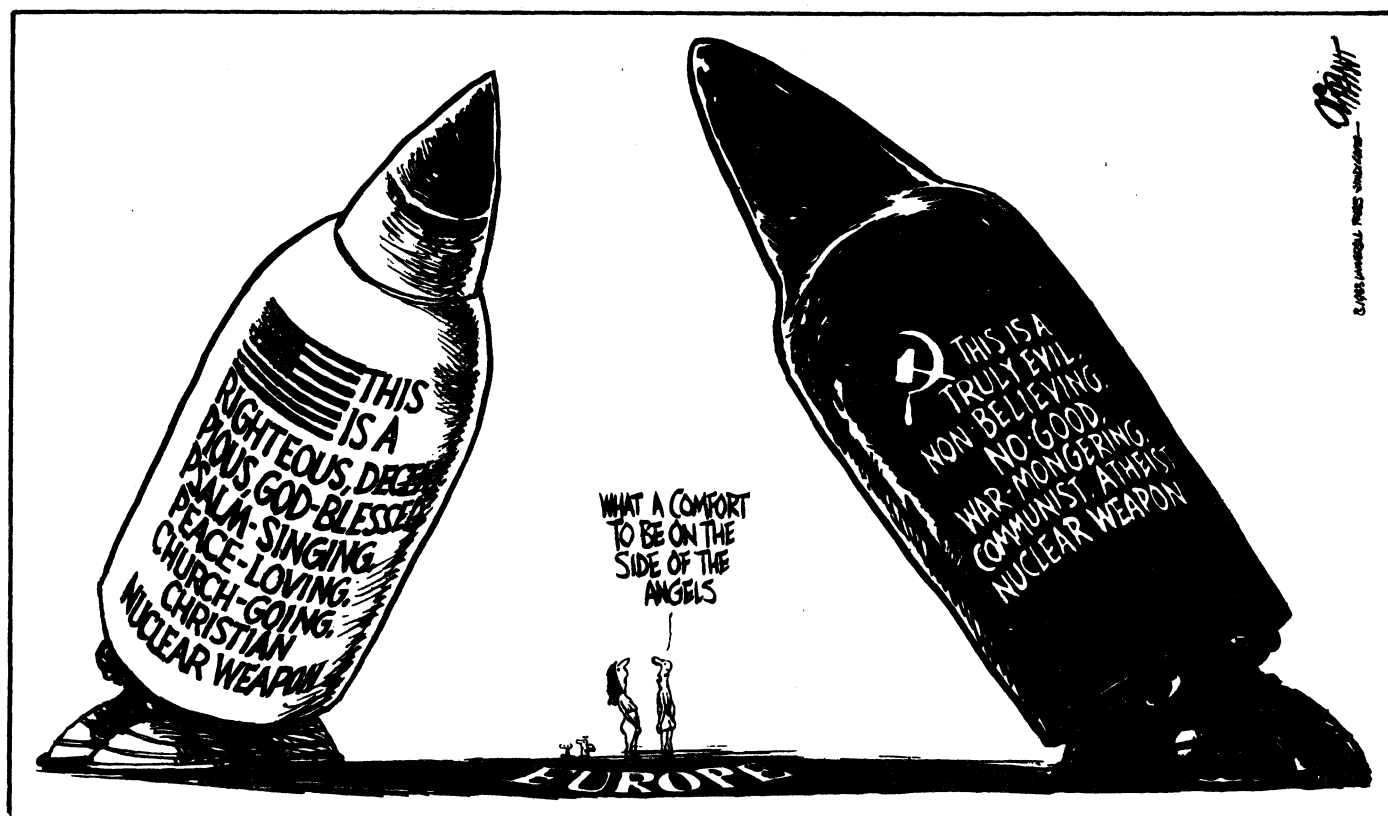
There is no doubt at all. Now of course official secrets are immensely heavy in the Warsaw powers, in the whole of that block. Indeed let's not forget this, the one area in which information vital for the survival of the world has come out has been from concerned American scientists, arms control experts of a liberal kind to whom the whole world owes a debt. People like the editors of the *Bulletin Of Atomic Scientists* who have for thirty years consistently from the first appeal of Einstein and Russell kept channels of communication open and good luck to them. I hope they don't get the sort of official secrets acts that you have, and that we have in Britain. They are very heavy. We have heard about your case and it can be matched across the channel in the action the French state took against *Le Monde*. Now that wasn't directly on a security issue, but the background to it was *Le Monde* challenging security. Now if you cut peoples' information we are in immense danger, in immense danger. Although they justify these official secrets acts by saying that they don't want information released to the enemy, this is rubbish. They don't want us to know. The official secrets acts are aimed against our knowledge, because of course the rival military establishments have immensely sophisticated satellite and communications intercept based information. And the information that they are trying to hide is normally quite well known to the Russians anyway. They don't want the Australian and British public to know. It is a very serious development and one which has to be directly challenged.

So there are two broad fronts, one opposing the development of the weaponry and its deployment around the world in client governments, and the other a more internal civil liberties concern of the general erosion of political freedom that must accompany such developments. This would seem to put people in a very defensive position in terms of being unable to gain access to information, and deciding how they are going to make adequate decisions. They would seem to me then to end up simply being manipulated or told what is good for them and expected to accept that.

Yes. But don't underestimate the degree to which there are men and women of integrity and honesty, even within the defence structures themselves and the upper levels of the media who are now concerned. They are not zombies. Now in Britain, you can't speak out against the official secrets act unless you are so eminent that you won't be prosecuted. But we do have some recent cases, the most outstanding being Lord Louis Mountbatten, just before he was killed. Then after him Lord Zuckerman, who had been Chief Scientific adviser to the British Government from 1965 to 1971. He has come out with extremely important statements recently. They are so eminent that they could do this, but at other levels there is concern. So I think that we shouldn't just be pessimistic about this. Information is coming out. We have enough now to put together the sort of movement that is needed, and we shall get more, the bigger the movement is the more information we shall get.

Can I take you on to a point about the Thatcher Government's reaction to these developments. As I understand it the upgrading of the British Polaris Defence system was initiated by the Callaghan Labour government in secret, and that this has now become much more public and is being fostered and facilitated by the Thatcher Government and her defence ministers. Now is it the case that when the government was forced to admit publicly that it was spending vast sums of money to establish Cruise missiles and Trident here in Britain that it then reacted to assuage public fear and anxiety about the onset of a nuclear conflict by distributing a "do it yourself" survival pamphlet known as *Protect And Survive*?

The Cruise missiles are mostly at American expense, the Trident and the Polaris modernisation is very much at British expense. £5,000m — well this may be peanuts in America or Australia, I don't know. It's a lot of money in Britain at a time when all kinds of productive manufacturing is closing down. So I just take the point that what is really critically serious here is that throughout the world, both halves of the world, we are now getting a **growth economy which is arms related** where there are nations scrabbling against each other to export tanks to the Third World, to make the Persian Gulf area even more combustible than it is. This disgusting plan to send arms to Saudi Arabia or to try and make China into an arms market. So there is a growth sector which is science intensive and capital intensive, and which in fact takes up rather little unemployment but high wage salaried employment and a declining productive economy and declining real



aid to the Third World, and rising military aid to the Third World. It is an appalling situation. It's a recipe for disaster. Then to go with this, this silly official brochure *Protect And Survive*, which in fact the Home Office were so ashamed of they didn't even want to release it officially. They were going to hand it out two weeks before the nuclear war started. They were going to know on a calendar, lovely sort of civil service pin stripe notion. So they produce this pamphlet in which the good citizen was told that when nuclear war was going to come s/he had to go down to the basement of the house and take the doors off and build a little "wendy house" and put sandbags around it. Well a lot of people in this country remember the blitz and know the realities of war. They know that this is simply a way of self service burial and it disgusted them and it also made more immediate the danger into which we were being brought. So it was partly against that background that I wrote *Protest And Survive*.

Protest And Survive, began as a pamphlet in direct response to the government's attempt to assuage fears on the domestic front, in the British population. It was later expanded by yourself and Dan Smith into a publication *Protest And Survive* including a number of other authors, which addresses questions of civil defence, Soviet armament, US military plans and Britain's involvement. I wonder if you would like to explain some of the growth in local activity here in Britain and also the attempts by yourself and others to establish a European Nuclear Disarmament policy, known as END, here, in the Common Market, and also in Eastern Europe?

I would really like to take the second point. I think this is the new dimension which makes this movement different from CND of 1960. CND of 1960 was unilateralist. It took the view that Britain should at least take a first step in getting rid of these fearsome foul weapons. It argued this upon both moral and political grounds, and I think it was right at that time. But today I think people realise that this could just be an isolationist gesture. It wouldn't effect the dangers of the cold war very much, and in the event of such a war happening no nation is going to be safe and preserved from it. Therefore an international dimension is involved. Now this is not to try and opt Europe out from the Pacific. There is also a similar campaign for a Pacific Nuclear Free Zone, but our notion is that if we can put together the very strong movements — strongest of all in our own Northern Europe — into a common movement and if we can then reach across to Eastern Europe as well which is the most difficult and complicated task and put together an East and West European movement this will begin to heal that tragic gash across Europe which is where the weapons are going to be thrown from. And it's not only the weapons it is also the confrontation of these two blocks and that ultimately is what has to be broken down. And it is no good saying it might be broken down in thirty years time. **It is now we have to start breaking it down.** I think the Norwegians were the first big popular movement against the neutron bomb and that movement is very strong now. The Dutch movement is extremely strong, an they have succeeded in postponing a decision about Cruise missiles. So has the Belgian movement. The Danish movement is strong again, so is Finland and Sweden, so right across northern Europe you have popular movements of this kind.



In West Germany now there is not only a large movement like the Green Party, the ecologists, and the anti-nuclear energy lobby, but within the Social Democratic Party itself, there is now immense discussion and debate.

That sort of news is encouraging in some ways. But when you refer to the gash, I think that was an apt description because one of the most common reactions to people who become involved in nuclear disarmament politics in the West, whether it's in Australia or here in Britain, is a reaction that goes like this. Well, if we were to disarm, if we were to abandon Cruise missiles, abandon mining and exporting of uranium and so forth we would simply be at the mercy of an expansionist totalitarian Soviet State that would sweep through Europe or alternatively manipulate events nearer Australia. So how does the peace movement here then respond to the claim that really it is putting the country at risk rather than advancing the cause of peace?

You can't finally ever refute these arguments because they are based upon worst case thinking and anyone can think up a worst case. Anyone can say what if the Russians, or what if the Americans. So worst case thinking can never be refuted. What we base our work on is not utopian best case thinking but on working for the possibility of a better outcome. Otherwise I think there is no chance at all. I mean we have to do this and I cannot ever give guarantees that we can succeed. There are a couple of brief points about what you say. One is that in fact this escalation of weaponry makes the situation continually more dangerous, it doesn't actually contribute to anyone's security whatsoever. Every now and then these great defence experts drop their guard, and they admit that there has been for twenty years sufficient nuclear destructive power on both sides of the world to destroy the other side. And that even if you have a worst case scenario in which everything works perfectly, you are still going to leave the opponent with enough power to destroy you. That is they will still have submarine based weapons. If you have taken out all the case hardened ICBM silos there are still submarine based weapons so that in fact a lot of this is simply a symbolic upping of the stakes, but not just symbolic because it makes everything more dangerous as well. So in fact if you swept



This cartoon is taken from, No Fission: A Collection of Anti-Nuclear Cartoons by Australian Artists. All profits from the book go to the Australian Anti-Nuclear Movement. Publication details are listed in the Resource List on page 19.

away all nuclear weapons based on the continent of Western Europe you would not in fact then leave Western Europe naked, but that is just a factual point. The second point is that I don't see the evidence to support this worst case scenario of the Russians as an aggressive expansionist power, which is to make an analogy with Hitler's Germany. In fact clearly Stalin would have liked to have eliminated Tito back in 1948-51. He never did so. Within those frontiers the Soviet Union acts in an extremely repressive manner against any breakaway movement – as the Czechs know very well. I am heartened by the fact that the pressure of opinion and the massive scale of the Polish movement has inhibited the Russians from any heavy action there. And I think it is profoundly important that people who work for peace should bring pressure on the Russians to restrain themselves, because that is one of the hopeful developments in the world. So I do not see this scenario. I see in fact the Soviet

Union as a confused, somewhat paranoid, state that has bases right round the world, and is repressive towards its client states but which is not wanting more trouble. And its not wanting to add to Poland the problem of what it's going to do with West Germany. No. I don't see this!

However I must go on to what I think is an even more important question than this. Let me just say, first, give us a bit of time, a bit of patience. I am fed up with people who as soon as we propose this strategy want instant results and say where is 100,000 people meeting in Moscow. Anyone knows that those societies don't have that kind of openness. We have supporters and signatories from the Soviet Union and from Eastern European society but not very many. We engage in a lot of discussions, some of which have to be very private and confidential with dissident elements in Eastern countries, and I won't say anything more about this. We are doing this. We are in the first place trying to develop an exchange and a

debate about this in which the Western peace movement can try and form a kind of loose alliance with the movements making for democracy in Russia. Working for democracy and openness, civil rights in Eastern Europe and Russia. Now this is extremely difficult to put together, but I think it is possible. It will come, and if you ask me directly I would say that where it may come first is at a sub-political level, that is among young people. You go to Prague or Sofia and you see kids with Ohio State University on their teashirts, and listening to cassettes which are listened to in London or in Paris. Music, symbols, badges, teashirts, sound go across both sides of Europe and on both sides there is a generation growing up who are just turned off by the Cold War. They don't want to know about the Cold War. It's something where their grandparents were making an ugly face and then the wind changed and it stuck like that for thirty-five years. And I think at that level we can begin to get symbolic demonstrations.

One of the many symbolic demonstrations here in Britain was the one held in Trafalgar Square towards the end of 1980. That attracted around 100,000 people and was widely regarded as one of the most outstanding and largest demonstrations seen in Britain in a great many years. I wonder if you could explore for us a little of the background to that and subsequent events that followed on from what must have been a strong public shot in the arm for the peace movement here.

The change in feeling has been very dramatic in England. I think there was a public opinion poll in October 1979, just before the NATO decision, which showed that thirteen per cent of the British people were in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament. A year later that is October/November 1980, this had climbed to forty-two per cent, and that is higher than it ever was in the old CND days, the highest ever was thirty per cent. And the leading edge of this has been the women and the young people. That is where the strongest support is growing, and that means we are winning. If they are leading we are winning. The thing that pleased me most about the October demonstration was that contingents came in from every part of the British Isles. They had a meeting the same day in Scotland so the Scottish contingent wasn't huge but from every other part you had locally based anti-missile CND branches that came in, so that you had a huge spectrum of opinion and that was expressed on the platform itself reaching through from the Welsh nationalists through the Liberals, church spokespeople, Labour Party, trade unions, far left, the whole lot were there and acting together. What I find when I go round doing meetings is that this is a movement that is very thoughtful. It's quite well informed. It's into the arguments. It's not just a moralistic noise. It's people who have thought through very carefully and who are giving a very high priority to the issue.

So on that basis one would expect to find that the October 1980 rally gave forth a great burst of enthusiasm and public dedication and commitment to further the struggle against the missiles. I wonder if you could tell us how you expect to alter either government policies or, say Labour Party policies, or in some way establish an alternative political platform whereby peace will become a much higher priority. In fact a priority that would replace defence.

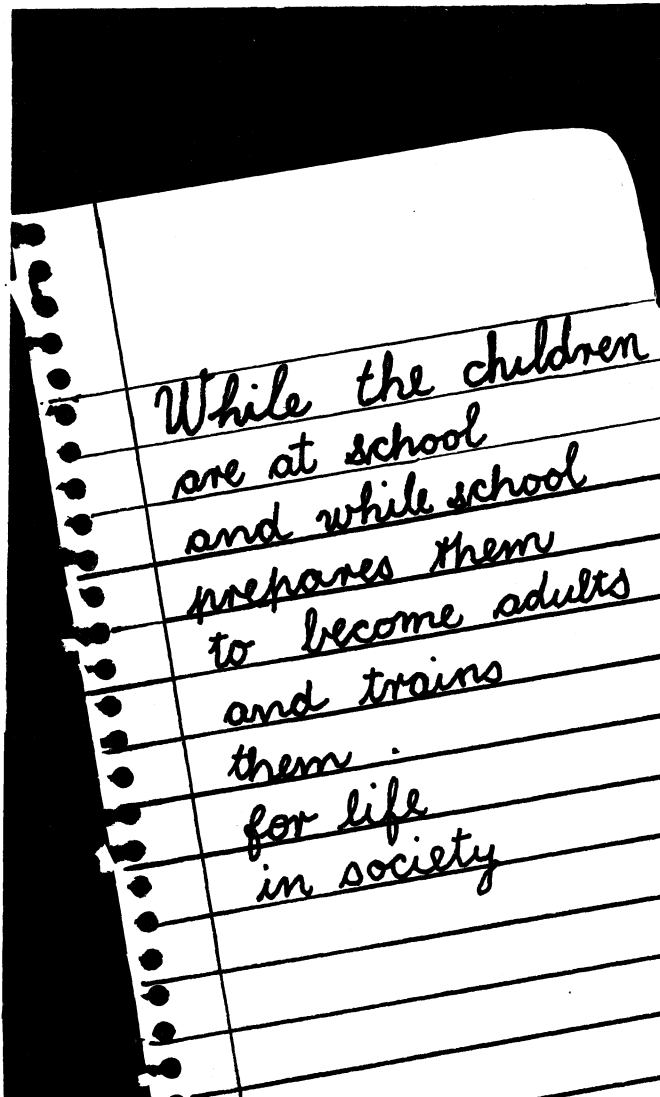
Well of course the Labour Party is fully committed to the policies not only of unilateral nuclear disarmament but also of the European dimension, and Mr Foot before and after he was elected leader of the Labour Party made it quite clear he personally was committed to this as a long standing campaigner. And that if Mrs Thatcher does introduce these missiles, allow them to be introduced, he will send them back. Now you may say can one trust a politician? My answer is I never trust any politicians, even if they are personal friends of mine, because they are subject to all kinds of pressures to compromise. So we are not going to make that mistake, and I am very well disposed to the Labour Party's decision, but we are not going to make the mistake of putting all our eggs in one basket. And that was done by too many people in the old CND days. And it is very clear to us that this is an alliance, and that the nationalist parties, the strong element in the Liberal Party, the ecology party, and people outside all parties, these people are going to continue their agitation, and they are not going to say, okay, the Labour Party has promised. So I am fairly hopeful, not about the long term prospective which remains awful, but I am fairly hopeful that we may in fact reverse this Cruise missile decision because if they do in fact attempt to bring these things here I think probably thousands will sit down in front of them. I think they will just be unworkable. So then maybe they will say well, there is some technical fault with them. And they will think up some sea-based missile instead, because you can't sit down in front of a submarine unless you've got waterwings.

So you would foresee massive public resistance when it comes to the time that the missiles physically arrive?

Yes, but remember they were promised for sometime in 1983. If the Labour Party was to win the election it may then become politically impossible to bring them.

Can I move the general debate from the concern with Britain and Europe, and take you up on your point that it is not a Eurocentric argument and try to link that into matters going on in Australia. One of the strongest movements in this regard has been that movement against the mining and export of uranium which is the raw material for atomic weaponry. In addition to that there has been the campaign for a nuclear free Pacific and more recently some of the non allied countries in India were discussing the possibility of a non nuclear zone for the Indian Ocean. Yet right in the middle of the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, Australia is sitting there with American bases that monitor the movement of missiles in the northern hemisphere, and atomic submarines throughout the world, and it seems to me that there is a definite connection between the development here in Britain of a peace movement, and the possibilities of working together with that, so that one is recognising the global strategy of the super powers and not simply being blinkered by some particular position in the world.

Oh. No question. You in fact, the peace movement in Australia, have been into the nuclear weapons free zones longer than we have. We are just newcomers into this and the reason that we do these things is not because we think our own part of the world is the only important part but because this is the part where we can act effectively. Yes I certainly agree with that; and the second thing I agree with is that the only



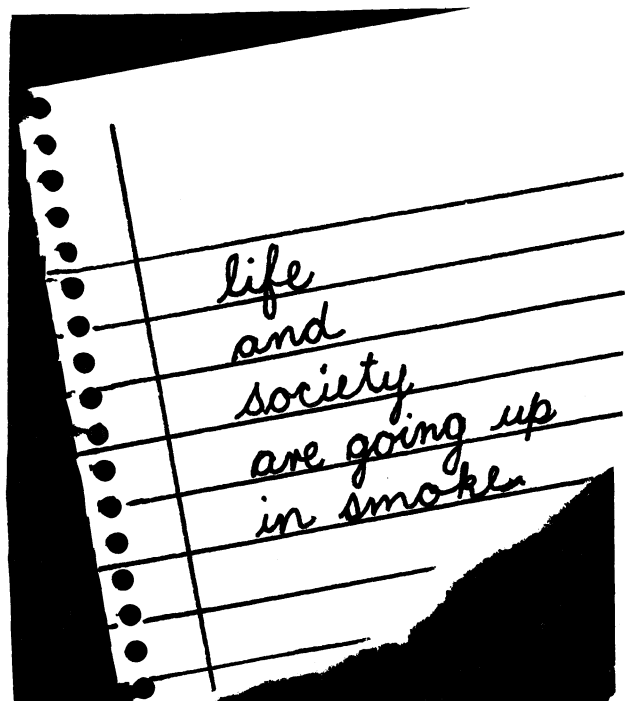
Well I am not going to say anything comforting. I can scarcely see how we will survive the next ten years without some local nuclear conflict — possibly in the Middle East — which would be terrible. It might be the only thing which would make the world realise what it is. I can't be comforting about this. I have said already that for the reasons of the deeply structured character of the process, I think the end of civilisation in a collision of this kind is probable. But I do see now, and particularly recently, people beginning to understand and to get together the only possible movement to stop it — an international movement of this kind. It's really quite a big presence already in Europe, and it's going to get bigger, and if we could begin to crack the European situation and if you across there can prevent these attempts to up the armaments both in Australia and Japan and to make China into an arms market. If this can be prevented in your half of the world then I think processes of a new generation, you know, who really don't have these same confrontationist attitudes, the processes of healing could start. But it's going to be one emergency after another even if we are winning. You can see this from Poland. That as you get one or another small nation trying to find a political space for itself that's more autonomous you are going to have immense pressures from both blocks around us. We have to have this quick international reaction to both superpowers and their blocks. Hands off! Allow non alignment to grow, non alignment of an active kind. I would hope that that would happen in the Pacific as well as in Europe.

This is your policy of active neutrality, which you would advocate for the countries facing most immediate threat from nuclear destruction.

Yes, active non alignment. Active neutrality, active non alignment. That is not just like the Swiss building fallout shelters so that you might survive. But moving out into an intermediate world which is a tranquil space and continually trying to extend that area and to bring pressure upon both superpowers.

thing that could possibly prevent this nuclear collision is a rebirth in internationalism and that means information and delegations and exchange flying across the world all the time. It's not easy — I mean people sometimes outside in the general public don't realise how much it costs — how difficult it is to get together movements. People are finding money out of their own pockets. No state funding you know, and of course the distance between our two countries is immense. But we do have exchange and this international understanding is profoundly important.

I would agree with that. I would like to ask you, perhaps to draw this to a close, whether given the enormity of the problem of nuclear weaponry, the massive overkill, the sense in which decisions are being made at realms far away and above ordinary men and women in societies whether they be in Eastern Europe or Western Europe or in the Southern Hemisphere. Is there not a sense in which one might feel gloomy about the prospects, even allowing for increased international communication. How do you see that? Do you yourself, in either the short term or the long term, feel optimistic or pessimistic about some outbreak of a nuclear conflict?



Language, Sport and MILITARISM



Helen Waite

Support for the arms race and deterrence depends upon the maintenance of a war ideology. HELEN WAITE draws our attention to the part played by sport and language in perpetuating this war ideology. We must oppose cultural forms which buttress militarism, she argues, and must reclaim the cultural sphere for peace.

Anyone interested in how political ideas such as militarism, competitiveness and aggression are fostered and developed in a society cannot afford to ignore what children are taught to play, what toys they are bought, what books they read and what programs they watch on television. Many of the dominant values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of the society are first taught to children through their play activities — “their” games, “their” toys and “their” sports. All of these are created and promoted by adults for children.

Many Australians learn through language and the teaching of parents, politicians, media, competitive sports and toys, to live with the highly competitive nuclear armament build ups by two major nations. In addition, most people from Mr Fraser to Mr Nile accept that the most “effective and desirable” method of dealing with international conflict is to have the threat of nuclear war as a “deterrent”. Our basic beliefs, our language and our cultural activities all show evidence of this increasingly militarised world situation and are in themselves a precondition for the continuation of popular support for the nuclear arms absurdity (previously known as the arms race).

Our language and its military contamination is a major factor in creating and maintaining the necessary climate for the popular acceptance of the desirability of nuclear weapons and defence systems. The militarisation of our language, thoughts and cultural activities, therefore demands critical scrutiny if the mask over the nuclear horror is to be torn away and destroyed. The evidence is obvious and straightforward — discussion of nuclear issues uses a preponderance of sporting metaphors and images:

- The nuclear arms race.
- US negotiator Aaron during SALT II, “We would be giving up future draft choices in exchange for a cut in their starting line up”.
- CIA official after one diplomatic disaster during SALT II talks. “We’d been left out of the huddle and then cut out of the play and now they were coming to us and demanding to know in this accusatory tone of voice why they’d

dropped the ball . . .”

- The Soviet army newspaper *Red Star* charged that the MX represented an American attempt to build up a “first strike, knock out punch”.

Conversely, the reporting and discussions of sporting events of many kinds use a preponderance of war metaphors and images:

- The battle for the ashes.
- Warriors of Hawaii.
- Rick’s last ditch stand for shield.
- Games war set to flare.
- D-day for battling demons.
- Cronin’s set to bomb the Jets.
- East face Bear blitzkrieg.

Just as cigarette and alcohol companies have annexed their unhealthy and life threatening products to the clean healthy image of sport in their advertising campaigns, so to have the deadly products of nuclear weapons and increasing armament, taken on the implied “fairness” and playfulness, not “too serious” dimensions of sporting events. The use of sporting metaphors and images very effectively serves to distance people from the horrible realities of nuclear weapons systems and deaths. At the same time continuous use of war images in sport, not only overdramatises a minor cricket match for a hoped for increase in paper sales, but more importantly contributes to the popular and uncritical acceptance of the death, pain and suffering associated with “real wars” as well as glamourising and glorifying suffering and pain itself. The language of sports reporting contributes heavily to the militarisation of our thinking by making war more than just acceptable but a most desirable, positively exciting, adventurous, admirable heroic activity. Thus in our culture “a bomb” has become nothing more lethal than a game winning tactic in a football match and “wars” the legitimate and lucrative way in which twenty-four to twenty-six men attempt to show they are the embodiment of all that they believe counts as masculine and patriotic in our disfigured culture and thus deserving of at least everyone’s immediate adulation, if not an Order of Australia or MBE.

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Sport And Militarism

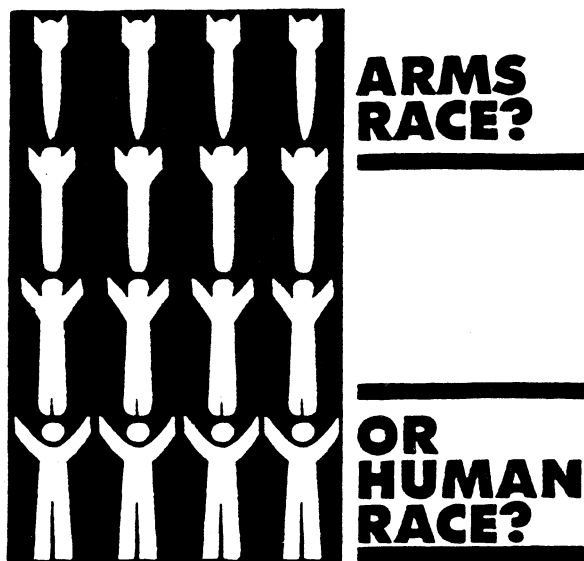
Given that the impact of language depends on the social realities to which people relate, it is important to examine the contents and processes of formation of that social reality in Australia. The areas particularly relevant to this discussion are the significance of sport in our culture, the socialisation of children at school, via sports, and the formation and maintenance of "masculine male" identities prepared to murder for "their" country.

At the forefront of reproducing, maintaining and reinforcing beliefs about aggressiveness and competitiveness is the institution of sport. It is sports, particularly team sports such as football and cricket in Australia and in the USA, football, baseball and basketball, that are cherished as essential ingredients to the "betterment" of our society and even preventing any radical changes to the political or social structure, eg:

- 1 "Sports — all sports is one of the few bits of glue that holds society together . . ." (football coach).
- 2 "To me", said football coach Jim Sweeney, "football and athletics are a fortress that has held the wall against radical elements."

The comments that follow necessarily refer to boys and men since most of the attention, effort and resources for teaching militarism, aggressiveness and competitiveness is definitely not directed towards girls and women. "Toughness", "grit", "killer instinct", "drive" etc, while being characteristics desired in footballers, cricketers, basketballers etc, are certainly not those men desire in "feminine females".

The ways in which popular sports contribute to the processes of militarism and/or brutalisation are many and varied.



Opponents Are "Enemies"

Beginning in schools, sports are used to build "school spirit" and promote the view we are "the good guys" they are "the enemy". The opposition is the enemy to be hated and defeated, eg Percy Cerutti, "If you are out to win you are better not wanting to know your opponent, much less grow to like him . . .", and Vince Lombard, "To play this game you must have fire in you and there is nothing that stokes fire like hate". "School spirit" easily becomes "national spirit" during Olympic and Commonwealth Games and all opponents become the "enemy" because they stand in the way of victory. What highly competitive sports do is depersonalise relations between individuals and nations by changing relationships into material ones between "things" or animals: scores, records, times performances, "well oiled machines", jets v sharks, tigers v panthers, lions v kangaroos etc, etc. It is a "star" or "rabbitoh" that becomes a quadraplegic, after being assaulted on the field, not a man at all. This creation of a depersonalised enemy in sports can transfer easily to military situations. It is also worth noting that the majority of the current electronic/video games (which are the top selling "toys") are structured entirely on the annihilation of depersonalised enemy or alien by violent war technology.

Competition

It is obvious that sport is a crystallisation of the permanent competition that is considered both "natural" and essential preparation for the struggle for success in our society. Sports by their very existence and popular acceptance help to justify and maintain beliefs that competitiveness is a major aspect of human nature and there is no point in trying to be any different.

John Singleton extolled the virtues of rugby league by saying "that it is a game very close to life, because it is the nearest thing to a brick fight". Sports therefore promote the established social and political order as the only and the best possible since that order is also based on competition and the "survival of the fittest". The competition that is sport is also considered the fairest organising principle for nearly all of the economic, political and social aspects of our society, eg jobs, our schools, entry into tertiary education, entry into parliament, housing, the arts etc, etc.

Acceptance Of Suffering, Pain And Death

Not only are the suffering and pain that accompanies injury, accepted as somehow humanising and virtuous, these aspects of sports are positively admired and actively promoted. For example in an article on the marathon runner De Castella, the following quote appeared (*Daily Telegraph*, 9/1/82):

"I suppose there is a fair bit of pain involved. In Fukuoka, it started at six miles when my feet got hot and began to blister. Then it's the fear of what the pain will be like after another twenty miles. But after ten miles your feet go numb. It's got something to do with the body's mechanism for coping with pain. These are the superficial pains. The more severe pains are the weariness and fatigue in the last few miles . . . As soon as the pain starts, I try different things like changing my foot placements. If it doesn't get better quickly, you've just got to put up with the pain . . . and I've got so much respect for people who take three to four hours to run the marathon because they're going through the same pain as me, but enduring it for one and a half hours longer . . ."

The acceptance of, if not pride in suffering and pain in sporting situations means that there is less likelihood of reaction to, or questioning of the violence and suffering that is war. In fact this acceptance by the male population is an essential precondition if the country is to maintain any armed services at all. The majority of the male population must be prepared to inflict pain, suffering and death on other humans as well as accept the possibility of their personally suffering pain and an agonising death. The combative and violent sporting activities for men in our culture, are particularly important purveyors of these ideas to both participants and spectators.

An Australian forward who lacked aggression apologised to Raper for missing a tackle in a Test against England, and said: "I don't think I've got the heart for this stuff". Raper replied, "Well you'd better get some heart pretty quick or I'll personally thump you one right in front of all these people. And when they ask me why I'll tell them what a lilly-livered dingo you turned out to be".

It is not difficult to show that many boys learn the "killer instinct" directly through sporting participation. For instance, Australia's Rod Laver said:

"I've heard it said that you're either a killer or you're not. I don't agree with that. I feel I had to develop the killer outlook . . . The killer doesn't let up or ease off when he gets a good lead."

Respect For Authority

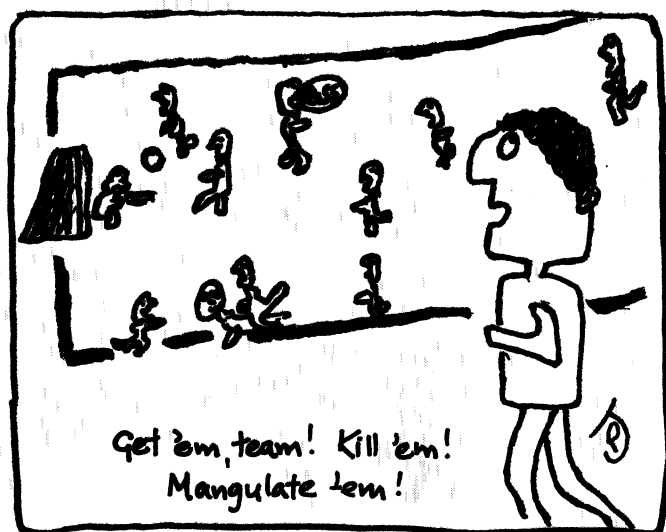
The administrators of sports, namely coaches, referees, PE teachers, managers, etc, evidence high levels of concern about inculcating the value of respect for authority. Numerous examples are available, the following are but two of the more typical goals and beliefs of coaches in particular:

- 1 "We must regain respect for authority. We must learn to respect authority. A man must be part of a group and subject himself to that group. Discipline, this is what football is." (Vince Lombardi.)
- 2 "The youngster will get his lessons in democracy — in action from other sources. Organised sports are not democratic nor should they be. They teach respect for authority, discipline and the individuals role in a group activity. The manager's job is to make decisions and he does not poll an electorate." (Rosen, little league baseball coach.)

Our language and its military contamination is a major factor in creating and maintaining the necessary climate for the popular acceptance of the desirability of nuclear weapons and defence systems.

The hierarchical, authoritarian elitist notions that this value implies in sport, are also the organisational basis for an efficient and disciplined army, navy and airforce. Finally, once a "leader" can establish their credentials as an "authority", the community brought up on a diet of "sportsmanship" etc, may very well respect the decisions and ideas of that leader merely because they are in a position of authority and not because of any merit in the decisions or ideas, eg on defence strategy.

Respecting the right/ability of governments and the United Nations to create a world free from threats of nuclear holo-



caust is highly dangerous — respect for and belief in these authorities must be reduced with the people of the world voicing their disapproval, making their wishes known, and creating the conditions in which nuclear disarmament is a real possibility. The maintenance of such values as the "respect for authority" through sporting involvement of children and adults is but one of the processes by which the increasing militarism of the world can go unchallenged.

Nationalism And Patriotism

It is not uncommon for ceremonies of major sports competitions to be conducted like military parades and processions. There is often military type marching music often played by a military or police band, there are flag rituals in international events, national anthems and medal ceremonies to decorate the victors. Thus sporting events can assist in the maintenance of the people's respect for the state, undying loyalty to their country, acceptance of their place in the political/social hierarchy and the promotion of blind patriotism.

The close relationship between sport, patriotism and militarism has a long history in Australia. After Gallipoli the Army raised a unit called the Sportsman 1000 and used posters showing a digger, surrounded by footballers, cricketers, athletes, boxers, rowers etc, who is calling on sportsmen to "join together, train together, embark together, fight together — play up, play up and play the game" of killing Germans. (Dunstan, p11.) The murder and violence of war is once again reduced to nothing more serious than a game where men can try again to prove they are "real" men by physically attacking others.

Many elements essential to the development and maintenance of militarism, in men in particular, are fostered by the seemingly "wholesome" and innocuous social practices, processes, attitudes and values that comprise the institution of sport in our culture. Sport, as a major aspect of our culture and compulsory in our schools, is certainly not creating a healthier or fitter nation. In fact, Australian school children rank 100/107 countries on the WHO physique and fitness tests. Therefore sport must be considered valuable and worthwhile for other reasons. I have indicated what some of those reasons might be and how those reasons can be located in a competitive society with a militarised and brutalised world view.

Some Final Comments

The complex relationships between language, cultural activities, the economic system and militarism, means there can be no simple strategy for moving popular opinion towards nuclear disarmament. A critical awareness of sources and numerous processes that together are deforming our language and culture in the interests of militarism, is an essential first step. The use of language that opens up the alternatives, and exposes the realities of the present situation, is vital since it is largely through our language that we structure our world.

Language is itself created, reproduced and modified by the social and material conditions in which it is located. Hence, it is not difficult for sport to be seen as synonymous with war and vice versa. The specific social and cultural activities of our society, eg competitive sport, are like language in that they are developed and modified in a specific economic context. Competition is the motivating factor in much of our economic, political and social life. Undoubtedly the most crucial example of these complex relationships is the fact that the nuclear arms absurdity has always been referred to as the nuclear arms race and therefore draws upon a whole range of ideas, values, expectations and behaviours including those discussed above and which are founded firmly on the sporting traditions of the men and boys in our culture.

It is not surprising that time and resources are directed towards the socialisation of boys with respect to competition, aggression and militarism. This teaching effort is not frequently acknowledged, but rather children are assumed to be innately competitive and aggressive in need only of opportunities to express these drives through sport, toys and games.

An understanding of the development of a "sports mentality" which can transfer directly to military situations, is important not only for highlighting the way language can conceal reality, but also for understanding the formation of masculine identity in our culture.

The close relationship between sport, nationalism, masculinity, and militarism points to the need for actively opposing the content and form of a number of our cultural practices. This may allow men and boys to develop more constructive and humane ways of expressing their masculinity and sexuality. Practical opposition is needed to activities that promote a fear of the enemy, the Soviets. A view of the world that is divided into us the good guys and them the bad guys, blind nationalism and aggressive competition. Drawing attention to, speaking against and practically opposing the militarisation of language, culture and beliefs in our schools, churches, families, governments, media and interpersonal relationships, is an important step in reclaiming the cultural sphere for nuclear disarmament. Finally the language for these protests and the forms of action, needs to expose and present the harsh realities and serious consequences of the nuclear arms absurdity.

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The Tasmanian Wilderness Society's peaceful blockade of the Franklin River Dam site last summer, drew attention to the value of prior non violence training. LINLEY SAMUEL describes the preparations of anti nuclear demonstrators to ensure peaceful protests in California.

Positive Protesting

Linley Samuel

If the history of radical political action this century, from Lenin and Gandhi onwards, has taught us anything, it is that how we organise our protests is critical for the kind of changes we may succeed in bringing about. Hierarchical, centralised and military modes of organisation will not help us achieve a peaceful, egalitarian and cooperative future society. It is important to learn what we can from the methods which have been tried out around the world if we are to develop an effective Australian peace movement.

While I was in the San Francisco Bay area last year there was considerable local antiwar and antinuclear activity underway. There were several local and national issues, including the campaign for a nuclear freeze referendum in the November state elections, and the campaign against payment of "war taxes", in which individuals refused to

pay the part of their taxation which was estimated to go towards military expenditure. One of the most prominent local campaigns was against the University of California's involvement with the design of nuclear weapons. The two major US nuclear weapons research and development laboratories are both run by the University: the Los Alamos laboratory in New Mexico and the Livermore laboratory forty miles east of San Francisco. Preparations were underway for a blockade at Livermore during my stay, and the blockade took place on June 21, 1982.

I want to discuss briefly two aspects of the preparation and organisation for this blockade, non-violence training

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and the affinity group structure. Both had been previously used in the US antinuclear movement, most prominently in the campaigns against proposed nuclear power stations at Seabrook, New Hampshire in 1976 and at Diablo Canyon in California from 1977 to 1981. The handbook for the Livermore action included an extended discussion of these tactics, mainly taken from the earlier Diablo handbook, and my account is partly based on it.

Demonstrations in the US involve a real risk of violent police retaliation, and the antinuclear movement has come to regard education in non-violent responses as an important part of preparation for its blockades and other actions. The Livermore handbook gives the following "guidelines" for non-violent action:

- 1 Our attitude will be one of openness, friendliness, and respect toward all people we encounter.
- 2 We will use no violence, verbal or physical, toward any person.
- 3 We will not damage any property.
- 4 We will not bring or use drugs or alcohol other than for medical purposes.
- 5 We will not run.
- 6 We will carry no weapons.

The handbook continues:

- These guidelines are a valuable beginning, but they are no substitute for sensitivity to the dynamics of a particular situation or a sense of what kinds of positive acts are likely to be constructive and beautiful.
- There's a story they tell about a woman being chased by a violent policeman at one anti-nuke demonstration. As he was about to catch her, she suddenly stopped to face him and said, "I'm your daughter!" He froze.

As the reader will note, the blockade preparations had a distinctively Californian flavour.

Training for Livermore, as for previous actions, centred around roleplaying of situations that might be encountered "on the day". Public training sessions were organised, and anyone interested could attend. Participants would take on the role of police officer or hostile spectator, while others would attempt to respond non-violently to their

There's a story they tell about a woman being chased by a violent policeman at one anti-nuke demonstration. As he was about to catch her, she suddenly stopped to face him and said, "I'm your daughter!" He froze.

provocations. The training appeared to work well; demonstrators at previous actions and at Livermore, managed to respond non-violently during the blockades and subsequent arrests and imprisonment. Non-violence training was also clearly important in building up morale and solidarity among prospective participants in the demonstrations. Affinity groups frequently grew out of groups of people who got to know each other at non-violence training sessions.

The affinity groups themselves have become the primary organisational structure for US antinuclear demonstrations. They are an attempt at an entirely non-hierarchical and decentralised mode of decision making; the name derives



from the *grupos de afinidad* of the Spanish anarchists.

Affinity groups are supposed to come together spontaneously, and to operate entirely by consensus. Where some members of a group intend to be arrested at a demonstration, the rest of the group prepares to act as support people, keeping in touch with those arrested, looking after their personal affairs and generally providing support and assistance. The various affinity groups involved in a particular campaign are not necessarily united in their approach beyond the basic principles of non-violence. Coordination between groups is managed by a council of "spokes" or representatives from each group. The council, however, has no power to instruct individual groups, and there is a deliberate strategy of giving both individuals and groups the greatest possible degree of autonomy.

During the actions themselves the "Spokes Councils" continue to meet frequently, but cannot, in theory, commit group members beyond anything they have already agreed on. Decision making can be slow, with the spokes shuttling back and forth for hours between council and groups, but it does in theory reach some kind of real consensus. Despite the informal and anarchistic character of these arrangements, they appear to work reasonably well, although the exact balance of authority between council and groups is evidently a matter for continual negotiation.

Affinity groups and non-violent training techniques have been tried out recently in Australia, although they do not seem to have received much publicity. The Melbourne Nonviolent Social Change Training Collective has worked with a variety of groups opposed to nuclear arms, uranium mining, and destruction of native forests. Among these groups were people involved in the Honeymoon Mine protest in South Australia, who had adopted aspects of the affinity group structure. The women who demonstrated in Canberra on ANZAC Day this year had also undergone non-violence training, as have those currently demonstrating against the proposal to dam the Franklin River in South West Tasmania.

Teachers at Work

ridiculous consumption

Ted Trainer

A limits to growth perspective on peace and disarmament education

I think it is crucial that peace movements and peace education be seen within the general context of the "limits to growth" crisis; ie essentially the global problems deriving from pursuit of economic growth in the face of increasing scarcity of resources. These problems include environmental destruction and Third World poverty and underdevelopment. Unfortunately most people fail to grasp the connection between our commitment to affluence, growth and a GNP-maximising conception of progress on the one hand and on the other the inevitable future escalation of international conflict. Consequently most disarmers come up with strategies that cannot work because they fail to recognise that a safe and just world cannot be achieved without fundamental change from the values and social structures that are generating limits to growth problems.

Perhaps these claims can best be elaborated by a brief outline of some of the themes that I deal with in the main course I teach at UNSW. The sequence begins with documentation of the extraordinarily resource-expensive lifestyles taken for granted in developed countries (eg, 25 tonnes of materials consumed by each American each year, including 29 barrels of oil). This sets up the question whether there are sufficient resources to sustain these levels of consumption. When estimates of potentially recoverable mineral and energy resources (as distinct from known reserves) are examined it can be seen that if all people likely to be living on earth, when the population stabilises, used these resources at the per capita rates Americans now use them most items would be completely exhausted in one to four decades. In other words, one must make wildly optimistic assumptions before one can stave off the conclusion that it is totally impossible for all people to live at anything like

the living standards we few in developed countries now have. This means that most people can't have high living standards because rich countries are rapidly using up the remaining resources, many of them in the production of luxuries and throw-away trash, while at least 500 million people are hungry.

If this basic analysis of the situation is even approximately correct the fundamental implication is clearly that the rich countries should commit themselves to "de-development"; ie to moving to values, social structures and systems that enable them to live on something like their fair share of world resources. At present this would mean about a 70% cut in the average Australian's energy consumption. I have no doubt that a very satisfactory society could be developed at material living standards of this order and that precisely because we would then be materially much poorer we could greatly increase the quality of life, especially through the need for cooperation and communal arrangements, neighbourhood production, varied and non-factory work situations, all of which would provide environments rich in leisure opportunities.

The documentation of limits to growth problems leads directly to concern with why the problems exist. It is not difficult to show that they are primarily due to the sort of economic system we have. For instance, where the distribution of resources is allowed to be determined by market forces and effective demand it is inevitable that most of the world's resources will flow to rich countries, that land in the Third World will grow luxury crops for export to the developed countries and that Third World capital and labour will be drawn into producing the wrong things in view of what people in the Third

World need and therefore that Third World development will be largely development of the industries that benefit the rich. These are inevitable consequences of a free enterprise economy because it is always much more profitable to produce what the relatively rich want than what the poor need. Similarly rich countries produce mountains of non-necessities and waste and we work a 40-hour week when 20 or even 5 might do, but we must go on producing and consuming or there would be catastrophic unemployment and depression. A capitalist economy is not an economy that could produce only as much as we need for a reasonable lifestyle.

Yet, even the richest countries are dedicated to further growth in production and consumption. Politicians and economists are frantically trying to cure the current recession by "stimulating the economy", which means promoting the ever-increasing use of resources and energy on the part of the ¼ of the world's population who now gulp down ¾ of its resources.

The outcome of these obsessions with affluence and growth can only be more and more conflict between nations. Rich countries are far from self-sufficient in resources. They now import 50-70% of their materials from the Third World and the proportion is increasing. Resources are becoming more and more difficult to secure. The struggle for them can only increase. If we all remain obsessed with becoming materially richer and richer while resources become scarcer and the gulf between the rich few and the poor majority grows wider there can be no other outcome than more and more desperate struggles between nations for access to resources and markets. More worrying than North-South conflicts (the population of the poor countries

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will outnumber us by 6 or 8 to 1 by 2050) will be those between the super-powers. Each is continually meddling in regional conflicts in an effort to come out on the side of the winning faction. It is already very important for them to be able to threaten each other with instant nuclear annihilation in order to secure their empires. The Americans have made it clear that they will go to war to defend their Middle East oil supplies. In a few years the Russians will probably cease to be self-sufficient in oil...do you expect the Middle East to become a less tense region than it is now?

This is the point disarmers typically miss. We can't disarm because we need those warheads to keep the Russians off our turf. Most disarmers want the weapons dismantled while they go on living the affluent lifestyles that we can't have unless we retain the capacity to prevent others from interfering with our hogging of world resources. The call for disarmament is inconsistent and futile unless it is

made within a general commitment to de-development. The essential campaign has to be for fundamental change to social structures that no longer generate problems of scarcity, poverty, waste, inequality and international conflict. Unfortunately, this will require much more than the abandonment of capitalism. Most marxists do not seem to realise that a post-capitalist society that remains determined to have affluent lifestyles will face almost as many potential sources of catastrophe as we do.

These brief notes sketch what I think has to be the frame in which teaching about particular problems like disarmament should be located. This approach is also a strategically very effective way of moving people towards a rejection of capitalism because the mechanisms whereby market forces and production for profit generate problems like hunger, waste and distorted development are very easily revealed to people who would turn off if one began with a

direct discussion of topics like exploitation, capitalism or profit.

Each year I present a 4 lecture overview of these themes to about 130 teachers trainees and run more detailed 20-30 hour courses for 30-60 trainees and M Ed students. I'm fairly sure that just about all end up agreeing with the diagnosis of our situation that I put forward. I'm not so sure most end up determined to do much about it but at least many of them will, from time to time, raise some of the issues in classrooms, staffrooms, pubs, etc.

I have just completed a fairly comprehensive account of the limits to growth case in view of recent evidence, which I hope to see published early in 1983. At present my main project is to translate the core arguments into materials that teachers can use. I would be delighted to hear from anyone who might like to receive copies of these and perhaps help to try them out.



that they may have life...

Marion McClelland

"I have come that they may have life, and have it to the full." — John 10:10

A small attempt at adult education on the arms race

This quotation of Jesus, in John's gospel, is part of the reason why I am attempting a modest form of adult education: exploring the arms race, Australia's role in it, and a Christian perspective on it. I am for life.

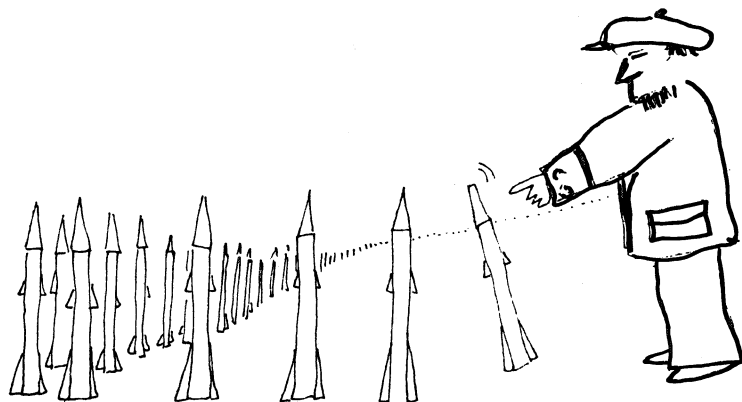
I am a Catholic religious sister and had taken life pretty much for granted before I was asked, in July, 1981, to do research on the nuclear arms race

for a group of interested people. What I discovered, after searching and ferretting, utterly appalled me. Not only my life, but the life of the entire planet and so of all future generations, was under grave threat. As I read, I became convinced that everyone everywhere needed to know the sort of facts I now knew, and everyone has a responsibility, as a human being, to confront those facts and decide on some course of action in

As in 1982 there seemed no one in Sydney offering sustained "arms race

facts" education, I decided to try to work out a program myself, including some Christian response to the facts. I did and do not know a great deal, but I do have access to resources and believed then, as now, that even a little learning is worthwhile. A priest friend offered his small adult education centre as a venue, so I began in February last year with six nights. Each session lasted two hours. The first two weeks I concentrated on the world situation, the third night on Australia, the

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C'line.

fourth on the Pacific, the fifth on discussions arising out of the first four, and on the final night I asked along two speakers, from AICD and the UN Disarmament Committee, so that people would have a means of continuing their interest and education afterwards.

The first night we looked at the weapons in the nuclear arsenals around the world, trying to understand terms by using an article in *The New Internationalist*, March 1981. Then biblical texts, to gain a theological faith perspective: Deut 6:4-9, Isaiah 32:15-20, Matt 5:3-10, Ephesians 2:14-18, Jn 14:27. We followed that with the film, *Ground Zero At Bangor*, a Christian film which gives both sides to the debate, but concentrates on a civil disobedience action at the Trident base at Bangor. It is available from House of Christian Community, PO Box 304, West End 4101. We finished with a short prayer service, as we ended each session.

The second night I used the film, *The War Game*, available from the National Film Library at Canberra (free of charge if used for educational purposes). This film is a fairly shattering experience, as it shows a simulated nuclear attack on a city in Kent, and the after effects. Out of date, (made in 1965), it is still highly effective. With that I used Church documents from *Vatican II* and related Vatican documents to show the Catholic Church's disapproval of the use of nuclear weapons.

The third night, I took *Home On The Range*, the AICD film on US Bases in Australia. (Available from AICD, PO Box A243, Sydney South). It is expen-

sive, (\$55), but worth the outlay. It is the only film available on the US bases that I know of, and looks at the activities of the CIA, and the possibility of a non-aligned defence position for Australia. There are now several written resources on Australia, but I recommend, in particular, for its lucidity and simplicity, Des Ball's *American Bases In Australia*, no 1 in a series of pamphlets: "Peace Dossiers", available at 70c each from Victorian Association of Peace Studies, c/o Jill Redner, 20 Carnarvon Road, South Caulfield Victoria 3161. The three papers currently available in this series are excellent. Church thought in Australia is slower on this peace question, but the Uniting Church passed encouraging motions at its Synod in May of this year, and even the Roman Catholic bishops assert in their May statement: "Christians must assume a leadership role in the work of peace".

The fourth night I employed slides (available from AICD and AWD), on above ground testing of US atomic weapons on the Marshall Islands. The Marshallese are presently taking a stand against further testing — an example of the little, ordinary people resisting the giant; a sign of hope for humanity. Likewise the action of Daniel Berrigan and the "Ploughshares Eight". We looked at the story, published by *Soujourners Magazine* (Soujourners, 1309 L St N W Washington DC 20005) of their break in at the Pennsylvania General Electric plant, and the destruction of a missile nose cone. *Soujourners* is an excellent Christian resource on peace matters.

The sessions have not been without

their problems, the most obvious being the lack of interested people. Very few have come to the three series I have run so far. Other problems have been technical: equipment failure; or problems relating to people: several nights at Redfern Church were "hijacked" in varying ways by an angry person; and one night at Toongabbie I was verbally attacked, and my line of approach equated with Communism. My response to this latter problem is that I need more real knowledge: of facts and of attitudes: how to understand the other person, and not to get rattled myself.

My techniques seem to vary each time. I have a number of resources, and a fair idea of a plan of action, trying to involve those present as much as possible. But I attempt always to remain flexible, to adapt to each situation. The use of audio visual material is stable, but most of the rest is expendable. I would like to know how to stimulate more discussion and participation. It is never a "lecture series"; always an "exploration together".

Most of all I want to help people to hope and believe in themselves and the future. It is up to all of us, not merely the politicians, to make our voices heard for disarmament. I say to people: inform yourselves and others, put **hope** into the atmosphere, and begin to work in small ways to effect a change of heart, beginning with yourself. For these are the two areas of equal importance: nuclear disarmament now, as soon as possible, and in the longer term, a change of heart, from fear, hate and mistrust of each other, to love and trust. There is hope. Let us lead others to it.

A Hitch-hiker's Guide to the Holocaust.

There was not room to publish the full list – an extensive general list – the arms race, nuclear weapons, nuclear power, disarmament – can be obtained by sending \$1 to RED collective.

BOOKS – BACKGROUND

* suitable for primary schools.

Australia And Its Neighbours

Social Impact of Uranium Mining on the Aborigines in the Northern Territory, 1/4/83–5/11/83. Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Available at Government bookshops.

World Militarisation: Arming Ourselves to Death. ACFOA (Development Dossier No 3), December 1980.

The Uranium Hunters, Ross Annabell. Seal Books (Rigby) 1971. The lure of a fortune – an apolitical story.

A Suitable Piece Of Real Estate, D Ball, Hale and Ironmonger, Sydney, 1980. US Bases in Australia.

Strategy and Defence: Australian Essays, Desmond Ball (ed), George Allen and Unwin, 1982. Not directly concerned with disarmament. Good introductions to issues of defence and strategy.

Bowyang – "Facing the Challenge", (Bowyang No 8), a bumper issue on the disarmament movement – local and international aspects, European, nuclear-free Pacific, Timor, civil defence, action. \$4 plus postage to Box 240, Holme Building, Uni of Sydney, NSW 2006.

Uranium on Trial, S Butler, R Raymond and C W Monroe, Horowitz, Sydney 1977. A case for nuclear power, opposing the use of breeder reactors.

Nuclear Arms Control, with Effective International Agreements, Julie Dahlitz, McPhee Gribble, Melbourne, 1983. \$16.95. How confrontation has been avoided and what steps must be taken to prevent World War III.

Moruroa Mon Amour. The French Nuclear Tests in the Pacific, Bengt Danielsson and Marie-Therese Danielsson. Documentary expose of the military and French colonial administration.

Grounds For Concern: Australia's Uranium and Human Survival, M Elliott, Penguin 1977.

Compiled by Julie Crittle, a postgraduate student and Betty Johnston, maths teacher.

Global Fission – The Battle Over Nuclear Power, Jim Falk, OUP, \$14.95. History and overview; details on the movement in Australia.

Taking Australia Off the Map, Jim Falk, William Heinemann, Melbourne. Forthcoming October 1983. Australia's involvement in the nuclear arms network, through uranium, bases, and Pacific test sites.

Nuclear Menace in our Backyard: US Bases in Australia, Gail Green. Australian Peace Council (available APC).

Knocking on Heaven's Door, Rolf Heimann, FOE, Melbourne, 1979. A voyage by ship into nuclear test territory.

Confronting The Nuclear Age: Australian Responses, compiled by John Hinchcliff. Published by Pacific Peacemaker, PO Box 311, Bondi Junction NSW 2022, or available from AICD.

Marshall Islands: A Chronology 1944-1981, Micronesia Support Committee, Pacific Resources Centre, Hawaii. Good source materials.

The Menace Of Atomic Energy, Ralph Nader and John Abbotts, Outback Press, Melbourne, 1977. The issues and a guide to citizen action.

Future Contingencies – Nuclear Disaster. A report to the NZ Commission for the Future, by a study group on nuclear disaster. Available from the NZ Government Printer. An examination of the possibility and effects of a nuclear war on New Zealand – including socio-economic effects.

Nuclear Power, Walter Patterson, Penguin, Melbourne, 1976.

The Wolf and the Lamb, Harvey Perkins, Uniting church. Bible studies on peace and disarmament.

Cold War II and Australia, Dennis Phillips, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1983. Can Australia pursue an Australian foreign policy – an examination of attitudes and politics.

Peace Works for People, David Purnell (ed), ACFOA Development Dossier No 10, September, 1982. 40 pp. Disarmament, development, the arms race, the UN, priorities and action. From ACFOA, PO Box 1562, Canberra City ACT 2601.

Massacres to Mining – the Colonisation of Aboriginal Australia, Jan Roberts, Dove Communications, Blackburn, Vic 1981. The tragic history from contact to uranium mining.

Alternatives to War: The Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, Keith Suter, WILPF, Melbourne 1981. Available

WILPF, UNAA. Lucid, lively, directed to the general reader.

Christians and the Arms Race, Keith Suter. Board of Social Responsibility, NSW Synod, Uniting Church, \$2.00.

Uranium – Energy Source of the Future? The Case For, E W Titterton. *The Case Against*, F P Rowbotham. Abacus Books, Nelson Australia. \$4.95.

Maralinga, Adrian Tome and F P J Rowbotham, Fontana, Melbourne, 1982. The British A-bomb tests at Maralinga and their effects. \$5.95.

Dossier on Militarism (1981). Prepared by Division of Social Justice, Uniting Church in Australia, Victorian Synod, 130 Little Collins Street, Melbourne 3000.

Peace Dossiers. No 1: *American Bases in Australia*, Desmond Ball. No 2: *Why We Have a War to Stop*, Alan Roberts. No 3: *Is There a Soviet Threat?* A Mack. No 4: *Nuclear War: Threat to Australia*, B Pittock. No 5: *Medicine and Nuclear War*, J Andrews, J Powles, J Ward. No 6:

Peace, a Witness of Faith, R Hunthausen (foreword by Patrick White). Available from Victorian Association for Peace Studies (VAPS).

Field of Thunder – The Maralinga Story, Judy Wilkes. Friends of the Earth. Aboriginal communities and the 1950s British atomic tests.

Fiction And Other Arts

Jenny My Diary, anonymous, Penguin 1983. Life after a nuclear war.

**After the End*, Isaac Asimov et al (eds), Raintree Publishers, Melbourne. Four science fiction short stories (John Wyndham, Ray Bradbury, Josef Berger, Arthur C Clarke).

**The Peace Book*, Bernard Benson, Jonathon Cape, \$12.95. Excellent introduction in story and picture form, for all ages. *When The Wind Blows*, Raymond Briggs. Hamish Hamilton. Cartoon story of the horrors of nuclear war and the fallacy of civil defence. \$9.95.

**Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes*, Eleanor Coerr, Hodder & Stoughton, 1982. \$2.95. Fictionalised account of a true story – 11 year old Sadako is found to have leukemia resulting from radiation exposure nine years previous.

Einstein, Ron Elisha. Unpublished play, possibly obtainable from Melbourne Theatre Company. A life of Einstein, framed around the question of moral responsibility.

**Trillions*. Nicholas Fisk. Puffin Books. Science fiction, with the threat of nuclear war.

**Let There be a World*, Felix Greene. A photographic introduction.

New Boston Review, December 1981 (periodical). Articles by Shirley Hazzard, "The Writer in the Nuclear Age", Estelle Jussim, "The Artwork of Nuclear Survivors".

No Fission: Cartoons by Australian Artists, Rolf Heimann (ed), Cook, Petty, Leunig, Tandberg and others. \$6.95 from Access Magazine, 170 Mills Street, Albert Park, Vic 3206. All profits to the anti-nuclear movement.

Let There be Peace: An Annotated Bibliography of Anti-War Literature, and Realistic Fiction About War, Thomas Henney and Vida Stanton, in *Language Arts*, 54, 1, January, 1977.

Riddley Walker, R Hoban, Picador, London, 1981. A novel of post-nuclear life, provocative and disturbing.

Black Rain, J Ibuse, Kodansha, Tokyo 1981. A powerful novel based on the experience of Hiroshima.

Unforgettable Fire: Pictures Drawn by Atomic Bomb Survivors, Japan Broadcasting Corporation (ed), Wildwood House, London 1981. \$13.95. Pictures and brief accompanying descriptions.

No Nuclear Weapons, P Kennard and R Sissons, Pluto Press, London 1981 (with CND). Photomontage for disarmament.

In the Matter of Robert J Oppenheimer, Helmar Kipphardt, Methuen 1964. A play dealing with the moral responsibilities of scientists, through the case of Oppenheimer, "father of the atom bomb".

The Word for World is Forest, Ursula le Guin. Science fiction.

Shikasta (a novel) and "Report From a Threatened City" (short story in *Stories of a Non-marrying Man*), Doris Lessing, Penguin.

To Stay Alive, Denise Levertov. New Directions, 1971. \$7.50. A collection of poems about war and the society that generates it.

Whoops. Apocalypse: A state of the world report, Andrew Marshall and David Renwick, Unwin Paperbacks Original Humour, 1982. \$4.95. Outrageous background to TV comedy series (John Cleese etc).

Woman on the Edge of Time, Marge Piercy. Amongst other things, a critique of present society from the viewpoint of a post-nuclear society. Other titles by this author.

The Atomic Cafe, K & P Rafferty and J Loader, Bantam Books, 1982. The book of the film - stills and comments.

Charlottesvill: A Fictional Response, N Randall.

**The Watch on Patterick Fell*, Fay Sampson, Greenwillow Books, NY, 1978, 153 pp. Two teenagers, children of nuclear scientists, involved in suspenseful protests against nuclear power plants - England, some years in the future.

The Merry-Go-Round in the Sea, Randolph Stow, Penguin. A small boy growing up in Western Australia, against the background of WWII.

The Chrysalids, John Wyndham, Penguin. Science Fiction - some decades after a nuclear war.

Women (and men)

Loaded Questions: Women in the Military, W Chapkis (ed), Transnational Institute Amsterdam and Washington, DC. Starting point for discussion on issues such as: do equal rights include the right to fight? could feminists reform the military from within? are women naturally pacifists?

Fathering the Unthinkable: Masculinity, Scientists and the Nuclear Arms Race, Brian Easlea, Pluto Press, 1983. Traces the myths and metaphors associated

with the "conquest of nature" - concludes with need for radical re-evaluation of "masculine" ideologies.

Keeping the Peace: Women's Peace Handbook 1, Lynne Jones (ed), The Women's Press, London, 1983. \$9.50. Peace campaigns, manifestos, resource lists, practical advice.

Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Non-violence, Pam McAllister (ed), New Society Publishers, Philadelphia, 1982. An anthology of writings by feminists who embrace radical non-violence on a day-to-day basis as well as in international politics.

Over Our Dead Bodies: Women Against the Bomb, Dorothy Thompson (ed), Virago, 1983. \$7.59. Articles and poems by deeply concerned women.

The Role of Women in Peace Movements, in the Development of Peace Research and in the Promotion of Friendly Relations Between Nations, UNESCO paper, presented to World Conference for the UN Decade for Women, 1980.

Women: A Journal of Liberation (special issue on peace and war), Vol 8, No 1.

Journals

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, monthly. Carries articles etc on armaments and disarmament. \$23.50 pa (individuals), 1020-1024 E58th St, Chicago, Illinois 60637, USA.

Bulletin of Peace Proposals, quarterly. Articles and abstracts. \$20 pa. Universitetsforlaget, Journals Dept, PO Box 2959, Toyen, Oslo 6, Norway.

Disarmament Campaigns, monthly. Reports on campaigns worldwide, focus on Europe. Published in the Netherlands. £7.50 pa, c/o Bruce Kent, CND, 11 Goodwin Street, London N43HQ, UK.

Peace Research Abstracts Journal, published by Peace Research Institute, Ontario, Canada. Wide ranging collection (available some libraries, eg Macquarie & Sydney universities).

Peace Studies, monthly. Victorian Association for Peace Studies (VAPS). \$8 pa (individuals). Discussion of war, peace and education.

UNESCO Yearbook on Peace and Conflict Studies, 1980, UNESCO.

World Studies Journal, published by World Studies Training Centre (see Networks). Vol 4 No 4: "Good Practice" in Peace Education (case studies, etc) and other back issues. £1.75 each.

Other useful periodicals are: *Chain Reaction* (FOE); *Education* (NSWTF); *Force Ten News* (Australian Council of Churches, ACC) especially for schools; *Guardian Weekly*; *New Doctor* (Doctor's Reform Society); *New Internationalist* (PO Box 82, Fitzroy, Vic or AWD), especially March '83 issue; *One World* (ACC); *Outlook* (PO Box 2134, GPO Sydney), a Catholic viewpoint; *Pacific Issues* (Rev R Wootton, 130 Lt Collins St, Melb), South Pacific news; *Rolling Stone*; *Social Alternatives* (Dept of Ext Studies, Uni of Queensland 4067), especially Sept and Dec, 1982; *Transnational Brief* (GPO Box 161, Sydney); *Womanspeak* (PO Box 103, Spit Junction, 2088); and of course journals and newsletters of peace groups.

BOOKS - PEACE EDUCATION

Many titles in the background section will also be suitable for use in schools (eg: VAPS dossiers, fiction). This section contains basically books written specifically for teachers or students.

* suitable for primary schools.



Australia

Education for Disarmament Kit, (for teachers or secondary students). \$2.00. Available from AICD, Sydney or PND, Melbourne. Pamphlets on various topics also from AICD, a resource list.

Current Issues. Notes for Teaching About the Media. No 1, Atomic Cafe. Australian Teachers of Media (ATM), 1983. Teaching notes for films *Atomic Cafe* and *The War Game*. \$3.00 (\$2.00 each for sets of 10 or more). Inquiries to ATM, PO Box 265, Carlton South, Vic 3053.

Using Simulation Games, P Barker and M Marshall. The Joint Board of Christian Education of Australia and NZ, 1974. Also *More Simulation Games*, 1977.

**Survival*, Katie Boanas, Virginia Boss, Hazel Dodge, Mike Dodge, Harold Evans, Dan Postelnik. Published by Survival 81, PO Box 11-105, Christchurch NZ. Simple and effective for children and adults. Hiroshima, the Pacific, the arms race: a war without winners, the cost/profits, radiation, ideas for action.

Nuclear Disarmament Teaching Kit. Sample lesson plans produced by Sydney teachers at present being tested in schools. Test runs and comments welcomed. Includes, so far, science subjects, maths and English. Contact Connie Ewart or Scott Poynting, [02] 569 8987.

The Nuclear Environment, Les Dalton et al. FOE/MAUM, 1983. Factual, straightforward, lively and well presented. \$6.00 (plus \$1 postage) to FOE or MAUM in Melbourne.

Peace Is Possible and The Path Of Peace, Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace. Two discussion starters, with questions and reading lists.

People, Problems and Planet Earth, Frank Hutchinson & Lyn Waddell. Macmillan. \$8.95. A textbook for years 11 and 12, with focus on Australia, esp Sydney.

Basic Facts Kit, Peter Jones. A short kit for "five people to learn the basic facts in two hours and how to be active for disarmament". Available from AWD.

Peace Studies in NSW Schools, written by the Peace Studies Curriculum Group (NSW). Soon to be printed by the NSW State Development Committee. (Also under way is *It Worked For Me*, teaching units on peace studies K-12.)

Disarmament Declaration: Background Papers, PND Melbourne and AICD Sydney. 10 short papers cover background information on issues included in the Nuclear Disarmament Declaration, a petition sponsored by ACDP.

Education for Disarmament Action, PND Melbourne, a study guide.

**A Call to a New Exodus. An Anti-nuclear Primer for Pacific People* by Suliana Siwatibau & B David Williams. Excellent informative, the general question of nuclear energy with particular focus on the Pacific.

**Learning Peaceful Relationships: A Progression of Activities for Groups*. Published by WILPF (NZ) and NZ Foundation for Peace Studies Inc. An introduction to conflict resolution for infants and primary children. Available from WILPF.

General

**Peace is in Our Hands*, Grace Abrams and Fran Schmidt. Jane Addams Peace Association, 1973. Introduces concepts of war, peace and conflict.

**Myself and Others*, Alexis Aquino-Mackles, David C King, Margaret S Branson. Global Perspectives in Education 218E 18th Street, New York City, NY 10003, 1979. Curricular ideas etc, involving change, communications, conflict and interdependence. Useful for theory and practical suggestions.

Peace or War, Marion A Bressler and Leo A Bressler, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977. 120 pp. War – its causes, effects, alternatives. Selected writings – stories, poems, cartoons, illustrations, questions and activities.

Peacekeeping, Carter, Fraenkel, Reardon. Institute for World Order, Inc/Random House. Perspectives in World Order Series, ed Fraenkel, 1973, 71pp. Various peace keeping case studies (Ethiopia 1934, Congo 1960 . . .) – with history, analysis, review suggestions. Well illustrated. Clear, useful.

Selected War/Peace Curriculum Units Available for High School Level Teaching, Diablo Valley Education Project, Orinda, California, 1971.

Men Against War, Nicholas Gillett, Gollancz. Brief but interesting accounts of the lives of eight great peacemakers.

**Peace Education in the Primary Grades: The Young World Citizen. A Bibliography and Sample Activities*, M Hadjisky (comp), Wayne State Univ, Detroit, Michigan. Centre for Teaching About Peace and War, 1973. 19pp. Annotated bibliography from 1960s and 1970s and sample activities for K-3.

**Peace Education in the Preschool Years: A Mental Health Approach. Preschool Project*, M Hadjisky and F Stroll (eds), 24pp, and *A Peace Education Unit for the Kindergarten Child*, J Linsell, 16pp. Wayne State Uni (as above) 1972. The first document describes aims and programs, the second includes teaching unit, activities, resources.

Hiroshima: A Study in Science, Politics and the Ethics of War. Teacher and Student Manuals, Jonathon Harris, Amherst College, Mass, 1965, 60 pp. A social studies unit seeking to show the political,

military, scientific and moral complexities in decision-making.

**Lets Cry for Peace*, Hiroshima A-Bombed Teachers Association, 64pp. Available from Peace Resource Centre, Wilmington. Personal stories of two children; peace movement; poems and songs.

Teaching Global Issues Through Simulation: It Can Be Easy in Intercom, Issue 75. Centre for War/Peace Studies, 1974, 32 pp. What, how, why of simulation games, details of several, sources of others.

Non-violent Action Training in Peace Education, Susumu Ishitani, Peace Research Institute in Japan.

A-Bomb: A City Tells Its Story, Yoshiteru Kosakai. A slide tape presentation composed of drawings and firsthand accounts of persons who experienced the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. Japanese Peace Research Society.

A Strategy Guide for Schools and School Systems in Education for Peace and Justice, James McGinnis, Institute for Peace and Justice, St Louis, 1977.

The Cold War and Beyond From Deterrence to Detente . . . To What?, Metcalf, Reardon, Colby, Institute for World Order, Inc/Random House. Crises in World Order Series, ed Metcalf, 1975, 71 pp. Case studies (Hungary, Cuba, Arab-Israeli War), chronology, photographs, suggestions for study.

**In The Sky Over Nagasaki: An A-Bomb Reader for Children*, Nagasaki Prefecture Hibakusha Teachers Association. 105 pp. Available from Wilmington Peace Resource Centre. Sensitive story of what happened to the children on August 9, 1945.

**Barefoot Gen*, Keiji Nakazawa. A course book for children telling the story of Keiji, a survivor of the A-bomb. For further information inquire Japanese Peace Research Society.

How to Research Your Local War Industry, National Action/Research on the Military/Industrial Complex. American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, 1973.

Human Nature and War, William A Nesbitt (ed), Centre for International Programs and Comparative Studies, University of State of New York Press, Albany NY 12210, 1973, 65pp. An introduction to philosophy of whether human nature is innately warlike. Short readings. Bibliography.

Teaching Youth About Conflict and War, Nesbitt, Abramowitz, Bloomstein. National Council for the Social Studies, Washington DC, 1973, 101pp. Annotated bibliography. Discussion, an experiment ("Robbers Cave"), curriculum material, game ("Oil Islands Dispute").

The Peace Pack, New Internationalist Publications Cooperative (available from New Internationalist or AWD). Includes posters, booklet, wall chart, photos, stickers, special edition of *New Internationalist* and a game.

The War and Peace Book, D Noble. Writers and Readers, 1977. A good discussion starter for older secondary students.

**War/Peace/Disarmament*. A series of four publications from the Norwegian UNA. Norsk Samband for De Forente Nasjoner. For preschool, infants, primary and lower secondary.

**The Friendly Classroom for a Small Planet*, Prutzman, Burger, Bodenhamer, Stern. NJ: Avery Publishing Group, 1978, 109pp. Methods of conflict resolution including planning, goals, games, exercises, songs, very good bibliography, class reviews, sample workshops. (Available NZFPS.)

War Criminals, War Victims, Colby Reardon. Inst for World Order, Inc/Random House, 1974. Crises in World Order Series, ed Metcalf, 55pp. Cases: Andersonville, Nuremburg, Hiroshima, My Lai – consideration of war and the individual. Photos, trial transcripts, questions and issues for study. Clear, not too long.

**Hiroshima – Nagasaki Photo Panels*. Resource Centre for Nuclear Disarmament (Prep Committee) Tokyo, March 1982. A set of poster sized photos of the bombed cities and people.

Learning for Change in a World Society, Robin Richardson, World Study Project. Contains lessons on many aspects of peace and justice including war and the arms race.

**Living Beneath the Atomic Cloud: Testimony of the Children of Nagasaki*, Tokyo San-Yu-Sha, 65pp. Available from Wilmington Peace Resource Centre. Stories of children writing of their experiences on August 9, 1945, collected in 1949.

**World Studies 8-13 Curriculum Project* (funded partly by UK Schools Council), taught in 600 schools in UK – a focus on younger children (8-13 years), different cultures and countries and interaction between them.

**Planning and Teaching World Studies: an Interim Guide*, (World Studies 8-13 Project), Schools-Council/Rowntree Project, 1982.

Global Issues: Activities and Resources for the High School Teacher, Kenneth Switzer and Paul Mulloy. Social Science Education Consortium, Inc, 855 Broadway, Boulder, Co 80302, USA, 1979, 91pp. Lesson plans etc on world trade, arms race, economic development, environment and technology, resources, human rights. List of sources of classroom materials.

Peace on Earth, UNESCO. A peace anthology of famous and other writings, describing possible paths to peace. UNESCO 1980.

**Peace Education Kit* (9-14 year olds), UNICEF. Classroom notes, activities, graphics, available UNICEF office.

Peace and World Order Studies: a Curriculum Guide, B Weston, S Schwenninger and D Shamis; Institute for World Order, NY

Strategy

Proceedings of an International Conference on Expanding Dimensions of World Education (Hacettepe Univ, Ankara, Turkey, June 1976), N Adibe and F Stone (eds), Connecticut Uni, 1976. Useful section on peace education.

Peace Education Conference Papers, Australian International Independent School and UNAA, Sydney, AIFS, 1981.

Children and the Threat of Nuclear War, Sibylle Escalone. Child Study Association of America, 1962. A classic pamphlet, now out of print, but updated and

republished in *Education for Peace: Focus on Mankind*, ASCD, 1973. A developmental discussion, with suggestions to parents and teachers on how to deal with children's anxieties. (Ed Henderson — see below.)

Education for Peace and Development: Form—Content—Structure, J Galtung, M Haavelsrud, V Wiese; Christian Ejlers Forlag, Copenhagen. Forthcoming.

Approaching Disarmament Education, Magnus Haavelsrud (ed), IPC Science and Technology Press, England, 1981. (Dist by Butterworths, Australia.) Emphasis on disarmament and liberation from oppression, rather than "pacification".

Education for Peace: Reflection and Action, Magnus Haavelsrud (ed), IPC Science and Technology Press, England, 1976. 407pp. Essays from first World Conference of the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction (WCCI) held on subject of peace education. An international focus, theoretical and practical.

Education for Peace: Focus on Mankind, George Henderson (ed). Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Washington DC, 1973. 235pp. Prose, literature, statistics working towards a political understanding. Developmental view of children. Important, informative, passionate.

Teaching World Studies, David Hicks and Charles Townley, Longmans, 1982. An introduction to global perspectives in the curriculum.

**A Manual on Non-violence and Children*, Stephanie Judson (ed), Friends Peace Committee, 1976. (Available from NZ FPS.)

A Reader in Political Sociology, Frank Lindenfeld. Funk and Wagnalls, NY 1968. Includes readings making clear the connections between peace studies and sociology.

Education and Peace, Maria Montessori (translated by Helen R Lane). Henry Regnery, Chicago, 1972 (originally published 1949).

"Obstacles to Disarmament Education", Betty Reardon in *Obstacles to Disarmament and Ways of Overcoming Them*, UNESCO, 1981.

Peacemaking, Barbara Stanford (ed), Bantam Books, 1976. 500pp. Subtitled "a guide to conflict resolution for individuals, groups and nations". Clear interesting starting place for thinking and action, emphasis personal rather than political.

Armaments, Arms Control and Disarmament: A UNESCO Reader for Disarmament, M Thee (ed), Paris, UNESCO, 1982. \$27.00. An excellent source book including a section on peace education.

Children & War: Political Socialisation to International Conflict, Howard Tolley, Jr Teachers College Press, \$4.95. A study of children's attitudes to modern warfare.

Handbook on Peace Education, Christopher Wulf (ed), International Peace Research Association, Frankfurt, 1974. 372pp. Concepts and concrete examples, showing education, research and action for peace as directly related.

Research, Education and Information on Disarmament, Robert Wintol (ed), Ministry of Education, Helsinki, 1978.

Networks

American Friends Service Committee, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA.

Centre for War/Peace Studies, 218 East 18th Street, New York, NY10003, USA.

Educators Against the Madness of the Arms Race is building up a network of peace education groups in other countries. Write for info to Pedagogen gegen den Rustungswahnsinn, c/o Lutz van Dick, Postfach 2841, 2000 Hamburg, 19, Federal Republic of Germany.

Federation of American Scientists Nuclear War Education Project, 307 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, DC, 20002. Encourages public education on nuclear war. Resource and education newsletter (\$US10 a year), syllabuses, graphics.

Institute for World Order, 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY10036, USA. Has register of peace curricula from around the world.

International Peace Research Association, (IPRA), IPRA Secretariat, PO Box 5052, Oslo 3, Norway.

Japanese Peace Research Society, 1-15-23 Higashi Kaigon Tsujido, Fuisawa — SH1, Japan 251.

Jane Addams Peace Association, 1213 Race St, Philadelphia 19, PA 19107, USA.

New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies, (NZ FPS), PO Box 4110, Auckland NZ.

Pacific Resources Centre, PO Box 27692, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Peace Education Network aims to provide communication and support among educators for peace, to promote public education and research. For more info write to Membership Secretary, Centre for Peace Studies, St Martins College, Lancaster LA1 3JD, who also produce papers, and are involved in World Studies 8-13.

Peace Resource Centre, Box 1183 Wilmington College, Wilmington, OH 45177, USA.

School of Peace Studies, Bradford University, Bradford, West Yorkshire BD7 1DP.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) Sveavagen 166, S-13346 Stockholm, Sweden. Australian contact: A&NZ Book Co P/L, 10 Aquatic Drive, French's Forest NSW 2086, or PO Box 459, Brookvale NSW 2100.

Teachers for Peace (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament), 42 York Rise, London NW5, England.

UNESCO (Aust agent), Dominic Pty Ltd, PO Box 33, Brookvale NSW 2100 or (France) 7 Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris.

UNICEF, 147a King Street, Sydney 2000 (or local branch).

Victorian Association for Peace Studies (VAPS), 124 Napier Street, Fitzroy Vic 3065. Put out magazine *Peace Studies*, and are setting up a peace education network.

World Studies Project 8-13, 12 Fairfield Rd, Bristol BS3 1LG, England (developing material for 8-13 year old age group).

World Studies Teacher Training Centre, University of York, Heslington, York YO1 5DD, England. Courses, journal.

FILMS

The following is a selection of films not already listed in *RED 19*. They, and others, can be obtained from such places as: The Sydney Filmmakers Co-op (SFC), PO Box 217, Kings Cross 2011; Film & Video Collection, Victorian Education Department (V); other state education department film libraries; state film centres; the National Film Library; the UN Information Centre (free) and peace groups. Some groups (eg AWD, SFC) hire out films for something between \$15 and \$75. Others ask for a year's subscription in return for certain borrowing rights. Keep asking for the films — some libraries will respond to the demand.

On the arms race: *War Without Winners* (1978, 27 mins, AICD, CICD) with experts and "ordinary" people in USA and USSR; *Nuclear Countdown* (1978, 28 mins, V, UN) on the history, the current position, the need for disarmament; *Gods of Metal* (1981, 35 mins, AWD, Brisbane) a Christian perspective; *In the King of Prussia* (1982, 86 mins, SFC?) the Plowshares Eight, a protest and trial; *America From Hitler to MX* (1982, 95 mins) American policy and its business connections.

On the first atomic bomb: *Birth of the Bomb* (1975, 50 mins, V) background 1938-1945; *Hiroshima: Blast Effect* (1946, 20 mins, V) filmed eight months after the Hiroshima bombing; *Truman and the Bomb* (1969, 15 mins, V) the decision process; *To Die, to Live: Survivors of Hiroshima* (1975, 65 mins, V) and *Prophecy* (41 mins, AWD), both include documentary footage and interviews with survivors.

On further consequences of nuclear weapons: *The Last Epidemic* (1981, The Medical Assoc for the Prevention of War) the medical consequences; *23 Skidoo* (1964, 9 mins, V, SFC) an intact city, empty, after a neutron bomb explosion; *Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang* (1979, 60 mins, SFC) and *Nick Mazzucco: Atomic Vet* (1981, 22 mins, SFC) both documenting the effects of the US Nevada atomic test program; *Belau: The Price of Independence* (1982, 28 mins, SFC) Pacific testing.

On nuclear energy: *Power to the People* (1972, 27 mins, UN) radiation, pollution, nuclear wastes; *Dark Circle* (1982, 80 mins, SFC) the connection between the nuclear power and arms industries, and the growing protest; *Energy: The Nuclear Alternative* (1980, 22 mins, V) pros and cons.

Australian films include: *Ride Against Uranium* (1977, 17 mins, V); *Voyage of the Pacific Peacemaker* (1982, 50 mins, SFC); *Dirt Cheap* (1980, 90 mins, SFC) the resources boom; *Backs to the Blast* (1981, 50 mins, SFC) nuclear bomb testing in Australia.

Teachers at Work

nukes and numbers.

What has maths got to do with peace?

Nancy Shelley

The combination of these two, Mathematics and Peace, may at first glance appear odd. However, attitudes to Mathematics, and its teaching and learning, are linked with attitudes to peace and war — one way to see this linkage is through attitudes to authority.

The mode of teaching most frequently employed in Mathematics is the authoritarian mode. Too frequently, mathematics teachers bow

to what they perceive to be the “authority of the subject”, and use that “authority” to instate or reinforce their own. Sometimes there is an attempted amelioration of this by distancing themselves and placing the responsibility for it in the “text book” or “programme”, deferring to a certain “inevitability” in the face of the “nature of the subject”. This is exemplified when, to a student’s plea for explanation, comes some variation of the rejoinder: That’s the way it is. If you can’t see it, you’d better just learn it, because there’s nothing I can do about it.

The message is essentially that to succeed one must conform. Better brains have mapped it out, and got it all organised; it is logical and consistent, so if you are endowed with logic you will see that and accept the way it is, and get on with making sure you become a good operator. That is the way to succeed.

“Theirs not to reason why . . .
Into the valley of death . . .”

Appeal to and reliance upon authority pave the way for authoritarian thinking and become the seed-grounds of “acceptable” violence. That violence is already present in the denial of the creativity of the learners, and that violence is already being done to the subject called Mathematics. For, it is no more “of the nature of Math-

ematics”, that it should be so than the history of Mathematics is a chronicle of logical increments to a granite-like edifice.

Alternatively, learning Mathematics can draw upon the creativity of the learner, and the learner can come to know through her own experience. Mathematics can be learnt in a multi-sensory way. It is through valuing each learner with her diversity, and through sharing of experience through participation that peace is built.

For example, if we want to find out how some shapes (and lines) arise, we can “generate” those shapes ourselves by walking. Beginning with the idea of wanting to discover the path a person will walk under certain conditions, we can look at the following possibilities: first, what is your path if you walk so that you are a constant distance from:

- i a point
- ii a straight line (2 cases: line finite in length, line infinite in length).

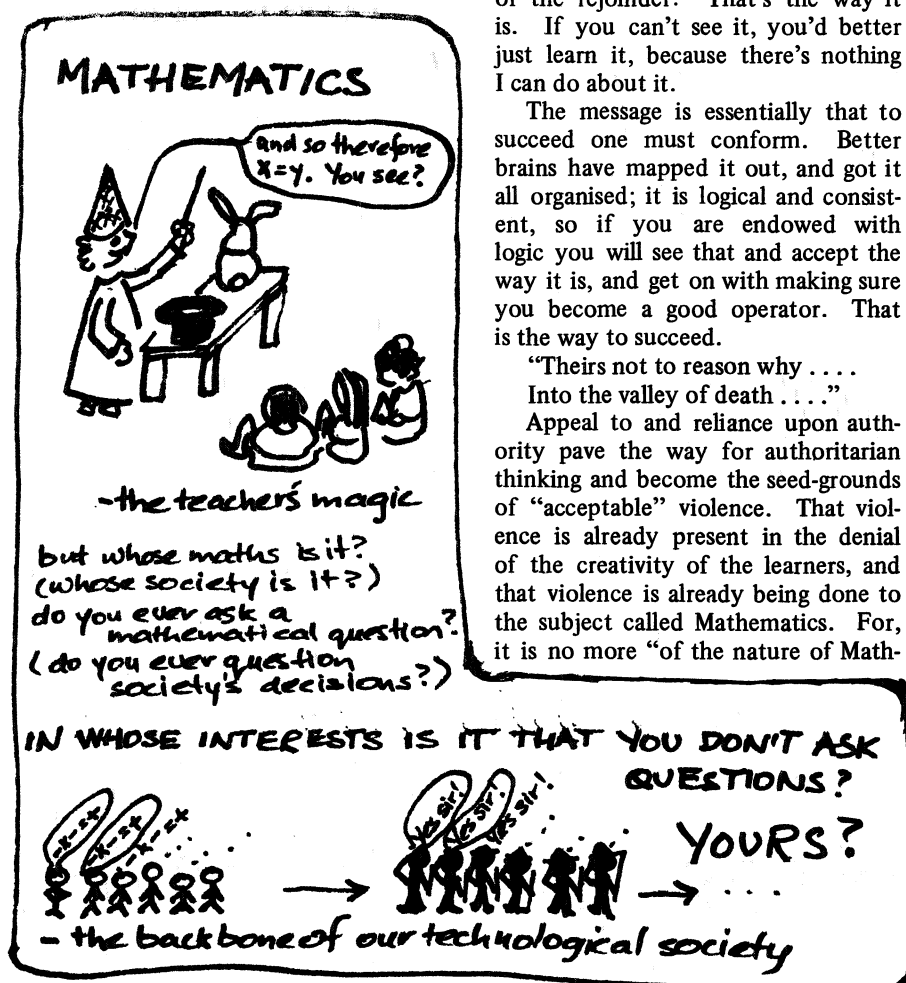
Next try; equidistant from:

- i 2 points
- ii 2 straight lines (3 cases)
- iii a point and a line

Now try it if the ratio of your distance from one (either point or line) to your distance from the other (either point or line) remains constant. Is there a difference between the cases where the ratio is less than 1 and where it is more than 1? In this way, it is possible to “feel one’s way” through to a circle, various straight lines, a parabola, an ellipse and an hyperbola.

What is important in this approach to learning is that thinking engages through the process. The cognitive end-product is not the message, and the process can only be understood by participating.

Nancy Shelley is an educator and now full-time peace activist.



To experience the process in this case, take it in turns to do the walking while others stand either representing points or holding string to represent lines. It is essential that while the person is thinking about her walk others should not deny her her learning as the walker puts her thinking into action. Questions can be asked about particular positions which satisfy the conditions — without giving hints.

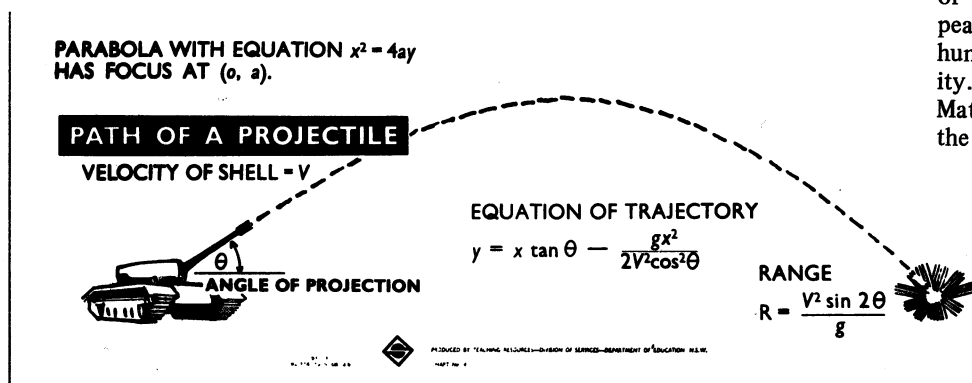
From moving at first hesitatingly,

to re-walking confidently, a person should then describe the shape of the path and, finally, detail it, eg. for a circle give its centre and radius. It is usual for cooperative learning of this kind to generate pleasure. As each person is doing the active part, others will be engaged in thinking it through also, and so it is a participatory mode of learning. The initial thinking-through-and-putting-into-action creates an experience of being present in the learning. Moving from the active

walking and detailing of the path to drawing and writing, a springboard is created for consolidation and further exploration.

The integrity of the Mathematics is maintained as is the integrity of the learner. The power of the cooperative venture has had its impact and people learn respect for others in their learning. With this method innumerable issues are learnt as well as the end product; for example, in the above exercise it is highly likely someone will introduce symmetry.

The process of learning is all-important, not least because the process contains the hidden curriculum. As war is the ultimate demonstration of lack of regard for human life, so peace is based upon respect for other human beings and valuing their diversity. The teaching and learning of Mathematics can work toward either: the choice lies with the teacher.



getting underway

Planning a values classification peace program

Rodney Harris

The proposed peace education course at the Geelong College starts from the premise that war and destructive violence is pathological, not normal. Despite this, the audience it seeks to inform and challenge has attitudes concerning peace and violence which may be difficult to change, due to the influences of other agencies — the peer group, the home environment, the media. A private school has a clientele which frowns on activities not befitting academia, and views with distrust subjects not seen as “forms of knowledge”.

It is with these thoughts in mind that

Rodney Harris is planning a peace education course at Geelong College.

I have, since July 1982 when the term “peace education” was first mooted in the Humanities faculty, stressed the fact that the subject is a legitimate, academically acceptable, and demanding area of study. It is too easy to fall into the trap that the media would have us do, of labelling the peace movement as left-wing, irresponsible, emotive, naive, utopian, unrealistic, or such similar hysterics. Peace education programs have been functioning for some years in Britain, for example, and the “Teachers for Nuclear Disarmament” group in that country is a respected and responsible group on the educational scene. The

Bradford School of Peace Studies is one of several western universities offering academic degrees in the subject, and this new area of study is seen as being academically demanding enough to warrant such recognition.

To safeguard against the accusation that peace education is intent on imposing “values” on unsuspecting students, the proposed program is based on Kohlberg’s model of moral education; a cognitive developmental model which accepts that children have their own ways of thinking about values and spontaneously formulate their own moral ideas. It is accepted that a peace

education program cannot, by definition, be value free; inherent values must be explicit and open to continual, critical evaluation by all participants.

There has been a very real danger that the issue of peace will not be discussed anywhere in the school unless it is given some recognition as a subject. No faculty up to this stage has taken responsibility for the issue. It is, implicitly, a multi disciplinary study, demanding the attention of faculties other than Humanities. We cannot isolate the question of nuclear disarmament as being a purely moral one, nor can we define it in purely scientific, political, social, economic, or

historical terms alone. It requires a multi disciplinary approach, perhaps under the umbrella of the Humanities faculty, with invited participants from other faculties.

If this conglomeration of disciplines is not viable, another option is open to us. This is the infusion of a peace education course into existing subjects such as social science, history, English, and science. The scope will be limited of course if peace education is only introduced in one or two subject areas. Also, teachers at each subject level must see the course as being just as relevant to the area as any other. If the teaching is

properly coordinated, the learning will not be so diffuse that students fail to see the point of it. Advisory support and a resource centre within the school can supply part of the answer. There is certainly no lack of research and information on the subject.

So far the response has been generally favourable. The next steps are more difficult: a meeting of all faculty heads, sanctioning by the principal, slotting the program into the curriculum, and finalising content. Whatever the outcome might be, there is a feeling within the school that the "nuclear question" requires dissemination and analysis.

a peaceful primary school

Elizabeth
McKenzie

I agree with those who define peace as a relationship and I see all this manifested as cooperation and service amongst those involved as an enterprise, in this particular case, a school. Peace is respect for every human being regardless of race, colour, class, sex and culture. Developing peaceful relationships is so important that it transcends all philos-

ophies, political allegiances and belief systems. It is about survival and it is about building a world in which all can live in conditions which remove the occasion for war.

My beliefs about peace have determined the kind of school I am trying to develop with the help of others who are involved. Lack of peace represents suffering. In schools this can be social, cultural and psychological. Violence is born of suffering, of fear, of powerlessness, of aggression, inequality and injustice. Those who have power have the opportunity to inflict violence on others. Therefore all those who work in schools may do violence to the powerless — their students, their parents, their colleagues. The way power is used in a school determines the kind of relationships in the school.

Our school has tried to give all who are involved a sense of purpose, of worth and of a voice in the decision making process. From its inception three years ago, the philosophy, aims and objectives were drawn up as a result of discussions between parents, teachers and students, using the nominal group technique (small group discussion and ranking processes) for parents and teachers. Because very young children were involved, personal interviews and questionnaires were used with students.

School boards — parents and teachers, are responsible for ACT government schools. Parents are also involved in the school in a variety of ways including in

the classrooms. Staff meetings with the chair rotating and whole staff consensus decision making on all matters is the rule. The ACT system has an hierarchical teacher grading system. In our school, as much as possible the administration is carried out in a non hierarchical fashion. When things matter more than people — when status, position, rank, material goods are more important than people, violence is fostered. Therefore loving, caring relationships which engender mutual respect among all who work in the school is the prime consideration.

The curriculum — hidden and overt — must be compatible with developing peaceful relationships. In our school, we endeavour to select programs which are non sexist, non racist, and use competition only when it is appropriate and non damaging to self esteem. There is a strong commitment to a multicultural approach to the curriculum. There is no cane — discipline is a matter for discussions between counsellor, student, teachers and parents. If power is used to resolve conflict it is destructive — the creative and constructive approach is for all concerned to work through it together. I hope that our school reflects such a loving, caring, creative environment. If we succeed, we will have a learning community which is also a peaceful community — a contribution to a future, peaceful world.

Elizabeth McKenzie is principal of the Miles Franklin primary school, Canberra.

who's

doing what

where?

CANBERRA

August 1-6 was Peace Week in Canberra and a number of interesting peace activities were organised. A peace picnic was held outside the War Memorial with participants being asked to bring "tank decorating flowers". A curriculum forum on "Peace Education and Curriculum Needs" was organised for parents and teachers. A particularly interesting idea was the symposium for high school and college students on "The Consequences and Prevention of Nuclear War". About two hundred and fifty year 9-12 students attended a day of talks, discussions and workshops from schools and senior colleges throughout the ACT. During the morning the medical, economic and social effects of nuclear war and the arms race were discussed, with talks given by Sir Mark Oliphant, Professor Runciman, Michael Denborough and Janet Hunt. In the afternoon attention focused on the prevention of nuclear war. At the student forum at the end of the day there was some talk of organising an ACT students rally against nuclear war. Such a rally seems like a great idea.



Statements of student's particular fears and concerns about nuclear war and the arms race provides teachers with support and credibility when they argue with the authorities for the introduction of peace studies in educational institutions. As a result of the Peace Week activities, the ACT teachers are hoping to set up a peace network with a contact in each school in the ACT.

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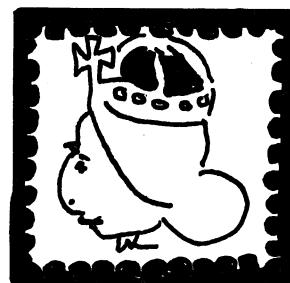
DARWIN

The Northern Territory Department of Education has recently given approval for teachers to have time release to develop a peace studies course. The course is intended for a mixed and multiracial group of students including Vietnamese and Timorese. There has been quite a bit of discussion about the most appropriate approach to take given the diversity of the student group. Some people felt that a disarmament approach would be too abstract, while others felt uneasy about a softer, more personal peace approach. As a result, the Darwin group have decided to develop courses using both approaches and trial them.



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MELBOURNE



In Melbourne two very successful inservice courses have been run on peace studies. There were about twice as many participants as expected. As a result of the first course a Peace Education Network has been established with its own newsletter (contact through VAPS, 147 Napier Street, Fitzroy 3065). A joint submission is now before the Victorian Minister of Education for a Peace Education Curriculum Resources Centre. So far the Education Department has been rather ambiguous in its attitude to peace studies, and the resources centre proposal. A working group has approval from the VISE HSC Politics Committee to develop an optional unit on peace for the HSC course.

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PERTH

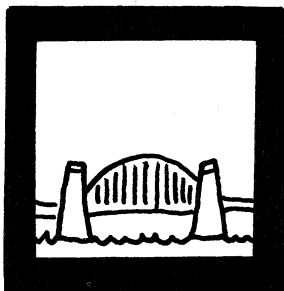


In Western Australia, Teachers for Nuclear Disarmament (TND), a branch of PND, are being active at several levels. All work is so far voluntary, though financial support is being sought. Some members (eg Vanessa Letham, ph 383 2527) have been working at the preschool and primary level. Others (eg Brenda Conochie, ph 299 6124) have been making the rounds of the schools talking and showing slides. Other secondary school contacts are Kath and Adrian Haydock (ph 381 3765) c/o SSTUWA, 150 Adelaide Terrace, Perth.

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SYDNEY

Amongst other things happening in New South Wales are: inservice courses in first and second term organised mainly by the Peace Studies Curriculum Group (PSCG); another similar course to be held in Bathurst in early October



plans to establish a Peace Education Resource Centre; a meeting of many interested groups (including the PSCG and the Teachers' Federation Disarmament Committee) and individuals to coordinate activities; lesson plans written and tested by a group of teachers associated with the TF Disarmament Committee

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TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS

Proposals to establish peace courses at La Trobe and Macquarie Universities have been officially approved for 1984. A 2 unit B Ed course in peace and development (postgraduate) will be offered at La Trobe. The Macquarie course is a 200-level general education interdisciplinary course (undergraduate).

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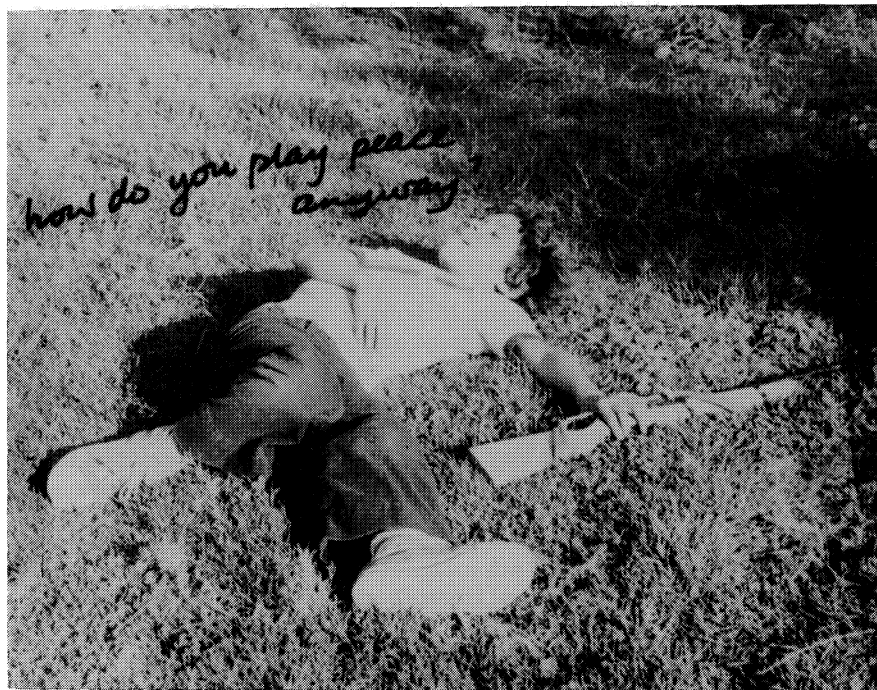
NATIONAL PEACE EDUCATION CONFERENCE

The Independent Teachers Federation of Australia (ITFA) are planning a national peace education conference, scheduled for May 1984 in Queensland. The organisers hope that the conference will combine some general analysis of the politics of peace with practical consideration of strategies for peace education. Make a note of this ... our peace education movement needs national links!

SUPPORT FOR PEACE STUDIES

Peace studies is often seen as radical and this does lead to authorities resisting the implementation of such a course in educational institutions. If you meet such resistance remember that a number of respectable bodies have now made statements which support the introduction of peace studies courses in schools and tertiary institutions. Here is a list of some contacts which you may find useful to legitimise your demands:

United Nations/UNESCO
Mr Hayden, Minister for Foreign Affairs
Mr Richard Butler, Ambassador for Peace
Australian Labor Party
Australian Democrats
Australian Teachers Federation
The Independent Teachers Federation of Australia
The Council of Academic Staff Associations
Victorian Secondary Teachers Association
NSW Teachers Federation
The Uniting Church Synod, Education Committee.



In *RED 19*, Keith Suter analysed the disturbing impact of the current arms race on social and economic life. He continues his analysis in this issue of the *Dossier* by discussing recent efforts towards disarmament.

LIVING IN A WARFARE STATE

Keith Suter

Disarmament

The twentieth century has seen various attempts at disarmament. However, the attempts have tended to come in a cyclical pattern, rather than as one determined international effort.

The First Hague Peace Conference of 1899 was convened on the initiative of the Czar of Russia, Nicholas II, "with the object of seeking the most effective means of ensuring to all peoples the benefits of a real and lasting peace and, above all, of limiting the progressive development of existing armaments". The Conference, at which twenty-six governments were represented, assembled on May 18, 1899 and adjourned on July 29, 1899. It failed to reach agreement on the primary object for which it was called, viz the limitation or reduction of armaments, but adopted three treaties relating to the conduct of hostilities. Provision was made for the convening of a second Conference. The Second Hague Peace Conference took place at the Hague between June 15 and October 18, 1907. Forty-four nations were represented. It revised the treaties relating to the conduct of hostilities. No progress was

made on disarmament as such. It recommended the holding of a third international peace conference. Owing to the outbreak of World War I, the third conference never took place⁸.

The League of Nations was formed after World War I. The creation of disarmament was one of its main tasks. Throughout the 1920s extensive preparations took place for a World Disarmament Conference.

The key phrase of the World Disarmament Conference 1932-33, was "Qualitative Disarmament". Under this concept a distinction was made between weapons which are essential for self defence and those which could be used for aggressive purposes. For example, battleships and other war ships over 10,000 tons should be abolished because their main purpose was to fight one another rather than to offer protection for ships and coastlines. If big battleships were abolished, the argument of smaller nations that they needed submarines for coastal defence would also be reduced. In any case, the real strength of the submarine was in the destruction of merchant ships, which is a purely offensive operation. Meanwhile in the air, one proposal was for the abolition of all military aircraft since their main purpose was to attack

Keith Suter is General Secretary, Commission on Social Responsibility for the Uniting Church in Australia.

buildings and other objects of military importance, including cities, and even in 1932 it was envisaged that in any future war they would be a major menace to civilian populations⁹. This proposal enjoyed wide support. It was largely a non governmental initiative from Lord Cecil of the UK. President Hoover endorsed it and refined it, and during the Conference the principle was known as the Hoover Plan. His successor, Franklin Roosevelt, continued the initiative.

The notion of qualitative disarmament may at first appear unusual. However, in 1919 the victorious Allies imposed such a system on Germany and its allies under the Treaty of Versailles. The Treaty stipulated what weapons Germany was permitted to have for self defence, while at the same time rendering it impossible for Germany to initiate an aggressive foreign policy. The general staffs of the Allies drew up the details and so there was some solid military thinking behind this use of qualitative disarmament. The German example was well known to all the participating nations at the World Disarmament Conference. Second, international public opinion was still running heavily in favour of disarmament. Third, the participating nations were well aware of extremist politicians in Germany, such as Hitler, who were trying to come to power, partly on the basis that Germany had had qualitative disarmament imposed upon it while the members of the League of Nations were making no progress towards living up to their obligation of negotiating disarmament. It was a race for peace. The Conference knew that if substantial breakthroughs were not made in disarmament, then extremist German politicians would continue to campaign against the Treaty of Versailles and use German grievances as a way of coming to power.

As the late Lord Philip Baker tells the story¹⁰ it was the UK which destroyed the initiative. The UK at that time was highly influential in international relations and its opposition at this time was sufficient to kill the initiative. UK opposition to disarmament did not come about out of a fear that eventually British forces would be necessary in order to defend itself against Germany; in mid 1932 Hitler was not yet in power and anyway the Soviet Union loomed throughout most of the 1930s as far more of a danger to the UK than did Germany (at least as far as the UK ruling circle was concerned). Instead, British opposition arose partly from scepticism with this new thing, the League of Nations. Other than participation in 19th century diplomacy and ad hoc arrangements for military alliances during wars, the UK had never had to work on a continuous basis with other nations as colleagues; the UK ordered other nations around, it did not have to negotiate with them. The UK ruling elite therefore found itself in the ironical position of being one of the two main pillars of the League of Nations (the other being France) and yet extremely cautious as to what the League could do and was unwilling to take chances with it. Additionally, despite popular opposition to war, the ruling circle regarded war as part of the natural order of things. This attitude was reflected in a letter which the most important of the civil servants of his day, Sir Maurice Hankey, wrote to Lord Cecil, "Whatever you do, war will come sooner or later, and if you carry disarmament too far, and crush the military spirit, your civilisation will go under . . . Decline of civilisation is connected with decline of military spirit"¹¹. The UK wrecked the Hoover Plan in July 1932. The new US President attempted to keep it alive. But Hitler had come to power on

January 31, 1933, partly on the basis of abrogating the Versailles Treaty. The World Disarmament Conference petered out in mid 1933.

After World War II, the new United Nations decided once again to attempt disarmament. Disarmament, incidentally, was rapidly taking place quite unilaterally, since with the end of hostilities each nation was demobilising its forces. By the late 1940s, therefore, an extensive amount of unilateral disarmament had already taken place. The task facing the UN was to convert disarmament of an ad hoc nature into a planned program of multilateral disarmament which would last indefinitely.

The UN set up two Commissions, one concerned with nuclear weapons (or more accurately then atomic weapons) and one concerned with conventional weapons. Neither Commission made any progress. In the nuclear weapon Commission, for example, there was a prolonged debate over the US proposal to internationalise its monopoly over nuclear weapons and nuclear energy. Unfortunately, both the Soviet Union and the UK were anxious to develop their own independent nuclear deterrents and so neither wished to cooperate with the US in the internationalisation of nuclear power. Meanwhile it is not clear to what extent the US was sincere in offering to internationalise its own monopoly. During the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, various administrative rearrangements were made so as to expand the range of participation in the UN's disarmament negotiations. However, the story for the past thirty years has largely been one of failure.

First, there has been only one substantial Disarmament Treaty negotiated and implemented during this period: 1972 Treaty outlawing biological warfare. Biological warfare is where a germ is taken out of nature and scattered amongst the enemy, such as spreading smallpox among Australian Aborigines. Unfortunately, once a plague is let loose, there is no guarantee that its affects can be limited solely to the enemy and there is always the risk that one's own troops or citizens may be infected. In other words, in 1972, the international community was prohibiting a form of warfare which had not been seriously considered since World War II.

Second, there has at first sight been an impressive array of arms control treaties negotiated. Nuclear weapon free zones have been established in the Antarctic and Latin America as well as in outer space. The nuclear non proliferation treaty has been successful in discouraging as many countries from acquiring nuclear weapons as was feared at the time of its negotiation (1968). Other measures have been negotiated between the US and Soviet Union relating to measures reducing the risk of the outbreak of accidental war between both countries, as well as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks first agreement¹². However, none of these treaties is actually a disarmament agreement. All they are doing is simply restricting the rate of growth of the arms race. In none of these agreements is there an obligation to get rid of existing weapons.

Third, the proposals made at UN disarmament meetings have tended to be fairly conservative. In 1962, the US and Soviet Union tabled separately similar treaties derived from Lord Cecil and President Hoover's ideas of qualitative disarmament. Unfortunately owing to the renewed cold war at that time, the treaties were never seriously debated. Since that time, attention has gone to the negotiation of ad hoc measures, noted in the previous paragraph. It was hoped that the

negotiation of such measures would ultimately cover the world in a network of treaties, thereby achieving the UN's goal of general and complete disarmament in an indirect way. In short, arms control replaced disarmament as the key phrase.

Unfortunately, arms control has failed entirely to end the arms race. It could be argued that if the agreements had not been finalised at all, then the state of the arms race would be even worse than it is today. That may be so. But certainly no progress has been made towards disarmament. In 1978, at the first major international disarmament gathering held since 1932-33, the UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament was highly critical of the arms control approach:

"Disarmament has thus become an imperative and most urgent task facing the international community. No real progress has been made so far in the crucial field in the reduction of armaments. However, certain positive changes in international relations in some areas of the world provide some encouragement. Agreements have been reached that have been important in limiting certain weapons or eliminating them altogether as in the case of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, and excluding particular areas from the arms race. The fact remains that these agreements relate only to measures of limited restraint while the arms race continues. These partial measures have done little to bring the world closer to the goal of general and complete disarmament. For more than a decade there have been no negotiations leading to a treaty of general and complete disarmament¹³.

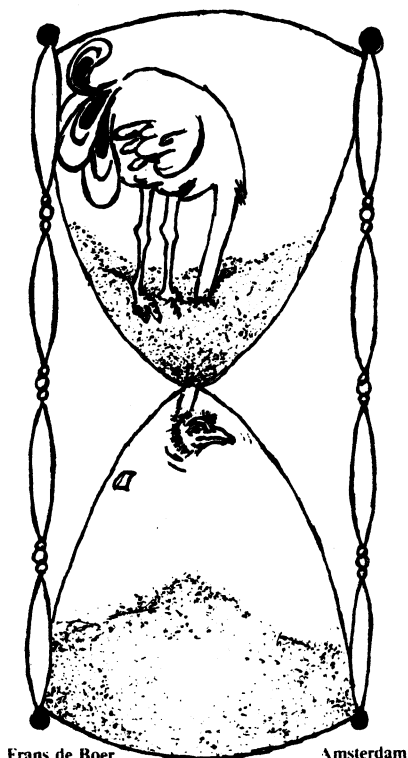
This is a very damning assessment of the UN's own work on disarmament for almost the previous twenty years. The peace movement is certainly correct in questioning the way

in which the arms race is proceeding. Equally sinister, though less publicised, is the dreadful record of the international community in making any sort of progress in disarmament negotiations.

As a result of the 1978 UN Special Session on Disarmament, the UN Disarmament Committee was reorganised and reinvigorated. It was agreed to hold the Second Special Session on Disarmament in mid 1982. The 1978 Special Session had been a major diplomatic breakthrough in that it brought disarmament back on to the political agenda for many national governments. Unfortunately, the progress made in 1978 largely evaporated by mid 1982. The 1982 Special Session was a failure.

The 1982 Special Session had three main tasks. First, it had to review progress on disarmament negotiations. It was easy to come to a conclusion. However, it proved impossible to produce a statement explaining why no progress had been made. Each nation blamed the other, no nation was willing to accept that perhaps it may have been partly to blame. Second, as a result of the 1978 Special Session's criticism of the ad hoc arms control approach, the UN Disarmament Committee was given the task of negotiating a comprehensive program on disarmament (CPD). The CPD was envisaged as a return to the grand disarmament approach of the early 1930s. However, it was not based upon the theory of qualitative disarmament. Instead it was envisaged that there should be a general reduction in weaponry but without the benefit of the qualitative disarmament formula. The document presented to the 1982 Special Session had most of its provisions "in brackets", meaning that the Committee had been unable to agree on those passages. The Special Session was able to reduce some of the passages in brackets but made no progress at all on most of the significant differences of opinion. Finally, to provide public opinion in favour of disarmament, it was decided to launch the World Disarmament Campaign, which will educate the general public about the dangers of the arms race, encourage them to work for more disarmament measures by their respective governments, and help create generally a favourable atmosphere for disarmament negotiation. The World Disarmament Campaign was launched at the beginning of the 1982 Special Session but by the end of it no agreement had been reached on its programs, areas of activities, who was to be involved and what timetable should be followed. The 1982 Special Session has submitted a report to the 1982 regular session (currently under way) on what has occurred and it is up to the regular session to decide what should be done. As of writing, the CPD question will be returned to the UN Disarmament Committee with instructions to finalise it within a fixed period. This will be done in the hope that the political log jam can be broken.

The most obvious way in which the political log jam will be broken is through public opinion. As already noted, public opinion has changed dramatically in the last few years. Certainly the political environment in which the 1978 Special Session was held had changed completely by 1982. As of writing, the opinion within the US is changing rapidly. It is remarkable to recall that when President Reagan was first elected to office, two years ago, he made no reference at all to disarmament and would presumably have regarded any talk of disarmament as treason. However such has been the rapid change in US public opinion, fuelled partly by his own loose statements on limited nuclear war, that he has felt



obliged to make certain disarmament initiatives. At present these are only bargaining counters but at least they do indicate that the man is interested in disarmament, if only to save his political skin. It is worth recalling that, ironically, a major disarmament breakthrough is more likely to occur under President Reagan than under a Democratic President. All the major breakthroughs in detente have occurred under Republican presidents since a Democratic president (such as Johnson or Carter) is aware of automatic opposition from the right wing and so has to be conservative in order to retain some right wing support. President Reagan has fewer worries about maintaining his right wing support since he already has impeccable right wing credentials. A President Nixon, by contrast, could do far more in improving relations with China and the Soviet Union than could a Kennedy or Johnson or Carter combined. In short, although President Reagan has some highly dangerous views on the arms race, his potential for disarmament should not be neglected.

Australia's Role In Disarmament

Australia plays a key role in the arms race between the US and Soviet Union¹⁴. The US has an extensive network of satellites performing extensive command, control and communications functions. For example, photographs taken from US spy satellites can detect the headlines from this morning's newspaper and by the end of the 1980s will be able to read the small print in that newspaper. These satellites play an important role not only in monitoring military activities in the Soviet Union (which arguably is a defence precaution) but are also unique for their contribution to the new US strategy for a limited nuclear attack on Soviet missile sites. Because of the accuracy of satellite reconnaissance the US is able to keep a close eye on the current deployment of Soviet nuclear missiles. The Soviet Union is aware of this development and is currently developing killer satellites which could destroy a US spy satellite.

For part of their time in orbit, the spy satellites are controlled from the US and for the rest of the time they are largely controlled from Australia. Towards the end of the 1980s, when the Soviet Union will be worried — if the arms race continues — about the threat of an impending nuclear attack, it will need to find a way of ending that possibility. It certainly cannot destroy the US missiles themselves, many of which are at sea in almost invulnerable nuclear submarines. One option will be to destroy the US spy satellites. Another option will be to destroy the defence facilities in Australia which control those satellites, thereby blinding the US in one eye metaphorically. We are gradually learning more about the role of US bases in Australia and the information all seems to point towards the vulnerability of Australia as a Soviet nuclear target. Consequently there is a growing movement in favour of removing the bases. It has been suggested that one reason for the dismissal of the Whitlam Government was the belief that Whitlam was not going to renew the lease on the most important of the bases, viz Pine Gap, which expired almost on the day on which Whitlam was dismissed¹⁵.

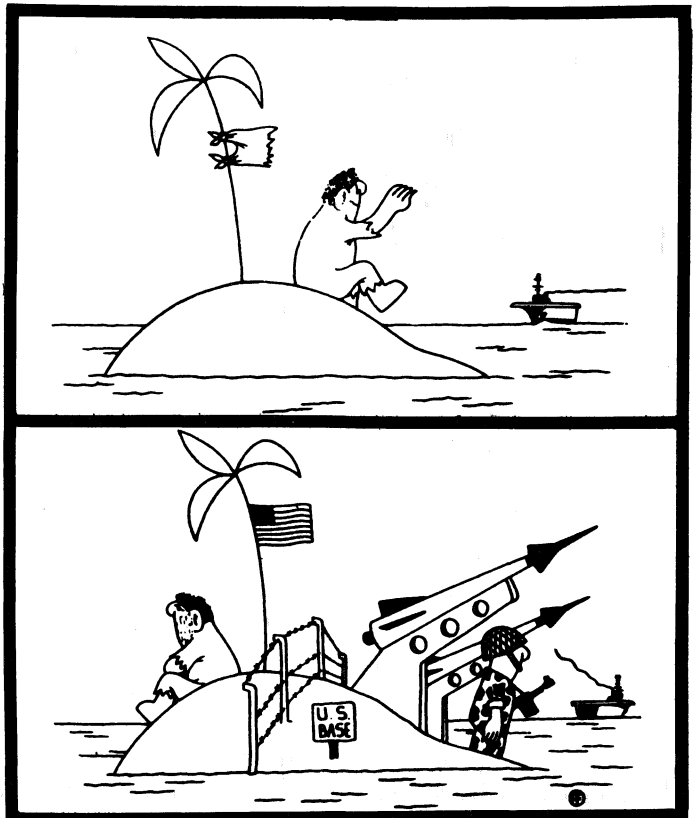
However, opposition to the US defence facilities in Australia alone does not constitute a new foreign policy for Australia. Nor does opposition to the defence facilities constitute a sophisticated international disarmament strategy.

A 1982 Nobel Peace Prize winner has claimed that the US and Soviet Union are only playing a game of disarmament¹⁶.

Alva Myrdal has been directly involved in Sweden's disarmament negotiations for some years; the other 1982 Nobel Peace Prize winner, Garcia Robles of Mexico, has done a parallel amount of work. Without doubt Sweden and Mexico have provided the conscience in the disarmament negotiations over the recent years. Unfortunately, their initiatives have been blocked by the US and Soviet Union and their immediate allies.

Prior to 1978, Australia was not directly involved in the UN's disarmament negotiations. However, as a result of Australia's renewed involvement in international affairs, commencing with the Whitlam Government, and Australia's own constructive role at and prior to the 1978 Special Session (including the Prime Minister's very positive speech¹⁷), Australia has become involved at the centre of the disarmament negotiations at the UN. It chaired one of the main committees at the 1982 Special Session. However, Australia's involvement in the disarmament negotiations is done on the basis of being a fervent supporter of the US. It criticises the Soviet Union openly but only expresses dissenting opinions privately with the US. For example, persons who have a taste for the subtleties of diplomacy can detect the Australian Government's impatience with the US over the delay by the US and Soviet Union to conclude a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and scepticism of US statements regarding a so called limited nuclear war (Australia evidently believing that a nuclear war would not remain limited for long). Being so committed towards helping the US, Australia rarely gives support on controversial matters to Sweden or Mexico and other non aligned or neutral nations serving on the UN Disarmament Committee.

In a sense, the US bases in Australia which make Australia a nuclear target and Australia's support for the US in disarmament negotiations are all part of one seamless cloth.



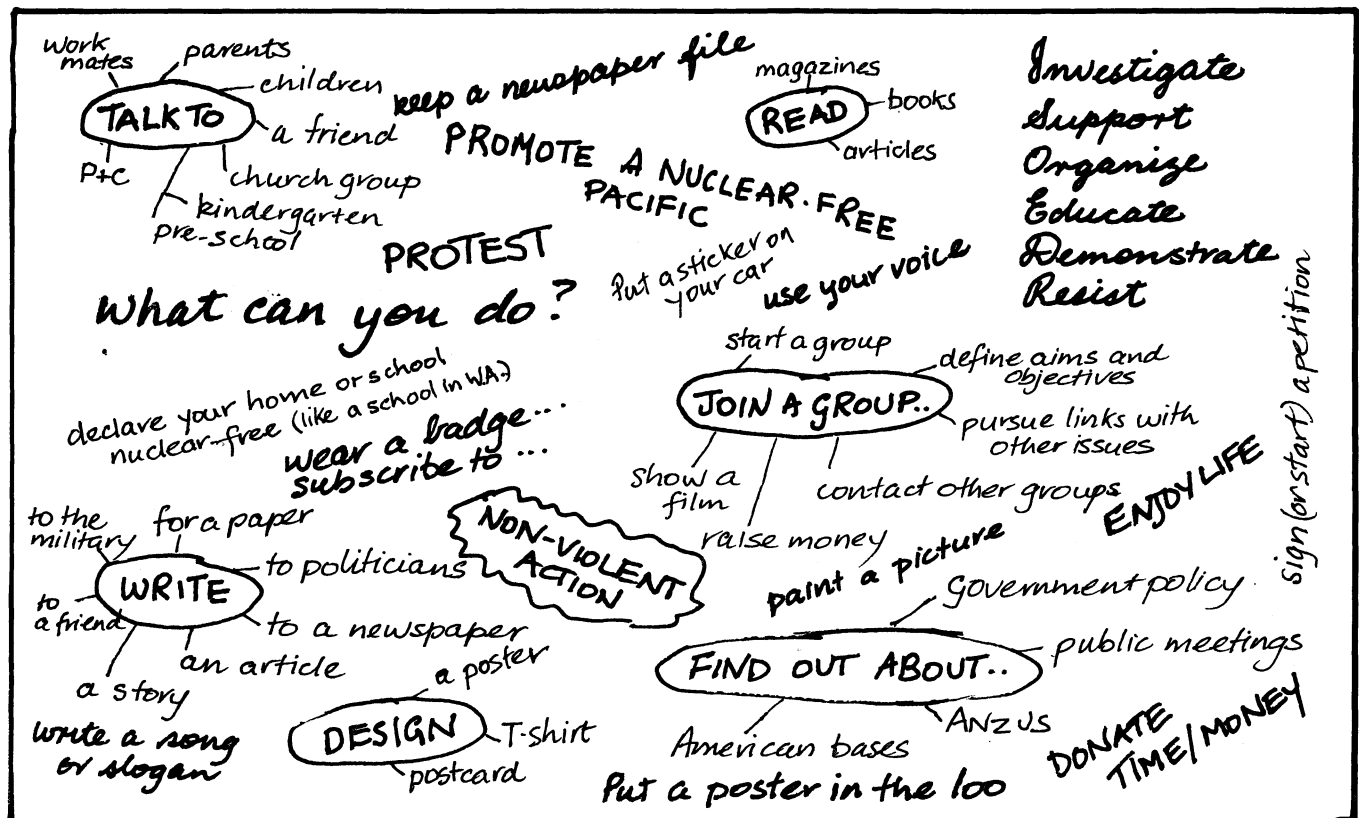
Ultimately any new initiative by Australia in disarmament negotiations which would be in line with the work of Sweden and Mexico, but contrary to the policies of the US and Soviet Union, could only come about if the country had a different foreign policy: one which placed less reliance on the US. Consequently, discussions about Australian international disarmament strategy must eventually revert back to Australia's military alliance with the US which puts Australian foreign policy into a straightjacket designed in Washington. Australia, even under a Labor Government, is unlikely to remove itself from that straightjacket unless there is a distinct shift in public opinion, supporting a more independent role in foreign relations. Such a shift would not be new. For example, towards the end of World War II when consideration was being given to the UN Charter, Australia opposed the US, Soviet Union and UK in wanting to have a stronger UN Charter. Australia was the leader in the Third World before the Third World existed. But foreign policy changed from 1949 onwards. It is impossible to reverse overnight that prolonged process of becoming accustomed Australian foreign policy designed by Washington.

Peace education, therefore, can play a vital role in a variety of ways. First, it should align itself with the aims and objects of the UN's World Disarmament Campaign in educating people about the dangers of the current arms race and the importance of disarmament. Second it should stimulate debate over disarmament. A great deal of attention has been devoted to the dangers of the arms race but we still have a long way to go before we reach the same level of consciousness regarding ideas for disarmament. Third, peace education should focus on the positive alternatives to the use of war as an instrument of national policy. This should include the peaceful settlement of international disputes¹⁸ and creative

ways of handling international disputes, such as the UN Association's proposal for ministries of peace. Finally, peace education has to see Australia's role in the maintenance of international peace and security as being but one part of the mosaic which constitutes Australia's foreign policy. Ultimately a constructive role to be played by Australia in supporting other nations working for general and complete disarmament must include the gradual revision of Australia's foreign policy with a more independent role for Australia in world affairs.

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- 12 Texts contained in: US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *Arms Control and Disarmament Agreements*, Washington DC, 1980.
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- 14 Desmond Ball, *A Suitable Piece of Real Estate: American Installations in Australia*, Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1980.
- 15 For additional information on the bases and US involvement in Australian politics, see Robert Lindsey, *The Falcon and the Snowman*, London, Penguin, 1980.
- 16 Alva Myrdal, *The Game of Disarmament: How The US and Russia Run the Arms Race*, New York: Pantheon, 1980.
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The nuclear war illness US, Soviets can now find space Soviet leader in Africa Hiroshima necessary Disarmament needed for defence talks H-1 cheer against arms freeze NAO pledges to stand firm

Rachel Sharp

Hardly a day passes without media comment on some aspect of the arms race. Here, RACHEL SHARP looks at the Australian media's portrayal of the arms race and initiatives for peace, and draws some useful lessons from German experience.

In June 1980 I ended a nine month stay in West Berlin, travelling by rail to London. The train was packed with people: young and old, housewives and clergymen, professionals, students and blue collar workers, their chatter full of the German Peace Movement and the Conference which was to take place in Hamburg the following day. From all over Germany, more than 120,000 Christians were to gather at the Annual Conference of the Evangelical Church to urge their leaders to make a stand on the side of the Peace Movement, and for the Church's voice against the nuclear arms race to be heard. As one young man expressed it: "I am going to Hamburg because I want to see history being made". That Conference was to mark the breakthrough in the German Peace Movement. It was one of the first of the largest mass demonstrations that Europe had witnessed since the second world war.

People can make history. In little over a year, and despite the opposition of political leaders and defence experts, public opinion was being rallied against what a year earlier, had seemed a *fait accompli*, ie the NATO decision to station a new generation of nuclear weaponry in Germany commencing in 1983. Encouraged by the success of the Peace Movement in preventing the sale of submarines to Chile and massive arms exports to Saudi Arabia, people were beginning to experience the power of acting collectively to oppose what they knew to be dangerous developments.

Press coverage of the German Peace Movement during 1979-80 evolved through a series of distinct stages. At first there was a **muffled silence** with important events and debates receiving no coverage at all. Then, as the Movement grew in size and self confidence, it was subjected to a campaign to **discredit** it as a Soviet planned and financed conspiracy, whose only beneficiary would be the Soviet Union. The press alleged that European nuclear disarmament would pave the way for a weakening of the western alliance and facilitate an invasion of West Germany by the superior (so called) conventional forces of the Warsaw Pact countries. Whilst

such rhetoric might have worked in the 1950s, times have changed. Detente has had some effect. Still the Movement grew. Once most people know personally at least one person involved in the Movement it becomes more difficult to denigrate it as just the machinations of a lunatic left, extremist minority. Media tactics then began to change direction towards a subtle process of **co-option and incorporation**, reflecting the changed tactics of the leadership of the SPD and FDP, the governing coalition, which was facing a severe challenge from the lower echelons of both parties, and from its electoral supporters. Once this stage had been reached, press coverage devoted to the nuclear issue became extensive, with opposing points of view given a wide airing. The fact that the Peace Movement had attracted a significant degree of support from all sections of the community, with leading writers, theologians, academics and even ex-NATO generals participating, gave it a credibility which forced a more balanced intervention by the press into the public debate.

Once most people know personally at least one person involved in the Movement it becomes more difficult to denigrate it as just the machinations of a lunatic left, extremist minority.

On returning to Australia, I determined to become involved in the Peace Movement. However, in July 1981 there was scarcely any sign of its existence. I subsequently discovered that there was an Australian peace movement with a long and heroic history, but to the uninitiated, reliant on the media for information, it did not exist. The Peace Movement in Germany has the advantage that one cannot help but be reminded of the country's history. Visual symbols abound of the havoc and destruction of war. The division of Germany into two states, and the heavy concentration of foreign

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military forces continually sensitise people to the conflict between East and West, and the role that force plays in international relations. Moreover, a sense of international interdependence is inescapable. The press cannot afford to be parochial. However, in Australia, the accident of geography reinforces an inward looking self preoccupation and a lack of awareness of trends in the rest of the world. The press, with several notable exceptions, does little to counteract this localism, to inform or to educate, to encourage a sense of history. In 1981, the press was still in the euphoria of the resources boom, whilst the media in the rest of the world was talking the language of recession and depression! Even well informed friends on the left, to whom I had spoken of the significance of the Peace Movement, kept responding: the what movement?

During the past year I have been collecting press cuttings from the (so called) quality press (*Financial Review*, *National Times*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Australian*) in order to analyse the way the issue of the nuclear arms debate and its implications for Australia is being presented to the readership. Space does not permit much more than an impressionistic overview but what does seem clear is that a process of what E P. Thompson calls "subliminal indoctrination" is occurring¹. Opinion is being managed in a variety of ways. As in the early days of the Peace Movement in Germany, the media's strongest weapon in opinion management is silence, a failure to register that a debate is occurring in the Australian community which relates in significant ways to events and debates overseas. How many ordinary Australians are aware of the important shifts in NATO policy in 1979, of the content of the SALT treaties, of the initiatives made and

rejected at the recent United Nations Conference on Disarmament, of the issues being discussed at the START talks in Geneva, or even of the details of the ANZUS alliance? How much are we informed of the large number of concerned groups and individuals who, on a day to day basis, are striving in an unsensational way to raise people's consciousness about the dangerous times we are living through?

Another aspect of the process of subliminal indoctrination is the way readers are subjected to what we may call systematic disinformation. Sometimes deliberate lies are perpetrated, more frequently a misleading bias accumulates through the omission of relevant facts and information which would facilitate a more accurate assessment of what is at issue. Critical questions are excluded from the agenda of debate through the implicit assumption that there exists already a consensus of all reasonable Australians. After all, everyone "knows" that membership of the ANZUS alliance is central to Australia's security, that our main enemy, the Soviet Union, is engaged in a massive military build up, in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, that "our" side has to accelerate its nuclear weapons program because the Russians are so far ahead and threaten our security — witness Afghanistan and Poland. Anyone who dares to question this consensus of reasonable opinion is in danger of being branded as unpatriotic, a traitor, a pinko, an agent of the USSR or, less flatteringly, a naive, unsuspecting dupe. (See the article in *Quadrant*, "Who's Who In The Peace Movement?") The fact that some members of the Peace Movement are communists or marxists (ie the author) and that some organisations in the Peace Movement such as the Australian Peace Committee have been more sympathetic to the USSR, facilitates the press' attempt to discredit the Movement as a whole, despite its support from a wide cross section of the community who can, by no means, be seen to be arguing a pro-Soviet line. The Peace Movement is a heterogeneous popular rallying of groups and individuals across the political, social and religious spectrum. Often its sole unifying factor is the opposition to nuclear arms. The press tends to ignore such subtleties.

How often does the press remind us of the significance of public demonstrations and popular struggles in securing for us the democratic freedoms and rights that the arms race, on "our" side, is alleged to be designed to defend!

Another aspect of subliminal indoctrination is the tendency to sensationalise non-peaceful occurrences at some recent demonstrations which feeds into people's prejudices that popular demonstrations are not respectable modes of public expression, but methods of the extremists, and the rabble. The recent protest at the Omega base in Victoria, for example, was reported solely as an occasion for alleged violence. The nature of the Omega Base and the demonstrators' case against it, was systematically repressed. Indeed, history itself is suppressed. How often does the press remind us of the significance of public demonstrations and popular struggles in securing for us the democratic freedoms and rights that the arms race, on "our" side, is alleged to be designed to defend! The Peace Movement too lacks a voice. It is relegated

to letters to the editor, which are then replied to by the voice of the "consensus", the voice of "reason". Its own voice is only heard by those who have managed to resist the subliminal indoctrination. For the average person the print media performs little educative function and reinforces an inability to appraise critically what is at issue. This was especially apparent in press coverage of the debate over the "modernisation" of our weapons systems which led to the two billion dollar commitment to purchase the F 18 fighter bombers. What was at stake was obscured in mystificatory technocratic language, the debate reduced to an argument between experts from which the public is presumed to be quite legitimately excluded.



The Peace Movement is a heterogeneous, popular rallying of groups and individuals across the political, social and religious spectrum. Often its sole unifying factor is the opposition to nuclear arms. The press tends to ignore such subtleties.

We must also be on our guard against attempts to divide and split the Peace Movement. Precisely because of its heterogeneity and the diverse social, political and religious affiliations of its membership, the potential exists for its momentum to be dissipated and fragmented at decisive political conjunctures, when crucial political decisions have to be made about tactics and strategies. Both the government and the media can play a crucial role at such turning points to undermine the movement. It is vital that we avoid naivety and are prepared for such an eventuality. We have to concentrate on issues which can continue to attract the widest possible consensus whilst simultaneously raising awareness of the deeper social and political roots of the arms race. Only thus can we lend our active support to proclaim an alternative voice against the insanity of rearmament. As the recession deepens and as more and more people become aware of the diversion of much needed material and human resources to build weapons of mass destruction, so the potential exists for rallying people out of their sense of powerlessness to utter a resounding no. Then the press will take us seriously. □

Reference

- 1 See E P Thompson's article in *Britain And The Bomb: The New Statesman Papers On Destruction And Disarmament*, (E P Thompson et al, London: New Statesman).

As educators in schools and colleges, we face a unique responsibility in trying to raise awareness of the manner and the techniques which newspapers employ to manage public opinion and to mobilise bias in particular directions. Teachers of media studies, social studies and English are particularly well placed to begin this process of consciousness raising. We can certainly write to the editor. However, in the face of the biggest arms build up that the world has ever seen, it would be naive to believe that the Peace Movement can infiltrate and white ant the media to enforce a more objective reportage. That will only come about through the very process of building a strong peace movement, that cannot be ignored. As the European Peace Movement has done, we have to utilise our own alternative networks of communications, to inform and to educate, to rally people out of their fear, their apathy, their sense of powerlessness. We have to communicate through media more under our own control. Already, as our resource guide shows, there is a great variety of posters, pamphlets, booklets, badges, car stickers, newsletters, broadsheets and books designed to do just this, and organisations through which we can work. As teachers, we have our own professional and trade union publications. We can work through P & C committees and other local community organisations.



TUG-O-WHAT?

The sports carnival held recently by a western Sydney high school featured an event called the "tug-o-pull" — an admirably non-militarist "tug-of-war". But can you imagine the next step: a non-competitive tug-o-war?

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GREENHAM COMMON

When the cruise missiles start to roll into England think of the Greenham Common women. Since their direct action commenced in March 1982, the state's response has become increasingly severe. Police brutality is growing. Broken bones, concussions, lacerations and internal injuries are forcing women to seek hospital treatment. Jail sentences are lengthening. Two new laws have come into force. The first allows for seven days detainment in jail before being bound over for trial. The second blacks out news of police brutality. The police are looking for ways of detaining women for longer periods without charging them, while special police units are being empowered to deal secretly with those considered terrorist or subversives. Finally, those enlisted men within the base have been told to use their own discretion and shoot anyone they suspect to be a "terrorist" if caught coming over the fence.

So much for freedom and democracy in the West!

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NETWORKS AND CLEARINGHOUSES

Communication between peace organisations and individuals can be difficult — and expensive. A number of clearing-houses and information networks are now being formed to confront these problems. Here are some addresses:

- VAPS peace education network (contact: VAPS, PO Box 316, Fitzroy 3065).
- Peace Research & Resource Centre, a new Brisbane centre. (We don't have a contact address but meetings are held at Social Planning Unit, 5 Lansborough Terrace, Towong.)
- Australian Association for Community Education is interested in receiving and disseminating information on peace education (contact Dorothy Kiers, c/o 3rd Floor, 2 Treasury Place, Melbourne 3002).

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RED NOTES.

PROFESSORS AND MOONIES FOR PEACE

Much has been written about the alleged infiltration of the peace movement by pro-Soviet activists.

Readers may however be interested in the formation of an Australian chapter of *Professors World Peace Academy of Australia Ltd* (PWPA). This organisation has links with the Unificationist Movement of the Rev Sun Myung Moon, which is apparently providing considerable amounts of money for the Australian chapter. Although PWPA has as yet only about twenty members, it already has inspired a number of paid or voluntary young helpers, among them, American Moonies. The Unificationist Movement has been linked by some commentators with the South Korean and the American Central Intelligence Agencies. Its dubious fund raising methods, and its brain washing techniques, have been the subject of great controversy in the USA. It seeks to gain credibility by sponsoring "academic" conferences and organisations like PWPA. The latter held its first Annual Conference on Interdisciplinary Approaches to Peace in Sydney at the end of August. Whilst claiming to wish to give coverage to all

points of view, the consensus of the organisers, most of the speakers and of the invited audience of around forty seemed to be the "Peace Through Strength" viewpoint. The prevailing message was that the biggest threat to world peace was the peace movement! The proceedings of the Conference were audiovisually recorded and are apparently to be sent to the USA for editing and processing. They will no doubt reappear in Australia as a "contribution" to the debate about the nature of Peace Studies in this country. Readers are urged to monitor this organisation and to carefully scrutinise any materials it produces.

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PEACE EDUCATION SUPPORT

At a recent public talk in Sydney Mr Richard Butler, Australian Ambassador for Disarmament, said that peace education projects in need of funding could look to both the Commonwealth Education Department and the Department of Foreign Affairs for support.

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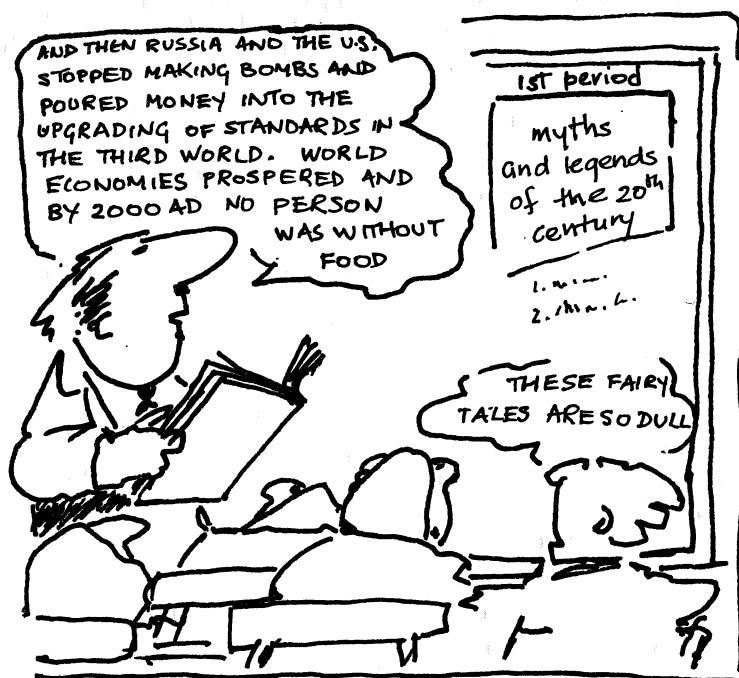
PANACEA

The West German Government has stockpiled 2.5 million tranquilisers to give to its people for panic and injury in a national catastrophe such as a nuclear war! ... Optimists!



Con-texts

Terri Seddon



In 1982 an international dispute over accounts of Japanese history highlighted the implicit militarism of school textbooks. Terri Seddon looks at Australian textbooks and argues that we must replace their war ideology with an ideology of peace.

Between July and September, 1982, the Australian press reported a diplomatic dispute between China, South Korea and Japan, over the content of Japanese history textbooks. China and South Korea accused Japan of distorting the historical record by describing Japan's invasion of China in the 1930s as an "advance", and by explaining Japanese atrocities as a response to local resistance. These distortions, China and South Korea asserted, indicated a revival of Japanese militarism and nationalism, because they whitewash Japan's past and make it more acceptable. The complaints were based upon the notion that school knowledge is never neutral. It always reflects the ideology of those who control the curriculum, through their selection of content, use of language, illustrations, their arrangement and so on. The dispute then, represented a struggle over the control of curriculum content, and in particular, a struggle to control the ideology embedded in the history texts.

The Escalating Textbook Controversy

The dispute commenced on July 22 when China and South Korea complained to Japan about the changes in history texts which had been authorised by the Ministry of Education for use in Japanese schools in 1983. The Minister of Education responded by stating that the texts were a domestic concern and foreign interference was an infringement of Japanese sovereignty. China promptly filed a formal complaint. Following discussions between the Ministry of Education and the Foreign Ministry, Japan attempted to defuse the situation by explaining the system by which textbook content was determined.

Since 1949, the Ministry of Education has authorised textbooks for use in schools following a screening procedure. This system was initially established during the Cold War, at a time of active suppression of the left. The explicit purpose

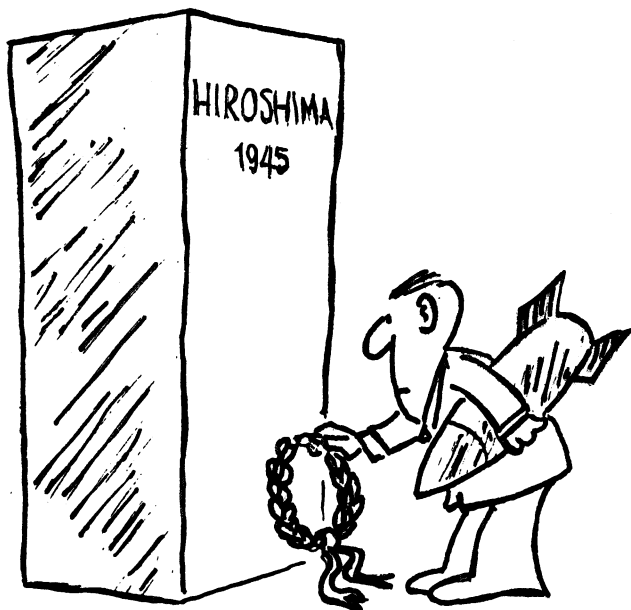
of screening was to ensure that texts were "fair" and "impartial". In particular it served to counter the influence of the strong left wing Japanese Teachers Union (JTU) which has regularly been accused of giving curriculum content a left wing bias.

The textbook authorisation system comprises the following steps. A writer with a manuscript applies for certification through an authorised publisher, who agrees to finance the costs of writing and printing sufficient copies of the book for the screening. The printed copies are scrutinised by committees of the Ministry of Education. Recommendations for rewriting, revising or eliminating sections of the book are communicated to the writer and editor in closed door sessions. The inspectors demand "voluntary" rewritings and resubmissions until the book is approved, at which point it is authorised for use in schools.

There has been an ongoing struggle over the screening system: the right wing Ministry arguing for the system, to counter "ideologically prejudiced education", and the JTU arguing that the system amounts to censorship which is unconstitutional.

In explaining the textbook authorisation system to China and South Korea, Japan was concerned to show that writers voluntarily changed the texts; there was no government compulsion. China and South Korea did not accept this, so the latter also filed an official complaint. The Japanese Prime Minister instructed the Minister of Education and Foreign Minister to coordinate their views, and on August 9, made an official statement on the texts. On August 20, a month after the initial complaint, the press announced the textbook dispute was to be settled from a diplomatic point of

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view, the Ministry of Education being forced to compromise. This compromise was presented on August 27, but China and South Korea demanded more detail. This was supplied and accepted on September 10.

The final resolution involved the Ministry of Education agreeing to change the texts a year ahead of the usual revision schedule; instructing teachers to take China and South Korea's complaints into account when teaching; and reviewing the criteria for screening textbooks. The implication of this is that the Ministry has accepted there was distortion of history, which it authorised. Also, through the dispute, the text screening system has been exposed to public view and criticised as quasi censorship. Altogether, the outcome of the dispute represents a significant attack on the power of the hawkish Ministry of Education and its political allies.

The compromise forced on the Ministry of Education by the coincidence and escalation of an international and domestic struggle focusing on curriculum content, marks a gain for the JIU in the fight to control the ideological emphases of the curriculum. To some extent, the weapon of control, the screening system, has been weakened and the Ministry is bound to reduce the militarism and nationalism in the curriculum for the present moment at least.

Relevance For Australia

In Australia education is far less centralised than in Japan. There is not such overt control of curriculum content, but struggles for ideological control can, and have erupted. The best known recent example was the orchestrated right wing attacks on SEMP and MACOS¹. But there have also been struggles over nationalistic and militarist ideologies embedded in curricula, and more general school practice, for example, the 1920s debate over the loyalty ceremony; the 1943

dispute over the New South Wales social science syllabus; and the Cairns/Menzies pamphlet war of the Vietnam period². Moves towards schoolbased curriculum decision making and resource selection have dissipated the focus of text analyses. Schools select their own resources from booksellers. Teachers can often use what they choose from the school library, private collections and the mass of unsolicited, free material distributed by governments, industry and other interest groups. However, even a brief examination of children's reference books shows emphases which run counter to an education for peace. For example, before the first world war children in New South Wales could read:

"(General) Gordon may die – other Gordons may die in the future – but the same clean-limbed brood will grow up and avenge them."³

and

"Nelson could scarcely have departed in a brighter blaze of glory. He left us a name and an example... a name which is our pride and an example which will continue to be our shield and our strength."³

Today, the crass nationalism and militarism of the past is muted, and in its place are subtle messages which undermine the possibilities of action towards peace and disarmament.

The Bombing Of Hiroshima And Nagasaki

The portrayal of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in children's books, illustrates well the undermining of disarmament initiatives.

The bombing is described in factual terms:

"...first atomic bomb on the industrial city of Hiroshima. The devastation in the city was complete and of the 320,000 inhabitants a quarter were killed."⁴

This book continues:

"...the atomic bomb did not win the war ... Their (Japan's) defeat was already assured by the mighty industrial power of America, and the firm intention of brave men of many nations to fight for freedom."⁴

Such nationalism and glorification is less common in more recent books. They are more likely to use eyewitness accounts and quotes from Allied leaders from which readers are assumed to draw their own opinion. Both strategies serve to shift the focus away from the bomb and remove the necessity for moral comment.

Factual descriptions of the bomb make it seem clean. They reduce the horrific reality of Hiroshima, but replace it with the spectre of radiation; silent death after the event:

"...many died later from the effects of radiation. Over 30 years after the event people are still dying."⁵

"...It (the bomb) killed at least 100,000 people, injured 37,000 more and caused radiation sickness in terrible forms to many thousands more."⁶

Radiation is mystified through the lack of hard information. Instead a label is given to what appears as a source of arbitrary death and terrible sickness which lurks in our world striking people down. Radiation assumes a demonic form. It becomes an unknown, massive and paralyzing horror. One is at the mercy of this spook and powerless to do anything about it.

The decision to use the bomb is selectively described. The Japanese would not surrender, and use of the bomb would save lives (!) But there is no indication that Hiroshima and Nagasaki were carefully selected because, as well as being of military significance, they were "densely built up areas" with a "large percentage of closely built frame buildings...

most susceptible to damage by blast and fire" and were "relatively untouched by previous bombing...[so] the effect of a single atom bomb could be determined".⁷ Dissent about the use of the bomb is rarely mentioned. Instead we have Truman stating that the atomic bomb "was merely another powerful weapon in the arsenal of righteousness".⁸ The use of the bomb becomes a justified and uncontested inevitability, its morality based on the saving of lives in the face of "zealous and fanatic opposition".⁹ The Japanese are portrayed as innately militaristic, a biological explanation which denies evidence of Japanese resistance to the war.¹⁰

In summary what comes through these children's books is the inevitable success of the calm scientific allies over the fanatical, militaristic Japanese, "who knew neither fear nor mercy".¹¹ The books espouse notions of innate aggression, the hierarchy of races, the righteousness and justice of the West and the glorification, or at least non-condemnation, of war. But most dangerous for the peace movement, they create an incontestable nightmare form, they emphasise the inexorability of war and human aggression, and above all, they espouse an ideology of fatalism by insisting on our powerlessness, and inability to act.

Resistance To The Ideology Of War

The peace movement must act to dispel the myth of inevitability and powerlessness. As educators for peace and disarmament we are in a prime position to counter the war ideology embedded in curriculum content.

In Japan, the history textbook dispute illustrates the struggle for control of the curriculum. There the attack comes from both the left and right. In Australia in recent years the right has taken the offensive, through its attacks on SEMP and MACOS and the Back to Basics campaign. But curricula and curriculum resources are not the preserve of the right. They are an arena, a focus for debate.

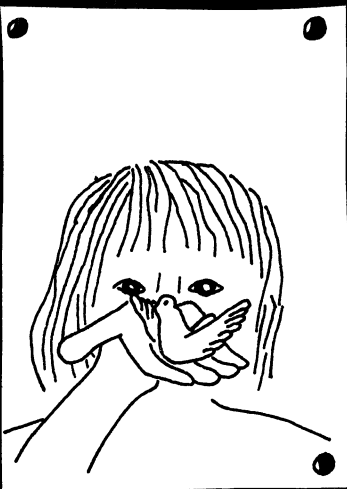
Peace and ecology groups can and should, take stock of the curriculum content of formal education. Its ideology needs to be turned towards peace not war, so the exclusion of nationalistic, militarist ideologies is essential. Information

on the causes of wars, and the effect of weapons, particularly atomic weapons, needs to be presented to help students understand and to counter myths based on fear. The formal curriculum's selective exclusion of accounts of mass action against war, pacifism and dissent represents a distortion of the historical record. It must be corrected to counter fatalism and myths of powerlessness.

In view of the urgency imposed by the escalating arms race, opening the debate on curriculum content is a necessary step. What's more, the Japanese textbook controversy indicates that such debates can lead to shifts in the ideological balance. Clearly, opening the debate to demilitarise the curriculum is rational and legitimate; it is also practical and feasible.

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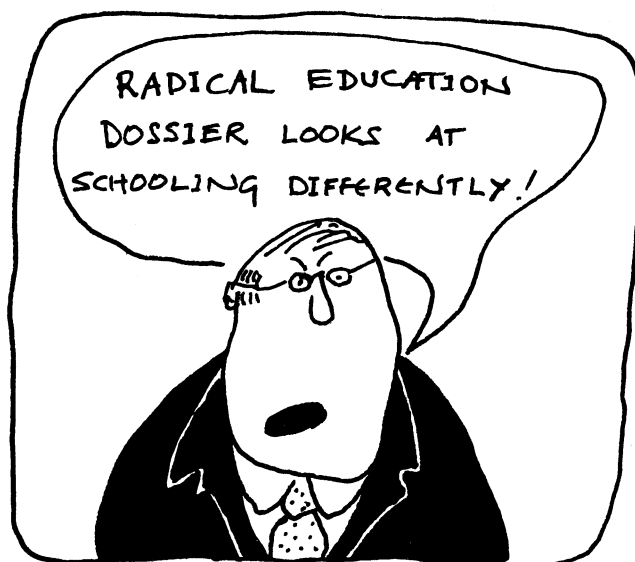


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