

# WAR RESISTANCE

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## DECLARATION

"War is a crime against humanity. I therefore am  
determined not to support any kind of war and to  
strive for the removal of all causes of war."

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LOUIS  
LECOIN

## INTRODUCING DEVI PRASAD

I have known Devi Prasad ever since he first went to Sevagram to join the staff of the New Experiment in Education being conducted by Mahatma Gandhi. That was eighteen years ago. He was an artist trained by the famous artist of Rabindranath Tagore's Ashram at Santiniketan, Nandlal Bose. It was the appeal of the "artist of life", Mahatma Gandhi, which drew him to Sevagram. Quality of life, without the trappings and superfluities, was the basis of Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence, in man and in society. That is why education for non-violence was an aid to the unfolding of innate qualities in children. How well Devi Prasad fitted into this. How we admired the contribution he made, for art to him wasn't limited to painting and pottery—it brought in the home, the garden and human relations. He stuck to Sevagram as no other did. He widened his activities and interests, so that we found in him a staunch supporter of all peace activities, a leader of discussions and seminars on issues arising from basic Gandhian concepts, a person to whom people from overseas could always go and find friendship and guidance. Long before the opportunity came for service he was seeking contact with people and organisations interested in World Peace. He joined the War Resisters' International before most felt the need for the association with others on the world scene. I am very happy that we have him, Janaki his wife, and their three children with us in England.

**Donald G. Groom**

Friends,

In the last issue the Editor already announced my coming to London to work at W.R.I. Headquarters.

This is only to say "Hallo" to W.R.I. members all over the world and also to those who take an interest in its activities. I am very much looking forward to making closer contact with you and as I come from a different background I wish to learn a great deal from my new assignment. Your good wishes and co-operation will help a lot.

With warmest greetings

DEVI PRASAD

July 1, 1962

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# THE WAY FORWARD

It is probably true to say that never have there existed so many opportunities for waging peace as today. The threat of nuclear war has brought it home very strongly to many people who would not call themselves pacifists that alternative solutions to war must be found and must be found quickly. Moreover there is a growing recognition that nuclear war can be prevented, the war method itself can be abolished, only if considerable changes are made in the economic, political and moral structure of our society. Individually men will have to see violence at all levels in a different light; they will have to re-examine their most cherished assumptions and strive towards a new morality which will be compatible with the universal well-being and happiness of all humanity.

The pacifist movement is extending its influence internationally and popular movements against nuclear weapons are springing up independently all over the world. On the other hand the drift towards war continues. The cold war conditions between the two major power blocks make peace dependent on a delicately balanced political status quo which is being retained by subtle diplomatic, economic—and rather less subtle—military pressures.

In such a situation what contribution can a pacifist make—and more important for this enquiry—what contribution can an international pacifist movement make? And where does the W.R.I. fit in? These questions have been put to a small number of people who have experience in peace activity and are devoting a considerable proportion of their time and thought to the problems of war, injustice and violence. We are happy to be able to include the thoughts of April Carter, a founder member of the British Direct Action Committee and a staff member of *Peace News*, and Johan Galtung, Chairman of Folkereising Mot Krig, the Norwegian Section of the W.R.I., in this number of *War Resistance*. We hope to publish other views in future editions.

Now that the H-bomb has made war impossible, the Cold War has shown up clearly the way in which militarism reinforces dictatorship, and non-violent action has spread over the world demonstrating in practice that there is a non-military type of political power, pacifists have a unique opportunity of gaining real support for non-violent resistance as a defence policy and the creation of a non-violent society.

The W.R.I. and the World Peace Brigade should give full support to dynamic and genuine movements of unilateral disarmament, independence and civil rights. They should back the nuclear disarmament and

direct action movements in the West. They should work for the break-up of NATO and the Warsaw Pact through radical resistance by people in both West and East Europe. They should support the present resistance in Spain and Portugal and give all possible assistance to the independence struggles in Southern Africa. They should work for the ending of diplomatic and military aid to reactionary governments both through constitutional protests and, where appropriate, non-violent direct action.

They should also create links between these various movements; between the civil rights and peace movements in the USA, as the Nashville to Washington walk is doing; between the struggle for an independent Africa and the rôle of neutralism in the Cold War; between the resistance in Spain and Portugal and opposition to NATO and US military policies and so on.

They should also link up resistance with constructive peace making and recognise the need for genuine technical aid to the new African states. Inside their own society they should show the specific links between the achieving of unilateral disarmament or civil rights and a change in the political and economic power structure.

**April Carter**

I was not so sure there are many new answers to this question. I think we do quite a lot in many fields and the answer is probably not to start new kinds of activities but to do what is already done better, more often, by more people, more persistently. However, something can possibly be said about what pacifists should *not* do. With the space allotted I have chosen to focus on three points that seem important to me.

First of all, there is a certain philosophy found at the periphery of all societies which has marred pacifism for centuries: that social change can ever take place by switching policies over night. It will never happen that non-violent defence is substituted for violent defence in 24 hours—and everybody knows this—yet many pacifists act as if such gross discontinuity were possible. On the contrary, social change is the process of one institution growing up, gradually taking over some of the functions of old institutions until it starts growing at their expense and finally becomes *the* institution in the field, until the inventive human mind dreams up something new and preferably better. Even unilateralism will necessarily have to be gradual—the question is only how gradual.

Secondly, and this is a consequence of what has been said: pacifists should devote ninety percent of their time, energy and activity to building new institutions, not to argue or demonstrate against the old. I think most people share our conviction about war and the military establishment but do not accept the idea that we have something better to offer. This is where new adherents for our cause can be gained. Peace corps, peace brigades, non-violent actions, constructive work, peace research, support for arbitration, mediation, all kinds of non-violent conflict resolution should be the nucleus of our concern.

Thirdly, to supplement what has been said: let us always be on guard against efforts to make our pacifist movement less diversified. Pacifism, like all other ideologies, is moulded by environment; it means *sarvodaya* to some, peace research to others, CND to others; its strength lies

precisely in its diversity, in the many expressions of the pledge to abstain from violence in an effort to create a better world. For instance in some countries it means anarchism, in others it means efforts to co-operate with the government—highly dependent on which country and which government.

Add these three to our arsenal: *realism* in our attitude to social change, *constructiveness* and *diversity*—and our ideas shall prevail.

**Johan Galtung**

## THE CHALLENGE OF ALGIERS

Hein van Wijk



When thinking of Algiers and Oran it would seem that the time has come to change the old proverb, “live and let live” to “murder and let murder”. Day by day since the end of January Algerians have been murdered in the streets, in their homes, in hospitals by doctors or nurses or directly by the O.A.S. (Secret Army Organisation), in ambulances where they lay wounded on the way to the hospitals—men, women and children, old women going into town to get their shopping—all have been open to the same fate. One Dominique di Cristo, the bearer of a beautiful name, confessed before a special court that ever since the end of January he had made a habit of going through the streets of Algiers four or five times a week for the express purpose of killing as many Algerians as possible. Afterwards he would sit in a café with his colleagues and tot up the score. Bombs and grenades continue to explode in the Casbah and more than three thousand have been killed since the Treaty with France was signed.

In the beginning the Algerians remained completely passive and non-violent. For weeks their leaders were able to convince them that by remaining so, by maintaining their self-discipline, everything would come out right. Everything did not come out right. The whole world praised the Algerians and said how marvellous, how courageous, how worthy of respect they were, but, the whole world sat back and watched the disaster from afar while the slaughter went on. If those who were committing these outrages had been Baluba tribesmen that same civilised world would have jumped to its feet and shouted hell and thunder over the heads of those primitive barbarians. In this case, though, the barbarians were white Europeans and no-one jumped to their feet.

Where were those pacifists, those European adepts of non-violence who march and sit down in the streets and generally risk little more than imprisonment for a few days or a few weeks? Where were all those who declare that they believe in the power of non-violence? They were not there and they remain absent. Why? Because they know too well that had they been in Algiers, had they presented a non-violent front in the face of such extreme violence they would have been immediately shot in the back. Is there anyone who has had the courage to think this situation through? Is there anyone who could offer the sort of solution which would enable the French colons or settlers to live peaceably together with a liberated Algerian people as equals? The "blackfeet" will never live together with people over whom they have held power for so long and who, with the very deepest conviction, they regard as being little more than vermin. Their only solution is an exodus. They have plagued their fellow men and will probably continue to do so for the rest of their lives but let them do it in their own country.

As the exodus of these criminals is the only possible solution to the Algerian problem for the time being, the question arises as to how and when it is in fact to begin. Pacifists would like it to come about out of shame or resignation or as a result of the pressure of moral indignation throughout the world. This, however, will not happen. The solution will come and is coming out of the fear caused by the kidnapping and murder of Europeans. This is contrary to the Algerian tradition. Usually it was the European soldiers who kidnapped, tortured and murdered Algerians and not the other way round. Now there is panic. There is panic amongst those who did not want to know while knowing all the time that behind every wind can hide a storm and behind every storm a hurricane. The hurricane has broken.

The facts about this horrible war should be carefully considered by all pacifists as they are the most urgent challenge to the power of non-violence or the powerlessness of non-violence. Pacifists in Europe should take a lead in the restoration and reconstruction of Algeria in an attempt to make some reparation for what has been destroyed largely as a result of their silent complicity with the French. There is a world to build.

## BRIGADE IN AFRICA

A summary of the Report on the activities of the **World Peace Brigade** in Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia by its three Chairmen, A. J. Muste (American Region), Jayaprakash Narayan (Indian Region) and Michael Scott (European Region).

At the Brummana Conference which established the World Peace Brigade in January 1962, great concern was expressed about the struggle for political and economic freedom in Central and South Africa, the grave danger of widespread violence, and the bearing of these developments on world peace. It was agreed that an exploration of the possible application of non-violent methods to this situation should be one of the first activities of the Brigade.

In carrying out this decision Siddharaj Dhadda, one of the Indian delegates to the Conference, made contact on a trip through Africa with individuals and groups, including Kenneth Kaunda, head of UNIP (United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia) and Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika. Early in February Michael Scott, Bill Sutherland and Bayard Rustin also went to Africa on behalf of the Brigade. They attended the Addis Ababa Conference of the Pan African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa. They found many delegates ready to advocate a resort to violence and were made aware of projects for training refugees in sabotage and guerilla warfare. On the other hand they found many who were interested in non-violence. In particular, Kenneth Kaunda was deeply committed to non-violence and had already done a good deal to spread Gandhian ideas among his followers. He heartily welcomed the suggestion that a training centre in non-violence be established in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika. Julius Nyerere was equally well disposed to the idea and guaranteed co-operation.

### *The Rhodesian Federation*

The struggle in the Rhodesias is currently perhaps the decisive one in Africa and upon its outcome may well depend the future of the entire continent. It may also be an important factor in determining the issue of peace or war for the entire world. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is an instrument for slowing down the African independence movement, thus maintaining white settler political control, and also for keeping economic control of the great mineral resources of Northern Rhodesia in the hands of foreign corporations. When it is remembered that Southern Rhodesia borders on South Africa, it will be recognised that maintaining the régime in Rhodesia would ensure increasing South African influence and open up the possibility of a vast racialist federation in the southern part of the continent. This would also threaten and perhaps doom independence movements in Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa, Basutoland and Bechuanaland. It is certain that the African states to the north, which have achieved independence, would refuse to tolerate such a situation and a terrible and bloody conflict could very likely start. By the same token, if the Rhodesias achieved genuine independence and a multi-racial society, this would have a favourable effect on the struggles in the countries named and eventually on the Republic of South Africa itself. If the Rhodesian struggle is waged in the spirit of non-violence, this would almost certainly enhance the prestige of non-violence in the whole region.

In February, Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation, repeated his determination to maintain the Federation in essentially its present form at all costs. Kenneth Kaunda feared that the pressures on the British Government in London by supporters of Welensky would be so great that no substantial concessions would be forthcoming.

Apparently, thus cut off from constitutional means, Kaunda believed that non-violent direct action was required in the form of a general strike in Northern Rhodesia with a supporting "Freedom March" from Tanganyika into Rhodesia. An appeal was made to World Peace Brigade representatives in Dar-es-Salaam to give support and in partic-

ular to bring Brigade volunteers from abroad to take part in the march, thus giving it an international and inter-racial character, and to train leaders from Tanganyika and elsewhere who joined the march in non-violent philosophy and methods.

**African Freedom Action** was constituted to co-ordinate the action with a working committee which included three representatives each from TANU (Tanganyika African National Union), UNIP and PAFMESCA, with Michael Scott, Bayard Rustin and Bill Sutherland representing the World Peace Brigade and Randhir Thaker the Indian community.

Africa Freedom Action sent out calls for support to its affiliated political parties. Brigade representatives sent appeals for volunteers. Three from England came out almost immediately. In the USA and elsewhere volunteers were preparing to go. However, the situation rapidly changed and our talks in Dar-es-Salaam have convinced us that to a considerable extent this was due to the effectiveness of the force represented by Africa Freedom Action. We believe that British officials both in Tanganyika and London were aware of the presence of the Brigade and of the proposed march and were concerned about the participation of Tanganyikan cabinet members in the action. Sir Roy Welensky stationed hundreds of troops on the Tanganyika/Northern Rhodesia border which demonstrated the seriousness with which he regarded the Brigade's rôle.

Negotiations followed. These involved the British Government and also the United Nations Commission on Colonialism. They led Welensky to speed up the election for the Federal Parliament. This manoeuvre did not succeed, for virtually all parties except Welensky's boycotted the election, with the result that Welensky has a mandate from less than 10,000 persons in a population of 8,600,000.

The British Government acceded to a number of UNIP's demands which, depending on how the constituencies for the election to the Northern Rhodesian Parliament are delimited, could lead to an African majority.

In accord with the Gandhian strategy of using constitutional means as long as these give any promise, UNIP is now considering taking part in this election provided that the division of the constituencies is such as to ensure an honest and, so far as is possible in the present framework, truly democratic election. Some confusion and inconvenience were naturally caused by these shifts in tactics, resulting in the postponement of direct action. But we are satisfied that the changes were required by the situation and that the Brigade must be able to adjust itself to such developments.

On the weekend of May 12-14 a great rally was held in Mbeya in Tanganyika. 10,000 people, including approximately 140 Zambians (N. Rhodesians) who crossed the border and travelled the 72 miles to Mbeya, braved occasional heavy rains to hear PAFMECSA speakers from Kenya, Zanzibar, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Ethiopia and Uganda. Also speaking were the Brigade representatives. The meeting was characterised by several strong appeals to a violent approach to freedom. On the other hand, the Brigade was brought very much to the fore and its speakers were well received.

Left to right : Michael Scott, A. J. Muste, Jayaprakash Narayan, at Dar-es-Salaam Tanganyika, June, 1962.



Some of the speakers at Mbeya have subsequently made it clear that they were not seriously proposing to organise violent action. Others were in effect saying that *if* non-violent means were not developed, there would inevitably be resort to violence against the persecution and terrorism to which UNIP workers are subjected.

Kaunda expressed full support of the Brigade. He urged that preparation for a march (if it should be needed) should go on and the non-violent training centre be developed. He hoped that when Northern Rhodesia achieved its independence the Brigade would establish there a great centre for training in non-violence which could serve the southern region of Africa.

#### **Direct Action**

Uncertainty remains as to when or whether a march in support of the strike in Northern Rhodesia will take place. This uncertainty cannot be magically removed. Practitioners of non-violence do not resort to mass struggle merely for the sake of being engaged in costly action and conflict. One very important reason for being *prepared* for mass non-violent resistance is that this may remove the need for resorting to it.

Concretely, the call for direct action may come at various points. The personnel of the Commission which will define the constituencies for the Northern Rhodesian elections may be such as to destroy in advance any confidence in its findings. The crisis may come later when the Commission reports its findings. It may come at any time when Welensky takes action which might make a peaceful election impossible. If a fair election is held in October and UNIP wins, there may still be an effort to nullify it which would call for non-violent resistance. Therefore the Brigade must not abandon the idea of taking part in direct action in support of Kaunda's programme, but rather must start at once to prepare systematically for taking part in it if and when a call comes.

In addition to some 50 volunteers from outside Africa there should be a number of people of national or international prominence available when the time for action comes. Jayaprakash Narayan and his wife are pledged to return to Tanganyika when the march takes place.

#### **Training Centre**

The Centre is an essential part of the direct action programme in Rhodesia. A beginning was made with a training programme at the time direct action seemed imminent. It fell into abeyance, however, as the situation changed. Now, as we must put life into preparation for mass action, we must also strive to secure quarters for a Centre and to organise a programme.

The perspective of the Centre must be broad and certainly should take

# WAR RESISTERS IN THE NEWS

LOUIS LECOIN

On June 1st, Louis Lecoin, the 74-year-old editor of the French pacifist journal *Liberté*, started a fast to secure the release of some 140 conscientious objectors who now find themselves in French prisons, some of whom have been there for periods of over three years. M. Lecoin has a long history of militant activity for all manner of libertarian causes. He supported the Sacco-Vanzetti Committee, the Ascaso-Durutti--Jover Committee, the Gary Davis Committee and founded Solidarité Internationale Antifasciste, and when he undertook the publication of *Liberté* immediately started a campaign for the legal recognition of conscientious objection.

On numerous occasions he has been called before the Courts for challenging the Government's policy on conscription and, on the latest occasion, for publishing a poem by the father of a young conscientious objector in support of his son's action. M. Lecoin told the Court that in an age when there was so much hooliganism amongst young people he was happy to find a father who was proud of his son.

In an open letter to General de Gaulle, M. Lecoin pointed out that he himself had admitted to the Abbé Pierre some three years ago that it was absurd and unworthy to continue to treat conscientious objectors like delinquents. "And", he added, "since then nothing has changed for them, although you are in a position to do everything. . . ." The General and several members of the Debré government had made it known that conscientious objectors would be liberated immediately after a "cease fire" in Algeria and would be assigned to social service. The war in Algeria is now ended. There are demands from all sides to grant amnesty to the political murderers of both the O.A.S. and the F.L.A. (the Algerian Nationalist Organisation) but no one, apart from such pacifists as Lecoin, has raised their voice for the conscientious objectors. France has always had a bad record in this respect and nearly 500 years of imprisonment have been inflicted upon C.O.'s since the beginning of the Algerian war. It was because the present French Government had remained deaf when reminded of promises previously made that M. Lecoin felt it his duty to undertake a hunger strike on the premises of the Committee for Aid to C.O.'s (Secours aux Objecteurs de Conscience), an organisation supported by Abbé Pierre and formerly by Albert Camus.

His fast lasted three weeks during which time interest in the plight of French C.O.'s was aroused throughout the world. French daily newspapers competed with each other to see which could produce the longest

in the whole situation in South, Central and East Africa. We must develop a Centre which seeks to spread the philosophy and practice of non-violence in all this region, whose staff will seek to be in contact with developments in these countries, to understand them and to help build non-violent movements in them by providing theoretical and practical training.

The Centre should both provide training for resistance to imperialism, injustice and war, and a constructive programme through which a new type of non-violent human community might develop. It should seek to be helpful to peoples once they have achieved independence and have the task of building a new life which will not again relapse into injustice and inequality.

The Centre should not be thought of or develop into a place where Europeans and Americans teach Africans, or Gandhians preach to non-Gandhians. It must be a place where a co-operative venture in mutual education goes on, and all members teach, learn and work. The curriculum would include such subjects as: the philosophy of non-violence; the anti-war movements in various countries; the Trade Union movements; discussion of how non-violent methods would be carried out in such actions as crossing the Tanganyikan/Rhodésian border; the history of the African struggle for independence; the cultures of Africa; the place of Africa in the modern world; a co-operative social order; practical Swahili; practical English. Alongside such programmes should go service projects such as community centres, constructive work and farming.

The Centre should have a well-equipped library, Jayaprakash Narayan has already guaranteed a full set of Gandhian books and pamphlets in English. Housing for 6-10 people, dormitory space for a minimum of 30 trainees to begin with, as well as some classrooms, dining and recreation rooms and library space should be provided.

If supporters are thinking that we are proposing a considerable staff and equipment which will require a substantial sum of money, our reply is that in view of the challenge which the situation in Southern and Central Africa presents to the Brigade (including the fact that both Russia and China and Western corporations and nations are paying a great deal of attention and putting money into this region) one cannot plan on a smaller scale than this.

In any situation in which there are political parties on the one hand and on the other a group committed to education and to the advancement of a philosophy and way of life, there are risks on both sides. The policies of a political party must be determined by its own leaders and members and should not be in the hands of any outside agency. The members of a group devoted to education must be free to pursue truth wherever it may lead. We believe that this situation is clear to those who are co-operating in the direct action project and in the training Centre. Should a political course be adopted which violated the conscience of the Brigade it would have to be free to dissociate itself. The Brigade, in carrying on the Centre for training in non-violence, on its part desires loyally to serve the independence movement, recognising that this is the basis of the support which it is receiving. It is deeply grateful for the opportunity to spread the philosophy of non-violence and to strive to apply it practically in this struggle.

discussion of the conscription issue. There were daily bulletins on the state of M. Lecoin's health.

Five other people, including M. Lecoin's daughter, Josette Beringer, and the well-known leader of the Communauté de l'Arche, Lanza del Vasto, joined the fast. At one stage Madame Beringer was summoned to the Palais d'Elysée by General de Gaulle and given a guarantee that legislation would be introduced before the end of the current Parliamentary session and that all objectors who had been in prison as long as three years would be released immediately. Then came other concessions and it now seems likely that almost all the 150 conscientious objectors in French prisons will be released very soon if they are willing to do alternative social service to help repatriated French settlers from Algeria. Few thought beforehand that the action of one individual in a country which becomes progressively more right-wing every week could possibly have any effect. They were proved wrong and now not only have conditions been improved for French C.O.'s but the position of those supporting non-violent methods in France has been considerably strengthened.

## HEINZ BRANDT

Heinz Brandt, editor of the West German Trades Union paper *Metall*, vanished from West Berlin on June 16th last year. It was learned that he had been arrested by the East German police "while executing an order of the Western news service". The Deutscher Friedensrat (East German Peace Council) says he is a spy for the Pentagon and the Federal Government. The Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer (V.K., one of the W.R.I. Sections in West Germany) says that he is an honest socialist and a defender of conscientious objectors. His record offers no evidence of extreme right-wing tendencies: 1933-34-worked underground against the Nazi régime; December 1938—sentenced to 6 years penal servitude by the Berlin Supreme Court; 1942-45—prisoner in Auschwitz, then in Buchenwald until released by the Americans; resident in East Berlin until he escaped to the west in September 1958; after 6 months in a refugee camp joined staff of *Metall*.

He is still being detained. His wife has not been allowed to contact him. His lawyer is not allowed to see him. An East German lawyer who tried to contact him has taken refuge in West Berlin. It is impossible to analyse all the facts behind this case and confusion is almost inevitable amid the intrigues of German politics but the W.R.I. felt it right and necessary to seek more information from the East German Minister of Justice. There was, however, no reply.

At the Annual General Meeting of the V.K. at Bielefeld an imaginative suggestion was made to obtain Herr Brandt's release. If he is set free immediately 52 skilled workers from West Germany are willing to work 3 months each in the Democratic Republic. Certainly Heinz Brandt must be held in high regard by his fellow workers and we must hope that some way can be found to secure his release and return to his family.

## REVIEWS

**BURNING CONSCIENCE**, by Claude Eatherly and Gunther Anders, with a Preface by Bertrand Russell and a Foreword by Robert Jungk, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 16/-. Editions in German and Swedish also available.

What would it be like if Eichmann had admitted his guilt and devoted his life, if it could have been spared, to anti-war work? Supposing Hitler, or some other despot famous for his butcheries, were to come back from the dead and try to awaken the conscience of the world, so that the crimes he was responsible for should (if he could help it) never happen again? It is difficult to imagine. Claude Eatherly, the bomber pilot who guided the American plane that carried the atom bomb to Hiroshima, is not quite in that category, yet he was implicated most closely and directly in one of the most frightful crimes that has ever been committed. Like Eichmann he obeyed orders, but unlike him, and unlike the other airmen concerned, he was horrified by what he had done, and has spent the rest of his life trying to atone for it. The ways he has chosen may not have been the wisest, but there can be no doubt of his sincerity.

This book is made up of a series of letters exchanged between him and a German philosopher, Günther Anders, and includes letters written by Günther Anders to various doctors and officials, including Mr. Robert Kennedy, the United States Attorney General, in an effort to get Eatherly released from the mental hospital in which he had been imprisoned, technically on account of his "disturbed" condition, but really to keep him from making bad publicity for the American government and its nuclear policy. The days of the Man in the Iron Mask and the Bastille are with us again, and "reasons of state" have been sufficient to keep Eatherly shut up. (Illegally, technically speaking, but then governments do not have to obey their own rules. Why should they? They have the power.)

Hearing of Eatherly's senseless but harmless breaches of the law, carried out as a form of protest, and of his imprisonment in hospital, Günther Anders wrote to him in sympathy. For, to Anders, Eatherly also was an "Hiroshima victim". The correspondence was carried on with great affection on both sides, though the two men had never met. One cannot help but agree with most of what both men have to say about wars, war-makers, nuclear bombs and the rest. Günther Anders is perhaps a little too inclined to stress the uniquely evil nature of the modern predicament. Most of the ages of men have seemed to be ages of moral decay to a large number of the people then living, and modern society would have nothing to teach either Machiavelli or Genghiz Khan. The "guiltless guilt" of which Anders speaks, though a particularly serious problem nowadays, since society is so complicated in its ramifications, is not a new problem.

The book ends with Eatherly's escape and recapture followed by a period when he appears to have been held *incommunicado* for nearly six months. Then there is a final exchange. The last letter in the book is dated July 11th of last year. Since then Anders has met Eatherly in Mexico and found that his confidence in his sanity and integrity was not misplaced.

Governments, when playing the Great Game of power politics, are capable of any atrocity. One of the things which stands out most clearly, and most sickeningly, in this correspondence is that the teachings of Freud can be almost infinitely corrupted to justify submission and conformity to a barbarous society. (The theories of Darwin were similarly perverted in the nineteenth century, in order to justify competitive capitalism.) Anders is insultingly described as having a "Dreyfus complex", while Eatherly's very natural remorse is termed a "guilt complex", instead of simply a "sense of guilt". So deeply has the jargon bitten into him, after years of confinement in hospital, that he applies the term to himself. To the doctors in the military hospital it is natural, I suppose, to describe a man who will not murder for his country as insane. In a world where everyone has more or less agreed that death is better than life, the one who objects is mad by the standards of his society.

Most of the readers of *War Resistance*, however, will agree with Bertrand Russell that "no unbiased person, after reading Eatherly's letters, can honestly doubt his sanity." What is amazing is that he stands alone. The rest of the bomber crew have returned to normal life. The pilot, who was said to have entered a monastery, in fact entered a chocolate factory—as a director. These men, who are so insensitive to what they have helped to do that they can return to normal life and continue as before, ought to be the ones whose sanity is in doubt.

**CHILDREN AND THE MYTHS OF WAR, a pamphlet by John Rae, published by the Friends Peace Committee, London, price 6d.**

John Rae, a British school teacher, gave a radio talk last year on the attitude of children to war, which was later published by the Friends.

He refers in the booklet to his attempt to get boys to see the point of a "World No-Killing Year". They thought the idea ridiculous and impractical. They had been brought up in a world indoctrined with the idea of inevitable killing. But John Rae is sure man can outgrow killing as he has outgrown cannibalism:

"This vision—naive, subversive, fantastic—whatever you choose to call it, can nevertheless be expressed in practical terms. As a schoolmaster I know to what extent a boy's attitude to life is moulded by his parents and teachers: and I honestly believe that by a fundamental change of attitude we could talk war out of existence. We have it in our power to start a process that would lead to a world without killers; a process that may take generations to complete."

"There has never been such good moment for mankind to start the education of its children away from war; the nuclear bomb has given us time to think and it has brought home to all but the most immature that war can no longer be thought of as a game; above all we now have the advantage of universal education. How should we use this opportunity? We could start by teaching all those children who look to us for guidance that killing is a weakness and an evil that man must learn to outgrow."

He believes that it is no use making plans to ensure peace if the next generation is being taught to accept war: "I believe that wars are made possible, not by megalomaniac dictators or religious fanatics or foolish politicians or blind patriots, but by the fact that the majority of people in the world have been brought up to accept war as a normal part of life."

## PEACE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The need for an International Bibliography on Peace and Non-Violence has been greatly felt for a long time. We have been receiving queries regarding literature on Peace and Non-Violence and questions related to it in different languages. Although we would very much like to keep ourselves up to date regarding the numerous books, pamphlets and articles that are being published every day, it seems almost impossible to do so. We do not have the necessary personnel to deal with all the different languages of the world. But the work is important and it must be done—as quickly as possible—because the need is great.

We therefore suggest that our Sections and interested persons do some hard work and, in consultation with as many knowledgeable persons as possible, compile a bibliography in their own languages. We want to devote a couple of pages of *War Resistance* for this purpose. If we succeed in covering important languages of the world, we would perhaps be able to publish a more or less comprehensive International Bibliography on Non-Violence in Peace and War.

We request all those who would be interested in this important task to start the ball rolling by letting us know about it. The W.R.I. will be glad to supply such persons with contacts from whom references and suggestion may be had.

The information to be given about each book or article may be in a form something like this:—

**Subject:** Biography (including autobiographies)

**Author:** Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

**Title:** My Experiments with Truth

**Publisher:** Navajiran Publications, Ahamadahad, India. Pages.....  
(.....edition)

**Description:** An account of Gandhi's experiments with non-violence and how he developed the techniques of non-violent living.

**Frau Erna Kalisch** who died at her home in South Denmark on October 4th 1961, will be remembered for the devoted pacifist work of herself and her husband between the two World Wars. They were the moving spirits in the German Section of the W.R.I., he as Editor of **Die Friedensfront** and **Der Kriegsdienstgegner** and she as Secretary in the years preceding Hitler's coming to power. In 1933 they escaped to Denmark, but only after, at great risk to themselves, they had destroyed, piece by piece, all documentary records which might have incriminated others.

During the German occupation of Denmark Dr. Arnold Kalisch was imprisoned by the Nazis but managed to escape to Sweden, where he was later joined by his wife and daughter. After the War they returned to Denmark, where the memorial plaque to British C.O's. who died in the First World War (now in the P.P.U. Headquarters in London), which they had brought from Germany, always occupied a proud position in their home. Arnold Kalisch died some years ago.