

The British National Union of Teachers (NUT) against the background of the Cold War: An International Peace Conference between teachers in Western and Eastern Europe

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Abstract: The aim of this article is to explain the political and trade union stance of the British National Union of Teachers (NUT) – representing the teachers of England and Wales – against the arms race and nuclear warheads set up in the European Continent during the Cold War (1947-1991). After adopting resolutions in support of «Education for Peace» at its Annual Conferences (Jersey, 1983 and Blackpool, 1984), the NUT held an International Peace Conference (1984) involving Western and Eastern European countries in which teachers' unions from the following countries participated: the United States, Finland, the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Bulgaria. The international event was held in Stoke Rochford Hall (England) during the British miners' national strike against the socioeconomic reforms instituted under the governments of Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990). The article started from the methodological presupposition based on the principle of political connection on an international scale within the scope of the trade union movement of teachers. Indeed, despite differences in nationalities, the educational processes institutionalized by schooling have acquired a universal character. Thus, teachers, irrespective of their nationality, are workers who are politically committed to the cultural values consecrated by the knowledge accumulated by humanity throughout history, especially when it comes to peace among peoples. It should be emphasized that the topic addressed has never before been analysed on an international level, and that primary sources that fall within the historical context of the facts studied were used in the production of the article.

Keywords: Teachers' Syndicalism; War and Peace; International Peace Conference; Cold War; National Union of Teachers (NUT).

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explain the role played by the NUT, the Trade Union representing teachers from schools in England and Wales, in support of world peace and opposed to the nuclear arms race during the period of the Cold War (1947-1991). Following the involvement of hundreds of their associates in the peace movements which spread across Western Europe from the 1970s onwards, discussions about the danger of a nuclear war began to form a part of the agenda of the annual meetings organised by the Union, where claims for better salaries and social benefits together with a range of professional, cultural, administrative and organisational matters were debated and approved. The Annual Conferences¹ of Jersey (1983) and Blackpool (1984) passed a series of union resolutions against the nuclear arms race and in support of peace, which reflected the concerns of teachers with regard to a possible nuclear holocaust that could break out in the continent of Europe. From that time on, the NUT began to become involved as an institution in peace campaigns, by helping to hold events, organize large-scale demonstrations and advocating the introduction of issues of war and peace in the school syllabuses of English and Welsh schools.

The issues related to world peace and the catastrophic risk of a major nuclear war had already been concerns of many other international agencies since the beginning of the 1970s when the two most powerful politico-military alliances, (the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact), accelerated the nuclear arms race and strained international relations even further. In 1976, the General Conference of UNESCO, for example, adopted a resolution with the heading: «Educational Recommendations for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace», in which there were discussions of the fundamental principles of education for peace and condemnations of the tragic consequences resulting from a nuclear war on the basis of the experiences of the 2nd World War. In this UNESCO Conference which was held in Paris, the educationalist, Paulo Freire, in the condition of a political exile from the Brazilian military dictatorship, was one of the participants. On the occasion, Freire (1976, pp. 69-70) defined his concept of education for peace in the following terms:

I would like to outline some ideas about education for peace and freedom, not with any intention to convert you but so we can set out our ideas on an equal footing. First of all, my basic point is that we should never have illusions about education. On the contrary, we should always attempt to address it from a concrete historical situation as a complex social phenomenon. In the second place, I am unable to see education as a fundamental factor in social change. Although it can make a significant contribution to social change, it is not education in the last analysis that moulds society but vice-versa. My third point is that we should not think about education without thinking of concrete power

¹ The NUT has the trade union tradition of conducting an Annual Conference, which takes place during the Easter week, in which its union guidelines are approved to be executed during the calendar year.

structures in relations of concrete dominance, concrete patterns of production and the distribution of all kinds of resources in society. (...) This should serve to remind us of the limitations we are subject to as educators: reality cannot be altered except in history and practice by means of reflection and action. Without changes in the social order which prevents most human beings from being turned into «wholly human beings», we will never have peace with justice. And without educational change for peace in a specific campaign involving socio-political action to obtain progressive change, we will never have education for peace and justice.

There were political standpoints like these argued by Paulo Freire, at the General Conference of UNESCO, which gave encouragement to the peace movement that swept across Western Europe during the 1970s and 1980s. Driven by a desire for peace and justice among human beings throughout the world, millions of people demonstrated against the arms race and the horrors of a possible nuclear war. In response to this historical situation in the second half of the 20th Century, the NUT held an International Peace Conference at Stoke Rochford Hall², for teachers' unions from the capitalist and communist worlds.

2. The international state of affairs in the period of the Cold War (1947-1991)

During the 1970s, the socio-economic climate began to change among the main countries in the world capitalist system in Western Europe. In several countries, the existence of a Welfare State showed the first signs of a crisis within the three pillars of its support: a) A pro-active State in the economic and social field; b) Full employment as a social objective; and c) A recognition of the value of planning.

This crisis of State Benefits was the result of a combination of the following socio-economic factors: an increase in the price of a barrel of oil caused by the Arab-Israeli War of 1973; a decline in economic growth as reflected in the fall of GNPs; a galloping inflationary spiral; and high unemployment rates. In addition, there were two other key factors embedded in the period of the Cold War³, that added to the tension of the international climate: a) The nuclear arms race resulting from the polarization between NATO led by the US and the Warsaw Pact which was dominated by the USSR and b) The liberation movements (notably in African and Asian countries) seeking freedom from the colonial yoke which led to the dismantling of colonies held by Great Britain, France, Portugal, Holland and Belgium.

The arms race was not only a source of tension in the international scene from the standpoint of a fear of a possible nuclear holocaust (as shown by the episode of

² Stoke Rochford Hall is a hotel situated near Grantham in Lincolnshire and boasts a Victorian-era architecture. The NUT has had an agreement with Stoke Rochford Hall since 1978 to maintain a Training Center in its premises.

³ Among the localized military conflicts that occurred during the Cold War, the most emblematic were: Korea (1950-1953); Vietnam (1955-1975); wars between Arabs and Israelis in the Middle East (1956-1967); independence of the former Portuguese colonial world in Africa (1961-1974); and Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979-1988).

the installation of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba at the beginning of the 1960s) but also led to calls for localised conventional wars. From the time of the end of the 2nd World War (1945) to the beginning of the 1980s, approximately 150 regional military conflicts were recorded in the world, in which more than 10 million people perished and tens of millions suffered atrocities, were wounded or made homeless (União Das Repúblicas Socialista Soviéticas, 1984, pp. 24-25). The British historian Eric Hobsbawm (1995, pp. 250-251) in his work «An era of extremes: a short history of the 20th Century», stated that during the period of the Cold War:

... The whole world exported arms. Socialist economies and some capitalist countries in decline such as Great Britain had to export a little more to remain competitive in the world market. The traffic of death did not only include large items that only governments could use. An era of guerrilla warfare and terrorism also created a huge demand for light weapons that could be carried by hand and were suitably destructive and lethal, and at the end of the 20th Century, the sub world of large cities could provide civilians with a market for this kind of weaponry. In this environment the Uzi sub-machine gun (Israeli), the Kalachnikov rifle (Russian) and Semtex explosives (Czech) became household words.

The «traffic in death» as Hobsbawm makes clear, was on a worldwide scale and thus was a direct result of the conventional arms trade which was fomented as an industrial sub product of a policy based on worldwide «nuclear terror». At the beginning of the 1980s for example, this global arms trade had reached a volume worth approximately \$500 billion (Sipri, 1981)⁴. As well as this, the arms race which took place during the Cold War witnessed considerable alterations in the techniques of warfare. The quantity of nuclear arms that had been accumulated by the members of Nato and Warsaw Pact countries had a destructive capacity that could exterminate mankind. The power of the explosives used in the 2nd World War, in which about 55 million people perished, and which laid waste vast territorial areas of Europe and Russia, amounted to a total of 5-6 megatons of TNT (when the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki are included). At the beginning of the 1980s, just the power of the nuclear arms of the two opposed politico-military «blocs», was 10,000 times greater than that which was employed in the 2nd World War (Germs, 1982, p. 59).

⁴ Brazil was, during the military dictatorship (1964-1985), an active protagonist of the world market of conventional arms. Its industrial-military complex, in the early 1980s, formed a contingent of about 100 companies that manufactured everything from light weapons to fighter jets. In 1980, for example, Brazilian industrial exports amounted to US \$ 10.8 billion, of which about US \$ 1 billion corresponded to military materials produced by the military industry, or almost one-tenth of all industrial production (Lopez, 1982, p. 62).

Figure 1



Source: *The Teacher*. Newspaper of the National Union of Teachers, December 9, 1983, p. 6.

The combination of the expenditure on the nuclear and conventional weapons arms race, (which was largely sponsored by the US «industrial-military complex») and the independence of former African and Asian colonies imposed an economic and social burden on the capitalist countries that had introduced the Welfare State

at the end of the 2nd World War. This was the case of the United Kingdom in which the NUT carried out its pacifist activities against the nuclear arms race.

3. The struggle by the NUT against the arms race and in favour of education for peace

At the Annual Conference held in the Channel Island of Jersey in 1983, the NUT passed one of its first resolutions in favour of world peace and against the nuclear arms race. The delegates who comprised NUT representatives from different towns in England and Wales⁵, drew up the following peace resolutions which showed a particular concern for children:

... In a world where 40,000 children die every day, 100 million experience hunger and 200 million do not attend school, the Conference should condemn the absurdly increasing expenditure on arms – especially nuclear arms – since this uses up financial resources that are desperately needed to meet pressing social and economic needs, especially those related to the children of the world. In its alarm about the accelerated dynamics of the nuclear arms race which is pushing the world to the verge of nuclear destruction, the Conference is opposed to the installation of new nuclear arms of any kind and calls for the removal of all those that are installed in the territory of Britain. In this way financial resources could be released and devoted to addressing the social and educational needs of our children (National Union of Teachers, 1983, p. 7).

After the Jersey Conference, the NUT began to mobilise the teachers around the fluttering banners in support of the British peace campaign against the nuclear armaments race. As a result, throughout 1983, the union carried out the following activities: peace demonstrations together with other British unions affiliated with the Trades Union Congress (TUC)⁶; making demands on the British government that it should take part in international negotiations with a view to ending the arms race and bringing about nuclear disarmament (both short and long-range missiles); effective measures in the sphere of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP)⁷ on behalf of an international union policy based on education for peace and opposed to nuclear arms (National Union of Teachers, 1983, pp. 7-8).

⁵ Although the United Kingdom consists of four countries – England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland – the NUT represents only the teachers of the state educational systems of England and Wales. Teachers from state schools in Scotland and Northern Ireland have their own trade union structures: the Scottish Secondary Teachers' Association (SSTA) and the Ulster Teachers' Union (UTU-UK).

⁶ The TUC is the only trade union representative of all professional categories of British workers. The NUT joined the TUC in 1970.

⁷ WCOTP, during the Cold War (1947-1991), represented at the international level the syndicates or national trade union centers that were affiliated in a political social-democratic perspective. The teachers of the world socialist system were represented by the World Federation of Teachers' Unions or *Fédération Internationale Syndicale de l'Enseignement* (FISE). As for American professors, the international trade union bond was given through the International Federation of Free Teachers' Unions (IFFTU).

The movement in which the NUT was involved – that opposed war and favoured world peace – put forward a radical political agenda in 1983. This was because the peace organisations which convened rowdy mass campaigns which devastated the main countries of Western Europe, were united by the following agenda: a) they believed that the nuclear armaments race threatened the very existence of civilisation or in other words, that the question of peace was a matter that affected the whole of mankind and as a result, entailed preserving the very existence of people; b) they thought that the military strategy adopted by NATO was particularly dangerous and that it was within the grounds of possibility that it could trigger a «local nuclear war». That is, it was possible to achieve a military victory that could be feasibly based on nuclear technology and called the «first knock-out blow», or in other words, it would be put into effect in a particular strategic region of the world; c) they called for complete and universal nuclear disarmament that was at the same time combined with the political measures needed to build up mutual trust between both world systems: capitalist and communist nuclear disarmament. This unconditional disarmament on both sides would lay down the premises that were indispensable to ensure peaceful coexistence between the States of different social regimes; and d) they required that the grandiose ideal of a world without either nuclear or conventional weapons should be put into effect (Guelfi, 1981, p. 47 et seq.; Norlund, 1984, p. 45 et seq.).

In the following year, the 1984 Annual Conference which was held in Blackpool was opened with the delegates deploring the effects that the arms race was having on the educational life of the country and argued that the financial resources spent on nuclear arms, should be diverted to education. In their view, the scale of modern nuclear arms, which were called the First Strike, was a constraint on the progress of mankind and represented one of the main causes of hunger, poverty, disease and ignorance in the world. For this reason, the gathering of teachers in Blackpool put forward the notion of unilateral nuclear disarmament to the United Kingdom government, as a means of supporting world peace. This proposal was based on the assumption that a unilateral policy by the British government would not simply entail adopting an international stance in favour of peace and against nuclear arms, but would allow an increase in the funding available for State education by improving the standards of State schools, as well as the living and working conditions of the teachers (National Union of Teachers, 1984, pp. 8-9).

Figure 2

Travel supplement: Pages 7 to 10

The Teacher

Newspaper of the National Union of Teachers Vol 40 No 26 March 9, 1984 10p

East and West to meet at historic event

TEACHERS' leaders from East and West are being brought together next week at an historic international conference organised by the National Union of Teachers.

Representatives from teacher unions in Bulgaria, Finland, the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and the United States, will be joining NUT leaders at Stoke Rochford Hall, Grantham, to discuss the role of education in promoting international understanding and co-operation.

This unique event is the brainchild of Mr Don Winters, President of the National Union of Teachers. He said: "Early in my year of office I visited both West, to meet to consider ways in which teachers and their professional organisations could work positively for improved international co-operation and understanding."

Mr Winters said the exchange of information, school materials and visits and the promotion of study and holiday trips and exchange visits would be among the subjects under discussion.

"Peace," he said, "is not simply a negative idea — namely the absence of war. It is a positive concept which grows out of co-operation, understanding and friendship."

The gathering would not aim simply to mouth slogans and hurt advice at world leaders; it would be concerned with strictly practical ways of fostering education for international understanding.

The Union's new document on education for peace would also be the subject of some of the discussions.

He hoped the meeting would be expanded in future years to include other countries.

Paul L. Channon



SIR KEITH JOSEPH, the Education Secretary, is to address the Executive of the National Union of Teachers this afternoon.

The visit follows an offer from the Education Secretary to meet teachers' organisations to discuss the proposals on objectives for the curriculum, standards of achievement and criteria for examinations outlined in his Sheffield speech in January.

Union concerns about the proposals centres on Sir Keith's refusal so far to commit extra resources for such innovations and fears about greater central control of the curriculum.

A MASS rally to protest about plans to cut 400 public sector jobs in Newcastle upon Tyne was supported by the National Union of Teachers on Wednesday.

Speakers at the mid-day meeting included Mr Bob Richardson, chairman of the Union's action committee, Mr Billy Green, from the shipbuilders' combined union committee, and Mr Jeremy Beecham, chairman of the council.

The rally was followed in the evening by a lobby of the education authority. The day of action had been organised by the Public Services Alliance, which represents all the trade unions.

SELECTIVE schools throughout England and Wales may fail to benefit from new specific grants following a Government defeat in the House of Lords on Monday.

An Opposition amendment to the Government's Education (Grants and Awards) Bill preventing any school where entry is based on selective examination or tests of ability receiving a grant was passed by 40 votes to 31.

If the Bill becomes law, Sir Keith Joseph, the Education Secretary, would have power to withhold 0.5 per cent of the rate support grant from local councils for payment to selected authorities for specified purposes.

A SURVEY of the effects of cuts of 31 per cent on local government spending, based on the Environmental Secretary's figures, was launched this week by the Local Government Campaign Unit.

It has asked the 90 authorities most vulnerable to cuts of this magnitude and to rate coping to pinpoint where savings would have to be made — whether in numbers of teachers, provision of meals on wheels or the school meal service.

The unit, which is financed by local authorities and trade unions in the public sector, hopes the detailed information will be returned and analysed in time for publication during Education Week — Saturday March 24 to Thursday March 29.

Sacking threat if staff refuse new contracts

SCHOOL dinner staff in Hertfordshire have been threatened with the sack unless they accept a massive pay cut.

But the authority this week made an offer of minor concessions after angry protests from the staff, teachers, parents and other unions.

The original pay cut was estimated at 20 per cent but the Conservative-controlled county council refused to confirm this figure. A council source admitted privately, however, that following protests the offered pay deal had "been revised a bit, but not a lot".

More than 400 members of the National Union of Teachers joined a 2,000-strong trade union lobby this week. The dinner staff have been given until April 6 to accept or reject the deal.

be cut by 30 per cent. Only children whose families are on supplementary benefit will continue to receive them.

The decision caused an uproar when it was announced in the council chamber, after the Labour group had made an unsuccessful call for more resources.

It was swiftly condemned by the National Union of Teachers whose members lobbied councillors as they arrived for the budget meeting and later teachers joined the school staff's union, the National Union of Public Employees, in a protest march through the town and a second demonstration outside County Hall.

Mr John Cotton, the Union's divisional secretary, said it was just as unacceptable as an earlier recommendation to cut the entire service apart from free meals.

"Really we are back to the same position with the dinner staff being offered a choice between terminating their employment or accepting a cut in their entitlements," he said.

after the meeting it was now up to the ruling party to recognise the strength of feeling against cuts in education in its reassessment of the budget.

Earlier he had told the lobby that the real opponents of provision in Hounslow schools were central Government and not local councillors.

"But even under this massive external pressure the council still has room to manoeuvre. Even at this last hour they have time to think again."

"They have the power to refuse to cut an already vulnerable service."

Rebels force budget rethink

LABOUR councillors in Hounslow defeated their own budget proposals on Tuesday night following a lobby by members of the National Union of Teachers and other local government unions.

The planned budget would have meant a loss of about £1m and 10 teaching jobs — 14 more than needed to keep pace with falling rolls.

But five Labour councillors voted against the budget with the opposition and have forced the authority to think again.

Mr Mike Elson, Hounslow NUT president, said

budget had only allowed 3 per cent for pay rises and 6 per cent for inflation.

More than 300 teachers face redundancy but the exact figure and where the cuts will fall is still uncertain.

The threat, however, provoked a one-day voluntary strike last Wednesday in which 400 teachers attended a massive

lobby of the county council.

"It could mean the entire primary residential service will go as the equivalent of 45-5 full-time teachers who provide the service are on part-time temporary contracts."

"We know also of a further 75 primary teachers on fixed-term contracts who are at risk," he added.

Remedial service cuts

REMEDIAL education in Leicestershire primary schools could be cut entirely as hundreds of teachers face redundancy, Mr John Perry, the county's Executive member of the National Union of Teachers, warned last week.

The authority approved a £1m cut in a "so-called standstill budget" last week. The original

budget had only allowed 3 per cent for pay rises and 6 per cent for inflation.

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"We know also of a further 75 primary teachers on fixed-term contracts who are at risk," he added.



Wind of change: a performer in the Woodwind company helps evoke the atmosphere of an Aborigine dance in a play about the declination of black Australian culture presented at the International Education Fair in London.

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Source: The Teacher. Newspaper of the National Union of Teachers, 9 March, 1984, p. 1.

In addition, the Conference passed a motion to open up a new front in the struggle against the nuclear arms race: education for peace began to be taught by teachers in classrooms and schools should refuse to include in the syllabus any kind of matter related to military issues, particularly propaganda regarding the events of the Cold War which might have a direct bearing on the political, social and educational life of the country. In the statement issued by the NUT, the State school curriculum should address the question of education for peace from a broader perspective. In other words, the issue should not be reduced to questions regarding nuclear weapons, unilateral disarmament and pacifism. In the opinion of the teachers' union in England and Wales, war and peace were objects of educational study linked to other cross-sectional subjects in the school curriculum such as: health, racism, religion, politics and sexual education (Cooper, 1984, p. 5 et seq.; Keeble, 1984. p. 2).

Thus in an attempt to put the union resolutions into effect, the NUT teachers assembled in Blackpool, also agreed to hold an International Conference between teachers from capitalist and communist countries to discuss ideas regarding the implementation of world peace, particularly teachers from trade unions in the United States and the Soviet Union (National Union of Teachers, 1984, pp. 8-9).

However, the involvement of the NUT in the peace movement provoked systematic and stiff opposition from the Conservative government under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990)⁸. The British political *establishment* which was closely linked to the military industrial sector attacked the international peace movement with which the NUT was affiliated, because the armaments race was an important source of income through the exports of conventional weapons. Against the background of a prolonged unofficial strike by one of the British miners' unions⁹, the Secretary of State

⁸ Margaret Hilda Thatcher (1925-2013), Baroness Thatcher de Kesteven, was born in the county of Lincolnshire, England. He studied chemistry at the University of Oxford (1943-1947). In 1959, he won the Conservative Party election in the Finchley constituency and took a seat in the House of Commons, remained a Member of Parliament until 1992. He held the Secretary of Education and Science during the First- Conservative Minister Edward Heath (1970-1974). During her three consecutive terms as prime minister (1979-1990), Thatcher put into practice a set of socioeconomic measures, called neoliberals, aimed at deregulating the financial sector, relaxation the labour market, privatizing state enterprises and reducing the participation of the State in public policies (health, education, social security, etc.). In addition, he fought a hard ideological and police battle against the political power of the labour unions, an important Labour support base, whose main confrontation occurred during the miners' strike (1984-1985). At the international level, it assumed a position of unconditional ally of US policy aimed at planning the Cold War against the Soviet Union by installing nuclear weapons (short and long range missiles) in Western Europe and the North Atlantic. The remarkable episode of his military policy, in the context of the Cold War, was the War of the Malvinas (1982) waged against Argentina. The war was caused by the occupation of the South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands by Argentine troops claiming national sovereignty over the South Atlantic archipelago. The military defeat of the Argentines led to the end of the military dictatorship that had ruled the country since 1976.

⁹ In December 1984, the NUT published in *The Teacher* a manifesto of solidarity with the miners' strike led by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which stated: «(a) Miners are struggling to defend their jobs and their communities against A conservative government whose economic policies also threaten the employment of some 60,000 teachers; (B) In a national context marked by 4 million unemployed, all trade unionists must fight to defend each job. The miners are not only defending their own work, but the work for all young people who finish school and for future generations; (C) The victory of the miners will demonstrate to this Government that any attempt to destroy the jobs

for Education, Sir Keith Joseph (1918-1994)¹⁰, accused the NUT campaign for peace of being authoritarian. This was because in his view, the teachers were addressing students in a doctrinaire manner with regard to peace issues. As well as stating that the proposal regarding «unilateral disarmament» represented a danger to national security, Sir Keith had another understanding of the school curriculum. He argued that:

... Matters of war and peace should form a part of traditional subjects like History, Religious Studies, Physics and English. And the approach to the issue should be of a rational and not an emotive character since these subjects arise naturally in the Curriculum and there should be no need to provide a special space for studies labelled as «peace» (Minister questions political motives of peace educationists, 1984. p. 3).

With regard to the criticisms formulated by the government of Mrs Thatcher, the NUT countered with a twin-pronged argument: a) It asserted that nuclear arms stationed in Great Britain were not able to ensure the defence of the realm itself and that these weapons would become the first objects of attack in the event of any nuclear attack unleashed by the Soviet Union. In other words, it was argued that rather than being a guarantor of peace, nuclear arms represented a potential threat to the effective security of the United Kingdom and that there was no effective treatment that could enable survivors to recover from the devastating effects of a nuclear war; and b) They claimed that studies about peace should be given a prominent space in the syllabus¹¹ because they believed teachers were just, impartial and free from

and services will confront the united resistance of all the workers' unions; (D) The trade union defeat of the miners will give confidence to the conservative government to continue its attacks against trade union rights and, consequently, to annul the actions of the trade union movement» (Teachers' solidarity with the miners, 1984, p. 10). Despite the titanic trade union struggle waged by the NUM and all the solidarity provided by the TUC, British trade union movement, the miners were defeated by the conservative government of Margaret Thatcher after a year of fighting. The political-union defeat of the NUM represented a turning point in the political history of the United Kingdom. From then on, the conservative government accelerated the process of neoliberal reforms that defaced the state of British Keynesian welfare.

¹⁰ Keith Sinjohn Joseph, Baron Joseph, belonged to an influential family of British Jews and was a lawyer formed by Oxford. A Conservative politician, he was elected in 1955 to Parliament by the constituency of Baron's Court in West London. As a parliamentarian, he served in the Cabinet of Ministers fewer than three prime ministers: Harold Macmillan (1962-1964), Edward Heath (1970-1974) and Margaret Thatcher (1979-1986). He was a key intellectual mentor in the creation of what later came to be known as «Thatcherism», a period that ended the post-World War II Conservative-Labour consensus that supported the British welfare state. As Secretary of State for Education, Sir Keith Joseph established the national curriculum for the British school system and created the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE), an examination to evaluate students aged 14-16 years of secondary education in England, Wales and Northern Ireland.

¹¹ In 1983, the Lancaster University's Richardson Institute for Peace Research conducted a survey of a total of 129 Local Education Authorities (LEAs) in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland on how peace studies were School curricula. Of the 69 fully answered questionnaires, the following were found: (A) 75% of the LEAs that were not directly controlled by the teachers linked to the two major parties, Conservative and Labour, answered that the theme of peace was included

prejudice when they addressed the issue of the dangers and dire consequences of nuclear war with their students. According to the NUT, it was impossible for teachers to teach nuclear physics without speaking about military matters or to discuss with their students the history of Great Britain without mentioning questions related to the phrase «war and peace» (Pupils' fears of the mushrooming holocaust, 1984, p. 3). On the basis of this understanding the President of the NUT, Don Winters¹², attempted to refute the accusations made by the Secretary of Education, Sir Keith Joseph, regarding the supposed indoctrination that the teachers were carrying out in the classroom on the armaments race and nuclear war. Winters stressed that:

... The NUT condemns any attempts to sabotage what are appropriate professional approaches adopted for education for peace and at the same time, refutes the charge that there are political motivations lying behind the teachers who are involved in making curricular changes aimed at addressing questions related to the nuclear arms race. In the view of the NUT, all good education is an education for peace where the whole ethos of a school reflects and fosters values of cooperation. The union supports various kinds of different perspectives in various subject-areas and as a part of the timetable, to introduce and discuss education for peace. Thus teachers should not only be critical in their analysis of teaching material of a racist or sexist nature but should extend the whole of their critical analysis to combating militarism and chauvinism. The teaching of History for example, is complex because it deals with struggle and conflict and also because it is concerned with the growth of civilisation and the spreading of individual rights and political liberties (Pupils' fears of the mushrooming holocaust, 1984, p. 3).

Thus it is clear that as far as the national direction of the NUT was concerned, having a «good education» was something that was organised around «education for peace» since this issue, when analysed in a critical way, could supersede all other questions needed to put into effect the «values of cooperation» which were regarded as important in educating students. But the British government took a different view and systematically attacked the pacifist policies which they believed the teachers were inculcating in the State schools. As a result, when the International Peace Conference proposed by the NUT was held in the first half of 1984, the union was strongly opposed by the Conservative government of Mrs Thatcher and the Cold

in the curriculum as content incorporated in Other disciplines or as object of study in a separate discipline; (B) conservative LEAs addressed the issue of peace by emphasizing only aspects related to «violence and war» or «conflicts between groups»; (C) in the LEAs where labour was the majority the peace theme had as its main object of study «the nuclear arms race»; (D) a minority of LEAs held a polarizing stance on the subject of peace: «nuclear-free United Kingdom» (labour) and «non-nuclear-free United Kingdom» (conservative); And (E) few LEAs had developed their own didactic materials on the subject of peace (Rathenow & Smoker, 1983, pp. 19-20).

¹² Don Winters was a school principal in the city of Newcastle in the north of England. During the 1980s, he held senior executive positions at the NUT: he was vice president (1982), president (1983-1984) and treasurer (1984-1988).

War reached its most critical phase with the installation of new nuclear arms in the continent of Europe.

4. The International Peace Conference held at Stoke Rochford Hall

The NUT sought to defend itself from the charge of pursuing a doctrinaire policy of proselytism with regard to the nuclear arms race and to support its case for introducing pacifist questions in the school curriculum, by issuing a pamphlet called «Education for Peace» in February 1984. In the introduction, which was published in the form of a brochure, the Secretary-General of the NUT Fred Jarvis¹³, one of the prominent figures in the teachers' union during the 1980s, stated the following:

... Education for peace is a matter of growing interest among teachers and students with new material in the syllabus and new guidelines that are being constantly drawn up for teachers. This interest has evolved on the basis of an increasing public concern with regard to the national tensions that exist between the scale of nuclear armaments and the constant concern of teachers to find a suitable and professional response to the anxieties expressed by their students (National Union of Teachers, 1984, p. 1).

These considerations were simply recognition of the pedagogical discussions related to issues about pacifism and the nuclear arms race that had arisen among the teachers affiliated to the union since the 1980s. In other words, the question of war and peace had grown in the world of English and Welsh teachers to the same extent that the politico-military confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact was being fomented. Hence, on the basis of an understanding that the Cold War had turned the world into «a frightening and disconcerting place», the «Education for Peace» pamphlet called on teachers to face up to a dual challenge: on the one hand, involvement in preparing students to confront personal misunderstandings, domestic conflicts, social discrimination, violence provoked by racial prejudice, ecological destruction and the palpable fear of nuclear war; and on the other, expressing support for national and international bodies that were organising peace campaigns against the nuclear arms race (National Union of Teachers, 1984, p. 5).

¹³ Frederick Frank Jarvis studied Social Sciences at the University of Liverpool and Oxford. In the student phase he was president of the National Union of Students (1952-1954). Later, as professor, he served as secretary general of the NUT from 1975 to 1989. Fred Jarvis held the TUC's chair in 1987 and was its first president to study at Oxford University.

Figure 3

Computers in the curriculum: Pages 7 to 15

The Teacher

Newspaper of the National Union of Teachers

Vol 40
No 27
March 16, 1984
10p



Walking in the park: American, Soviet and British teacher representatives take a breather in the grounds of Stoke Rochford Hall.

Historic meeting success

THE success of the historic conference for international understanding and co-operation organised by the National Union of Teachers exceeded all expectations. Mr Don Winters, President, said this week.

This unique event, which drew teacher union representatives from both East and West to the Union training centre at Stoke Rochford Hall, near Grantham, was the brainchild of Mr Winters.

He said: "I hope this will not be a one-off event. For having drawn up a list of practical suggestions for future activities there will be a need to maintain links, monitor the success of these proposals, expand the meetings to include teachers from other countries and explore the possibilities for developing co-operation and understanding still further."

A number of practical proposals for promoting education for peace and international understanding emerged during the intensive working sessions spread over three days.

These included the setting up of exchange visits by students and teachers, the building up of better links between international teachers' organisations through the attendance of non-member unions at their respective conferences, the exchange of children's art on the theme of peace and friendship, the promotion of twinning between schools and the exchange of information and classroom materials.

Dr Gary Watts, from the National Education Association of the United States, described the conference as a "major educational breakthrough".

He said: "It shows a real sense of commitment to peace on the part of the NUT. I hope it is the opening of a gate; it might then have a profound effect on developing international understanding in years to come."

Teacher union representatives from Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and Finland also attended the conference and outlined in detail the work being done by teachers in their countries to promote peace education.

From the Soviet Union Mrs Tamara Yanushkovskaya said it was not enough to slot peace into the curriculum as a single (intempered) subject; it had to permeate the whole curriculum.

"Education for peace is the basis for all the activities of teachers in the Soviet Union," she said.

Employers refuse to increase 3 per cent offer

LOCAL authority leaders refused this week to increase their offer on teachers' pay above 3 per cent.

They argued that the money just was not available for anything more than that, when the Burnham pay negotiating committee met on Wednesday.

But the talks did not break down. The independent chairman, Sir John Wordie, adjourned the meeting and urged both sides to go away and reflect on their respective positions. They are to meet again on March 27.

The two sides met in formal session for just one hour. Informal talks between the leaders of both the teachers' panel and the employers' panel, with the chairman went on throughout the day. It was these discussions which encouraged Sir John to believe progress might be possible.

Doug McAvoy, acting leader of the teachers' side in the talks, said teachers were determined to arrest the decline in their relative salaries and a 3 per cent pay rise would not achieve this.

Mr Philip Meridale, leader of the employers' side, refused to go above 3 per cent, he at no time said that this was the management's final offer.

The management was keen to emphasise its desire to get a new salary structure next year and has linked extra money to such a change.

Mr McAvoy pointed out, however, that teachers needed increases now. They were not prepared to see their standard of living and position relative to other groups decline still further this year on the basis of a promise of possible improvements in the future.

The reconvened Burnham meeting has been scheduled for the afternoon of March 27. A special Executive of the Union has been arranged for the following afternoon to allow the pay talks to go on late into the evening if necessary.

'Restore parity' demand

TEACHERS in Finland are preparing for mass strike action later this month.

Last year teachers received pay rises 3 per cent lower than those in the private sector and the 50,000 strong teachers' union, the OAJ, is angry that the employers are refusing to restore the parity in the new pay negotiations.

Teachers are also demanding an increase in their basic salary and a change from the system where they are currently paid by the hours worked in school, with no payment for work outside, such as with parents.

SCHOOL KITCHENS



By Richard Keeble

Dr Gary Watts, from the National Education Association of the United States, described the conference as a "major educational breakthrough".

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Teacher union representatives from Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and Finland also attended

INSIDE

Two issues of NUT News

Teachers unite on guarantee

TEACHERS' leaders meeting in London this week united round the National Union of Teachers' policy for guaranteed conditions of service.

The meeting was called following proposals from their employers, to link a new salary structure for teachers to contractually binding dates and responsibilities.

Under the scheme agreed by the teacher organisations on Tuesday, maximum class sizes would be laid down with an agreement on lumpy cover for absences. Teachers would also have guaranteed marking and preparation time linked to an agreement on maximum class sizes.

Mr Doug McAvoy, NUT acting general secretary, said many of the duties and responsibilities imposed by the employers covered what every teacher did already.

"Some, however, are unacceptable to the Union. All would be contractually binding instead of voluntary and would impose certain arrangements on teachers that we cannot accept."

For teachers on the proposed new entry grade, all the teachers' organisations agreed that there would have to be nationally fixed induction and probation arrangements.

These would include a guaranteed reduced teaching load, improved in-service provision, an adequate support structure and guaranteed conditions of service.

All the organisations are to meet again next Thursday.

SCHOOL KITCHENS



Primary books spending in decline

SPENDING on school books in West Midlands primary schools has declined by 13 per cent in the last five years.

In secondary schools the decline was even worse — 16 per cent in real terms.

The deterioration of school book provision is detailed in a report from the Educational Publishers Council. It shows that the overall decline conceals wide variations between local authorities.

In Wolverhampton, for instance, spending on primary school pupils increased by 14.7 per cent in the five-year period and in secondary schools there was a 5.1 per cent increase.

By contrast, in Hereford and Worcester there were cuts in real terms of 46.2 per cent in primary schools and 36 per cent in secondary schools.

The council says that to return to the level of spending per pupil achieved in 1978-79 would require increases of 22.4 per cent in primary and 26.9 per cent in secondary schools.

The EPC report also reveals the extent to which capitation allowances are expected to pay for basic school supplies apart from books and equipment.

In Gloucestershire, for instance, capitation includes expenditure on office equipment, furniture, first aid, cleaning materials and transport.

● *Schoolbook Spending Series 2 — the West Midlands*, the Educational Publishers Council, 19 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3HT.

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NUT Executive — Page 6

Points from presidentials — Page 4

The NUT reports on a cleaning disaster — Page 3

Issues reports on pupils who become "teachers" — Page 2

TUC campaign against privatisation — Page 5

Letters to the Editor — Page 4

Source: The Teacher. Newspaper of the National Union of Teachers, March 16, 1984, p. 1.

But the publication of the pamphlet «Education for Peace», as a direct result of the union resolutions passed at the Annual Conferences (Jersey, 1983; Blackpool, 1984), also fulfilled another key role: it led the national executive of the NUT to convoke an International Peace Conference with the aim of bringing together teachers from the capitalist and communist worlds. The President of the NUT, Don Winters, was a keen supporter of this international meeting. In the capacity of its main host, he issued the following statement on the eve of the meeting:

... In the first year of my mandate [when still the Vice-President of the NUT], I visited the United States and the Soviet Union. I was really impressed by the desire of teachers in both countries to establish a better understanding and to achieve international cooperation with regard to matters of peace (Keeble, 1984, p. 1).

Being driven by the interest shown by both American and Soviet teachers in this way, the NUT completed its preparations for holding its International Peace Conference which took place at Stoke Rochford Hall in the first fortnight of March in 1984. It was held at a time when some of the British miners were challenging the reforms introduced by the Thatcher government in the national arena by calling a large-scale strike. As well as Americans and citizens of the Soviet Union, The Conference at Stoke Rochford Hall brought together union leader representatives from Bulgaria, the Democratic Republic of Germany and Finland. The meeting was characterised by a spirit of confraternity and camaraderie in which the leaders of the teachers' unions from the capitalist West and communist countries of East Europe deliberated together and drew up a list of points with the aim of achieving the following goals in support of peace and international understanding:

1. To establish a system of exchange for visits between students and teachers on both sides;
2. To arrange international summer schools;
3. To encourage collaboration between schools on both sides;
4. To form a large exchange network of information and school material about peace between the teachers' organisations;
5. To improve contacts between teachers on both sides through the participation of international delegations in Conferences held by the unions;
6. To encourage an exchange of art and paintings about peace produced by children in their schools;
7. To organise a meeting-possibly in Helsinki – for European teachers together with Canadian and Americans (National Union of Teachers, 1984. pp. 8-9).

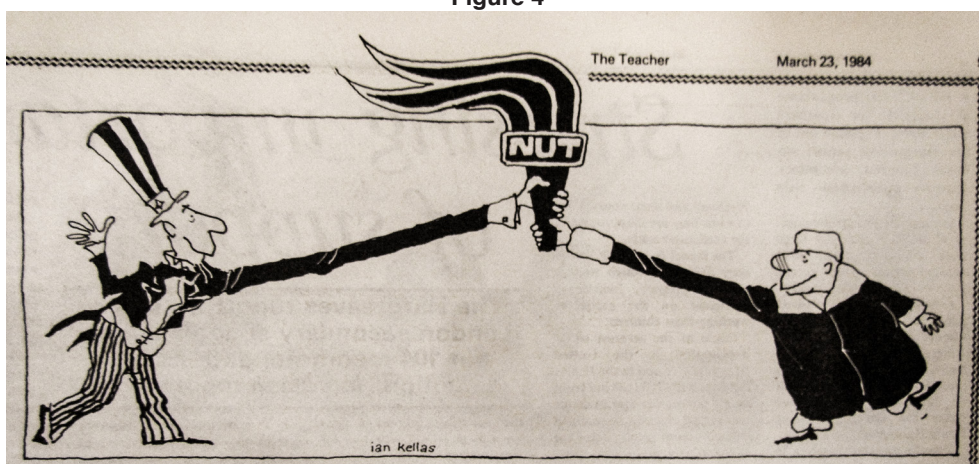
Hence, the International Conference of Stoke Rochford Hall in support of world peace was regarded by its participants as a historic occasion for mutual understanding between the two groups of countries and to have been crowned with success with regard to the objectives it sought to attain. On the last day of the meeting, the principal union leaders present gave their opinions about the significance of the event. During

the toasts to international friendship, Don Winters, the President of the NUT, stated the following:

... The meeting has been the fulfilment of a dream and I hope that this will not come to be seen as a single event. In drawing up a list of practical suggestions for future activities, there will be a need to maintain close ties of friendship so that we can keep a watch on the success of the proposals agreed here. We must increase the number of our meetings so that they can include teachers from other countries and explore all the opportunities to broaden our relations and extend international cooperation between us (Keemle, 1984, p. 1).

Gary Watts, the representative of the National Education Association (NEA)¹⁴, the largest union of educational workers in the United States, described the conference as: «A great educational stride forward and this meeting shows the true meaning of the commitment of the NUT to world peace. I hope that the event has opened a door which will have a profound effect on broadening international understanding in the next few years» (Keemle, 1984, p. 1).

Figure 4



Source: *The Teacher*. Newspaper of the National Union of Teachers, March 23, 1984, p. 9.

Tamara Yanushkovskaya, who represented the Union of Education and Scientific Workers of the USSR, also praised the international initiative of the NUT on behalf of world peace but added a warning:

...The struggle for the inclusion of the question of peace in the school curriculum is very important but not enough. Education for peace forms the

¹⁴ The NEA represents the teachers and staff of the public school; Teachers and staff of colleges and universities; Retired educators; and college students who are graduating to be teachers. The NEA has more than 3,2 million members and its main headquarters is in Washington (DC). It also has offices in all states and more than 14,000 cities across the country.

basis of all the teaching activities in the Soviet Union. Ever since Soviet power was first established, education for peace has been a part of our ideology. It was not by chance that the first decree of the first socialist State in the world was the Decree about Peace signed by Lenin and which condemned imperialist warfare as «the worst crime of humanity». Propaganda for war is illegal in the USSR and we believe that only general and complete disarmament can be the most radical means of strengthening world peace among nations. We still have deep memories of what occurred during the 2nd World War when 20 million Soviet citizens died. Almost every Soviet family lost at least one of its members during this war. This fact influenced and continues to exert a huge influence on Soviet families with regard to questions related to war. For this reason, we have a profound understanding of the significance of peace (Keemle, 1984, p. 9).

Thus it was with a feeling of optimism about the chance of being able to forge a strong international alliance between the teachers of the capitalist and communist worlds in defence of peace and against the arms race that the union leaders met for three days at Stoke Rochford Hall. There they reached a unanimous agreement which was expressed by means of a declaration which insisted that all the wealth that was being employed for the purposes of war should be devoted to peace and aimed at removing the huge economic disparities between countries so as to combat hunger, poverty and ignorance (Keemle, 1984, p. 9). In addition, it called on all teachers' organisations to become involved in a campaign for the defence of peace and to carry out activities that envisaged a practical cooperation to improve understanding, cooperation and friendship between the teachers' unions.

Figure 5



Source: *The Teacher*. Newspaper of the National Union of Teachers, March 23, 1984, p. 9.

After the international event which had taken place at Stoke Rochford Hall had been wound up, the NUT returned to confront the resistance which its peace demonstration had encountered on the national stage, particularly with regard to questions of peace and unilateral disarmament on the part of the British government. Conservative sectors of society linked to the dominant political power, did not only react against the motions passed by the International Peace Conference, but also accused the teachers in severe terms, of having struck a blow at all the State schools in England and Wales because they had made sure that subjects related to pacifism were «rammed down the throats» of the students (National Union of Teachers, 1984. p. 2). Thus, in contrast with the peace policies supported by the NUT, the conservative sectors of British society «approved of» all the arguments in support of the arms race and against world peace with the countries from the communist bloc. Among these five points can be highlighted:

1. A complete ban on the teaching of peace as a subject in schools;
2. The laying down of government guidelines to define how much time schools should be allowed to spend on discussing controversial political questions;
3. A complete ban on the subject of peace in the syllabuses of primary schools;
4. A denial of public funding for any organisation that promoted studies about peace and
5. An amendment of the 1944 Education Act to prevent the political indoctrination of students by teachers and to give parents the right to withdraw their children from schools that include 'peace' as a subject in their curriculum (Singer, 1984, p. 6)¹⁵.

Since in political terms they were bound up with the interests of a branch of the British arms industry, the plans drawn up by sectors of the Conservative Party sought to suppress the freedom of teaching within State schools in England and Wales, if an attempt was made to put it into practice; or in other words, it meant there was a brutal anti-democratic interference by the State with educational policies. Despite the fact that sectors of conservative society were locked in an «ideological war», the pacifist policies supported by the NUT had already achieved success on two fronts: on the one hand, discussions about matters in support of peace and against the arms race had already spread through State schools and on the other hand, international links had been forged with important teachers' unions, from both political and military sides, that were directly involved in the Cold War. These were designed to support world peace and condemn the nuclear arms race.

¹⁵ The educational reform of 1944, as a result of the Conciliation Cabinet that the Conservative and Labour Parties agreed upon during World War II, further expanded the influence teachers had on Local Education Authorities (LEAs), which had the autonomy to establish their own school curricula. The Educational Law of 1944 was replaced by the educational reforms of 1986 and 1988, during the second and third governments Margaret Thatcher (1983-1990).

Figure 6



Source: *The Teacher*. Newspaper of the National Union of Teachers, March 23, 1984, p. 8.

5. Conclusion

The fomenting of the nuclear armaments race resulting from the politico-military conflict between NATO and the Warsaw Pact from the 1970s onwards led to even greater tension in the international climate. In addition, the ideological polarisation created by the Cold War pervaded by all the international relations between the two socio-economic «blocs» that existed at that time: capitalism and communism. Thus when NATO took the decision to install new short-range nuclear missiles in some West European countries and the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979, even the meetings between the representatives of the teachers' unions of two worlds were unable to take place and two international events were suspended: the meeting arranged for 1980 between teachers who came from the West with those from East Europe; and the contacts which had been maintained between the teachers' unions of the United States and the Soviet Union (Keeble, 1984, p. 8).

Hence, the Peace Conference of Stoke Rochford Hall was an event with a special significance in an international climate of military and ideological tension between the capitalist and communist systems. As a result, the peace initiative of the NUT broke the impasse created by the Cold War which had frozen relations between the teachers of both politico-military systems and created an expectation that an education for peace would be implemented, as had been advocated by the educator Paulo Freire at the UNESCO Conference in 1976. Or as Rudolf Taegtmeyer, the leader of the teachers' union of the Democratic Republic of East Germany asserted: «the meeting at Stoke Rochford Hall planted a flower in the gardens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which must be tended with care so that it can grow» (Keeble, 1984,

p. 8). Since that time, the world has undergone profound changes which have put an end to the Communist system led by the former Soviet Union. But the question of world peace continues to be a very important banner for mankind and for this reason; its values must be present in every school in the world, as was recommended by the teachers' unions assembled at Stoke Rochford Hall.

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