9 June 2015

3 hours

\* ‘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 to poor countries was a relatively new phenomenon. Curle is highly ambivalent on the subject of economic aid as 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’ spheres of influence; (2) aid is in some ways 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, when 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 lots of numbers and 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 aid only helps 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 in 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.

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\* ‘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.