2/9 June 2015

Continuation WRI Archive Box 122

Folder I

\* ‘War Resistance, 3rd and 4th quarters 1966, Vol. II, No. 18 & 19: Education for a World Without War’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 18 & 19, 3rd and 4th quarters1966. 48 pages.

Special issue on peace education with contributions by, among others, Bram van der Lek, Radhakrishna, Bogdan Suchodolski and René van Santbergen.

- ‘Why Most Children Never Become Full-Grown People’ by Bram van der Lek (5 pages). According to Van der Lek a full-grown person ‘has a certain amount of self-command. He is able to distinguish his own tendencies and shortcomings and those of other people and this enables him to communicate with everyone on a basis of mutual understanding and appreciation. His sense of justice and aggression is directed towards facts rather than to individual persons or groups of persons. Because he is self-conscious he has no fear of losing his identity in any confrontation with any other person.’ This full-grown person forms the basis of a peaceful society. The creation of such a personality requires several necessary ingredients: young children should be encouraged to criticize their parents. Their critical sense has to be developed until it can be directed towards their own deeds and feelings. ‘If we not allow them to deal with us as equals how can we respect to learn to respect others.’ The second necessary ingredient is freedom from fear. ‘So far nothing has been said of aggression. This has been deliberate. In my opinion the importance of personal feelings of aggression in causing social conflict and especially war is greatly exaggerated.’

- The School Years’ – Radhakrishna (4 pages). Can there be anything other than education for peace, the author wonders, as nobody would wish to educate a child for conflict or war. His recipe for peace education results from the double purpose of education: individual and social. ‘While it aims at developing the individual it also aims at developing the individual through developing society. […] The Gandhian approach to education emphasizes this double aim: the development of the individual and of the society in which he moves.’ Both are two sides of the same coin. ‘So the ultimate objective of education is not merely a balanced and harmonious individual, but also a balanced and harmonious society,’ although the latter can never be achieved through education alone. ‘The key for education for a world without war lies in emphasis on an integral all-round education with a stress on productive work. Psychologically it is desirable because it relieves the child from the tyranny of a purely academic and theoretical instruction against which his active nature is always making healthy protest. It balances the intellectual elements with experience and can be an effective instrument for a coordinated education of body and mind.’

Other articles include ‘The role of teacher in education for peace’ by Bogdan Suchodolski (6 pages), ‘Three personality types’ by Krysztof Kruszewski (1 page), ‘History and peace of the peoples’ by René van Santbergen (2 pages) and ‘The training of teachers’ by Nicholas Gillett (3 pages).

\* ‘War Resistance, 1st quarter 1967, Vol. II, No. 20’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 20, 1st quarter 1967. 32 pages.

- ‘The Idea of a Third Camp’ by A.J. Muste (6 pages). The last article from the hands of A.J. Muste, who died in December 1966. The article is a follow-up of the 8th Triennial Conference, 1954, which was entirely devoted to the Third Camp. Muste looks at the possibilities of creating a viable alternative to the two main camps without becoming a third power bloc. According to the author a feasible Third Camp should unite itself around five principles: (1) opposition to both the capitalist and the Stalinist social systems; (2) natural and productive resources and key instruments of distribution and communication belong to all and should be socially owned and democratically administered. […] Technology must be the servant and not the master of man; (3) refusal to give support – critical or otherwise – to the war preparations of either side in the cold war; (4) vigorous and unremitting defence of civil liberties; and (5) a deep-seated concern for and belief in democracy, i.e. the essential dignity of the human being.

- ‘India Today’ by Donald Groom (four pages). A personal impression of his eight months trip through India and a report on his many contacts with people and institutions. Groom notices the economic decline of the Indian middle class and – apart from Vino Bhave – a fading enthusiasm and darkening mood among the Indian people.

\* ‘War Resistance, 2nd quarter 1967, Vol. II, No. 21’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 21, 2nd quarter 1967. 32 pages.

Special issue on conscientious objection, in particular in the USA and West Germany. This issue also includes a long article by Pierre Martin Dumeste, ‘Violence in Africa’ (7 pages), in which he traces the origins of what some people refer to as ‘savagery’ and extreme violence in some of the conflicts on the African continent. He attributes this to the violence of colonialism and the slave trade and the resulting acculturation of violence.

\* ‘War Resistance, 3rd quarter 1967, Vol. II, No. 22: British Court Jails Chairman Michael Randle for Protesting Against the Tyranny of the Greek Dictatorship’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 22, 3rd quarter 1967. 32 pages.

A special issue on the WRI Council Meeting 1967, The WRI Study Conference on NATO, the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam and the WRI Work/Study Camp 1967.

This issue contains the second installment of ‘Violence in Africa’ by Pierre Martin Dumeste (6 pages), which deals with the establishment of modern nation states in Africa, in particular the establishment of modern armies. He ends on an high note, though, with the promise of nonviolent direct action in Africa. He quotes Lanza del Vasto: ‘Afer the Hindus the Negroes are perhaps called upon to take a place in the front line, because of that very simplicity of which the other races have taken advantage to reduce them to slavery. They have begun to show that they have taken to heart Gandhi’s lesson.’

The back page is devoted to the breaking news on Michael Randle’s conviction. The WRI chairman was arrested during ‘a nonviolent invasion of the Greek embassy on behalf of the Greek people who are the victims of oppression by the army junta.’ The court sentenced Randle to a 12 months conditional discharge.

\* ‘War Resistance, 4th quarter 1967, Vol. II, No. 23: Homage to Stuart’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 23, 4th quarter 1967. 20 pages.

This issue opens with a loving three page eulogy for Stuart Morris, 1890-1967, a minister, orator and peace activist, who for many years was the life and soul of the Peace Pledge Union.

- ‘Nazarenes in prison’ (no author, 3 pages). The article is about the persecution of the Nazarenes, a Christian-pacifist sect, founded in the 19th century by the Swiss pastor S.H. Fröhlich, with communities in Hungary, Austria, Rumania and Yugoslavia. In 1894 Tolstoy wrote to his fellow anarchist Eugen Heinrich Schmitt: ‘Salvation, I believe, will neither come from the workmen who are inclined to socialism, nor from their leaders, but only from the people who accept religion as their only guide in life, as the Nazarenes in Serbia do – namely that hundreds of them refuse to take the oath and do military service and are condemned for this to spend years in prisons and fortresses. It’s only from such men as these who are ready to give up their lives for their conviction that salvation can come.’ In 1966-1967 the Nazarenes were once again actively persecuted, both in Hungary and in Yugoslavia.

- ‘Einstein and the WRI’ by Harold Bing (6 pages). An investigation into the origins of Einstein’s pacifism and his – sometimes troubled – relationship with the WRI. Einstein believed in the merits of ‘alternative service’ for conscientious objectors and found himself at odds with the more radical factions within the WRI, which rejected the legitimacy of the state to enlist anybody in either military or alternative service. The final break with the WRI was the result of Hitler’s rise to power, at which point Einstein began to reconsider his belief that force was never justified.

Folder II.

Folder II consists of 1 subfolder. The cover states: 1968-1972 / No. 24-43

\* ‘War Resistance, 1st quarter 1968, Vol. II, No. 24: Human Rights’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 24, 1st quarter 1968. 28 pages.

A special issue devoted to human rights and conscientious objection, especially to the efforts on the part of the WRI to have the United Nations recognize the right to conscientious objection as a fundamental human right.

- The second installment of ‘Nazarenes in prison’ (no author, 3 pages), which provides more information on the historical background of the Nazarene Faith and its pacifism, and their continuous persecution in Hungary and Yugoslavia.

\* ‘War Resistance, 2nd and 3rd quarters 1968, Vol. II, No. 25 & 26’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 25 & 26, 2nd and 3rd quarters 1968. 40 pages.

A special issue on the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia and the fierce protests on the part of the WRI and other peace organizations against Soviet aggression. The issue also contains ‘Manual for Draft Age Americans in Europe’ by H.D. Sacks, Attorney at Law (14 pages). The article provides legal advice for American draftees in Europe and on how to dodge conscription. See also WRI Archive Box 109, folder II, subfolder 1.

\* ‘War Resistance, 4th quarter 1968, Vol. II, No. 27: American Deserters’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 27, 4th quarter 1968. 28 pages.

*War Resistance* reports on the rapidly growing number of deserters among American GI’s.

- ‘Memo on Desertion, AWOL and Missing Movement’ (no author, 7 pages). Long article about the legal status of deserters, military tribunes, statues of limitations etc.

\* ‘War Resistance, 1st  and  2nd quarters 1969, Vol. II, No. 28 & 29: Gramdan, The Land Revolution of India’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 28 & 29, 1st and 2nd quarters 1969. 50 pages.

Special issue on the Indian Gramdan Movement, also known as the ‘gentle revolution in land reform’. See WRI Archive Box 111, Folder I, subfolder 2. See also [www.satyagrahafoundation.org/gandhi-vinoba-and-the-bhoodan-movement/](http://www.satyagrahafoundation.org/gandhi-vinoba-and-the-bhoodan-movement/)

\* ‘War Resistance, 3rd quarter 1969, Vol. II, No. 30: Triennial Report 1966-1969’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 30, 3rd quarter 1969. 36 pages.

Special issue on the WRI activities between the 1966 12th Triennial Conference in Rome and the upcoming 1969 13th Triennial Conference in the US, which includes the ‘Secretary’s Report’ and the activities of the sections. See WRI Archive Box 15, Folder I, subfolder 1.

\* ‘War Resistance, 4th quarter 1969, Vol. II, No. 31: Liberation and Revolution, Gandhi’s Challenge – 13th  Triennial Conference, 25-31 August (Haverford, USA)’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 31, 4th quarter 1969. 32 pages.

A special issue on the 13th Triennial Conference in Haverford, USA. For more information see WRI Archive Box 15, Folder I, II and III.

From Harold Bing’s ‘Introduction’: ‘In its title “Revolution and Liberation: Gandhi’s Challenge” it recognizes that the great issue facing mankind today is not whether or not there will be a revolution, but whether that revolution will be violent or nonviolent.’

See also: Devi Prasad’s ‘Gandhi’s Concept of Freedom’ (WRI Archive Box 16: Folder 2, Subfolder 3) and Donald Groom’s ‘Gandhi’s Relevance Today’ (WRI Archive Box 16: Folder 2, Subfolder 3).

\* ‘War Resistance: Journal of the War Resisters, 1st quarter 1970, Vol. II, No. 32’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 32, 1st quarter 1970. 24 pages.

A new layout, a new subtitle and an editorial that is to remind the members what the WRI is all about: ‘In a way the WRI is a conglomeration of organizations which work for peace with a special bias towards anti-militarism. These organizations – nearly forty in number – are generally termed pacifist.’ There is however a great variety among these groups, ‘so much so, that sometimes one is flabbergasted at the contradictions apparent among pacifists.’ There is one thing, though, that unites all these groups: the WRI Declaration (‘War is a crime against humanity…’).

- ‘Revolutionary Morals and Remorse’ by Samuel Coleman (6 pages). A speech on how to avoid ‘revolutionary remorse’. ‘If you appreciate the victories won by actions you disapprove of in principle but join because they seem to be effective in practice, than you will eventually know revolutionary remorse. The noble end fails to justify the ignoble means.’ Coleman delves into different strands of moral philosophy to make his point.

\* ‘War Resistance: Journal of the War Resisters, 2nd and 3rd quarters 1970, Vol. II, No. 33 & 34: Problems of Economic Development – International Gandhi Seminar, London, February 1970’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 33 & 34, 2nd and 3rd quarters 1970. 50 pages.

A special issue based on the speeches and discussions at the second seminar on ‘Mahatma Gandhi’s Relevance Today. The conference was sponsored both by the WRI and the World Peace Council.

The first part of the issue is devoted to aid, the second to economic development and the third to food and agriculture.

Aid:

- ‘Aid and its implications’ by Adam Curle (3 pages). In 1970 structural economic aid from rich countries to poor countries was a relatively new phenomenon. Curle is highly ambivalent on the subject of structural economic aid because it is always a mixture of good intentions, Western self-interest and exploitation. He suggests an approach that departs from the concept of underdevelopment. He characterizes development as ‘the well-coordinated sequence of changes whereby a given population and all sub-populations comprising it move from a phase of life perceived as less human to one perceived as more human as speedily as possible, at the lowest cost possible and with maximum solidarity both within and among nations.’ This definition of development is related to four conditions for human life and these are what aid should focus on: safety, sufficiency, satisfaction and stimulus. Finally Curle quotes Julius Nyere, the president of Tanzania: ‘The growth of Tanzania must come out of our roots, not through the grafting on to those roots of something that is alien to them,’ meaning that there is no such thing as a political ‘holy book’, that aid should always be adapted to local people and circumstances and that social change will be determined ‘by our own needs as we see them and in the direction that we feel to be appropriate to us.’

- ‘Transformation in the approach to aid’ by Clive Jordan (4 pages). The problem of economic aid is that ‘aid is not one thing, but many separate parts of the relation between rich and poor countries.’ Most but not all of those parts are economic in nature. Jordan identifies four different parts: (1) the growth of the aid programs coincides with and are connected to the Cold War. Aid is one of the ways for the two superpowers to ‘buy’ their sphere of influence; (2) aid is in some instances a remnant of the ‘inertia of the colonial relationships’; (3) aid is a result of the moral indignation and concern about the extreme poverty of large parts of Africa and Asia; and (4) aid is a product of the economic thinking of the day, where Western economists and politicians feared a saturation of the Western market and therefore felt the need to open up new markets to sell their excess production. As most of those ‘parts’ will grow less important or urgent over time, structural economic aid will, according to Jordan, turn out to be a temporary phenomenon.

- ‘Aid and the imperialist ideology’ by Julio Laborde (4 pages).

A Marxist critique of Western style aid – as opposed to socialist style aid – which, in the words of Laborde, is a thinly disguised form of neo-colonialist imperialism that favors large monopolies and undermines local economic development. He focuses on Latin America and peppers his analysis with many examples.

Economic development:

- ‘Hope lies in intermediate technology’ by Mansur Hoda (3 pages). ‘I have a feeling that big and rich people can never help the poor – they exploit them under the pretense of help.’ Therefore poor countries have to help themselves and each other, ideally through the implementation of intermediate technology. Despite the growing amount of economic aid the gap between the rich and the poor countries continuous to widen, so the aid is only helping to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The reason for this: the focus on industrial development has bypassed the rural areas where 85 percent of the people live. To improve the lives of the large majority it is necessary to maximize the utilization of the natural resources available to those people through technologies that are suited to the needs of the local people, that is ‘to be in touch with what people can organically and naturally do.’ These technologies are ‘intermediate in the sense that they are far more efficient than the indigenous technologies and at the same time are infinitely cheaper in terms of capital and infinitely more direct and simple than the highly sophisticated and highly labor-saving technologies of the West.’ The developing countries have been caught in a dilemma: ‘On the one hand they want all that is modern in technology for their development – atomic energy, jet aircraft and the like. On the other hand they have limited capital resources and unlimited human resources which are lying idle.’ The crux of the matter is how to strike a balance between the two and use the resources ion the best manner, that is profitable to the masses and to society as a whole.

Food and agriculture

- Social structure and the growth in food production’ by Sugota Dasgupta (3 pages). Dasgupta departs from the great shame of the time ‘that many people, if not a great majority of the world, will still remain hungry as the seventies begin.’ This food scarcity is not the result of a lack of resources or a lack of potential, but of ‘a lack of social growth towards self-sufficiency’. The policy of social growth towards self-sufficiency has many facets: ‘internationally it emphasizes the close link between sovereignty and food production; societally it spells out the need for a stable policy and integrated community system as basic to economic growth. The volume of food production can only increase and economic production be stirred up when the question of economic redevelopment of the micro-society is taken up in earnest, because the micro-society is the foundation of the big farm.’ The micro-society can only be changed by giving ample opportunities to the many through education and population control. The task is not just to develop an economy but also to eradicate underdevelopment. A good measure of development is not ‘the myth of a rise in GNP, but a rise in the rate at which the weakest, undevelopable and unoptimum units of production can become economically productive and socially aspirant.’ And the only way to improve the micro-society and attain some form of self-sufficiency is through the implementation of intermediate technology.

\* ‘War Resistance: Journal of the War Resisters, 4th quarter 1970, Vol. II, No. 34 [sic]’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 35, 4th quarter 1970. 18 pages.

Conference report of the 13th Triennial Conference (see WRI Archive Box 16, Folder III, subfolder 2).

- ‘Training for Nonviolent Action, What the WRI Can Do: a Memorandum Presented to the WRI Council by Charles Walker and Devi Prasad’ by Devi Prasad (2 pages). ‘“Preamble: Violence does not mean emancipation from fear, but discovering the means of combating the cause of fear. Nonviolence, on the other hand, has no cause for fear. The victory of nonviolence has to cultivate the capacity for sacrifice of the highest type in order to be free from fear.” (Gandhi) This requires training.’ Because of the growing popularity of nonviolent revolutionary groups Prasad and Walker ask the WRI to support a nonviolent training program consisting of: information, an inventory of trainers, consultations of specialists, conferences and a special training program for international action.

\* ‘War Resistance: Journal of the War Resisters, 1st and 2nd quarters 1971, Vol. II, No. 36 & 37 – Training for Nonviolent Action, Preston Seminar, 27th – 2nd July 1970’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 36 & 37, 1st and 2nd quarters 1970. 42 pages.

Special issue on training for nonviolence, simultaneously published as *Training for Nonviolent Action: a pamphlet* by Theodore W. Olson and Lynn Shivers. (1970. 40 Pages – see WRI Archive Box 111, folder I, subfolder 5).

Practical handbook for non-violent resistance. The book was the result of the Second International Seminar on Nonviolent Training and deals with different methods of non-violent resistance, guidelines for training and frameworks for organizing training sessions.

\* ‘War Resistance: Journal of the War Resisters, 3rd quarter 1971, Vol. II, No. 38’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 38, 3rd quarter 1971. 18 pages.

This issue is mostly devoted to the WRI Council Meeting in Lübeck, West Germany, but also commemorates WRI’s 50th birthday (‘Time to be Bold’ by Devi Prasad) and includes eulogies for both Pastor André Trocmé (see WRI Archive Box 148: folder 1, subfolder 7) and Louis Lecoin, a French pacifist who spent 12 years of his life in prison for his pacifist conviction. Lecoin fought two battles which were to have repercussions throughout the entire world. The first was to defend three militants from the Spanish Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, who were sought by Argentina and Spain. They were accused of having plotted an attack on Alfonso XIII of Spain who had announced he was to visit France. They were arrested in France for carrying banned weapons. Lecoin established a committee on the right to asylum and took control of the Ligue des droits de l'homme. The three men were never extradited. The second struggle was in support of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two anarchists executed in the US on 23 August 1927. Shortly thereafter Lecoin snuck into a meeting of the American Legion. Despite being followed by the police, he managed to enter disguised as a soldier. Finding a seat in the middle of the meeting, when the president spoke, Lecoin got up and repeated three times "Long live Sacco and Vanzetti". He was then arrested.

\* ‘War Resistance: Journal of the War Resisters, 4th quarter 1971, Vol. II, No. 39: International Action in Support of CO’s in Spain, Italy and Other Countries’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 39, 4th quarter 1971. 18 pages.

Special issue on conscientious objectors. The issue also contains:

- ‘The historical and philosophical background of modern pacifism’ by Harold F. Bing (9 pages). Originally the word pacifism merely meant ‘working for peace’ or ‘the creation of peace’. Nowadays, though, it has come to mean ‘a code of conduct or a philosophy of life which rejects war of all kind and relies on nonviolence as a means of achieving both private and public ends. While this interpretation is relatively modern, the ideology which lies behind it is very ancient.’ Bing starts his exploration 600 BC with Lao-tze and Confucius and their lesson in nonviolence captured in the notion of not to do to others what you would not have them done to you, of not resisting your opponent with force. These teachings are also to be found in the lessons of the Buddha and, in the Western world, in Greek philosophy, in particular in Socrates, and later in Christ’s Sermon on the Mount and the teachings of St. Francis of Assisi. According to Bing modern pacifism starts with Étienne de la Boétie (1530-1563), a philosopher and close friend of Montaigne’s who, at the tender age of 18, wrote the work *Anti-Dictator*, a discourse on voluntary servitude (1548), in which he points out that dictators depend for their power on the voluntary obedience of their subjects and that therefore a policy of non-cooperation would result in the collapse of their power. Tolstoy, another founder of modern pacifism, was greatly influenced by this work. Other origins of (pre-)modern pacifism are the Dutch scholar Grotius, who laid the foundation of modern international law and the law of War and Peace, the Quakers and Henry David Thoreau’s concept of civil disobedience. However, the two most important pillars of modern pacifism are Tolstoy and Gandhi, of which the latter was strongly influenced by both Tolstoy and the political writings of John Ruskin, in particular his *Unto This Last: Four Essays on the First Principles of Political Economy*. Next to Tolstoy and Gandhi Bing discusses several other major influences on the inception of modern pacifism: Bart de Ligt, Aldous Huxley, Albert Schweitzer, Bertha von Suttner and Jean de Bloch.

\* ‘War Resistance: Journal of the War Resisters, 1st and 2nd quarters 1972, Vol. II, No. 40/41: Golden Jubilee Issue – 50 Years of War Resistance: What Now?’

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 40 and 41, 1st and 2nd quarters 1972. 50 pages.

Collection of articles by, among others Devi Prasad (‘Introduction’, 4 pages), E.F. Schumacher (‘Roots of violence’, 3 pages), Lewis Mumford (‘Need for redefinition’, 1 page), Kenneth Boulding (‘Three faces of power’, 3 pages), Barbara Deming (‘On anger’, 7 pages), Alfred Kastler (‘The example of the Lilliputians’, 3 pages), Michael Scott (‘Politics in the nuclear age’, 7 pages), George Lakey (‘Struggle for a new society’, 2 pages), Paul Wehr (‘Getting the movement together’, 5 pages) and François de Lucy (‘Manifesto for a nonviolent revolution’, 3 pages). .

- ‘On anger’ by Barbara Deming (7 pages). Deming explores the relation between war resistance and resistance to injustice, drawing from her own experiences from the late fifties, early sixties in the American disarmament movement and the movement for race equality.

- ‘Pacifists and class warfare: the Spanish Civil War’ by David C. Lukowitz (4 pages). Pacifists have sometimes struggled with reconciling their desire for peace with a quest for social justice. It seems impossible to attain both goals simultaneously. It is generally thought that one of the causes of war is the improper distribution of wealth within and between nations. Consequently ‘some pacifists have gloomily concluded that class warfare and civil strife are, paradoxically, necessary steps to the achievement of a permanent peace.’ The WRI was among the organizations caught in this bind, but in 1936 luckily it didn’t publicly pick sides and come out as actively supporting one of the factions in the Spanish Civil War, as both sides did engage in acts of gross violence and barbarity. According to Lukowitz the lesson the be learned from the experiences of the Spanish Civil War is never to be lured into supporting one side in a civil war in order to further the aim of social justice.

- ‘Manifesto for a nonviolent revolution’ by François de Lucy (3 pages). An article by de Lucy that was first published in 1970 in issue no. 3 of the Montreal magazine *Noir et Rouge*, which was seized by the Canadian police because the article tied in with the Free Quebec Movement. ‘A revolutionary defines himself in terms of his determination to radically change the existing order and to replace it by a new one which he believes to be superior. A nonviolent person defines himself in terms of his rejection of violence, regardless of the pretext, and especially as a means of changing an established system in order to replace it by another to be established and defended on the same principle. Thus a nonviolent revolutionary defines himself in terms of both a determination to change the existing order and a rejection of violence.’ Furthermore, nonviolence is not a means of defense, but rather a method of provocation and combat. Strength implies numbers. In isolation we can do nothing. ‘According to Gandhi individual nonviolence is the dignified response of the man who refuses to become angry even in the face of aggression.’ But in isolation the nonviolent individual is in danger of becoming engulfed by discouragement and skepticism. This is why a nonviolent revolution requires large numbers of fearless, disciplined, intelligent and patient people. ‘The nonviolent revolutionary can be certain of victory if he has conquered his own fear,’ said Gandhi. Where things tend to go wrong, though, is where the leaders are not fully committed to nonviolence, where it is merely used as a ploy, and where they do not strife for a revolution, but merely for a shift of power.

- ‘Roots of violence’ by E.F. Schumacher (3 pages). Schumacher discusses the 7 sins in relation to violence and concludes: ‘A man who does not feel his thoughts but merely entertains them, who has trained the objectivity of his mind at the expense of the subjectivity of his heart, is capable of limitless violence while never losing his temper, never falling into the “warm” sins of Lust, Gluttony, or Wrath.’

\* ‘War Resistance: Journal of the War Resisters, 3rd quarter 1972, Vol. II, No. 42: Triennial Reports 1969-1972

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 42, 3rd quarter 1972. 22 pages.

This issue contains the ‘Secretary’s Report (1969-1972) – From Haverford to Sheffield’ the section reports and a recap of WRI activities from 1969 to 1972.

For more information see WRI Archive Box 17/18.

\* ‘War Resistance: Journal of the War Resisters, 4th quarter 1972, Vol. II, No. 43: 14th Triennial Conference – Revolution, Prospects and Strategies, 22-27 July 1972

Periodical, quarterly. Publisher: WRI. Format: A5. Issue 43, 4th quarter 1972. 34 pages.

Special issue on the Sheffield Triennial Conference containing the proceedings of the 1972 conference with an introduction by Devi Prasad, the ‘background articles’ and all 16 commission reports. The theme of the conference was: Revolution, prospects and strategies, which covered three main topics: ‘Manifesto for Nonviolent Revolution’, ‘The Elimination of Discrimination’ and ‘Aid, Development and Self-determination’.

- ‘Aid and development’ by Devi Prasad (4 pages). Prasad stresses the constantly widening gap between the dissolute poor and the rich part of the world which rapidly becomes more affluent. His central point: ‘Aid is largely a myth, at best a wholly inadequate repayment for goods received, at worst another name for the continued exploitation of the poor countries by the rich.’ In his approach Prasad embraces the Gandhian view of development, based on cooperation with nature rather than the exploitation of natural resources, and just distribution rather than a constant increase in wealth.

See also WRI Archive Box 17, 18 and 19.