

Peace Education or Education for Peace

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Hiroshima Day

August 6, 1984

Devi Prasad

FOREWORD

'Peace Education or Education for Peace' is a two-fold title for this small book on a very big problem, in fact the biggest before mankind today.

The author deals with two aspects of the problem. Under 'Peace Education*' he deals with several disciplines, training and efforts which people dedicated to world peace have been adopting to combat the menace of war, absence of peace and socio-economic evils—ethnic, religious or cultural, and which often leads to violence and destruction of people and property.

The author has been active in opposing war. He has enriched the book with a wealth of detail which has never been brought together in this way. Here we have the pacifists who turned conscientious objectors against all kinds of war; we have those who trained themselves as nonviolent resisters to socio-economic evils in society; we have information on training and discipline of the satyagraha movement in India initiated by Gandhi; and a bibliography. There are also interesting details on how people were deluded into believing that they could escape the disasters if they build underground shelters.

The quality, the amount, and the varieties of information regarding the deadly effects of nuclear war, which have been flooding the mass media are enough to convince even a blockhead that there is no real remedy against its annihilating effects, and that prevention of such a suicidal war is the only effective remedy. It is suicidal because such a war is 'unwinnable'; as neither the victor, nor the vanquished will survive, as this kind of violence has lost its 'survival value' altogether.

Warnings against its disastrous effects were given by Einstein in his five-line letter to President Roosevelt. Dr J. Robert Oppenheimer had qualms of conscience even as he was on the job of manufacturing the 'Little Boy' which killed in a split second 70,000 inhabitants of Hiroshima on 6th August 1945 and the 'Fat Man' which devastated Nagasaki three days later. But instant

destruction apart, by 1983 more than two thousand Japanese victims had died of its after-effects. Its genetic effects have yet to be investigated.

On the eve of President Truman's fatal decision in 1945 to use the atomic bomb 32 scientists presented a signed document not to use the bomb at all on non-military targets and if used on a military target, never to use it without giving prior warning.

It was hardly realised that the whole question of war and peace between nations had undergone a sea-change. As the British Prime Minister Clement Atlee put it in his letter to Truman on 25th Sept., 1945, that the atom bomb has meant not a quantitative but a qualitative change in the nature of warfare, and that it was more destructive than anything the world had previously known. Even after 39 years, we have no effective defence either, and the capability of atomic weaponry is not the privilege of only one or two but five Powers. Its know-how is supposed to be with 35 nations.

With all the inventiveness of man and the mighty strides in science and technology no effective defence has yet been found. Like the 'fire-extinguisher', there is no 'bomb extinguisher' in sight! Politicians responsible for running governments of countries do not educate their people about the qualitative change in the nature of war. Instead, they are going ahead with more and more nuclear tests and with the arms race. Both, the politicians and the people are being deluded into seeking peace in what is called 'deterrence', similar to the old-time jargon called 'balance of power'. This is in spite of a warning given by the former U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara that in the "name of deterrence the big powers are walking straight into a deathtrap.

The tragedy of the world situation and of the four-and-a-half billion people inhabiting this earth is that the arms race is going on with the full knowledge of its consequences on account of the logic of the power-struggle. Since the remedy cannot be found in the external situation which is a logical consequence of the mutual fear and distrust within the political powers who are competing for ruling over the whole world, it has to be found in the minds of men and women and children whose very existence is at stake.

In the second part, the author puts emphasis on education for peace—for peace of mind; peace in the family, peace in society and peace between nations. Peace within the borders of a nation has been vouchsafed by vesting the monopoly of violent sanction in the Nation-State. It was sought to do the same (theoretically) through the United Nations Organisation by those powers who were the victors in the Second World War. But it has proved an abortive attempt. Although the emblem, they said, was 'to beat swords into ploughshares', it has become petrified into a beautiful sculpture at the Head Quarters of the U.N. It has now remained only a copy-book maxim. One-world government or a federation of free nations would perhaps be a solution!

It is in this area of thought and action that the educationist in the author of this book has a full play. Is there something tragic within the mind of the human being that drives him to aggression and violence? It is true that man has not yet cared to build a value-system which could guide his steps in using, instead of abusing, science and technology. It is not too late for the inner apparatus of man—his consciousness—to create a value-system which would use his energies only constructively.

Man is not only conscious but is self-conscious too, and he knows that he is so, and can therefore be a witness to what is going on in his consciousness. He has also developed a conscience, a kind of judgement centre for creating values.

It is his privilege to strengthen his will to stick to and promote values that he knows can take him to higher and nobler levels of consciousness, giving him a sense of fulfilment and perfection.

Gandhi was one of the foremost path-finders in this respects. Faced, as man is, with constructive and destructive forces in himself and in nature, love and hate, life and death, health and disease, joy and sorrow, man ought to ally himself with constructive forces. The positive and negative elements, the passions for good as well as evil are there in the known and unknown regions of the consciousness of man. It is for man, the moral being that he claims to be, to promote positive, life-giving and progressive urges without giving any leeway to the negative ones.

Nor is there any scope for man to despair when the scene seems to be so dark- For, even a cursory glance at the sociology of homo, sapiens reveals that millennia after millennia man has progressed from the stage when only a few in number lived in caves to over four billions now spread over in one hundred and sixty organised nations, with a United Nations he himself has created. It gives hope that the positive forces have proved their survival value.

Education for peace, therefore aims at promoting the positive urges in man such as search for truth, love, friendliness, cooperation, harmony and so on. We should be equally careful to see that urges which drive one to destroy and harm others are curbed and substituted by positive urges.

The book is obviously a work by a confirmed peace worker and who has to his credit an activist career in the field of world peace and a rich experience in Gandhi's educational experiments. This book is a good contribution both in the field of Peace Education and Education for Peace.

R.R. DIWAKAR

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of the year nineteen-eighty-two I was asked to give a talk on peace education at a conference in London. The organisers of the conference must have thought that as one who had some first-hand experience of the international peace movement, I'd be able to inform the conference on the activities of the various groups in different parts of the world working to educate their own constituencies on the horrors of war and the arms race, particularly of nuclear armaments. They may have been of the view that such information might strengthen their anti-war convictions and motivate them to do more to oppose their government's policies, and to influence others to do the same.

I accepted the invitation for two reasons. One, I had been in touch with some of the material being produced by peace education wings of many peace organisations and also with some special groups that had been set up to do investigations, in the field of nuclear weapons and their effects—social, economic and medical. Some groups were specifically working to provide material for the use of teachers in schools. Much of this material, I knew, was admirable. I thought that preparing for the talk would, be a good excuse to gather more up-to-date information for my own benefit too.

The other reason was of more importance. Tremendous admiration though I have for the work of the movement as a whole, I have always been feeling that, in spite of the hard work of so many devoted people it is not having the desired impact, either on the governments or on the population in general. Even though-sample polls often show that a good proportion of the population is against nuclear weapons, the reality is that when votes have to be cast the very political parties which are deep into the arms race always get the majority to form governments.

I came to the conclusion that the message we are giving to the public about the insanity of war and its preparations, although worries the people, it has not sunk into their minds and hearts; it has not been transmitted to that region of

their mind which deals with faith and trust, and which compels one to *act*. The message remains rather superficially imposed on their personality.

Hence I decided to place the problem before the conference along with a counter message which I had read sometime ago. It was a message sent by Maria Montessori to a peace conference in Paris in 1937. The gist of the message was that if the human potential were to be fully considered and developed there would not be any need for special encouragement to people for disarmament and opposition to war; because they would then not endure the degradation and moral corruption which is responsible for it. Active opposition to war would have then become part of their being.

In this book I shall try to analyse the essence of the message and put forward a proposal for action which might help in creating conditions whereby the processes of internalization of essential information will become natural and habitual. In other words I wish to propose that peace education, as we generally understand it, could be effective only if the processes of education, at all stages of development of the individual, would be geared to the consideration of all human potentials, cultivating the habits which would reject all immorality and the dehumanizing elements of war.

Peace is not just the absence of war. Nor can there be peace in the world if nations¹ live in tension with each other. We have an example right here in the South Asian region. There is nothing to suggest that India and Sri Lanka could go to war in the foreseeable future, but surely at present there is no peace between them. Nor is there the remotest possibility of Ireland and Britain going to war on the issue of Northern Ireland, although it has to be admitted that between them there is a great deal of tension. The same applies in global terms too.

There are conflicts, and there will always remain conflicts in our world. Until now war or the threat of war has been the major method of resolving international conflicts especially when they become acute. We must realise that though it is less dangerous than war, living by oneself in isolation cannot be the way to mutual peace. A latent conflict has always a possibility of

becoming potential. Nor can war be anymore the way to conflict resolution. War today has become a guarantee for disaster to *both* the parties. Moreover, nothing can bring peace as long as the opposing sides go on thinking of gaining advantage over one another. That kind of attitude is sure to escalate tension. The only way to peace, therefore, is to take a final decision that advantage or no advantage, living cooperatively is *the only way* to our survival as humans.

The above principle is generally accepted in relation to peace within families. Therefore, why should not the same apply to the larger family—the human family. Why is then so much talk about *reduction* of arms, bargaining with each other as to how many war-heads and tanks one would reduce, if the other side reduces so many, etc. etc.? Why then is the stupidity called MAD race?² How can deterring the other side by having more deadly weapons in greater numbers, bring peace ? Even if the insane theory of deterrence can be seen to be working, which is not true, it cannot guarantee enduring peace, which ought to be the goal. Although disarmament, even partial, can be useful in diverting some expenditure to social services and for eradicating poverty and disease, it cannot be a surety for making the world peaceful. That will happen only if nations take the final decision to abandon war and violence in favour of nonviolent resolution of conflict. Disarmament as such, at its best, can bring that peace which is based on the principle of *live and let live*; but adherence to nonviolence *will* introduce and enhance the spirit of *living in mutual cooperation*.

Peace cannot be effective if it is considered only in terms of international relations. There must be peace within a country or a society, for a peaceless community cannot live in cooperation with other communities. Peace education, therefore, has to address itself also to the problem of the internal peace of a society. It should define the essentials of a peaceful society. To be able to explain it better, I will endeavour to first describe what I think *does not* make a society peaceful: A social order which encourages violent responses from individuals against other individuals and which tries to solve its internal problems by the use of violence and terror cannot make a peaceful society.

Let us look at the issue from a different angle. It is not difficult to envisage a society in which people behave in an orderly way; where rather than solving conflicts on the principle of *might is right* people go to law-courts in an effort to settle their disputes; where there is fair amount of police vigilance to minimise crimes such as stealing, abducting of children and flesh-trade; where it is made easy enough for people, especially women and children, to move about without fear of mugging, rape or abduction; a society in which people have not to bribe to buy a few bags of cement or fertilizers; a society in which people prepared to do their day's work honestly, have not to live in want. If, however, all this happens on account of the notion that they are being watched by the "big brother", it will not be an order which is peaceful, precisely because *fear* would be the ordering principle of that society.

In other words the absence of crime and physical violence among people at large is not a sufficient enough condition for the creation of a peaceful world. A total absence of the "big brother" is another basic requirement for such a change. Violence is usually understood to mean bodily injury inflicted deliberately. The injury can vary in degrees. It can be anything from a minor hurt to a most painful death. It can also be a prison sentence, whereby one is physically prevented from living a normal life. But violence can also be psychological the effect of which can be as painful as that of physical violence. There is yet another kind of violence—that which is built into the social structure itself. Apparently these different forms of violence have the same impact on human relations. Killing a person by a bullet, on the electric chair or by starvation is practically the same. In one case death occurs instantaneously, in the other case gradually. Both are means of physical destruction. Economic deprivation, racial and sexual discrimination, the caste system as it is today in India or other parts of the world, all make the society violent, for all these practices are destructive to human life and human relations.

There is a parable in the New Testament (Mathew, XX 1-14) in which the lord of a vineyard employs labourers as and when they come to seek work during the day. All of them finish work at the same hour but all receive a penny each

for whatsoever time they might have worked. Moreover, those at the bottom who started work in the last hours of the day receive their wages first. In the evening the lord asks his steward: "Call the labourers and give them their hire"; which he has decided will be the same for everyone. It is a beautiful concept, particularly when one thinks of the period which the parable relates to. But can it apply to the present situation?

The snag about the Biblical parable is that it required a "lord of the vineyard" to *order* an equal distribution of wages to all the workers. As long as there are people at the top to take decisions there will be the need for stewards and the like to see that the decisions of the lords are carried out effectively and promptly. It is risky to depend upon a lord, even if he is a benevolent one, for in a society in which decisions are made at the top, there will have to be special *institutions to enforce* those decisions.

Two of the essential institutions then would have to be the police and the military. In other words, society will continue to have a pyramid-like structure, of which the military will be the final sanction, implying thereby that it cannot become peaceful, hence warless, unless the people can get the lords, the decision-makers, off their backs.

How can we do that? By violence? The answer to this question could have been 'yes' about a hundred years ago. Today it can no longer be given in the affirmative, because violence in the modern society has become a self-perpetuating force. It goes on escalating unendingly. Its character has drastically changed, and so also our political thinking. Traditional politics have become power oriented and not directed to the good of *all* and *each* of the individuals in the society. The individual has lost self-confidence and feels totally helpless as an actively participating member of the community—one who has the possibility of taking decisions on matters that concern one's own life.

Most political philosophers draw blue prints of their Utopias. They then try to construct social structures on the basis of these blue prints which require people to fit into set patterns, thus denying any creativity on their part. Such

kinds of structures are bound to end up in authoritarian and violent social relationships, growth of power politics and militarism— a source of war.

1. Existence of the nation state is at present a reality, but hopefully we will reach the stage which Vinoba Bhave called Jai Jagat. He also recognised only two units: the village and the world.
2. MAD=(Mutual Assured Destruction) a disarmament jargon coajctci with the theory of deterrence.

PART ONE

PEACE EDUCATION –an overview

1 Peace Research

Total military expenditure of countries the world over is well above 1.3 billion U.S. dollars¹ a day. In addition to this a very large amount is spent on just the propaganda for recruitment. Expenditure for informing the population about the services and security the military provides must also come to an enormous amount. As compared to this sum, the resources available to voluntary organisations and individuals for doing research into the causes and effects of war and for disseminating such information to the wider public is almost negligible. Except for a very few peace research outfits, e.g. SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute supported by the Swedish Government), peace organisations all over the world work on shoe-string budgets; the money raised for their work being given generally by concerned individuals. Most of them manage with only one or two staff members with much of their work being carried out by volunteers. Yet, their output is impressive both in quantity as well as quality.

In this chapter we shall try to have an overview of the work for peace and against war being done by various bodies under different categories.

Peace Research

In 1955 Theo Lentz published *Towards a Science of Peace*. It was probably the first work which tried to point out "the intimate relationship between science and peace, in the full sense of scientific method, knowledge, attitude, and application on the one hand and, on the other, the peaceable realization of human possibilities through peaceful cooperation, as well as the mere prevention of war".² Lentz emphasised on the need for exploring the potentials of human sciences, such as social sciences, psychology and anthropology, with a view to discovering better methods of social and economic cooperation and greater human fulfilment. He pointed out that the tragic plight of mankind is

due to the ever widening discrepancy in the development of physical power and social harmony, which makes conflict more intolerably dangerous and disastrous. To this the answer is scientific research, a process in which disciplined curiosity makes the utmost use of intelligence to formulate, develop and progressively answer relevant questions by the aid of purposeful observation and reason.

Lentz stressed that peace action "cannot take place unless individuals *act*, and *act cooperatively*. Pertinent behaviour on the part of a few 'common men of uncommon courage' in each of many communities could generate dynamic nuclei of humanistic and scientific sanity. Such grass-root groups, if suitably designed and adequately 'advertised' could add up to a World-Wide Society for the Promotion of a Science of Peace"³. In the last chapter of the book he stated that the most immediate need of this world is the elimination of war. He put forward seventeen propositions, which gave a practical programme, for the acquisition of knowledge necessary for a speedy and deliberate elimination of the unbearable curse of war and for the redirection of our intellectual resources that might quickly produce this knowledge. There was a great need for faith in democracy but democracy without science, as Lentz said, was stupidity. Similarly, science without democracy was insanity. "Faith in the discoverability of such knowledge is conditioned by our faith inhuman intelligence and our faith in science or the improvability of intellectual method. All this is conditioned by our faith in democratic motivation to channel properly our intellectual energy and to redirect our scientific enterprise in ways that will yield the necessary knowledge..."⁴. He rightly said that survival requires functional unity of our faith in science and our faith in democracy.

At the end of the book Lentz extended an invitation to his readers to send their reactions as well as constructive suggestions for the next best steps. "Together", he said, "we may yet hold back the curtain of darkness that threatens to engulf our civilization. Let us act upon our faith in man and his destiny. For purposes of moral support we need to become more fully aware of each other"⁵.

I do not know how many responses Lentz received to his invitation, but I have no doubt that his book gave to many people a deep insight into the question of peace and war, which, until then, had remained more or less on sentimental level. Many peace activists moved into the field of peace research. The early sixties saw the setting up of peace research institutes such as the one in Norway and the other in Canada. In 1959/60 the Institute for Gandhian Studies had already been started in India. These institutes published peace research journals along with other material.

Most well known and notable in this field is the Stockholm Institute for Peace Research, Sweden (SIPRI), set up in 1966. It is an independent institute for research into problems of peace and conflict, with particular attention to the problem of disarmament and arms regulation. It has been publishing authentic material in the form of books, brochures and pamphlets in large quantity, which includes the *World Armament and Disarmament SIPRI Yearbook*, probably the most comprehensive reference book coming out every year since 1968.

By the end of the sixties dozens of universities, especially in the United States of America, started their own peace programmes, peace centres, nonviolent conflict resolution, etc. Lentz had also underlined the need for cooperation among peace researchers. He asked: "If survival depends upon peace, if peace depends upon peace know-how, if the know-how depends upon peace research, and if peace research depends upon our faith in peace research—upon what does this faith depend?"

"It depends", he said, "above all else, upon inter-communication among those who possess enough of it to say so. The great danger is that those who believe will not recognise one another. The great need is for the believers to pool their moral and intellectual and financial resources. He who has discovered his faith in the scientific search for peace must find other believers. Contact with others of like faith is indispensable on two counts. First, morale is vital. Awareness of and confidence in others of similar intention is essential to one's

courage. Second, war elimination is a cooperative job. Cooperation is never possible without consciousness of common purpose"⁶.

In the past two decades interchange of ideas and information has grown to a considerable proportion. Much has happened in terms of internationalising this activity. Publication of information with analysis and proposals is being done by many organisations, and such material is piling up in the libraries and archives of peace research centres, peace movements and private collections, which have come into existence in hundreds all over the world, especially in the West. A good proportion of this literature is of high quality—authentic and convincing. It is also widely and easily available.

In the academic world too there is now a trend towards working on this issue. Quite a good number of post-graduate students have been taking up research work for their masters or doctorate theses on topics concerning with War, Peace and Nonviolence. The film on Gandhi by Attenborough aroused much interest in nonviolence, thus resulting in the formation of Gandhi/nonviolence study circles in several colleges and universities.

It might be relevant to mention that many of the workers in the peace research field have been peace activists before taking to research work. What this shows is that activists in the peace movement have been conscious about the theoretical aspects of their work and aware of the need for looking at it in a scientific manner. However, once one goes into the academic field it becomes difficult to continue to be an activist or even keep in touch with the practical problems of the movement. Is it also likely that in today's given situation academic work kills the spirit of activism? Whatever may have been the reason during the first decade of the peace research a gap between the two became evident. This gap still continues, though it has become somewhat narrow. It can be attributed to the tendency among researchers in general to consider activists incapable of an analytical approach to their own work. On the other hand, the activists think that the lot of peace research is too theoretical and has very little to do with the actual problems they face.

Towards the end of the sixties some of the leaders of the two sides became conscious of this drift and started establishing a dialogue between themselves with a view to bringing them together and giving each other mutual help. Whether they have come together or not is a difficult question to answer, but it is true that more and more peace research workers are becoming aware of the need to make their work movement- oriented. More than anything else the nuclear issue is making it essential that peace researchers in every field look at the issue via their own discipline and do 'something' about it. It is this doing 'something' that will and to some extent is filling up the gap.

18 training for peace and nonviolence: resource material

2.1 training manuals

Every peace action, to be carried out efficiently, needs some kind of training, be it in the form of short or more thorough briefing. The seriousness and the extent of training depends upon the situation and character of the planned campaign or action. Nonviolent struggles in India developed their own traditions and methods of training volunteers. The Land Gift movement inspired thousands of men and women, many of whom already had some experience of the national freedom struggle. Nevertheless, a much larger number of them had to learn new methods of campaigning which were specially suited for the collection and distribution of land to the landless. Some training literature was newly produced and made widely available. Similarly, when some of the North American groups started adopting nonviolence in their struggle for peace and justice, a tradition of training and with it literature began to develop. Charlie Walker's handbook, *Organising for Nonviolent Direct Action*, first published in mimeographed form in early 1961, as far as my information goes, was the first such material produced in the West. In October the same year, the Committee of Hundred in Britain published Anthony Weaver's booklet: *Schools for Nonviolence*. It posed the different questions an advocate of nonviolent civil disobedience should ask and prepare reading lists from which answers could be found. The booklet served the purpose of widening the scope of studies in nonviolence.]n India Narayan Desai published A Hand Book for Shanti Sainiks in India, more or less on the lines of the Walker booklet, but later, Desai improved it on the basis of his own experience as a trainer. The black movement in the South of the U.S. must have also developed such literature during its 1955/56 Montgomery bus strike. Apparently, systematic training sessions in conjunction with their campaigns were organised by them.

Until 1965, however, these efforts remained somewhat localised and on a small scale. In the summer of 1965 an international conference on training in

nonviolence took place in Italy organised by the War Resisters' International. The WRI also started publishing a quarterly bulletin⁷ as a coordinating organ for the nonviolent training movement. This was probably the beginning of the movement of training in nonviolent action, which is now playing a significant role in the nonviolent movement against war and injustice. It has spread internationally and has become a point of contact and mutual cooperation between various nonviolent groups in different parts of the world. Again in June/July 1970, the WRI organised an international seminar on the subject to review the various types of training that was being given in different regions and for different situations. A memorandum was prepared asking the peace movements "to collect written materials on training and to¹ publish certain materials; to develop an inventory of trainers and researchers to plan, evaluate training programmes and methods and exchange ideas ; to help in arranging tours whose central focus is training; to aid in exchange of trainers; to help link training and action movements; to help develop training programmes for transnational actions; and to sponsor and arrange regional and/or international training conferences."⁸

The quality of literature published by several training groups is high. In its understanding of the issues, both political as well as social, it has reached a good-level of sophistication. In quantity it is so great that even if a comprehensive bibliography were to be attempted it would become out-dated in no time, as more and more material is being rapidly produced and the old one updated.

It might be useful to look into some of the points about its quality. For instance, the Movement for a New Society, U.S., published a manual with over three hundred and fifty pages in 1978. *The Resource Manual for Living Revolution* was prepared by a group of four members of MNS—Coover, Deacon, Esser and Moore. In some ways, it reflects the same spirit that one feels in reading Lentz. Its Preface starts with the following words: "This manual is for people who are concerned or angered by the deterioration of our society and who, because they have some sense that their efforts can have an effect for

change, are looking for tools to transform it. It is a working reference for those who are prepared to act to create a better life for themselves and others." The authors are peace activists who say that the manual is a reflection of themselves in process. "The tools in the manual are ones which we have used in our own organising and growth efforts. We have tried to convey throughout the book that the building of a fully human society is complex and will be long and demanding, but that it can be done by people working together and supporting each other." The group realizes that the way to peace is a tough one and cannot be covered overnight. But they are inspired people, highly optimistic, who believe in scientific methods and the need for cooperative processes.

The MNS manual covers a very wide range of human and organisational factors for the training of individuals and groups interested in nonviolent social change, for short term as well as long term campaigning. It helps in studying case- histories of past nonviolent actions round the world; working out one's own political analyses, theories of social change and vision of a new society on the one hand, and on the other, it gives guidance in techniques of group management, conflict resolution, creating new tools, inter-communication, public relations, and skills required in running groups, centres, offices, communal life, public speaking, etc. An important feature of the manual is that it fosters a rational approach and tries to convey to the prospective trainee that whenever a problem is to be faced it is essential to go into the source of the trouble. For instance, in the section on developing a theory, it says, "A thoughtfully developed theory for change is of key importance for effective action. When the going gets rough it is those with a theory and vision who tend to stay with the struggle and keep their action consistent with their original intentions..."⁹

When examining a theory of social change, the manual asks that one consider factors such as: the nature of human beings; the nature and source of power, truth and authority; the analysis of the causes of social problems; the role of individuals and institutions in social change; the vision of the way it can or

should be; and the mechanisms of -change, existing and potential. In other words the authors have not only suggested techniques, but have also tried to develop a philosophical and critical approach on which to base action programmes. They have included a constructive programme which would give the group and its members the moral authority to mobilize community opinion in their favour.

Another manual is the one called *Alternatives to Violence Training Manual*, a programme for prison residents, designed as a loose-leaf binder in which new pages can be added or changed with more updated ones. Produced by the Alternatives to Violence Programme, New York, it is a constantly growing handbook—periodically updated with material which grows with the growing practical experience of the people who are working in prison situations. The basis on which this group works is called *Transforming Power*, which is "a spirit of caring. To 'transform' means to 'change'. This is opening the door of the spirit to change negatives to positives."

In the section on the use of transforming power the group aims to end discrimination against anyone because of race, creed, economic status, lack of education or any other person. It wants every person to have an equal opportunity to earn his or her daily bread, to have a good education, adequate medical service and a chance to do creative work. Above all, it seeks to bring into the world a spirit of caring for every other person just because he or she is a person. We believe that the miracle of life in each deserves to be revered and cultivated by all."

"We believe that the prime method for accomplishing this revolution should be to draw out of people a new spirit of caring. Without this, destruction of the system would be futile and will only give rise to another system based on exploitation which could be even worse than the present one... The end of a beloved community could not be achieved by a non-caring means like violent destruction of the system..."

"There is a way by which we can test whether this spirit of caring is our bag; that is whether we want to make it a part of our life style. This test is to

examine our deepest feelings relating to life. We can look at living things from lower to higher forms, and decide at what point our feelings of caring begin. Take, for example, a cabbage, a fly, a snake, a kitten, a chimpanzee and a person. Think carefully about putting a knife through each one and examine your feelings as you do it. Your feelings won't mislead you. If the idea upsets you, you care for that kind of life. If caring is thus your basic reaction, why not train yourself to live the way you really are –deep down?"¹⁰

There is much emphasis on the role of conscience in the methods and thinking of this group. "Every proposed action should be tested by the question of whether it will transform. No matter how we may feel outraged by some evils or wish to express our hatred for the wrong doer, we must test our public reactions to these evils by asking whether such reactions will be likely to change the minds of our opponents or of the neutral public. If not, we should devise more effective reactions. But if we wish to abolish evil, it cannot be our conscience which urges us to do something that will make it worse. It may be our indignation, our anger, our carelessness, but certainly not our conscience. In the use of transforming power, therefore, the question whether tactics will transform is a question of conscience itself—a question of substance bearing directly on our main concern for creation of the beloved community."¹¹

The strength of the AVT manual is its greater emphasis on developing moral power as against physical power. It is of particular importance because the manual is prepared for prisoners, who, by definition, are generally subjected to more intense violent treatment than the average person outside prisons.

The above two manuals illustrate the high quality of the contents and techniques which are being developed by the training movement. For those interested, such literature is available widely and in abundance.

2.2 handbooks and other publications

There are now innumerable manuals, handbooks, and resource material that provide the kind of information which strengthens arguments against nuclear weapons. The State keeps much information about matters of defence away from the public. In most countries such information is considered classified which is not to be disclosed to the public. There are laws against such disclosures, carrying harsh penalties, even upto that [of treason. Yet, the peace movement thinks that it becomes absolutely necessary to gather such information which concerns the survival of the human race against nuclear war.

A section of the activists and researchers within the movement have been constantly collecting and disseminating such information publicly. For example three lecturers of the Peace Studies School of the University of Bradford wrote a book entitled *As Lambs to the Slaughter*, dealing with facts about nuclear war and weaponry. It is an encyclopaedic report which attempts "to present information concerning nuclear weapons, their availability and likely effects, the increasing risk of nuclear war and the failure of attempts at nuclear disarmament. It is primarily a factual account but we also put forward some proposals for approaches to global nuclear disarmament proposals which we believe are as realistic as they are necessary."¹²

The authors state: "Decisions on defence are made by a few members of the Cabinet. Yet they represent the result of heavy 'expert' pressures applied to them by military, technological and manufacturing interests. They also reflect the political doctrines of the party in power and considerable pressure from the United States. Thus we have been committed to the highly controversial £6 billion Trident system. Yet we, the people, who have to pay for such systems, and, more importantly, live or die by their consequences, *neither* we nor our elected parliamentary representatives, nor even the full cabinet are consulted."¹⁸

The book also raises a question and answers it: ..."What reasons have we to think that those politicians, who, in successive cabinets, have given Britain

almost the lowest standard of living in Europe, the highest unemployment, the worst civil violence and who have failed us in so many ways are likely to be any more competent in the field of defense? Do they merit our confidence? I doubt it. When I hear our arms production defended in terms of its contribution to our balance payments, through sales to the Third World, I feel ashamed and enraged. What kind of morality is this? What form of logic drives the leaders of the Super Powers to arm, rather than talk? Are they exemplifying the classic political need to divert attention from crumbling domestic policies by focusing it abroad?"¹⁴ The "report" recommends that we should interest ourselves in our own survival and reject the propaganda of officialdom and the misleading smooth talk such as contained in the Home Office publication *Protect and Survive* (There will be a brief mention of this pamphlet later). *As Lambs to the Slaughter* has some drawings which make the arguments effective and interesting reading, and it can be profitably used for high school students to teach them about nuclear weapons.

Another publication, *The Disarmament Handbook*, gives a detailed account of military technology and its organisation. It does not claim any original insight, as the author himself says, but it does "contain a mass of information and ideas from other people...". According to Andrew Wilson who is an Associate Editor of 'The Observer' (London) the aim of the handbook is "to give everyone engaged in fighting the arms race (or following moves to reverse it) a compendium of facts with which to be as expertly informed as any professional who opposes them, whether on technology, military organisation or the logic of nuclear deterrence : in short, the disarmers' equivalent of what the British army once called its Field Service Pocket Book, a stand-by for every situation."¹⁶

The first chapter of the Wilson Handbook, Psychology of War, goes into the theories of aggression. The second deals with the theories and history of war and also gives a list of 158 wars fought in the 20th century. The book contains notes—though briefly—sometimes too briefly, on most of the questions one thinks of at the time of organising a campaign or preparing a statement against

the menace of war. Wilson also discusses non-military alternatives for national defence. In the postscript he writes: "...One thing I knew was that there could be no situation in which I or anyone else would be morally justified in pressing the trigger that would incinerate millions of fellow human beings. And if that was so, what had I been doing by supporting a system that—for its very credibility—was designed to ensure that the trigger would be pressed when the time comes?..."

"If I were today just planning my life, instead of having enjoyed myself as a journalist, I would 'surely seek a place in that branch of peace studies concerned with the dynamics of conflict. Not only is it the most fundamental form of research needed for our survival; it is also, I believe, the most exciting intellectually.

"But important as research may be to the long-term solution of our problem of how to survive as a species, we are not all academics; nor can we afford to wait for the emergence of some general Keynesian-type peace theory before doing something about it.

"The time remaining in which to avert disaster is visibly short. To say that we have only *x* years is to propose an impossible exactitude. Better to say that what we have depends on our immediate efforts.

"All we can do immediately, and *must* do, is to apply a brake: to buy time, and then more time, in which to find a formula for international co-existence, such as we have found, despite our Hobbsenian nature, for civic co-existence. This is not something that can be carelessly left to political leaders—least of all those responsible for our welfare at the time this is written.

"Action for survival has to begin with our own individual efforts—in a dialogue of persuasion with our fellow citizens, in standing up to be counted in public demonstrations, in active membership of any one of the many organisations dedicated to the promotion of peace ; above all, when elections are on us, in the giving or withholding of our vote."¹⁶

In 1976 the Government of Britain published: *Protect and Survive*, which recommended methods of making "your home and your family as safe as possible under nuclear attack", and described methods of building make-shift to more sophisticated shelters. Its advice was to stock enough food for fourteen days, keep a portable radio with spare batteries, a tin opener, warm clothing, pots and pans and a portable toilet seat etc. But its first sentence was: "Everything within a certain distance of a nuclear explosion will be totally destroyed. Even people living outside, this area will be in danger from heat and blast...."¹⁷

How could a responsible government publish such a *handbook*, "knowing full well that there is in fact no protection whatsoever against a nuclear attack, that in an all-out nuclear attack millions would have perished even before they can retaliate with their nuclear arsenal. Yes, some people were deluded into building shelters in their homes. Once I asked a friend: why was she going to build one? She felt embarrassed and said that it was only for her psychological satisfaction. She knew that the idea of a shelter, particularly the one that she could afford, was ridiculous, a waste of that money which could be made better use of by the anti-nuclear weapons movement.

Soon after this booklet appeared in the market, E.P. Thompson, the well-known historian and a leader of the anti-nuclear campaign, wrote *Protest and Survive*. It is an inspired and informed answer to the propagators of nuclear weapons and those who talk of these weapons as the only deterrent against the possibility of a third world war. I quote just a few paragraphs from the 30-page pamphlet. Thompson writes: "I must first explain that the strategy of nuclear warfare has now become a highly specialized field of study, which has developed its own arcane vocabulary, together with a long list of acronyms: CEP, MIRV (multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicle), IBCM (inter-continental ballistic missile), ECCM (electronic counter-counter measure), MEASL (Marconi-Elliott Avionics Systems), and as the plum of them all MAD (mutual assured destruction).

"In this vocabulary nuclear weapons are sub-divided into several categories: *strategic*—the inter-continental missiles of immense range and inconceivable destructive power, which may be submarine-launched or sited in silos and on tracks behind the Urals or in the Nevada desert: *theatre* (long, middle or short range), which may be bombs or missiles, carried on aircraft or permanently sited, or moved around at sea or on land on mobile launch platforms; and *tactical*. Sometimes NATO strategists refer to 'theatre' weapons as 'tactical' ones, and sometimes they are referring to smaller battlefield nuclear (and neutron) devices—land-mines, artillery shells, etc., which could be mixed in with "conventional weapons".

"These several degrees of weaponry form 'a chain of deterrence', Mr. Pym, the Defence Secretary, spoke in the House of Commons on January 24, (1980) of an interlocking system of comprehensive deterrence...a clear chain of terrible risk', with the pistol and the grenade at one end and the MX missile at the other...¹⁸

Thompson does not suggest "that Russian missiles are not multiplying, nor that they are not menacing to us. They are both. My point has been to illustrate the logic of deterrence; and to emphasise that the whole basis of our information is corrupt, and that every official statement, on both sides, is either an official lie or a statement with direct propagandist intent which conceals as much as it reveals."¹⁹

"The entire 'debate' in Britain was conducted in the press and television on the basis of letting the people believe that there was a massive buildup of Soviet SS-20s and Backfire bombers, all aimed at 'NATO' (but with the United States, the dominant power in NATO, removed from the equation), and that NATO's programme of nuclear weapon 'modernization' was a tardy and inadequate response to this. Nothing at all was mentioned, in the general press, as to this little addition to the Western sum ("2,000 or 3,000 missiles") as part of "a huge strategic triad."²⁰

Thompson says that he does not want to write about the consequences of nuclear war at length because "at some point very deep in their consciousness,

readers *already know* what the consequences of these weapons are. This knowledge is transmitted to children even in their infancy, so that as they run around with their space weapons and death rays they are re-enacting what happened thirty years before they were born."

"There is, however, one area of convenient forgetfulness in this inherited memory. The moment of nuclear detonation is remembered vaguely, as a sudden instant of light, blast and fire, in which instantly tens of thousands of lives were quenched. It is thought of as a stupendous but instantaneous moment of annihilation, without pain or emotional suffering."

"But this is not accurate. It is now estimated that 140,000 were killed "directly" by the bomb on Hiroshima, and 170,000 by that on Nagasaki,...But the bombs were dropped on August 6 and 9; and the accounts for *immediate* casualties were closed on December 31, 1945. This reflects the fact that a very great number of these deaths especially those from burns and radioactivity—took place slowly, in the days and weeks after the event..."²¹

"After this we still have to consider the future of tens of thousands who have died subsequently from the after-effects of that day—chiefly leukemia, various cancers, and diseases of the blood and digestive organs. Some *hibakashu* suffer from the direct consequences of wounds and burns, others from premature senility, others from blindness, deafness and dumbness, others are incapable of working because of nervous disorders, and many are seriously mentally deranged..."²²

I have come to the view that a general nuclear war is not only possible but probable, and that its probability is increasing. We may indeed be approaching a point of no return when the existing tendency or disposition towards this outcome becomes irreversible"²³

E. P. Thompson appeals: "We must generate an alternative logic, an opposition at every level of society. This opposition must be international and it must win the support of multitudes. It must bring its influence to bear upon the rulers of the world. It must act, in very different conditions, within each national state; and on occasion, it must directly confront its own national state apparatus."²⁴

2.3 movement journals and newsletters

Peace journals, the number of which would probably be quite large, published in various languages, are of prime importance for the propagation of peace and anti-war activities. Their importance is not so much in terms of providing information as such, but in giving some idea to the public, as to what is happening in the peace movement. Their aim is to present new perspectives and options open to people to organise themselves in opposition to war and its supportive institutions. These journals and newsletters, like most nonviolent peace movements themselves, try to inculcate hope and they project plans and programmes of campaigns by which that hope can be materialized.

Most of these journals give details of activities, calendar of events, opportunity for open discussion and ideological dialogue. Though a selected list has been included at the end of the book, I shall describe a few in some details here. For instance the message conveyed by *Manas* and *Peace News* can keep our imagination and courage alive.

Manas projects a philosophy of life which is fundamentally peaceful and which generates understanding between people and people and the spirit of peace and nonviolence. Published from Los Angeles, USA, as a weekly, but with a gap of two months in between—July and August, it is in its thirty-seventh year. It has kept up its looks and quality through all these years.

Peace News is now an independent fortnightly. It was first started in the mid-thirties as an organisational weekly journal of the British Peace Pledge Union. It represents the radical nonviolent/pacifist point of view, and tries to put forth a perspective of a nonviolent revolution for social change. It is a newsletter, a forum, an organ for intellectual debate and a vehicle of community living with good coverage on the feminist movement, movement for gay liberation, ecology, appropriate technology, etc.

The Gandhi Peace Foundation of India has been publishing. *Gandhi Marg* in English and Hindi since the late fifties. Its emphasis is on the different aspects

of Gandhi's work and thought. Presently both the editions come out as monthlies.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament publishes *Sanity*. Started at the time the CND was founded in the late fifties, it is presently the major organ of the anti-nuclear campaign in U.K. Of the several newsletters available today, *Disarmament Campaigns* is an international monthly newsletter on actions against the arms race. Started about five years ago under the auspices of Nonviolent Alternatives, Belgium (an international organisation, no longer functional), the Newsletter has continued to appear regularly and is becoming increasingly useful. It is now based in The Hague, Netherlands. Its main function is to report on the issues of disarmament—general as well as nuclear and also to list a calendar of forthcoming events. Additionally, it gives latest information on regional problems. For example, its May 1984 issue takes up Latin America: which country there receives arms from where and what kind of campaigns are being organised by the peace movements of the exporting countries. It has given an Arms Export/Import Chart with much details. One thing important to know about this newsletter is that it is oriented to nonviolence, and hopefully it will continue to be so. It is an independent journal, both financially as well as editorially.

Paz Y Justicia is a monthly newsletter published by SERVICIO, which is the main organisation in Latin America for coordinating the work of all the non-violent movements. It comes out from Argentina in Spanish. The journal of the Italian nonviolent movement, *Azione Nonviolenta* is oriented to the wider movement, but its emphasis is on radical nonviolence and anti-militarism. *Resurgence*, a monthly from Britain started in the sixties as an organ of 'the fourth world', is important for its approach to the building of a counter-culture based on nonviolence and decentralism.

Peace Education Newsletter in Britain is published jointly by four major peace groups. Its Spring '81 issue, for example, is full of information on the arms race. One of the articles is a historical note on the progress of the disarmament movement; one is on the nuclear arsenals and their potentials;

another is on the question of alternatives to military industry; and yet another on alternative to military defence. This newsletter is also directed to schools and contains useful teaching suggestions. It is so well planned with work-sheets multiple choice questionnaires etc. that any teacher interested in the peace issue should find it useful. An imaginative teacher would easily be able to correlate the information in his or her class, even within the framework of the existing school syllabus.

There is indeed an increasing interest in peace education among other groups, namely those engaged in development, world studies and world government. The World Studies Resource Centre in Leicestershire, Britain, brought out a special issue of *World Studies* on peace education. It showed that more and more people are worried about the insane way governments are acting on matters which relate to human survival. Quite justifiably they think that dissemination of information is a useful way of expressing anxiety and indignation.

2.4 audio-visual material

The first organisation that comes to my mind is NARMIC (National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex), a project of the American Friends Service Committee, set up at the beginning of the sixties. NARMIC provides educational resource material and information on U.S. foreign policy and defence. It helps activists as well as researchers engaged in action programmes around the country. It has information on something like one hundred largest defence contractors, a state-by-state list of more than eight hundred firms that manufacture or export ammunition. Some of the pamphlets the NARMIC has published are : How to research in our Local War Industry; Atom for Peace—Atom for War; The New Generation of Nuclear Weapons; Marketing the Nuclear Nightmare; and The Military Industrial Atlas of the United States (a series of maps). The project has a number of audio visual items in sets of slides, films, and video cassettes. They have also made a set of slides called "Acceptable Risk?" and another "Sharing Global Resources".

The Concord Films Council in Britain aims to promote the use of film as a tool for social change. It has a library of films with over two thousand titles, which can be hired by anyone interested in them. These titles cover subjects such as peace, nuclear weapons, nuclear power, third world, and ecology. The Council also has voluntary projection groups in more than a dozen regions of Britain.

The film van of the Peace Pledge Union in Britain is a unique enterprise. It is always on the move showing films on the topic of peace and allied subjects in schools, public halls, private gatherings, and street corners. Green Mountain Post Films in Turners Falls, Mass, USA, is a similar project. They have a catalogue of material available with them. Their aim is education, and they try to organise their activities around the issues of nuclear power, environment and peace. They produce and distribute media resources, primarily films.

The BBC made a short scientific film on the theme of nuclear attack on London. It imagined a one megaton nuclear bomb bursting one mile above the dome of the famous St. Pauls Cathedral, which is in the very centre of the city.

By creating simulated situations it showed what would happen instantaneously, within three seconds of the blast and after that period. It also showed what would happen to the Cathedral, to the area of a radius of one and a half miles, three miles, eleven miles and so on. One could see in amazement and with great shock that the metal top of the dome not only melted, but completely evaporated as the detonation temperature of the blast was twenty million centigrade, similar to the temperature of the centre of the Sun. People and things in the adjacent area had burst into flames, burnt or charred. At two miles, trees ignited and water in the lakes reached 4000°C and the lakes dried up.

After three seconds the Cathedral blasted and when the fireball touched the ground millions of ton of dust rose in the form of a mushroom miles high in the sky. This dust carrying radio activity would be then carried to great distances by the wind generated by the blast, and which would rush at the speed of 2,000 miles an hour. Within the first three seconds about eight hundred thousand people would die or seriously injured.

It is purely an educational film giving bare facts without any emotional high tones. Peter Goodwin who was the consultant to the producer and script writer Mick Jackson, has also written a book which gives these facts in great details and though much of this information is technical, it is put in simple language.²⁶ He writes about building shelters:

"Shelters can be effective and could save lives but there are problems. Obviously you would have to be inside the shelter if it were to be of any use, and this could prove difficult if there were no more than a few minutes' warning of nuclear attack. Secondly, a shelter could only protect you for a limited time: the usual recommended 'shelter period' is two weeks. Unfortunately many of the problems which would probably arise in the aftermath of nuclear strike might be even more severe after two weeks than immediately after the attack."²⁶

At the end of the film the commentary questions that after an all-out nuclear attack if you are still alive in your shelter and come out after fifteen days how

much of the world you knew will be there? Where would you get water, highly technical medical assistance, doctors, electricity, communication? Who will tell you the extent of what has happened? Where would you go to find food? Would the social fabric be still there? When after two weeks you come out of the bunker, it could be that your real problems will just begin.

Goodwin's book goes into details of the effects of nuclear weapons, including their radiation and explains them in a language that can easily be understood by anybody who is keen to be informed about the matter. He writes about the possible areas of conflict which could involve nuclear weapons, and goes into every aspects of protection against direct attack or fall out. He discusses the way a nuclear war might start and how it could escalate. On the last page he quotes Hamano Matsushita, a Hiroshima survivor: "It was hell all over the city. I don't think I can describe a ten-thousandth of the reality by...telling a story. I think only those who experienced it can understand."

A few more films warrant a special mention as useful resource material for peace education. One of the first one among them was a documentary made also by the BBC. It was called *The War Game*— also available as a book.²⁷ The British Government put a ban on the film, which as far as I remember continued for quite sometime. But then due to public pressure it was released. For the first time the British public learnt about the character of a nuclear war.

Only a short while before the actual Three Mile Island accident took place in the nuclear plant in Pennsylvania, Jane Fonda, the famous actress, had produced a film called *The China Syndrome*, as if it was a prediction. The film made two kinds of impact on the people; firstly, it convinced the spectator that accidents in nuclear plants can and do take place and that they can be devastating. Secondly, it brought home to the public that the establishment wants to and does keep the public in total darkness about nuclear power and its implications. In the past two decades hundreds of minor and more serious accidents have taken place in nuclear plants all over the world, but, the concerned governments have without exception minimised their seriousness.

A film called *Nuclear Cafe* is an effective compilation of some archival material which the makers of the film obtained from the U.S. Government sources. It has also some fiction- type filming to document the high degree of radio activity which hundreds of soldiers suffered from at the time of the nuclear tests carried out by the USA. The U.S. Government had kept the facts secret from soldiers and other staff who took part in the 'exercises'. It was later found that several deaths were caused by radiation. Presently the matter has been taken to the law courts by the survivors and their relatives.

In recent months a film called *The Day After* was shown in the USA and Europe. It is fictional but based on scientific knowledge and estimates about the effects of nuclear war. Although, politically it is tilted against the USSR, it has made much impact on people who had little previous idea of what a nuclear war can be.

3. peace education and the popular press

Before the dropping of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki the war/peace issue and dissemination of information on it, was more or less an exclusive activity of the anti- militarist groups, working among people likely to be affected by military conscription. The experience of the atom bomb made war everybody's concern. The First World War had already proved that the idea of waging a war to stop all wars was only a sentimental dream. With this new experience it was finally established that if a third world war took place it would be total disaster for life as a whole on this planet. In the fifties, concern for peace started being expressed on large scale on the streets of metropolitan cities of Europe, Japan and North America. New peace movements came into existence. Literature on facts about the bomb and its effects was published and widely distributed. Exhibitions of photographs of the bomb victims—those hundreds of thousands who died and the many more who survived but maimed permanently—were arranged to show the urgency for action to ban the bomb. In short, facts about the horrors of atomic war were available to a much wider public. The popular press could not ignore the issue entirely.

It is not possible for an average person who may be interested in the subject of war and peace to keep track of the material that has been produced and is being produced in large quantity in different regions of the world by specialized agencies, including the peace movement. Therefore, it is encouraging to see that in recent years some national newspapers have felt responsible enough to keep their readers informed about these matters. For example, *The Guardian* in UK has been devoting a significant proportion of its space to the question of nuclear power and weapons. The public debate in its 'letters to the editor' columns is also worth mentioning. Almost every second day there is a letter on this issue. The paper has been reporting regularly on the Sizewell Enquiry, which keeps the readers well informed about the issues connected with the government plans for building the Sizewell-2 nuclear power plant, e.g. its safety aspects and also its economic implications.

The same is true of the *New York Times* in the USA. But more than the daily press, some weekly and monthly journals have been more helpful, though not enough to deserve patting on the back. One would expect the periodicals to devote more space than what they have been giving for issues so crucial for the survival of the human kind. In the U.S., the *New York Review of Books* has been taking note of this issue perhaps more than any other journal. In India there is an almost total absence of any public debate on the issue of either war and peace in general or nuclear weapons in particular. It is only in the recent months that a couple or so articles have appeared raising some questions, about India's nuclear weapon capability. *The Illustrated Weekly of India* has of late, it seems taken note of the importance of the subject. *The Political and Economic Weekly* has also been occasionally publishing articles and reports on the issue of nuclear power.

4. peace groups of professionals

With the growth of published material on war and peace, especially in regard to nuclear weapons, and with the unhindered escalation of the arms race between the super powers, people at large and professionals in particular are becoming aware of their responsibility. Take, for instance, the issue of radiation from nuclear explosions or radioactivity which gets into the atmosphere in regions where there are nuclear power plants. It poses a serious problem to the medical world. Governments have always denied that radiation from nuclear tests or from nuclear power plants, even after an accident, has been increasing beyond the acceptable limit. They have never published true information on the subject. Medical scientists naturally felt it their responsibility to find out the factual information and take some steps to bring the matter to public notice. In the fifties and sixties conscientious medical men and women had formed already their peace groups in various countries. For instance, in Great Britain, the Medical Association for Prevention of War was founded in 1951, "to study causes and effects of war and psychological factors and medical ethics in relation to war; to campaign for the transfer of resources from preparation for war to the fight against disease and malnutrition; and to campaign against abuses of medical science."

The Association publishes the *Journal of the Medical Association for Prevention of War* twice a year. It is gratifying to note that some well-known medical people are associated with the Association. It is a body which does not limit its work only to the technical side of the nuclear issue. It often takes a political and moral stand on questions of war and peace. To give a recent example, the Editorial of the latest issue of the Journal entitled, The Stockholm Conference: Beware the Aftermath states: "... There is now a need to be on guard against dangerous soporifics. If the art of government is the manipulation of public opinion, the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE) might in due course be used by military and

political establishments to try to send the peace movement and its supporters back to sleep.

"The Conference opened in Stockholm on 17 January and, as was proposed originally by France at the 1978 U.N. Special Session on Disarmament, it is to consist of two stages: the first to build confidence and security in Europe by providing for exchanges of military information, and the second to achieve a reduction of armaments "from the Atlantic to the Urals". The progress of the first stage will not be reviewed until November 1986.

"By delaying the implementation of the 1978 proposal until this year, the Conference was, in effect, 'programmed' to start at the low ebb of East-West relations which was known would follow the deployment of Pershing II and Cruise. Given that the two stages of the Conference are going to take a number of years, should we not be suspicious that it has also been 'programmed' to end in smiling hand-shakes, back-slapping and perhaps Presidential embraces ?

"Alva Myrdal has pointed out that the history of the Super Powers' post-war antagonism has been interrupted occasionally by the seeking of accommodation in the act of balancing each other'. The fine words of the McCloy-Zorin Accord of 1961 (Joint Statement by the USA and the USSR of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations, 1961) signalled disarmament and peace to the public, but while the peace movement went to sleep the most dangerous arms race of all time was planned and initiated.

"What will the 'Super Powers' want from world public opinion when they reach their next 'accommodation'? Since they will have their nuclear war-fighting weapons for all contingencies as well as 'spy satellites' to know what is going on world-wide... they might seek public acquiescence of their military domination as the price of European and world peace. The threat of a physical Dark Age following an East-West nuclear holocaust could thus come to be replaced by a political Dark Age of global nuclear blackmail. We must beware the CDE does not become the means by which public is manipulated into sanctioning, such a deal. The peace movement, including its medical section, must *stay awake*."²⁸

It is a very bold statement coming from a professional group like the MAPW—a kind of statement that one could not have expected in the fifties or even sixties. The peace movement did go to sleep soon after the Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) was signed in 1963. In Britain particularly where the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) was strong, people thought that their Government was serious about disarmament and will follow from the PTBT to a complete ban on all kinds of nuclear tests. The CND shrunk to the size of a small office of only one staff member. So, the alert given by the Medical Association for Prevention of War now has come in time, and hopefully it will be taken seriously by all parties concerned.

There is another group of medical people called Medical Campaign against Nuclear Weapons. As the name indicates this group is mainly an anti-nuclear group, which is allied to the CND. Whenever there is a demonstration in London or anywhere else in the country, these groups, almost invariably, participate in them with their own banners.

In the USA a group of medical experts function as Physicians for Social Responsibility. They have produced a good number of reports on the question of nuclear energy and its effects on society. They provide information packets with scientific literature on the medical hazards of nuclear radiation—power and weapons. Their material is sometimes published in the *New York Times*, the *Boston Herald*, and the *New England Journal of Medicine*. Apart from arranging talks and seminars in colleges, churches and civic groups, they feature on National Public Radio, and some television networks. They have a library of books, journals, films, tapes and video- cassettes which they use for their public education activities, and provide these to other groups.

A group in Australia has been working on the lines of the Medical Association for Prevention of War, Britain, and has the same name. Psychologists for Peace is a new group in London, working for nearly two years. They hold meetings and often take part in public demonstrations against war, particularly nuclear war.

British nurses have formed a group to identify the problems that their profession will have to face in case of a nuclear war. Architects for Peace and Civil Engineers for Nuclear Disarmament are becoming active in their field. In the educational field there are groups such as Teachers Against War, student groups working either within their unions or independently in {cooperation with larger peace organisations, e.g. CND, the Peace Pledge Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Almost every country in Western Europe has such groups. And there are church groups all over the world, some of which concentrate on the issue of War and Peace. But most of the church groups in Asia, Africa and Latin America relate primarily to the issues of violence, exploitation and development. It is only recently that their attention has been drawn to the problem of nuclear weapons, due to the increasing presence of the nuclear arsenal of the Super Powers in their regions. The major task in this regard for them is now to declare their regions as 'nuclear free zones'. Australians and New Zealanders are well advanced in this respect.

Like medical scientists lawyers too have to understand the legal implications of the present situation regarding nuclear weapons. At the time of the Vietnam war thousands of the U.S. GIs had to be helped legally to protect them from being persecuted by military authorities for breaking military laws or for refusing to go on duty because they believed that the Vietnam war was unjust and immoral. Today also there is a need for lawyers to come out with their expertise to protect the natural rights of people. They also have a responsibility to say publicly what they feel about the legitimacy of nuclear weapons.

The Rule of Law Research Centre, Duke University, Durham, NC, USA, is one of the many groups in this category. The Centre's principal activity is research and publication on questions of law and international organisation bearing on security, peace, disarmament and world order. All the professional members on the staff of the group are lawyers with specialised training in international and comparative law.

The B.M.A. Report

Perhaps the most significant document that has come out from the community of professionals is the report of the British Medical Association's Board of Science and Education. The BMA is not a peace group, far from it. It is the most prestigious medical body in the United Kingdom and *one of the most prestigious in the world*. It is very much a part of the establishment and it controls the whole of the medical profession in Britain. This "report arose out of work done in accordance with a resolution passed by the 1981 Annual Representative Meeting (ARM) of the British Medical Association. Each division of the BMA, representing doctors in a geographical area, sends representatives to the ARM to debate issues that concern the practice of medicine and the common health. The ARM determines Association policy. In 1981 concern was expressed that members of the Association were being asked to participate in medical planning for the aftermath of a nuclear war at a time when the BMA had not formulated a policy based on a careful review of available scientific evidence."

"After considering a composite motion aggregated from those submitted by several divisions, the ARM passed a resolution that: *The Board of Science and Education should review the medical effects of nuclear war and the value of civil defence in order that the British Medical Association should form a policy.*"

"The Board of Science and Education accepted the terms of reference for the enquiry suggested by the Working Party. A press statement set out the areas to be covered by the Working Party as follows:

1. The blast, thermal, and immediate ionising radiation effects of nuclear weapons.
2. The clinical problems, both immediate and delayed, likely to be caused by the detonation of nuclear weapons.
3. Mortality and morbidity consequent upon varying nuclear attack patterns.
4. Immediate and long-term psychiatric effects on survivors of a nuclear attack.

5. The probable effects of a nuclear attack on the work, organisation, structure and management of the National Health Service.
6. Relations between the National Health Service and organisations involved in civil defence."²⁹

The BMA Report goes into all the details thoroughly. The Working Party invited written evidence from relevant people and organisations; and also held meetings with individuals. The draft report then was debated by the Board of Science and Education before being presented to the Council of the BMA. Although this report is specifically directed to the conditions in Britain, its conclusions would be equally applicable to any part of the world, and therefore I quote rather extensively from the conclusions derived at in the report:

"Nuclear War affecting the United Kingdom

The UK contains a large number of targets likely to be attacked in war and densely populated conurbations. Potential targets and population centres are intermixed across the UK so that it is not possible to discern areas, apart from remote tracts in Scotland, and perhaps in North Wales, that do not place potential targets adjacent to communities of people.

"The population density of the UK is 593 people per square mile. England has a higher density of 920 people per square mile. The population density coupled with the number and distribution of potential targets is unique to the UK. No other country has so many people and so many potential targets concentrated into so small a land mass.

"In the 1960s aggregation of world nuclear weapons of an explosive power of 400 megatons was thought to ensure deterrence by Mutually Assured Destruction of both the USA and the USSR essential targets. Estimates of the total explosive power of world nuclear arsenals in 1980 varied between 25 and 50 times that quantity (10,000-20,000 megatons). Any realistic assessment of the medical effects of nuclear war must take into account changes in technology and military strategy. The effects of an attack in 1950 would have been very different from the effects of an attack now or in future.

"... Uncertainty in areas of our report is inevitable; nobody has direct experience of a nuclear attack of the magnitude envisaged in the future. However, both Government and independent authorities have suggested that an attack could well be of the order of 200 megatons or greater. Furthermore, with one exception all the experts who contributed to the Working Party said that a nuclear war could not be contained, but would escalate to an unlimited, total exchange of nuclear weapons.

"There are discrepancies between the projection for blast, heat and radiation produced by the Home Office and Scientists Against Nuclear Arms (SANA). The latter rely on methods and figures derived for the most part from the United States Department of Defence and the Office of Technology Assessment. We have examined the methods for calculating the projections used by SANA and the Working Party believes, on the evidence, it has received, that the projections from SANA give a more realistic estimate of the blast, heat and radiation effects of nuclear weapons. We understand that the Home Office is currently revising its calculation.

"Civil Defence—evacuation

"Evacuation policies have their problems. Sufficient warning is needed in order to evacuate successfully. The economic cost to the country is tremendous and for these reasons governments would be very unwilling to put evacuation plans into practice. If, however, an attempt was made to evacuate the general population, this would be seen by an enemy as part of preparation for war and might invite preemptive strike.*"

The Report states that given the uncertainty about the size of attack, evacuation of population in the UK is impossible. The Government's advice to the people to stay where they are, at home, at work or at school, which effectively acknowledges this fact. There is nowhere in the UK that can be guaranteed as immune from the effects of any nuclear attack.

Civil Defence—shelters

The Report on this subject is categorical that the "makeshift home shelters advocated by the Home Office would offer the occupants only slight protection against the blast emitted by an exploding nuclear weapon. Burns and injuries caused by flying glass from shattered windows could be reduced but there would be little protection against radio-active fall out. Repeated explosions would diminish the protection against fall out."

Government's advice "to site the shelter at the central core of a house or building carries the risk that a substantial proportion of domestic shelters are likely to be buried when the surrounding dwelling collapses. No heavy rescue services would be available to excavate the trapped survivors. If the shelter was situated near an outside wall, the occupants would be more at risk from the fall out."

"...The greater part of the country would experience blast pressures sufficient to break windows or remove doors or roof tiles from houses, which would in turn limit the protection, provided against fall-out. This factor is not allowed for in the current Home Office calculations.

"Some of the commercially available prefabricated domestic nuclear shelters could offer a degree of protection against blast and heat and all would protect against fall-out. None of the designs reported to the Working Party appears to have satisfactory mechanisms to eliminate dangerous combustion products of the air being drawn into the shelter. A large- scale programme of public shelter building would be very costly. It could be effective in reducing short-term casualties. Any survivors would face overwhelming problems in the world into which they emerged.

Long-term effects of a nuclear attack

"Water would be the first requirement of survivors of a nuclear attack. Food, shelter, fossil fuels and electrical power would follow in order of priority. The present water tanker capacity in the UK is wholly inadequate to supply survivors with water for even basic needs. Government plans for the supply and distribution of emergency supplies of food do not aim to provide a balanced diet. This would have serious consequences for people requiring special diets,

diabetic patients for example. There may not be a sufficient quantity of food in store to tide survivors over until alternative sources could be found...

"There is a probability that the atmosphere would be highly perturbed by a nuclear war. The large quantities of highly sunlight-absorbing, dark particulate matter which would be produced and spread in the troposphere by the many fires would strongly restrict the penetration of sunlight to the earth's surface and would change the physical properties of the earth's atmosphere. It is likely that agricultural production in the Northern Hemisphere would be severely disrupted, so that food production for the survivors of the initial effects of the war would be very difficult.

"Survival becomes even more difficult if stratospheric ozone depletions also take place^ It is difficult to see how much more than a small fraction of the initial survivors of a nuclear war in the middle and high latitude regions of the Northern Hemisphere could escape famine and disease during the following years.

"Other problems with implications for public health would be extensive radioactive contamination of the environment, failure of water and sewage systems and lack of basic drugs and medical supplies.

"It is inaccurate and misleading to suggest that after a nuclear attack on the United Kingdom there would be a return to a rural civilization of two centuries ago. The Working Group believes that there would be an increase in infant mortality and communicable diseases due to infections, and deficiency diseases caused by inadequate nutrition. The UK no longer possesses the skills or primitive technologies which allowed our predecessors an existence with some measure of comfort. The skills of the 20th century do not permit a return to that style of life after a nuclear attack.

Effects on Medical Service

"We cannot forecast what sizes of weapons might be exploded over the UK. Most current strategic and intermediate range or theatre weapons have

explosive yields of between 100 kilotons and 5 megatons. The bomb dropped at Hiroshima was between 12 and 20 kilotons in size.

"The extent of damage caused by a nuclear weapon does not increase in direct proportion to the explosive yield. Thus, to double the distance at which a given level of damage is caused requires an eightfold increase in explosive power. It follows that if a given total weight of attack is divided into a larger number of smaller weapons, greater damage will be caused. The argument sometimes advanced that more accurate lower yield weapons will result in fewer casualties is a false one, so long as the total explosive power used in an attack remains similar.

"The explosion of a single nuclear bomb of the size used at Hiroshima over a major city in the UK is likely to produce so many cases of trauma and burns requiring hospital treatment that the remaining medical services in the UK would be completely overwhelmed. An attack with, for example, 200 megatons represents an explosive power some 15,000 times greater than the Hiroshima bomb; or the equivalent of forty (40) times all the conventional explosives used in the whole of the Second World War.

"The NHS (National Health Service) could not deal with the casualties that might be expected following detonation of a single one megaton weapon over the UK. It follows that multiple nuclear explosions over several, possibly many, cities would force a breakdown in medical services across the country as a whole.

"There is no possibility of increasing the production of certain drugs in a short period of tension before a war, and if we wish to have large quantities of blood products available for transfusion purposes or the bulk of the present generation of medical practitioners in the country trained for certain eventualities, then all of these things would have to be done now and the country must exist on a more or less permanent emergency footing.

"We believe", the Report states, "that such a weight of nuclear attack would cause the medical services in the country to collapse. The provision of individual medical or nursing attention for victims of a nuclear attack would

become remote. At some point it would disappear completely and only the most primitive first aid services be available from a fellow survivor."⁸⁰

This report has been presented in an extremely calm and cool spirit. In no sense can it be called alarming. Nor does it generate undue fear, except that it states the facts in a totally bare and scientific manner. But the facts are so highly gruesome that even the protagonists of the nuclear bomb are unable to deny them. The USA and the UK Governments leadership have labelled the peace movements as agents of the Soviets. Now the most prestigious medical institute of the British establishment has come out with a report that shows the hypocrisy, and deceit of their government. The BMA has totally endorsed almost all that the scientists associated with peace movements have been saying. The Handbook like *Protect and Survive* now looks like a dirty practical joke. Can the British Home Office and their advisers dismiss, ridicule or by pass the scenario presented by the BMA report?

Yet the Home Office sent a letter out to their twelve regional scientific advisers in England accusing the Report of being strongly influenced by CND-type propaganda. The regional advisers are part-time volunteers whose task is to help advise civil defence regions on scientific and technical matters. It is essential that they should be provided with accurate and objective information. A member of SANA said that it was a crude attempt by the British government to prejudice regional advisers against the BMA report.³¹

The last chapter of the report from which the above extracts have been taken, starts with a statement by the authors thus: "This Chapter of the report gives a dispassionate summary of the medical consequences that would follow the explosion of nuclear weapons over the United Kingdom.

"We repeat that we have formed our judgements about the effects of nuclear war on the basis of the information and evidence presented to us. Each reader will make up his own mind on matters connected with the nuclear weapons debate." The report certainly provides the public the sort of material which would make them think whether their government has not been deceiving them until now.

Anti-peace movement campaigning by the establishment

But governments are hard enough nuts, not to be cracked easily. As soon as the British Government realised that the anti-nuclear movement was growing strong and is in possession of true and scientific knowledge about the bomb, it helped set up outfits that tried to do counter propaganda. They spent a lot of money to prove that the peace movement was either naive and was unwillingly falling into the Soviet trap or more likely it was an agent of the Warsaw Pact powers. One such outfit is the Nuclear Protection Advisory group which publishes a Bulletin and lots of leaflets, booklets etc. to "guide people as to what decisions they should take in case a nuclear war breaks out." It organises seminars and conferences on civil defence, nuclear war and survival skills.

I once received a packet of papers in the mail from some government agency. Its material was included in a folder with the following title: *Welcome to the nuclear power debate*, and the pamphlets tried to convince the reader about "the important issue of the use of nuclear power to meet this country's future energy needs." It was all about nuclear power plants and their soundness in every respect. Actually, in Britain there are quite a few outfits which campaign against the nuclear disarmament movements. I'll mention a few, especially those with some criptic titles. The British Atlantic Youth, is the youth wing of the British Atlantic Committee, a major organisation providing speakers' panels and other services to the anti-CND campaign. It has about 2,000 members. Youth for Multilateral Disarmament is allied to the Federation of Conservative Students. And the Committee for Peace and Freedom coordinates the work of some anti-CND organisations.

5. the united nations and disarmament

The Charter of the United Nations is a document sometimes mentioned and read in schools and social action groups. Though written as a declaration by the people', it is, in fact, something that the original member States of the UN adopted. In other words, it is a commitment by the Governments and not by the people as it claims to be. The point I want to make is that they are those very governments who are creating the menace of the war and who are part of the arms race either globally or regionally. But, although it is not a document prepared *by the people*, the peoples of the world can and must use it to pressurize their governments to keep their promise which reads as follows:

"We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generation from the scourge of War, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind and... to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security and to ensure by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest."

The first Article of the Charter outlines its purpose : "To maintain international peace and security, and to that end : to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace..."

Although it is unfortunate and disheartening that the UN has failed in its very purpose of existence as described above, it must be recognised that in the past thirty years or so the UN has been able to prevent some conflicts from escalating seriously. Here, however, we want to look into UN's efforts in the field of peace education. In recent years the most mentionable events in this regard, organized by the UN, were its two Disarmament Conferences. What did

these gatherings achieve is a big question asked by many people. Yet, the important thing is that on account of these Special Sessions disarmament has been put on the UN agenda. And again, it should not be impossible to imagine the UN taking more serious steps if heavily pressurized by 'the public opinion in all the member countries.

The UN *held its* first Conference on Disarmament after some prominent disarmers and several non-governmental organizations (NGOs) had demanded such a meeting of the UN General Assembly with NGOs. The first special session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament took place in 1978, in which the Committee of Disarmament was set up. As the members of this Committee are only government representatives, not much can be expected from it. Notwithstanding this situation there are two positive uses of such a Committee. Firstly, its very existence is a persistent reminder to the UN on the urgency of the issue of disarmament. As most of the plenary meetings of the Committee are open to the NGOs and the public, it allows anti-war and anti-nuclear weapon campaigners to do lobbying. Secondly, such committees have to show some work to justify their existence. Again, it is likely that some of the active men and women on the staff and among its members are genuinely interested in the task the Committee has undertaken. Hence, they can and often do, produce useful material as this Committee does in the form of newsletters, conference reports and listing of forthcoming disarmament meetings.

At the Second Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament held in June 1982, they launched the United Nations World Disarmament Campaign, The Campaign started publishing, *Disarmament Newsletter*, of which the first issue was brought out in June 1983. Its aim, as outlined in this issue, is to improve the means of communication on the World Disarmament Campaign between the United Nations, its member States and non-governmental constituencies. The *Newsletter* is designed to provide the members and the public with summaries of recent developments in disarmament negotiations, a calendar and preview of upcoming events and activities within the United Nations and other international and regional bodies, and to

highlight some of the activities of international non-governmental organisations in support of the campaign..."

The *Disarmament Newsletter* reporting on the Campaign stated that the primary purposes of the Campaign as defined by the General Assembly are threefold : to inform, to educate and to generate public understanding and support for the objectives of the United Nations in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. It is to be carried out in all regions of the world in a balanced, factual and objective manner...It should be guaranteed by the cooperation and participation of all States and by the widest possible dissemination of information and unimpeded access for all sectors of the public to a broad range of information and opinions on questions of arms limitation and disarmament and the dangers relating to all aspects of the arms race and war, in particular nuclear war."

The purpose of this essay is to deal with the work of only voluntary organisations concerning peace education, and not with the work and achievements, or non-achievements, of governmental bodies and their efforts such as the SALT I and II (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks), or the work of the so-called government ministers for disarmament. The reason behind discussing the work of the UN on disarmament in some length, is that since 1978, when the First Special Session was held, more and more non-governmental organizations, have been having a chance to learn about the working of the UN and make their own assessment. The experience of the Second Session was extremely discouraging for the peace movements. One of my colleagues in the movement commented that the Session should have been called *armament* session rather than disarmament session. Speeches made by the heads of States such as Mrs. Thatcher, Prime Minister of Great Britain, were in fact war speeches, full of *we* and *they*. Speeches of the leaders of the peace movements were drowned in the huge sea of jingoism and belligerence. However, some non-governmental participants thought that the work they had to do in preparation for the Session was useful. They felt that it was a good

opportunity for them to convey their message to the establishment as well as the public at large.

There is no doubt that it is a good strategy on the part of the peace movements to make use of the UN in the best possible way, even though it may not achieve much. It is also true that there are some people inside the establishment who can push the idea further. If these people are pushed and encouraged by NGOs to do their bit, there is no reason why they should be written off completely.

The story of the UNESCO is more encouraging, particularly because there is greater scope for non-governmental bodies to make an impact on its work. It has also organised conferences and published good material on disarmament. An important aspect of the work of the UNESCO is that it can reach those quarters where peace movements in general cannot. In the past some issues of the UNESCO journal *Courier*, which is published in various languages, have been specially devoted to disarmament. They make useful reference material.

6. pacifist and nonviolent movements

6.1. pacifist movements and the growth of anti-militarism

In the field of peace education one should recognise the historic role of those organizations and movements which originally began to question the morality as well as the legitimacy of war. They did not only begin the dialogue, they also showed the way—not only by words but by deed as well. It is not to say that they were the originators of the concept of peace as opposed to war. Surely the need to have peace and its ethics has been with society for over two and a half millenniums if not more. Nonetheless, it will not be erroneous to state that the concept of a *warless world* is a product of modern history.

The First World War, at the time of which no one could have imagined the power of the bombs that destroyed Hamburg and Dresden, (not to mention the bomb that was dropped over Hiroshima) had given enough of an idea as to how much suffering modern war can inflict on innocent human beings, and how destructive it can be to life and civilization as a whole. It was that experience which made hundreds or perhaps thousands of people, young and old, shout at the top of their voices: *No More !* Some of them had already argued and campaigned against war even before the First World War was fought.

Tolstoy, for instance, had said at the Swedish Peace Congress in 1909: "The truth in its full meaning lies in...four words— Thou shalt not kill—that truth is so evident, so binding and so generally acknowledged, that it is only necessary to put it clearly before men for the evil called war to become quite impossible.

"And so I think that if we who are assembled here at the Peace Congress should, instead of clearly and definitely voicing the truth, address ourselves to the governments with various proposals for lessening the evil of war or gradually diminishing its frequency, we should be like men who, having in their hand the key to a door, should try to break through walls they know to be too strong for them. Before us are millions of armed men, ever more and more efficiently armed and trained for more and more rapid slaughter. We know that

these millions of people have no wish to kill their fellows and for the most part do not know why they are forced to do that repulsive work, and that they are weary of their position of subjection and compulsion. We know that the murders committed from time to time by these men, are committed by order of the governments; and we know that the existence of the governments depends on the armies. Can we, then, who desire the abolition of war, find nothing more conducive to our aim than to propose to the governments which exist only by the aid of armies and consequently by war-measures which would destroy war? Are we to propose to the governments that they should destroy themselves?

"And for us who are assembled here to counteract the evil of war, if we really desire to attain our end, only one thing is necessary: namely to put the dilemma quite clearly and definitely both to those who form the governments and to the masses of the people who compose the army. To do that we must not only clearly and openly repeat the truth we all know and cannot help knowing—that man should not slay his fellow man—but we must also make it clear that no considerations can destroy the demand made by that truth on people of the Christian world."

"Therefore, I propose to our meeting to draw up and publish an appeal to all men—that war...is a vile and criminal business not only for those who voluntarily choose a military career but for those who submit to it from avarice or fear of punishment.

"...I propose in this appeal to express clearly the thought that for men of true enlightenment, who are therefore free from the superstition of military glory (and their number is growing every day) the military profession and calling, notwithstanding all the efforts to hide its real meaning, is as shameful a business as an executioner's and even more so. For the executioner only holds himself in readiness to kill those who have been adjudged harmful and criminal, while a soldier promises to kill all whom he is told to kill, even though they be those dearest to him or the best of men."

"Humanity...has reached a stage of such acute contradiction between its moral demands and the existing social order, evoked by that inner contradiction which is so clearly illustrated by our preparations for murder, becomes more and more insistent every year and every day. The tension which demands that alteration has reached such a degree that just as sometimes only a slight shock is required to change a liquid into a solid body, so perhaps only a slight effort or even a single word may be needed to change the cruel and irrational life of our time—with its divisions, armaments, and armies— into a reasonable life in keeping with the consciousness of contemporary humanity. Every such effort, every such word, may be the shock which will instantly solidify the super-cooled liquid. Why should not our gathering be that shock? In Anderson's fairy tale, when the king went in triumphant procession through the streets of the town and all the people were delighted with his beautiful new clothes, a word from a child who said what everybody knew but had not said, changed everything. He said: "He has nothing on!" and the spell was broken and the king became ashamed and all those who had been assuring themselves that they saw him wearing beautiful new clothes perceived that he was naked ! We must say the same. We must say that by whatever name men may call murder - murder always remains murder, a criminal and shameful thing. And it is only necessary to say that clearly, definitely and loudly, as we can say it here, and men will cease to see what they thought they saw and will see what is really before their eyes. They will cease to see the service of their country, the heroism of war, military glory and patriotism, and will see what exists: the naked criminal business of murder! And if people see that the same thing will happen as in the fairytale: those who do the criminal thing will feel ashamed, and those who assure themselves that they do not see the criminality of murder will perceive it and cease to be murderers".

"But how will nations defend themselves against their enemies, how will they maintain internal order and how can nations live without an army?

"What form the life of men will take if they repudiate murder, we do not and cannot know; but one thing is certain: that it is more natural for men to be

guided by the reason and, conscience with which they are endowed, than to submit slavishly to people who arrange wholesale murders; and that therefore the form of social order assumed by the lives of those who are guided in their actions not by violence based on threats of murder but by reason and conscience, will in any case be no worse than that under which they now live."³²

Those who said 'no more' after the First World War wanted to use just one word to 'solidify' the super-cooled liquid. As far as their own action was concerned they said "No" to military conscription. They thought that their saying "No" to war, war will be no more—their slogan was: war will cease when men will refuse to fight. It did not happen that way; but it must be stated that in Britain alone over sixteen thousand men refused military service. In France in the summer of 1916 thirty four conscientious objectors were sentenced to death—a sentence which was later commuted to 10 years penal servitude.³³

Yes, it is true that in spite of their refusal to join the military and thereby accepting suffering instead of "entering the ranks of murderers", the hundreds of thousands of objectors over the past decades have not succeeded in ending war. But as Harold Bing, who was Chairman of the War Resisters' International for over fifteen years, wrote: "The Conscientious objector...is making a stand not for himself alone but for a principle of universal significance and it is important that governments and the public generally should recognise this. No doubt non-conformists are always a nuisance to governments, but it is due to the non-conformists of the past that we have the democratic institutions and the liberties which we enjoy today...Conscientious objectors have constituted a significant force for peace and freedom in a belligerent, increasingly totalitarian world..."³⁴

Harold Bing, who had himself gone through the punishment inflicted by the State for being a war resister, continued "...though they have had some success in achieving legislation for conscientious objectors they have not managed to halt the trend towards more conscription and the spread of militarism. Nor

have they yet moved far in the direction of those social changes which will make a peaceful world a practical possibility..."

But conscientious objectors never claimed that *they* would end war. What they did was to take a personal step in their own lives, and hoped that others would do the same. The reason behind their "failure" could be attributed to two factors. Governments' resources and their military might is extremely overwhelming compared to the tiny resources—personal as well as financial—of the anti-militarist forces. Secondly, at that stage of its development the pacifist movement had not yet quite worked out its political philosophy and strategy. And now, while on the one hand it has grown considerably more mature, on the other the military has become grotesquely and disproportionately larger. Although war objectors have been extraordinarily courageous and imaginative their struggle has become much harder than before.

Bart de Ligt, the Dutch anarchist pacifist thinker and activist, said in a lecture at the first Summer School of the Peace Academy held in France in August 1938 when the war clouds were hovering over Europe, "...everybody is more or less responsible for the present situation. Even the most courageous conscientious objectors, who prefer long periods of imprisonments and if necessary, even death, to participation in modern war, are in general paying direct and indirect taxes of which a constantly increasing part is being used for war purposes. As a matter of fact nobody amongst us can keep himself absolutely out of the grip of totalitarian war. In this respect one can say with Dostoieffsky that "all of us are guilty of all."

'De Ligt continued: "When it comes to deciding who is responsible for modern war it is usual to draw the attention in particular to the murderous Armament International. Still what could this relatively small International do if the Governments followed a policy of disarmament and peace and if the working masses refused to work in munition factories? It would be easy and moreover unjust to use this International as a scapegoat and to lay all the sins of war on its shoulders. The Munition International would be nothing without the

constant collaboration of the workers". De Ligt follows with: "In 1928 I was present at an anti-war meeting in Vienna where I heard a revolutionary worker shout to the anti-militarist priest Johannes Ude: 'Your Church has blessed the arms!' Ude answered that the priests could never have done such things if the workers themselves had not manufactured, transported and utilised the arms. This reply, which was true from the standpoint of reality, was not quite right from a moral standpoint. In the first place, the position of the workers in the present world is such that they have no voice on the subject of production. Threatened by unemployment and misery, they are forced to sell their working capacity to employers who only are in a position to decide the sort of work to be done. It is true that if the working masses had been really educated in a humanitarian sense it would have been up to them to save themselves from the slavery of death; they could have forced the employers to desist from any production dangerous to humanity. But alas! They have never been educated in this sense."

But what about the ordinary men and women in the society. Why do they not oppose the manufacture and use of weapons and thus stop the curse of War. Again, Bart de Ligt says: "The popular masses would not have given themselves blindly to the services of destruction and death if their spiritual leaders, the Catholic priests, the protestant parsons, the Socialist and syndicalist leaders etc. had not encouraged them to do so, either in the name of God, of their native country, or of socialism. Often the syndicalist leaders have even praised their governments for giving big orders for engines of death: the Socialist leaders have even gone so far as to approve of armaments production as a means to diminish unemployment, and to encourage the workers to participate in this production to the best of their abilities. From the moment that in a bourgeois society the moral and intellectual leadership of the people is in the hands of a relatively small group of intellectuals and semi-intellectuals, these intellectuals and semi-intellectuals must in the first place be held responsible for the lack of responsibility with which the working masses are ready to do whatever the ruling classes may demand".³⁶

At the International Conference on Modern Methods of War and Protection of Civil Population which took place in Frankfurt-on-Main, Germany, in January 1928, Bart de Ligt delivered a lecture which was published in a dozen languages. He appealed to all intellectuals in the world to refuse to collaborate in this *treason against humanity*. Already several scientists had 'refused to put their knowledge and capacities into the service of the art of murder.' Among them were people like Bertrand Russell of England, Helen Stocker of Germany, Gertrud Woker of Switzerland and Ernest Cohen of Holland. It seems that the publication of the lecture brought response from hundreds of men and women of science nearly everywhere in the world. All declared themselves ready in their domains to withdraw as much as possible from the slavery of war and to assume all risks resulting from their attitude. De Ligt mentioned some specific names such as the eminent educationists, Alolphe Ferriere and Paul Oestreich, Sociologists, Charles Gide and Franz Oppenheimer; Literary figures, Han Ryner, Paul Birukoff, Rosa Mayreder and Upton Sinclair; theologians, Van den Bergh, Van Eysing, Heering and Ude ; chemists, Naima Sahlbohm and Elvira Fradkind; doctor Theodore Huzella ; architects, Berlage and Van Eesteren; lawyer Louis Phillip ; Sinologist, Richard Wilhelm ; and the Russian Savant, Nicolas Roubakine. People like Maria Montessori, Elizabeth - Rotten, Simone Weil, Aldous Huxley, Gerald Heard, and Richard Gregg and some others of the same stature declared that they were convinced that Science without conscience can only ruin humanity, and that we must give back to modern science its real conscience.³⁶

The purpose of my going so much into this matter is to show that the pacifist approach to the question of war and peace was developing from a simple emotional one to a more sophisticated one—politically, socially and morally. The politics of the twenties and thirties were making the thinking people very apprehensive about their expected consequences. But it was not until the end of the Second World War that pacifists in general and conscientious objectors in particular started realizing that personal witness against war alone was not enough; an organised and collective, politically sound strategy against war and its causes should be their goal. The birth of the atomic bomb had radically

altered the situation. The character of war and of international relations had changed and not going to be the same any more.

The anti-war pacifist movement branched off into different sections. A large part of the movement kept its activities limited to the traditional approach, which was of personal witness and demand for complete and general disarmament. It did not believe that demanding the ban on only nuclear weapons was going to end war for ever. Within this section of the movement also there were two types of activists. One, who continued to be convinced that individual action is the soul of pacifism. The other type of activists started organising in a collective manner, i.e. refusing military service in groups. They believed that without collective action, their impact will be insignificant. Both these groups had a large proportion of young men who believed in alternative civilian service as opposed to military service. A small but increasing number of men rejected the draft completely. They said that the State had no right to conscript people for any kind of service.

Figures of conscientious objectors of both types during the sixties and seventies clearly indicate the anti-militarist spirit of the period in Europe and North America. For instance, in West Germany the number of men who applied for conscientious objector status in 1967 was four times that of the number in 1966. By 1971 the number had already reached well over 27,000 from 2,750 in 1966. In Denmark while only 1% of all the men drafted in the forces in the early sixties became COs, in 1971 the proportion rose to 15%, and in late seventies to 18%. The anti-military attitude among the young educated has continued its upward trend ever since. Its obvious effect on the public at large could only be, and has been, of questioning the politics, economics and morality of militarism. The major international organisations working in this field are: The International Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the War Resisters' International.

6.2. anti-nuclear movement

The branch of the movement which saw the atom bomb as the major threat to human life and civilization, went ahead and organised campaigns against nuclear armaments. For instance, the CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) in Britain, the Campaign in West Germany and a powerful anti-nuclear bomb movement in Japan, all were founded by members of the pacifist movements mainly. Their demand was total ban on nuclear weapons, including their testing underwater, underground or in atmosphere. It would not be an exaggeration to say that more than twenty million people of all ages must have taken part in anti-nuclear weapons demonstrations throughout the world. Even some of these earlier demonstrations had over a hundred thousand people taking part. The first demonstration in which I took part in the UK had seventy five thousand people. It was one of the famous Aldermaston marches.

Yet, in size and numbers nuclear bombs have been increasing every day. The anti-nuclear movement did not succeed in banning the bomb even though its impact on public opinion had been profound. It is not only the public demonstrations which made this impact; public education was part of the campaign and the information collected and disseminated among the masses was convincing. Films like *The War Game* were produced and publicly shown. Posters, books, pamphlets and handbills were used to educate the population about the destructivity and the immorality of nuclear weapons.

On the other hand, the USA, the USSR, the British and the French continued their intensive work of producing more and more lethal weapons. Today the nuclear arsenal stock-piled by the nuclear weapon powers is composed of war-heads that can be used from land, sea or air; from underground or underwater launching stations; long range, medium range and short range missiles etc. Their number is becoming so large that even if only some of them are used they will destroy the world's population thirty or more times over. A stage is reached when leaders of the two super powers are talking in terms of fighting

nuclear war in and from space. What we have known until now only as science fiction, could soon become a reality.

This is a new challenge to peace educators and activists. The challenge will become more and more serious and tougher, especially as any kind of opposition to government policies is considered anti-national and equal to treason. Some scientific minded people predict that to silence or nullify dissent in public, rulers might use any or all available methods on large scale to destroy the faculty of initiative in people. Until that stage becomes a reality, the peace movement thinks that there is still time to stop the menace of war and the authoritarian ways of public management.

In recent years the movement has taken to nonviolent direct action much more seriously and on a larger scale than it did in the sixties. It now realises that neither sporadic action nor violent demonstrations to show public indignation against the bomb will serve the purpose. I took part in a demonstration in London, in October 1983, in which there were four hundred thousand people chanting slogans against the bomb, singing peace songs with thousands of banners saying the classical "No". That mass of people, young and old, many with their babies in perambulators were against the stationing of the U.S. Pershing missiles in UK. The U.S. has imposed these missiles in hundreds on the NATO countries in Europe, as deterrents against the Soviet SS-NX-20s, placed in the countries of the Warsaw pact. The public of the NATO countries does not want these weapons, but their rulers have accepted them.

The movement against the placement of Pershings has grown substantial in size. In all the concerned countries of Europe every now and then millions of people demonstrate their opposition to nuclear weapons. The British movement, especially the CND, has now decided to resort to civil disobedience as part of their campaign against the U.S. missiles. In June 1983, some brave women set up a protest camp in front of the Greenham Common cruise missile base. This camp has inspired many people to set up similar bases in other NATO countries, and has given a tremendous boost to the morale of the movement

and also a depth of commitment so much needed if civil disobedience has to be resorted to.

Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp has continued to maintain an unbroken presence outside the airbase, despite two bad winters and continued harassment by the authorities. "The ideas and vitality exemplified by the peace camp are in dramatic contrast to the bleakness and dreadful purpose of the base—two opposing value systems right next to one another but on opposite sides of the fence. The peace camp is a remarkable manifestation of women's determination and vision, an inspiration to many thousands of people in this country and abroad. As well as being a round-the-clock protest against Cruise missiles, it is also a resource - a women's space in which to try to live out ideals of feminism and nonviolence, a focus of information and ideas, a meeting place, and a vital context for women to express their beliefs and feeling."³⁷ These sisters felt desperate about the prospects of Cruise missiles being sited in Britain. They are convinced, like the whole of the peace movement, that this would make their country more of a target than ever. They are angry that resources are being squandered on weapons of mass destruction.

The following quotation from the same book mentioned above shows how the Greenham Common Women's Camp was formed and attracted other concerned women. Sarah Van Veen wrote in March 1982: "I used to wake in the night in a complete panic, having dreamt the nuclear nightmare, the post-holocaust dream. I was tired of this fear being thrust upon me. I felt I had to do something and not just build a bunker in my back garden! I'd heard of near catastrophe through computer error, through mismanagement, through negligence and was appalled at the planning and contemplation for mass murder that was going on all around me.

"When I heard about the women's peace camp initially, I must have pushed the idea into the back of my mind, because I felt that the sacrifices that needed to be taken in order to make such a direct action were too great for someone like me with two children and seemingly secure, cosy world.

"But one day, I had a letter from a woman in the peace camp telling of the threat of eviction that the women here faced, what was needed was a strong physical presence of women and it was something I could do. So I packed my sleeping bag up and drove the 200 miles or whatever it is upto Greenham Common not knowing what on earth to expect. I'd never been to a peace camp before. I didn't really know what was going on here. But the warmth and the love that I was greeted with, the total absence of suspicion, was a fantastic feeling and I really felt that I made the right decision.

"The Camp itself is a permanent reminder to the government that there are many people who don't want to be part of the nuclear arms race. We're not just a bunch of women sitting around a base. We are speaking for thousands of people who don't want cruise missiles sited here. It seemed a strange kind of democracy to me that a decision could be taken without even parliament being consulted, let alone the public. I sensed this sick mentality all around me that was motivated not by the sacredness of life but by fear that was feeding the arms race. It seemed crazy to me that the government were pouring our precious energies, our resource, billions of pounds into something that was for mass murder, instead of this money going towards our social services, our health education.

"But it's not just a question of costs and alternative military strategy. It's a moral question. There's really only one thing you need to ask yourself, and that is: 'Would you pull the trigger? Would you press the button?' And if the answer is 'No', then you have to work with us and help this struggle for peace."³⁸

6.3 nonviolent movement in India

The two basic components of peace action of the twentieth century are, western pacifism with foundations in Christianity, and the philosophy of nonviolence *ahimsa* with its origin in Indian culture. Pacifism today is no longer exclusively Christian. With the growing awareness of the human race being one family, the commandment: *thou shall not kill* applies to everyone. Similarly nonviolence has now taken roots in most societies.

Nonviolence, though, is the literal translation of *ahimsa*, and although both the terms sound negative, they are different from each other. Ahimsa is not a negative concept, it is a way of life, as Buddha said: *ahimsa is the highest religion*. In other words it is wholistic, meaning thereby that it has both: the negative as well as the positive. It is my belief that Gandhi's *ahimsa*, which he also called *satyagraha*—insistence on truth—has its origin in this dialectics. It is a process of saying yes to something and no to something else. In the nonviolent movement of India, which was led by Mahatma Gandhi, the two "opposites" were expressed by the *constructive programme* on the one hand and on the other by *resistance against evil*. The constructive programme endeavoured to foster all the values of goodness, cooperation, sharing, etc. and the nonviolent resistance aspect of the movement rejected and opposed the values that were divisive and which enslaved the individual and the community. It was probably this quality that made the nonviolent freedom struggle of India reject the British rule but not the British.

Ahimsa and pacifism, though, are not identical, have become complementary to each other. In recent decades it is being realised that pacifist thought and action have no meaning without nonviolence becoming their soul; and nonviolent movements had no relevance unless they rejected war as an instrument of resolving conflict unequivocally.

Active cooperation had already started even before the twenties between the European, North American pacifist movements and the nonviolent freedom struggle of India. Gandhi's work in South Africa had actually laid the founda-

tions of this cooperation. While the Indian struggle for freedom needed moral support from the pacifist movements of the West, the anti-militarist no-war movements sought Gandhi's advice. This mutuality helped in spreading the concept of peace by nonviolent means in many lands.

It was the first political mass movement run on nonviolent basis, and because of its many small and medium size successes as it went along, and the imaginative methods it used, it became a kind of model for some of the countries that were also fighting for independence from colonial rule. From the early twenties until the late forties, whatever happened in India in this connection, was closely watched and studied in different parts of the world. The methods used and the unique type of attitude maintained by the oppressed towards the oppressor, i.e. without bitterness, and because the struggle showed the signs of success almost at every stage of its growth, convinced many people all over the world that political conflicts of such great magnitude can be resolved without using weapons or any kind of physical force.

Although the Indian story was by no means the first one in the history of successful use of nonviolence in conflicts, it has been used more than any other example, as a model by many social change groups such as the civil rights movement of Martin Luther King and the farm workers unions of Cesar Chavez in USA. This is not the occasion to elaborate the way the Gandhian experience influenced people of other countries. The important point to note is that the education it provided in nonviolence was on a vast scale.

In India, training and mass education was part of the techniques used in the struggle. The Constructive Programme served two purposes. It tried to build alternative institutions for the reconstruction of the life of the country - socially, economically and politically. At the same time it was a scheme for training a large number of contingents of volunteers for the various campaigns of civil disobedience against the British rule.

From the very beginning of his work even in South Africa, Gandhi published journals, which eventually became powerful organs of the struggle and the propagation of the doctrine of nonviolence. *Young India* and *Harijan* were read

widely and used as a medium for public debate. As far as writings on the philosophy of nonviolence and its methods were concerned considerable amount of literature was produced by Gandhi himself and many other writers, two of who should be specially mentioned: Richard Gregg whose book *The Power of Nonviolence*, and Joan Bondurant who wrote *Conquest of Violence*. These two books along with Gandhi's *Autobiography*, and *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home rule* should be enough for anyone who wishes to learn about nonviolence as used in the Indian struggle for independence, and the programme worked out for the reconstruction of Indian politics.

After independence and Gandhi's death a major organisation emerged to continue the work. It was founded by Gandhi's followers, especially those who were engaged in the constructive programme, and who did not believe in seeking power positions and party politics. The Land Gift movement of Vinoba Bhave, was organised by this body—the Sarva Seva Sangh. The Land Gift movement developed into Gramdan, and, in addition to the work for land revolution, its educational effect on the public was profound. For a period it seemed that the most urgent problem after independence, landlordism, will also be solved by nonviolent means. The movement created a large cadre of field workers, and nearly three million acres of land was redistributed among the landless. Although the movement did not succeed in solving the land problem, it did create a climate of confidence among the movement circles. Moreover it became aware of the gaps and errors of approach towards the problems of the country.

Soon after Gandhi's death the country had raised a large fund to set up a trust in his memory. The Gandhi Memorial Trust, which handled the fund, allotted a part of it to create the Gandhi Peace Foundation, which has now been working for the last twenty-five years. It has done valuable work in the field of training, publications and more importantly, in bringing people from various disciplines together to think about the contemporary problems of the country. The Foundation has sent teams to various regions for studying conflict situations and local problems. In the early sixties it organised a world anti-nuclear

convention. Among its publication activities is the production of a couple of monthly journals— *Gandhi Marg*, in Hindi and the other in English.

An important development of the Indian nonviolent movement was the Shanti Sena, an army of nonviolent volunteers who were always prepared to go into conflict situations to make peace. It is this idea which encouraged the formation of the World Peace Brigade in 1961, which has now reemerged as the Peace Brigades International. The *Shanti Sena* has done significant work of peace-making at times of communal violence several times at various places. The *Shanti Sena*, for nearly twenty years worked in close cooperation with the *Serva Seva Sangh*. As indicated the work of training in India was always geared to specific campaigns and on a sort of ad hoc basis, which made it alive and relevant for particular situations. However, a new nonviolent training centre has come into being since the beginning of 1984. It is called Sampurna Kranti Vidyalaya—Institute of Total Revolution.

Apart from these large organisations there are numerous local groups doing grass root work. These groups belong to a wide range of philosophical backgrounds. Those among them who believe in working for nonviolent social change are presently trying to establish an informal network. Some of these groups have the experience of the mid-seventies when Jaiprakash Narayan was leading the movement against corruption and exploitation. They draw inspiration from JP's ideas of *lokniti*—people's politics, which is also called party-less democracy. Its basis is grassroots work with the view of organising the constructive elements in society and harnessing people's strength to fight corruption in and the disintegration of society.

7. peace and the environment

Gandhi's economic theory and his industrial ideas have been well defined and explained in various of his writings. In some ways they have been better formulated and explained by his colleague J.C. Kumarappa, who headed the All India Village Industries Association set up in the mid-thirties. Kumarappa, expounding Gandhi's ideas, wrote: "Work in nature consists in the effort put forth by the various factors—insentient and sentient—which cooperate to complete this cycle of life. If this cycle is broken, at any stage, at any time, consciously or unconsciously, violence results as a consequence of such a break. When violence intervenes in this way, growth or progress is stopped, ending finally in destruction and waste. Nature is unforgiving and ruthless. Therefore, self-interest and self-preservation demand complete nonviolence, cooperation and submission to the ways of nature if we are to maintain permanency by non-interference with and by not short-circuiting the cycle of life."³⁹

Kumarappa wrote the above in 1945. As though he was prophesying, for what we have now is violence and exploitation in the name of industrialisation and destruction of the earth's environment in the name of technology. Look at the way nature works: "Even sentient creatures have to fall in line and function properly in their own sphere if they are to exist. An earthworm by its movements in the earth, loosens the soil allowing it to absorb air and water. When it...thoroughly mixes the various constituent parts in its stomach and throws out a well prepared and fertilised soil—worm casts—from which plants can draw their own nutriment easily. Here is a sample of the form of vital cooperation existing between soil, plant and animal life similar to the one where bees and butterflies fertilize the flowers of plants."⁴⁰

But when chemical fertilizers are used in place of organic manures for a time they may give better crops, but continuous application of chemical fertilizers destroys the earthworm because it cannot feed on chemicals. With the disappearance of earthworms the soil becomes heavy and ultimately loses its

fertility. Nature's cycle being broken by discarding farmyard manure and vegetable composts; the Economy of Permanence yields place to the man-made Economy of Transience. When Gandhi and Kumarappa pleaded for maintaining the balance in nature, scientists and political leaders in their arrogance called them primitive and anti-development.

Talking about the human faculty called free will, Kumarappa said: "By exercising this gift in the proper way, he (man) can consciously bring about a much greater cooperation and coordination of nature's units than any other living being. Conversely, by using it wrongly he can create quite a disturbance in the economy of nature and in the end destroy himself."⁴¹

What is the situation today? And what are the forecasts in regard to the results of modern technology and industrialization? Take for instance, the use of energy both at home and in industry. There is a hunger for more and more electricity and gas to do cooking, lighting the house and running of fans, coolers, air conditioners, fridges and freezers. Industry is always complaining everywhere in the world that they do not have sufficient and cheap enough energy to run their factories profitably and efficiently. The energy generating industry must produce more power, and in order to do so it has to use more coal, oil or gas. The result of doing that is what one sees in most of the large and medium size industrial cities all over the world. I remember Delhi of my childhood days. Today it is a different city with a different sort of air and water.

Most part of the year the sky is covered with smoke and dust, eyes smart and throat chokes presumably resulting in permanent damage to health.

It is estimated that in the past 125 years the burning of fossil fuels all over the world has released 140 billion tonnes of carbon into the atmosphere. About half of it has stayed there. The current consumption of fossil fuels releases 4.5 billion tonnes of carbon into the atmosphere, half of which again stays there. The effect of this alone is that although carbon dioxide does not prevent sunlight reaching the earth, it does reduce the earth's reradiation of heat back into space, thus making the earth warmer and warmer all the time. There are

further implications: a warmer climate leads to more clouds, thus reducing the amount of heat of the Sun reaching the earth. Moreover, burning of fossil fuels also introduces a vast amount of tiny particles in the atmosphere, which can and does affect solar heating.

Although several international conferences have been held on the issue of carbon and carbon dioxide in the atmosphere the most important one being that of 1979, which concluded that this problem deserved the most urgent attention by the world community of nations, nothing as yet has happened in terms of change of policies of governments.

There are many other factors which pollute the atmosphere and make it gradually more lethal. For instance, heavy metal pollution can lead to damage of the reproductive process of brain and nervous system, lung and kidney diseases and causing cancer and abnormalities in foetuses. There are ever increasing number of cases of serious contamination of lakes and rivers, causing poisoning leading to death by eating mercury contaminated fish. Power stations emit sulphur and nitrogen oxides which in the atmosphere can be converted into sulphuric and nitric acids, and fall as 'acid rain'. Acid rain is highly corrosive and leads to acidity in rivers and lakes. Most life dies in highly acid water. In Sweden 20,000 out of nearly 100,000 lakes are ecologically virtually dead or dying because of acid water. In Southern Norway all the lakes in a 13,000 square kilometre area are devoid of fish. A U.S. National Academy of Sciences Committee has reported that even at the present level of emissions, the number of affected lakes in Europe and the U.S.A. can be expected to be more than double by 1990.

A recent report of India's Environment, suggested that a staggering 70% of the available water in India is polluted, according to scientists at the National Environment Engineering and Research Institute (NEERI). "From the Dal Lake in the North to the Periyar and Chaliyar rivers in the South, from the Damodar and Hooghly in the East to the Thane Creek in the West, the picture of water polluting is uniformly gloomy. Even our large perennial rivers like the Gariga are today heavily polluted." This has been admitted by even the Planning

Commission. Implications of such pollution are very serious. According to one estimate, two-thirds of all illnesses in India are related to water-borne diseases, many of which often take the form of epidemics. The production of this report has been a great service to the cause of public education.⁴²

Despite the fact that India is nowhere near the USA, Sweden or Britain in industrialization, it has already a very rapidly deteriorating environment. Moreover, the industry or even the Government has not become aware of the disastrous effects of environmental pollution. Nor it seems, are they inclined to check the rate of pollution leave alone totally radicalize their policies and production system to solve the problems of pollution on a permanent basis. The mood of the Government as far as experience goes, is just the contrary. Environmentalists can at any time be called agents of anti- growth and anti-nationalist. What would be the state of India's environment by the year 2,000 AD can be a subject for writing a science fiction.

Before taking up the most crucial issue of deforestation it might help going a bit more into the question of atmosphere, that of the Ozone layer in the stratosphere. The function of the Ozone layer is to absorb the Ultraviolet radiation coming from the Sun, and prevent it from reaching the earth's surface. Ultraviolet radiation speeds up the aging of skin and increases rates of skin cancer and eye diseases, reduces the rate of plant growth and slows growth in many forms of marine life. In the mid-seventies it became known that chemicals called chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) used as propellants in aerosol sprays and as the working fluid in refrigeration, might in time damage the ozone layer. CFCs released in the atmosphere eventually reach the stratosphere. There, intense sunlight may release chlorine gas from the CFCs, which could destroy ozone. Some studies suggest that 1 % reduction in ozone could increase ultraviolet radiation by 1.6-3.0%. If just two of the many CFCs now in use continue to be used at the current rate, the Ozone layer might be reduced by 5-10%. We cannot imagine what effect it would make on the life of people on the earth. Similarly the way artificial fertilizers are being used in agriculture in great quantities is most ominous. As such the use of nitrate

fertilisers will lead to higher levels of nitrous oxides in the atmosphere, which might further damage the ozone layer, effecting human health.

Consciousness about the ecological balance being destroyed by modern military industrial complex has raised innumerable questions about the way society is being managed. The most alarming item in this list is that of forests being misused and fast disappearing. Many Indian observers place the current rate of deforestation at well over one million hectares every year. Between 1951 and 1972 India lost 3.4 million hectares of forest lands to dams, new crop lands, roads and industries alone. A 1981 FAO report on Forest Resources of Tropical Asia warned that the region is faced with serious decrease in its forest stock. The stage has reached the point, the report indicates, where there is no evidence that great variety of forest services and functions such as harbouring of wild life, stabilisation of soil and of water and climatic regimes, can be re-established in the foreseeable future.

The consequences of this excessive deforestation are increasing floods, soil erosion, heavy siltation of dams built at an enormous expense and changes in micro-climate—a progressive depletion of the country's ecological bank, driving it incessantly towards bankruptcy. Flood damages alone now average Rs. 10,000 million every year. Worst than this is the deprivation to the people of forest products, firewood, timber, which are vital for human survival.⁴³

After the 1979 Stockholm Conference deforestation has become one of the major environmental issues of the decade. The Earthscan Press Briefing Document No. 31 from which I have used some information for this section on ecology, states that deforestation was "a highly political issue" at the Conference, and, therefore, the Conference recommendations were insipid. However, the Briefing gives valuable amount of information on the subject, and points out the dangers that lie in front. Peter H. Raven, Director of the Missouri Botanical Garden, USA, says: "Billions of dollars have been spent on the exploration of the Moon. We now know more about the moon than we do about the rainforests of say, Western Columbia. The Moon will be there for longer than these forests."

8. peace and nuclear energy

The next item that I want to mention here is perhaps the most important one and one that links up the problems of ecology and war in a way that is most horrific. People who have become conscious about the reasons behind the callousness of the establishment in regard to the ecological balance and its relation to the mental and physical health of human kind, are realising that the immediate profit motive of the powerful section of the community is behind it. The item is nuclear power.

For a long time the public was deluded and mesmerised by the governments being enthusiastic over the 'boon' that has been given to us in the form of atom-power. Those who used it for mass murdering wanted to wash their sins by turning atom for-war to atom-for-peace. (Eisenhower's phrase) and those who were deluded were some of the good people who saw the splitting of the atom as the dawn of human happiness. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, said on October 4, 1952: "We are interested in atomic energy for social purpose. Atomic energy represents a tremendous power. If the power can be utilised as we use hydroelectric power it would be a tremendous boon to mankind because it is likely to be more available and cheaper than the building of huge hydro-electric works. Therefore, we are interested in the development of atomic energy from the social point of view."⁴⁴ I wish Pandit Nehru were alive today to decide for himself whether it was a boon or the greatest curse to human society. Sadly enough at one time even Vinobaji had thought on those lines.

Scientists who cared more for their discoveries and who were geared to either some political idealism, vested interest, or nationalist ego, and for whom dedication to their scientific motives overruled the consideration for human life and values, did not help in seeing the whole truth. For them the atom was the provider of energy which can be used to advance technology even further. Of course it will be used, they said, to take away drudgery from work and liberate man from hard manual labour. And, undoubtedly a large segment of

these must have also had at the back of their minds the option of using nuclear power for weaponry. Homi Bhabha, a founder of the nuclear programme of India, was one of them.⁴⁵ Later some of these people, scientists, as well as politicians, called it 'deterrent'. Recently, the official communique of the Economic Summit of the Western Alliance entitled 'The London Charter for Democracy' stated ... "We believe in the need for peace with freedom and justice. Each of us rejects the use of force as a means of settling disputes. Each of us will maintain only the military strength necessary to deter any aggression..." This statement is the peak of hypocrisy coming from these big powers, who are themselves responsible for the present arms race and the global crisis.

It is now generally accepted that neither real peace can be maintained or built on the basis of the theory of deterrence nor can the civilian-social use of nuclear power be seen separate from its military use. The concern on this issue has become extremely widespread and in Europe and North America, it has taken the form of open public discussion and mass movement against, not only nuclear weapons but also against nuclear energy. Dangers of radiation after a nuclear attack as discussed in the British Medical Association's report—The Medical Effects of Nuclear War—are not limited only to a war situation. The increasing number of nuclear power plants are worrying the populations of countries where they are situated. Even a country like India is planning to build twenty-two more nuclear plants in the next 15 years or so.⁴⁶

There are two serious problems connected with nuclear plants (apart from their economy): a) radio-activity effecting their workers and the population on account of the common recurrence of accidents such as leakages, sabotage etc. and b) disposal of nuclear waste. Although opposition to nuclear power plants had already started in the sixties, in the seventies it became a serious concern of scientists as well as lay people. The famous accident of the Three Mile Island power plant in Philadelphia, USA, horrified everyone, including those who had only a vague idea of what nuclear radiation can be. The incident

was caused by a valve failure. Similar valve failures had taken _ place earlier in two of France's Pressurised Water Reactors.⁴⁷

RADIO-ACTIVITY

It had been ironic how the Three Mile Island accident took place only a few weeks after a fictional film was made of the possibility of such an accident occurring there. What it indicated was that the people had been having a constant fear of radiation well before the actual accident happened and also that the government and the industry had been deceiving them about the dangers. Apparently many accidents that had already happened in many of the nuclear plants in various countries, were kept secret from public. Somehow though, through the work of concerned people they have been brought to the notice of the press and the public eventually.

Theft of nuclear fuel is not uncommon. Just for example, at the end of 1974, it was reported: "Delhi, October 7, Parliamentary enquiries by India's Central Bureau of Investigation indicated that substantial quantity of Uranium, valued at more than £ 1 m. have been smuggled out of the country to China and Pakistan through Nepal. The CBI believed that illegal trade is being organised by Indians in league with an international gang."⁴⁸ Such acts of smuggling or theft cannot be totally safe for either those who commit them or who happen to be near them, leave aside their political implications.

People have become apprehensive about the public assurances given by governments on the safety of nuclear plants. Here is an example of the U.S. government's efforts to mislead its public, and of the reaction to it from independent bodies including scientists. The study came to be known as the Rasmussen report.⁴⁹ It was carried out under the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), U.S. and called the Reactor Safety Study. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission Chairman told the Congress that it represented a "full, objective and scientific analysis of the risks." The Study is now a 'white paper' used by the Federal Government and the industry to support their position that nuclear plants are safe enough to operate.⁶⁰

Nevertheless the findings of the Study came under severe attack from many independent scientists. The Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) in an assessment of the study found it had not considered fully and objectively a great number of factors relating risks. The report had been written by a nuclear engineer who was a Director of a nuclear industry lobbying group, and a nuclear industry consultant, who was misrepresented as being independent of the industry. The industry itself had carried out important parts of the safety analysis in the study.

The Government suppressed the report of yet another special task force of government nuclear safety experts which concluded that "it is difficult to assign a high degree of confidence" to the type of risks estimates being made by the RSS to other flaws and misrepresentations in the Report. The UCS recommended that the number and magnitude of the deficiencies of the Report were so high that it should be withdrawn. That plans for further expansion of the nuclear programme should be thoroughly reassessed in the light of the failure of the RSS to develop credible estimates for accident risks or the possibility of an accident of unacceptable size could occur in coming decades. That the operation of currently licensed nuclear plants should be promptly reviewed and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission should begin systematic review of its overall regulatory programme in the light of the RSS findings.⁵¹

In the public debate that took place in Britain on the Rasmussen report one could notice the people's concern for the integrity of the alliance between the government and the industry. The debate suggested that the U.S. controversy needs to be taken up vigorously in Britain and Europe, as the only competent critics in many of the issues affecting technological choice are independent scientists.⁵²

During the last few years many news stories have come out from UK, West Germany, Netherlands, USA, and France about cracks, leaks, and other technological failures in nuclear plants; damage due to heavy storms, and earthquakes, corrosion in nuclear waste containers lying under deep waters

and critical human errors which could have caused serious disasters. According to estimates by the Nuclear Installation Inspectorate, Britain's Official Watchdog on reactor safety, more than 30,000 people could be killed by an accident in a pressurised water reactor; about 1,500 at the time of accident, but most of the 30,000 would be cancer deaths occurring many years after the event, though they may not be readily detectable in any population exposed to radiation from accidents. The report has been published only after a long delay and pressure from environmentalists.⁵³

There is a universal practice of secrecy that governments in general have. Public discussion on defence is a taboo and discussion on the nuclear issue is considered blasphemy. I do not want to go into the reasons behind it but I do propose to show how governments are losing credibility by resorting to straightforward falsehood. A couple or so examples would suffice to illustrate this phenomenon.

The Central Electricity Generating Board (CEGB) has a plan to build another nuclear plant at Sizewell, where there is already one—Sizewell A. There was a public uproar against it. An inquiry called the Sizewell Inquiry has been set up which, if I recall correctly, is going on for the last two years or so. Overwhelming evidence submitted by the various popular movements indicate the thoroughness of their arguments against the new power plant. They say that radiation from the plant is killing people of cancer. There were five leukaemia deaths involving CEGB power station staff in England and Wales. Out of these five, three were at Sizewell A. At one of the sittings of the inquiry, Dr John Bonnell, the CEGB Chief Medical Adviser said that he was at a loss to explain why these deaths had occurred at Sizewell A. But he added: "We are convinced they are not due to radiation." After giving evidence at the Snape Maltings. Suffock, Bonnell, commenting on another such death, said, "This case, tragic as it is, is not due to radiation at Sizewell. It may be something in the air, something they have eaten. It may be a chance. We just don't know." He added that if radio activity was to blame for the incidence Of leukaemia among Sizewell staff, on the basis of recorded radiation doses, the board,

which wants to build Britain's first pressurised water nuclear reactor at Sizewell, would have expected 18 times more leukaemia deaths from its power stations than in fact had been recorded. He also told the inquiry that people living near nuclear power plants receive less radiation exposure from them than in their own homes from consumer products like colour television, luminous watches and smoke detectors. The CEGB's basic argument, it seems, is that the population was exposed to low levels of radiation from a mixture of sources. These include cosmic rays from outer space, external radiation from ancient rocks, especially granite and from diet.⁵⁴ How can such statements be made, despite the known fact that operator radiation exposure level of PWR's is higher than that of the advanced gas cooled type reactors. It is hard to understand how can the Board or for that matter the Government, think they can deceive the people today when some of the most competent scientists in this field are active in the anti-nuclear movement.

The story about the Windscale accident is even more disturbing. According to Paul Rowntree's letter to *The Guardian* Editor, the Windscale No. 1 reactor caught fire on October 10, 1957- "An article by John Urquhart of New Castle University, published in *New Scientist*, March 31, 1983, claimed that 1,000 deaths must have occurred as a result of the release. These were in addition to 260 deaths from Thyroid cancer which the National Radiological Protection Board thinks may have occurred as a result of the accident." The letter to the Editor continues, "According to your report, the NRPB is embarrassed about not knowing that the reactor contained polonium, and, in mitigation, points out that it had taken the official enquiry reports at face value.

"Certainly, given the nuclear industry's record of distortions, fantasies and untruths, this was extraordinarily naive. The official report on the accident by Sir Alexander Flick⁵⁵ offers no explanation for the presence of Lithium magnesium catridges in the reactor and suppresses all mention of polonium."

The letter also gives an indication of the relationship between nuclear power for so-called social purposes and nuclear power for weaponry. "The reactor in which the fire occurred was planned from the beginning to produce not only

weapon- grade plutonium but also polonium and tritium for use in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Polonium produced by the irradiation of bismuth; and tritium is produced by the irradiation of lithium. Lithium burns on contact with air, and when a lithium cartridge ruptured it set the pile alight."

"Despite the Windscale assurance from British Nuclear Fuels Ltd. that staff exposed to polonium would not suffer any harm, the development of late radiation effects, such as bone-marrow cancer, is to be anticipated in staff operationally exposed to this exceptionally dangerous radio-element.

"The truth about the Windscale fire has been systematically suppressed in order to protect the nuclear weapons and nuclear power programme from the backlash of public opinion..."

As a result of the Windscale fire a cloud of radioactivity spread across England, and eventually reached Holland. At the time the authorities denied that there was any danger to local inhabitants. However, mounting pressure from the Political Ecology Research Group eventually led to a report which suggested that 260 people may have contracted cancer, 20 of them fatally. The National Radiological Protection Board, due to public pressure, produced a second report, published in the last week of January last year, which suggested that the Windscale death total may have reached 33—an estimate still rejected by Mr. Urqhart, who believes upto 1,000 people may have died, because of the Windscale blaze.⁵⁶

Public education on the question of peace, particularly in the USA and Western Europe has been happening in all sorts of ways—mostly, of course, through the efforts of independent scientists, journalists, and public leaders. About a year ago, in early 1983, in U.K. a group of radiation experts had called for an independent investigation of the medical records of 8,000 servicemen who may have been exposed to high doses of radiation during nuclear testing in the 1950s. The BBC had conducted a nationwide investigation into this problem. According to this programme the incidence of radiation related illnesses, including cancer, leukaemia and cataracts, appears to be much higher than official Government figures show. The Government has consistently denied that

the servicemen were at risk. The BBC team collected more than 500 cases of diseases among servicemen who witnessed tests of Christmas Island in the Pacific Ocean, and a study of 330 of them has shown consistently high levels of cataracts and leukaemia. While the Government figures state that of the 8,000 only 17 have cancer of the blood, the BBC research team shows 37 having been affected.⁵⁷

It is now known that nuclear tests, whether in atmosphere, underwater or underground, are undoubtedly most dangerous. What is the story of the Indian Pokharan blast, nobody knows. Nothing has been published or even leaked out as far as public information is concerned. But numerous stories have come out from other parts of the world, particularly those parts of the world where the public and independent experts have become aware of the dangerous effects of the nuclear arms race. *The Observer*, London, published on April 3, 1983, a story of Yami Laster, a blind man, a member of an aboriginal group from central Australia. It was October 15, 1953'. Laster said: "I looked up South and saw this black smoke rolling through the mulga. It just came at us through the trees like a black mist. The old people started shouting: Its a mamu (an evil spirit)...they dug holes in the sand-dune and said: Get in here, you kids. We got in and it rolled over and around us and went away."

"Everyone was vomiting and had diarrhoea and people were laid out everywhere. Next day, people had very sore eyes, red with tears, and I could not open my eyes. I lost my sight in my right eye and could see only a bit with my left eye. I lost my left eye-sight in 1957. Five days after the black cloud came, the old people started dying."

The story of the effects of these tests—Totem I and Totem II— at Emu Field in 1953, started coming to light when patterns of cancer and leukaemia began emerging among British ex- servicemen. The site was abandoned after two tests. Aboriginal families were doused with radiation. Remaining aboriginals were rounded up into camp hundreds of miles away for the next series of tests further South at Marlinga, where they suffered great misery and social disintegration.

Between 1957 and 1962, they wandered about the unfenced range, unable to read warning signs. On at least four occasions, families were found there, three times camped in craters themselves. Hitherto secret Aldermaston documents show the ground was highly radioactive for years afterwards.

The Observer report states: "White Australia was awe struck by the top secret military atmosphere of the tests. Australians were lectured by their Anglophile Prime Minister, Robert Menzies, that they must welcome the British programme. Over and over again they were assured it was totally safe, even to the point of suppressing awkward scientific information." Loads of information on the callousness of the military leaders and the two governments is contained in the Atomic Weapon Research Establishment (AWRE) report of 1968, which the Ministry of Defence refuses to release on grounds that it is classified. But the report said that *The Observer* had obtained a copy, with the help of which it was able to flash the information all over the world.

NUCLEAR WASTE

The other, even more worrying problem—the disposal of nuclear waste—is almost totally unresolved. There is no way yet found to get rid of the nuclear waste, despite all the romantic propositions by official experts. As things stand at present and the way nuclear industry wants to deal with the issue, the industry as well as governments cannot be trusted. They lack the imagination, tact and the willingness to discuss in public without the people feeling that they are being either bypassed or dodged. A powerful popular movement is taking shape and local groups being formed to fight the dumping of nuclear waste often done in a surreptitious manner. It has created much anxiety in the people living in vulnerable areas. Local authorities, counties, villages are organising themselves to declare their areas as Nuclear Free Zones. In the end, though these movements may not succeed against the powerful machinery of the State, they are prepared to go to court or court arrest as part of their nonviolent resistance against government policy on the subject.

In recent months quite a few groups have succeeded in preventing the authorities from unloading the waste in their areas, and forcing them to take

their cargo back. Last September in Britain low level radioactive waste was stranded in railway sidings by a union ban instead of being dumped at sea. It had to go back to the Atomic Energy Research Establishment at Harwell in Oxfordshire, UK. A report said: "The embarrassing return of the waste that nobody wants has been caused by British Rail, which announced it needed the wagons that had carried the waste and were still sitting in sidings in Bicester Oxfordshire.

"...The Government and the industry had intended to dump some 3,600 tonnes of nuclear waste at sea' this, summer despite an international attempt to ban the practice this year. Britain leads the world in the amount of radioactive waste it dumps in the sea and has been the target of anti-nuclear campaigning both here and abroad...A spokesman for the Nuclear Industry Radioactive Waste Executive said...that it was hoped that eventually the material could be dumped at sea, but in the meantime it would be stored in the shed that originally housed it."⁵⁸

One practice is to store the waste in concrete drums to be dropped on the seabed. There is no data anywhere to say for certain what would happen to it in course of time and in case of earthquake or any such natural catastrophe. There are surely cases where the waters have been contaminated and animal life has come to an end. A serious, problem that concerns the peace movement and the environmentalists is the transport of the waste through congested areas by the road transport or by rail. Numerous accidents have happened which should prove a warning to the governments about dangers that are obvious. On the contrary, governments and their concerned departments pretend that nothing serious can happen. They can even be so arrogant as to say that nothing serious can happen if an accident takes place in transit of either nuclear waste or even warheads.

On April 26, 1984, a British train carrying waste and a car collided. The report did not mention the place of accident. It evidently posed a threat to public safety, but the Ministry of Transport said that the collision had taken place at less than five miles per hour and that the flask carrying the waste was made to

withstand drops of thirty feet. One naturally wonders what would be the consequences if the accident were to be more serious and the drop much above the strength limit of the flask.⁵⁹

As there is no real answer to the problem of the disposal of nuclear waste, to pretend then to know everything, is to deceive the public, who normally cannot judge the credibility of the 'experts', government or private. Some 'experts' can give statements such as: The problem is simple because all the nuclear waste of a plant can be packed in a one foot cube and deposited safely in a place where nobody goes. And, of course, who will go a mile deep under water on the sea-bed! So the public should not be over anxious about the problem of nuclear waste." A country may have only 3 or 4 nuclear plants at a given period, but may be planning dozens more in the future. Today the amount of nuclear waste may be only a truckload, but what will be the situation, how 'simple' would it remain when it reaches the size like that of the U.S. or UK i.e. when the quantity of the waste goes to several thousand tonnes every year ?

Moreover, there is also the question of the quality of the transport system. In Delhi not a day goes by when I do not see a truck or a lorry lying broken down on its side. What if a truck carrying the deadly drums crashes and the cargo is thrown more than thirty feet away into the street. In Europe and north America the public has become aware of the dangers of nuclear weapons and has organised campaigns to force their governments to change their policies. Some time ago, for instance, members of the Greenpeace's Dutch branch anchored off the Cumbrian coast were threatening to block the discharge pipe from Sellafield if the Nordic resolution was not accepted. The resolution demanded that the best technology should be employed to stop radio activity being pumped into the sea. The problem does not end there. The challenge is not as to how to postpone the solution but to find it *now* before it is too late!

SUMMARY OF PART ONE

During the last thirty years or so public debate has been carried out by peace movements and their associated organisations in the form of writings—books, journals, reports, investigations, manuals; briefings, letters; exhibitions; audio-visual material, films etc.; research work into the questions of peace and justice and its popularisation; demonstrations against government policies on the issue of war and peace, including civil disobedience leading to imprisonments and even death sentences; nonviolent training movement and similar media of public education. These have equipped us with fairly sophisticated information on the politics of peace. It is obvious that this essay could touch only a fraction of what has been happening in the field of peace education. Every day new material in different media is being added to our already very rich store of knowledge. It is not possible here, even to think of presenting a comprehensive worldwide picture of the institutions and processes that are operating as peace education programmes. As I wrote these words, I received by post some excellent new material on peace education, teaching aids and teachers organisation for peace from the UK.

Here in this section I have tried to say that the peace movement in its widest sense, today includes nonviolent activists; pacifists; anti-nuclear weapon campaigns; anti-nuclear-energy groups; groups for total and general disarmament; unilateralists as well as multi-lateralists; peace researchers; women's liberation groups; anti-racists; gay liberation groups; environmentalists; groups for appropriate technologies; professional groups concerned with peace; and many others. They are all concerned with human survival, justice and dignity. They all are convinced that public education on matters of peace, along with training to act in opposition to the wrong and dangerous policies of the establishment are imperative for building a world without war. Above all, they all participate in the process of bringing lasting peace on earth. I could include only a very few of them in the book. And the

work that I have described is only a minute fraction of what is going on in the peace movement.

Before concluding this part of the book I want to repeat what I have said in so many words, that today we have all the information, technical as well as political, about the destructibility of war, and the means to communicate that information to the masses of population around the world. At the same time we have now enough confidence in ourselves to be able to reform our social and political structures, if only we could make a breakthrough.

WHAT COULD THIS BREAKTHROUGH BE?

What could this breakthrough be? More information? More demonstrations? Yes and No! But more No than Yes. Information has often led to playing number games, particularly in the field of disarmament. Lot of what we read or hear in terms of *peace proposals*—not only from the establishment, e.g. SALT 1, SALT 2 or the rest of it, but also from some independent research and peace organisations—looks like mathematical puzzles. They give arithmetical calculations of who should reduce how many war-heads and tanks etc.

But what is the use of this exercise when we know that the present stockpiles of nuclear weapons—I am leaving the question of conventional weapons out of this discussion altogether—can annihilate the world's population thirty to forty times over. I can understand dying once, unless it is in an allegorical sense. But no! War is not poetic; it is no longer the kind of war of which poets sang songs of bravery or separation of lovers. Those elements have totally disappeared from the concept of war and the battlefield. There are no battlefields as such left on this earth; every inch of it has turned into a battlefield. War today is a curse on humanity and unless pure and simple sacrifices are made to get rid of this curse, it will destroy us and all the beauty and goodness we still are endowed with. The breakthrough can be brought about only by a qualitative change in our understanding of human nature and in our actions against war and more so against its causes— simultaneously and quickly.

Out of the millions of people who are worried about human survival, can just ten per cent of them be convinced that to liberate humanity from this modern curse personal sacrifices *have* to be made. Can we change our educational systems from being factories for manufacturing self-centred immature individuals into centres of learning the art of living cooperatively and in harmony with all existence and at the same time the courage of saying no to power?

PART TWO

EDUCATION FOR PEACE

—a thesis

A former U.S. ambassador to Russia, Prof. George Kennan, said in a speech in 1981: "We have gone on piling weapon upon weapon, missile upon missile... like the victims of some sort of hypnotism, like men in a dream, like lemmings heading for the sea..."⁶⁰

I want to ask a question. Why do we behave like lemmings? Why do we allow it to happen? Lord Mountbatten once said in a speech in Strasbourg, in 1978, that the world "now stands on the brink of the final abyss..." In the same speech he asked: "How can we stand by and do nothing to prevent the destruction of our world... Do the frightening facts about the arms race, which show that we are rushing headlong towards a precipice, make any of those responsible for this disastrous course pull themselves together and reach the brakes?" Mountbatten said that the answer is "NO".

On 23rd October, 1981, the evening before the great demonstration against nuclear weapons took place in London, Nicholas Humphrey gave the Bronowski lecture on the BBC. He said: "I want to ask why the answer can be 'No'... As a psychologist I am concerned with the feelings, perceptions and motives of individual human beings. When a lemming runs, it is not pushed or pulled by outside forces, it runs to destruction on its own four feet. It is as individuals that we can and might apply the brakes, and as individuals that we can and do fail. Responsibility for this disastrous course begins right here".⁶¹

Unfortunately, not enough people are either mentally prepared or willing to take the responsibility on themselves as individuals to apply the brakes, to say, No, I shall not allow it. As an educationist and artist craftsman, I want to explore the reasons behind this inability of individuals to act and be counted, when it comes to the crunch.

Once, while travelling in Scandinavia in 1966,¹ had a meeting with some Swedish draft-age men, who had declared themselves as conscientious objectors (C.O.s) to military service and opted for alternative civilian service. They were about One hundred and fifty out of approximately six hundred that year receiving training before starting alternative service in hospitals, old people's homes etc. Towards the end of the meeting I asked the group if they knew the total number of conscripts that year. I think they said "over twenty-five thousand". Then I asked if they could explain why on earth only six hundred out of twenty-five thousand had opted for C.O. status, especially as life of a C.O. in Sweden was somewhat easier than that of a conscripted soldier? They could go home every week and their girl-friends and relatives could visit them every now and then.

The answer to my question came after the meeting was over, when ten or twelve of them came to me and suggested that we continue the discussion informally in the bar. "The fact is," one of them said, "they are afraid of making their *own* decisions." Another added: "Most young men dislike military service, yet to write NO on the form is difficult. After a period of dilemma they just sign the form, designed precisely in a manner to place the draftee in that particular kind of dilemma."

Draft-age men in Sweden—and many other countries—have to report for registration for military service, which is compulsory and a constitutional requirement. But if anybody wants to do "non-combatant" service he has to submit a special application for a C.O. status. The application must be in writing and should state the grounds for the objection. It should also provide names and addresses of two references.⁶² In short, it is a procedure in which one has to *think* and *make-up* one's mind this way or the other. The young man who answered my question—and all the others nodded in approval—added: "At the moment of decision-making you find yourself saying YES, which seems to be the easiest escape. After all the life in the military, specially in peacetime, is not too bad, and its length is four months shorter than that of alternative

service." The essence of it all is that in one case the decision is made *for* you and in the other have to make *your own* decision.

The crux of the matter is that in spite of the claims of modern up-bringing and education that they prepare the individual for facing life sensibly and courageously, men and women today are the least prepared to creatively confront the challenges of life and the dilemmas it presents in their day-to-day living. Most of the young men who eventually put YES on their draft forms did not know what actually they wanted. "When Ali asked Mohammad, 'What am I to do that I may not waste my time?' the Prophet answered, 'Learn to know thyself.'⁶³ Modern education spends all its resources in teaching how to know the facts about the universe and go to the moon, but totally ignores the need of self-knowledge, which alone can help in [resolving the dilemmas that are presented at every new step one takes in life.

But before going into the main thesis I want to point out that we have used fear as the major tool of motivation. If we go back to the beginnings of the campaigns for nuclear disarmament in the late fifties in various countries, we recall that their slogans emphasised mainly two issues. The first was a concern with the horrific nature of nuclear weapons and the speed with which they were being stock-piled, and tested over ground, underwater and underground. The cold war psychology and the behaviour of the two big powers—the U.S, with its allies and the USSR with their satellite governments- made the issue of stock-piling of nuclear weapons and the worldwide spread of nuclear bases most urgent. The other message of the campaigns was that the arms race must be immediately stopped by exerting successful public pressure on a massive scale all over the world, otherwise the world will blow up in pieces, as it was at a precipice of total annihilation.

It is a fact that the two sides, the U.S. and USSR have been at loggerheads with each other all throughout the period following the Second World War. And who knows, it could have happened if the mass movement had not come into being to mount such an intensive and worldwide pressure on the governments of the concerned powers. Even the top-most scientists' community used its influence

through the Pugwash conference, which at that time was to be reckoned with as a very important independent body of experts against nuclear weapons.

However, the campaign could not sustain itself for too long. The average citizen who was told of the coming deluge saw that the world after all has not come to an end as the campaign had predicted. Life went on as usual—even improving on matters of affluence. The fear was short lived. Psychologically speaking the will to live on supersedes all other emotions. One likes to think 'it cannot happen to me'. People need an excuse, which was provided by the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963, and which created the welcome illusion of the beginning of the end of the nuclear race. But in reality "the frequency of tests increased after the 1963 PTBT with 629 underground and atmospheric tests up to 1976"⁶⁴. In religion, in education and in politics fear has played a central role. But it has not worked. On the contrary, it has deadened our sensitivity and made our humanity blunt. Fear destroys initiative and spontaneity. It is not a reliable factor to be used for motivating people to act against evil and injustice.

I shall try to examine the *fear* that is involved in the theory of learning on the basis of *reward and punishment*. A simple example of the application of this theory is the technique used for training circus animals. Why should "a tiger or for that matter any animal jump through a ring of blazing fire? It does it because it has been made to experience that there is some delicious food waiting for him beyond the ring of fire. It is in response to a stimulus from outside which has modified its behaviour to do things which it would not under normal conditions.

Application of this theory is not very different in the case of children. The only difference is in the quality and quantity of punishment and reward. Most experts of behaviour modification perceive their strategy of changing behaviour patterns of children—and also adults—as a series of manipulations of the environment in a systematic manner, already determined on the basis of prior analysis. In the ultimate analysis, fear plays an important role in modifying behaviour. An organism responds in a certain manner due to the fear

of punishment or of not receiving reward. One danger, apart from its inadequacies, is that by the use of this *technology* by parents or teachers, children could become "addicted" to doing things only when rewarded or punished. On the other hand, there can be situations where rewards or punishments can become non-stimulants or non-reinforcers.

My contention is that the application of this theory by nature is entirely different in its methods as well as in its results. The way it is mostly applied in educational processes in the schools or at home, creates a different mentality and different kind of responses in the child. A child who burns its fingers by touching a hot surface will learn that it hurts to do so, and therefore it is better to be more careful next time. If the hot surface is an artificial creation by a behaviour modification agency, it is likely that someday the child will know about it and start hating the person who did it. The end result will be negative and harmful. On the other hand when the 'stimulant' is part of the natural and normal situation, the result will be more desirable. In that case the child would reason within himself or herself about its cause and effect and also regarding the question: whose responsibility was it in inflicting the pain or punishment for that matter?

In other words, *manipulation of the environment in a systematic manner based on prior analysis* is not an effective way to teach. Such stimulants have not to be artificially created, they are there in the child's or adult's normal life situation. A caring and loving home or school, will have all the stimulants and necessary protections against undue harm that any of the stimulants may do to the child, e.g. fire in the living room Would have a proper protective screen; one that would *naturally* become hot enough for the child to learn the character of heat. To put this in the form of a principle : Anything that hinders the innate human faculties and processes of learning by experience and personal responsibility cannot inculcate real understanding, and help in the processes of internalization.

Education should not be a process to teach to *perform*. It is a way, firstly to liberate ourselves from the burdens with which we have been born, e.g.

distrust, instincts or withdrawal etc., and secondly to equip us with self-knowledge and the know-how for enhancing those of our innate strengths which unite us with the world around in peace and togetherness.

I am not denying the fact that fear plays an important role in our lives- This role can be either of positive or negative nature. To illustrate the point. I give the example of the Greenham Common Protest Camp. The Camp was an initiative by a small group of women who felt desperate about the prospect of the U.S. cruise missiles being sited in their country. More and more women are acknowledging their *fear* of nuclear weapons and gaining confidence to take action. They say: "Fear is the starting point..."⁶⁵ Thousands of other people also have this kind of fear, but it has not turned into action in their lives. The Greenham Common sisters have transcended the fear in the ordinary sense. For them the *action* they have taken is also for building "a life worth living". Moreover comparatively they are very few in number.

I should explain what I mean by fear not being a reliable factor to be used for motivating people to act. I shall give here two examples. In Bernard Shaw's play, *The Black Woman in Search of God*, there is a scene of a man sitting under a tree and talking to the Black Woman. He said that he did not know how to climb trees. After a while all of a sudden the Black Woman told him in a panicky voice that he was sitting on a crocodile; the log of wood on which he sat did look like a crocodile. He jumped up and found himself on the tree. Now he could not climb down, even after being convinced that the log of wood was not a crocodile. He had to be frightened again, this time of a poisonous snake hanging over his head so that he would jump down in desperation. Fear worked wonderfully, but the responses of the old man were totally mechanical. In the dictionary explanation of Behaviorism it also says: "The extreme behaviorist has no use for consciousness or conscious process"⁶⁶

The second example concerns one of my own experiences. Bengal suffered from very severe floods in 1943. As student volunteers some of us went to the nearby affected villages to do relief work. In the course of this work at one time two of us reached near a house which had already two feet of water

around and it was rising rapidly. There were a pair of bullocks and a cart in the courtyard. Two small children were scraping the last grains of rice from a bowl on the verandah, which also would submerge in water any time. The family could load the cart with their possessions in five or six minutes but they had not done it when we reached them. We tried to persuade them to come with us to a safe place. There was no response whatsoever.

The picture of that moment has been engraved so deeply in my mind that I can never forget it. There was death standing right in front of them and by their side there were people to help—asking, persuading, even pushing them to escape. Yet the family, especially the couple, young and strong in looks, and an old man, perhaps the grandfather of the children, who were too young to know what was happening, stood completely stunned with no wish left to move. Fear of death for them had reached the height that all the motivation to live had evaporated. We had to actually drag them away; which was easy enough because they had no resistance left. There seems to be a border line somewhere in the middle of the scale of *fear* which neutralizes motivation, and beyond which there develops a mechanism against any thought of fear. At that point one loses all the initiative.

I can understand making use of fear for therapy, in which case it will be a matter of deciding the maximum 'degree of fear that can and should be used to motivate those *patients* who, for one reason or another, have lost initiative or hope, due to some neurological or other reason. In other words it is a matter of discovering and deciding the position of that border line. But the fact is that for a majority of people there is some other force different from fear which is more positive and lasting, and which comes from within one's self. In this [thesis I have not discussed "special education", i.e. therapy etc. though its implication could be applicable for that too.

The factor of ignorance, however pure and innocent, or for that matter deliberate is an element equally to be rejected. Nicholas Humphrey cites an experience. "When I was a child we had an old pet tortoise we called Ajax. One autumn Ajax, doubtless looking for a winter home, crawled unnoticed into the

pile of wood and bracken my father was making for Guy Fawkes' Day. As days passed and more and more pieces of tinder were added to the pile, Ajax must have felt more and more secure; every day he was getting greater protection from the frost and rain. On 5th November bonfire and tortoise were reduced to ashes."⁶⁷ Are there some of us who still believe that the piling up of weapons upon weapons adds to our security that the dangers are nothing compared to the assurance they provide?

In the earlier section of this book I have presented a brief survey of the work of the various wings of the peace movement, training, research, public information, peace action groups as well as of those which relate indirectly to the problem of war and peace, such as the environmentalists, counter-culture groups etc. I am extremely impressed by the quality and quantity of the information these movements are providing to the experts as well as the public on the dangers of wars in general and nuclear weapons in particular. And yet when it comes to take drastic action against the dangers that hang over our heads, most of us lack the inclination and courage to say as individuals: "I shall not allow it to happen".

Why does it happen that way? Why isn't all that information, undisputedly true and efficiently conveyed, making the impact that its gatherers, and disseminators aim at? The answer to this question lies somewhere in the inner layers of the human personality and its developmental processes. It seems quite obvious that mere information need not necessarily create motivation. Motivation can be of different types, qualities and importance. For example, if A has no particular thing to do and is lazing in the evening and B drops in with information that a good film is showing on the TV or at the local cinema, A may be tempted to say : let us go. Here, the given information does provide motivation to A for overcoming the laziness. It will depend, of course, on so many other factors, e.g. whether A is fond of films or films of a particular kind or whether A likes the judgement or the company of B etc. etc.

However, if the information received should involve a major decision-taking process its impact might be different. Moreover, if acting upon the information

received meant risks life, money or image, etc, the result may be entirely different. What would determine the response would be the degree of predisposition of A to act (or react) in a given situation. The degree of predisposition (or absence of predisposition) would again depend upon the level of cognitive development of the person and his or her capacity to make judgements as well as the capacity to take social responsibility, the urge to exercise one's power, and the preparedness to face suffering/punishment if taking action is considered illegal in the court of law. Based on observations and deductions I present a thesis:

A peaceful and warless world cannot be created by providing information and developing intellectual virtues alone, but, first and foremost, by fostering moral self-discipline and by making an aesthetic approach to education, in all its aspects and stages, for the development of men and women to their full humanity, and their capacity to live in creative peace and cooperation with one another and all existence.

A person may have all the knowledge as to how to act in a given situation, but be unable to control his or her impulses and desires. One may have all the understanding but be a creature of bad habits. Knowledge and self-discipline are, therefore, two different virtues. Intellectual virtue can be codified and generally accepted as a system of beliefs and customs; but moral virtue is the inner dynamics of our psychological make-up. It is necessary to explain the word 'moral' that I have used here. Unfortunately the concept of morality is too much attached to religion or understood as rationalistic or legalistic codification of right and wrong. But, morality is neither a mystery nor a judgement. It is the exercise of a free choice. It is a spontaneous act of volition. Its basis is neither in blind faith nor in reason, but in a particular kind of discipline.⁶⁸ The only problem is how to develop that kind of discipline and to ensure that the choice will be made in the right direction.

What has actually happened in the modern society is that the sense of responsibility has changed its character. In the contemporary society

responsibility has gradually shrunk to its present dimensions; and responsible subjects consist exclusively of adults who are alive and in their right minds. In traditional society, particularly of the pre-modern times, however, was based on a set of beliefs and feelings which formed a whole which must be retained and defended. The Kernel of these beliefs was (and is) the feeling of the sacred, which again was the source of all morality and religion. On the other hand in modern society, which is, in its outlook and lifestyle western oriented, even in other than Western countries, morality has become more personalized and subjectivised. In other words collective conscience has little role in it. There would be nothing wrong in morality becoming a matter of personal decision, in fact, today it would be very desirable, but as it is, personalizing morality has made it a commodity which can be bought in the court of law or in¹ temple, mosque or church. If personalized morality has the foundation in the autonomy of conscience, it will make an entirely different impact on the personality, specially in relation to making moral judgements.

Talking about the development of moral judgement in children Jean Piaget says: "...we have recognized the existence of two moralities in the child, that of constraint and that of cooperation. The morality of constraint is that of duty pure and simple and of heteronomy. The child accepts from adult a certain number of commands to which it must submit whatever the circumstances may be. Right is what conforms with these commands; wrong is what fails to do so; the intention plays a very small part in this conception, and the responsibility is entirely objective. But, first parallel with this morality, and then in contrast to it, there is gradually developed a morality of cooperation, whose guiding principle is solidarity and which puts the primary emphasis on autonomy of conscience, on intentionality, and consequently on subjective responsibility. Now it should be noted that while the ethics of mutual respect is, from the point of view of values, opposed to that of unilateral respect, the former is nevertheless the natural outcome of the latter from the point of view of what causes this evolution. In so far as the child tends towards manhood, the relations with the adult tend towards equality. The unilateral respect belonging to constraint is not a stable system, and the equilibrium towards

which it tends is no other than mutual respect. It cannot, therefore, be mentioned with regard to the child that the final performance of subjective over objective responsibility is the outcome of antagonistic forces in relation to responsibility in general. Rather it is virtue of a sort of inner logic that the more evolved follow upon the more primitive forces, though in structure the former differ qualitatively from the latter."⁶⁹

The question is: How much it really happens in real life and if it does, under what kind of situation? Which schools or how many, families understand this 'natural' evolution of the concept of responsibility in children? Moreover, there are so many other factors and situations that influence the growth of the individual, e.g. the values that are upheld in the society. Are these values divisive or do they nurture the sense of responsibility growing from within?

Before we try to explore the sources of this kind of moral self-discipline let us look into the nature of man. "Man is *in* nature, subject to its dictates and accidents, yet he *transcends* nature because he lacks the unawareness which makes the animal a part of nature—as one with it. Man is confronted with the frightening conflict of being the prisoner of nature, yet being free in his thought; being a part of nature, and yet to be as it were a freak of nature ; being neither here nor there. Human self-awareness has made man a stranger in the world, separate, lonely, and frightened."⁷⁰

Man is both body and soul, angel and animal. This is also the classic view of man expressed in most religions of the world. The body is in conflict with the spirit, the angel with the animal. The essence of man is the combination of this conflict in him and the urge to find a solution of the conflict. What can he do to find a harmony to free him from the pain of aloneness and to make him at home in the world and to find a sense of unity? The answer to the question must help him to overcome the sense of separateness and to gain a sense of union and of belonging. According to Eric Fromm it can be a regressive answer, which means going back to where he came from, i.e. to animal life. He can try to do away with that which makes him human and yet tortures him: his reason and self-awareness. Alternatively, it can be a "*progressive solution*, that of

finding a new harmony... by the full development of all human forces, of the humanity within oneself."⁷¹

If the essence of man is neither good nor evil, but a contradiction that demands the search for the solution which again creates new contradictions, then he can indeed make the choice. On what factors does this freedom to choose between contradictory inclinations depend? "Quite obviously", says Fromm, "the most important factor lies in the respective strengths of the contradictory inclinations, particularly in the strength of the unconscious aspects of these inclinations. But if we ask what factors support freedom of choice even if the irrational inclination is stronger, we find that the decisive factor in choosing the better rather than the worse lies in *awareness*. 1. awareness of what constitute good or evil; 2. which action in the concrete situation is an appropriate means to the desired end ; 3. awareness of the forces behind the apparent wish; that means the discovery or *unconscious* desires ; 4. awareness of the real possibilities between which one can choose ; 5. awareness of the consequences of the one choice as against the other ; 6. awareness of the fact that awareness as such is not effective unless it is accompanied by the *will* to act, by the readiness to suffer the pain of frustration that necessarily results from an action contrary to one's passions."⁷²

Fromm is so correct in giving such great importance to awareness. But I do not think that awareness as such can generate the "will to act" and the "readiness to suffer the pain...from an action contrary to one's passions". Fromm's position is based entirely on rationality. As it has already been stated that in spite of all the possible awareness it is very hard to take an action which is certain to cause pain. Have we not seen time and again that many a great intellectual and student of human behaviour and mind has failed to take action against gross human suffering and injustice for fear of reprisal from the establishment. How many of them have often sold their souls to save their skin knowing well in their hearts that what they were doing was *morally wrong*.

In all lands and civilization there are loads of examples where out of fear of persecution—physical, psychological or political—or for the attraction of

money, position and power intellectuals, academics and so-called leaders have violated the dictates of their ethical standards or values. In my own country, India, to be morally sound and honest today is to be impractical or anti-social. Social responsibility there is treated as a risky and expensive business—not only in the matters of life and death, but in the day-to-day and hour-to-hour life. In the market, on roads and in work situations, everybody seems to be looking after their own selfish interests. India is not alone in this matter. There is very little evidence of genuine cooperation or "l sense of responsibility anywhere in the modern world. Why is it so? Why has the concept of responsibility shrunk in the modern society? Why are there so few people who are *alive and in their right minds*?

My contention is that the will to act even if it means suffering goes far beyond awareness and rationality. Will to act under such circumstances transcends rationality, the realm of our intellectual existence. There is a point where the choice would depend on one's moral maturity, moral discipline. Moral virtue, which the modern psychologists would call integrated personality, comes about as a result of habit; which in turn is the product of a certain kind of lifestyle and inner discipline introduced at the early stages of our upbringing and fostered throughout the life. And this means that moral virtue should have the fundamental priority in education at home, in school and in the community.

This leads me back to the earlier question. Why is man today unable to internalize the information which he finds intellectually sensible and useful? The answer is that educational systems everywhere begin and end with the pursuit of intellectual growth of the personality and knowingly or unknowingly distorts the emotional side of our being. Education today stresses the development of logical faculties, which are the functions of that part of our psychic apparatus which is called ego and which represents reason and common sense. I like to give the old fashioned simile of the human mind being like an iceberg of which only one-tenth part remains outside and nine-tenths submerged under water. The one-tenth being the conscious and the nine-tenths unconscious mind. Present day education handles the conscious and

totally ignores the unconscious, the id, which contains the passions and the source of all energy.

I quote from *A Dictionary of Psychoanalysis*, "The 'id' contains everything that is present at birth, that is fixed in the constitution—above all, therefore, the instincts, which originate from the somatic organization and which find a first psychical expression (in the id) in forms unknown to us— Freud (1940)... the id is unorganized, the ego organized ; the id observes the pleasure principle, the ego the reality principle ; the id is emotional, the ego rational; the id conforms to the primary processes which ignore differences and are oblivious of contradiction and of space and time, the ego conforms to the secondary processes which are analytical and respect the principles of contradiction and categories of space and time."⁷³ Under the impact of modern education—and also our upbringing—the id, the unconscious, does not only remain unlived, but is also repressed and regressed. Education slows down and distorts the process by which precepts are converted into images forming part of our mental furniture and structure.

Herbert Read explains it very well: "The whole ideal of education... is intellectual. It tends to become even narrower than that: the ideal... is scientific. Even in subjects which used to be described as 'liberal'—philosophy, literature and history—the spirit of teaching becomes increasingly 'objective' or 'positive' and all questions of 'value' are rigidly excluded..."

"I agree to a limited extent a discipline of the will is given in games education. I do not deplore the time given to games in our schools—on the contrary, it is often the only time well spent. But the moral discipline thus inculcated is of very limited duration—it has no depth, it does not involve the imagination or the emotional life in any profound sense. Games morality, the team spirit, has become indeed just one more social convention, though to be 'a good sport' generally means to behave like a human being rather than a conventional citizen—in other words to disregard 'morality'. But 'morality', in the sense of a code of right and wrong, has to be distinguished from the moral values of good and evil. Morality itself has been intellectualized, codified, and made a matter

of rational judgement instead of spontaneous action. Moral education in the ancient world, when Plato and Aristotle handled the theme, meant the learning of something like good manners or good form, good doing and good making; it was a dynamic concept, a concept of nobility, of wisdom, of courage...but I am quite sure that our existing systems of education lead right away from social union, and dissolve the subtle bonds of love and fellowship, and leave us a nerve-ridden aggressive herd."⁷⁴

The modern system of education is partitive; instead of uniting its tendency is to divide. Instead of fostering mutual aid and love, it generates competition and hatred. It is based on a caste system and hierarchical divisions; not only in age and professional groups, but by deciding that certain tests should determine the right of an individual child to proceed beyond a particular stage. Within each group similar tests and examinations determine the place of the individual child within the group. The procedure has the effect of pitting child against child in an unhealthy struggle for places. This process accentuates the sense of social disunity.

The education which accentuates disunity cannot foster a sense of community, and where there is no sense of community, in other words, no sense of belonging, it cannot be expected to give any importance to social responsibility or those values which recognize the need of human beings living with each other in a community based on sharing and mutual help. Fullness of life cannot be realized in a disunited society and where there is no evidence of fullness of life there cannot be real knowledge, that is of the integrated self.

What kind of education will promote social union—social integrity? The same kind of education which promises personal integrity. Personal as well as social integrity are judged in relation to others. In relation to society there is not much to say in terms of social or personal integrity in the case of one who lives in isolation, e.g. in a cave or on the Himalayas. But, one who is a part of the community both kinds of integrity are essential. Hence education must embrace the one and the many, the individual and the community. If education, in any of its aspects or stages tends to emphasize, even indirectly,

the individual against the group, it is obviously a disruptive education. Judging from this point of view it would be correct to say that modern systems of education are disruptive to social unity, and by definition, therefore, also to personal integrity.

Before discussing the question: what should be the basis for the reconstruction of education for creating a peaceful and integrated personality, we should touch on another important aspect of human life in its first few years, especially in relation to the origin of aggressivity. Freud and his followers have convincingly pointed out some facts about the existence of aggressive and destructive instincts in man. Man is not born with these instincts, but they are an evitable consequence of the infant's adaptation of external reality. The strength of these instincts depend upon the degree of severity of the experiences beginning from that of birth and the early months and years of one's life. These experiences of infancy get buried in the unconscious and 'forgotten'. But they find their way under disguised forms in adult life; and unless these instincts have the right outlets at the right time they are turned inwards, with disastrous effects on the behaviour of the individual. The period of infancy is also a difficult one in the relationship of the infant with its parents, which again can result in problems of adjustment with the world around.

I do not propose to discuss the question of pre-Oedipus and Oedipus complexes, nor do I think it is required to do so. However, a few words here are necessary to explain the problems related to the growth of aggressivity during infancy. Freud and some post-Freudians show that the infant's attachment to its parents, particularly the pre-Oedipus attachment to the mother is one of the central causes of neurosis or psychosis. In fact Eric Fromm singles out three phenomena which form the basis for the most vicious and dangerous forms of human orientation; these are : love of death, malignant narcissism and symbiotic-incestuous fixation.⁷⁶ These three orientations when combined, says Fromm, form the 'syndrome of decay', which prompts men to destroy for the sake of destruction and hate for the sake of hate. In his book Heart of Man,

Fromm shows how an extreme case of these orientations can and does build up a personality like Hitler.

In contrast to the syndrome of decay, Fromm also describes the syndrome of growth—love of life against love of death; love of man against narcissism; love of independence as against symbiotic-incestuous fixation. Only in a very small minority of people is either one of the two syndromes develop to extremes. Most people, however, develop them to some degrees. And although in theory each one can choose the direction he wishes to go, in reality most of the forces today, either within the family or in the community tend to lead the majority in the direction of decay.

According to Fromm "... most people fail in the art of living not because they are inherently bad or so without will that they cannot live a better life ; they fail because they do not wake up and see when they stand at a fork in the road and have to decide. They are not aware when life asks them a question, and when they still have alternative answers. Then with each step along the wrong road it becomes increasingly difficult for them to admit that they are on the wrong road; often only because they have to admit that they must go back to the first wrong turn, and must accept the fact that they have wasted energy and time."⁷⁶

In Herbert Read's words : "The impulse to violence which gathers in the individual mind and breaks out in unnatural gusts of passion is a psychosis, and its origins are open to analysis. Such analysis points to certain deprivations, absences of satisfaction, unconsciously accumulated clouds of frustration, all of which may have economic or superstitious sanctions or symptoms, but which in their mode of operation are essentially psychological. Aggressiveness is a basic element in human psychology: but its origins are now understood and its social repercussions might be controlled if proper conditions were provided, and if upbringing and education were to guide the child into ways of love and serenity."⁷⁷

We have now seen that much of the problem is either on account of damage done during the upbringing of the individual in the family, and/or because of

the system of modern education, both at school as well as in the community; probably a combination of both. The problem is twofold. One aspect is concerned with the need to liberate the personality from those fears and complexes which have accumulated during infancy and early childhood; the other aspect is related to the orientation of the personality in the direction of social integrity. One demands healthy outlets for the energy which has regressed into destructivity and the other requires growing in the direction of creativity and social good.

Rabindranath Tagore once wrote: "We have come to this world to accept it, not merely to know it. We may become powerful by knowledge, but we attain fullness by sympathy with all existence". Tagore pleads: "...childhood should be given its full measure of life's draught, for which it has endless thirst. The young mind should be saturated with the idea that it has been born in a human world which is in harmony with the world around it."⁷⁸

Tagore is asking for a programme of education which is based on unity and harmonious relationship with nature and not intellectual understanding, though development of rationality will be its inevitable by-product.

Tagore insists that one can reach truth only through sympathy. "The world of senses in which animals live is limited. Our reason has opened the gate for our mind into the heart of the infinite. Yet this freedom of reason is but a freedom in the outer courtyard of existence. Objects of knowledge maintain an infinite distance from us who are the knowers. For knowledge is not union. Therefore the further world of freedom awaits us there where we reach truth, not through feeling it by senses or knowing it by reason, but through union of perfect sympathy... We perceive the fact of a picture by seeing it, we know about it by measuring its lines, analysing its colours and studying the laws of harmony in its composition. But even then it is no realization of the picture, for which we want an intimate union with it immediate to ourselves."⁷⁹

Hence, the plan for education should be such that will liberate the individual from destructive aggressivity and create unity between the individual and the world around; it will have two qualities: creative and therapeutic. It is a

matter of developing those qualities upon which liberation and spontaneity depend. An integrated personality can be built only if these qualities are brought into harmonious and habitual relationship with the external world.

"This adjustment of the senses to their objective environment is perhaps the most important function of aesthetic education, but there is another aspect...Environment of the individual is not entirely objective: his experience is not only empirical. Within the individual are two 'interior courts' or existential states which can be externalized by the aid of aesthetic faculties. One is somatic, and exists even in blind mutes: it is a store of imagery derived, not from external perception, but from muscular and nervous tensions which are internal in origin...

"But deeper and more significant than these proprioceptive states are those levels of the mental personality which are *subconscious*. More or less detached features of this level enter into the foreground of our awareness in the form of images. These images appear with apparent casualness during states of day-dreaming, hypnosis, or ordinary dreaming, and such imagery is a form of expression, a language, which can be 'educated'. It is one of the fundamental elements in all forms of activities."⁸⁰

The human individual is by nature an artist, a creator. Whatever he receives it is not with passivity and in his mind it is not accurate physical representation of the objects around him. In his subconscious he goes on, continuously adapting it, transforming it into human imagery, tinged with the values he holds to be the part of his sentiments and imagination.

Plato's *The Republic* is surely not a model for us to follow in changing all our social structures. But many of his proposals including those on the sources of educating the young are of great value for us if we wish to transform the modern system of education to fit our notion of a society which lives in peace and harmony within itself and with nature. He writes in *The Republic* in the chapter on Education—The First Stage: "And that, is why this stage of education is crucial. For rhythm and harmony penetrate deeply into the mind and take a most powerful hold on it, and, if education is good, bring and impart grace and

beauty, if it is bad, the reverse. And moreover the proper training we propose to give will make a man quick to perceive the shortcomings of works of art or nature, whose ugliness he will rightly dislike; anything beautiful he will welcome gladly, will make it his own and so grow in true goodness of character; anything ugly he will rightly condemn and dislike, even when he is still young and cannot understand the reason for so doing, while when reason comes he will recognize and welcome her as a familiar friend because of his upbringing."⁸¹

We must, therefore, give supreme importance to those activities which inculcate the sense of rhythm and harmony, for these are the elements which orientate the personality for making right choices. Even when it comes to reasoning, Plato said that the aesthetic approach will be best, because it will give that instinct of relationship which is the key to truth. Aesthetic laws are inherent in the biological processes of life itself; they are the laws which give life along the path of ease and efficiency; and it is our business as educationists to discover these laws in nature or experience and make them the principles of our teaching. Balance and symmetry, proportion and rhythm, are basic factors in experience : indeed, they are the only elements by means of which experience can be organized into persisting patterns, and it is of their nature that they imply grace, economy and efficiency. What feels right works right, and the result, as measured by the consciousness of the individual, is a heightened sense of aesthetic enjoyments.

As a teacher myself, I have observed that children who engage themselves in spontaneous creative activities are happier children than those who may do well in their intellectual work but who do not take part in either sports or creative activities, such as craft work, painting and music. I have also found that children's drawings which are the results of spontaneous activity, are direct evidence of their physiological and psychological disposition. Child art has more clinical value than any other form of evidence. These spontaneous activities of self-expression create a great deal of self-confidence in children.

They help in building in them a healthy self-image. After all self-expression is self-improvement, self-realization.

Self-realization does not merely mean the discovery of one's intellectual capacities and other skills. It is a process of discovering oneself as a free individual at peace with oneself on the one hand and on the other being a part of and in harmony with the larger reality. This harmony is developed in the individual not by the imposition of laws from the top but by that discipline to which senses naturally submit. Creative activities are that discipline in which senses seek quite intuitively harmony, proportion and wholeness of any experience. The use of medium and tools, such as clay, cotton, wool, leather, wood, stone, brushes, potter's wheel, saw, impose this discipline by their very physical nature. This discipline, in fact, is part of our nature, moreover, it draws us closer to nature, which alone is the supreme example of harmony, sympathy and union. These are the same laws on which the human community depends for its own unity and integrity.

Freedom to be close to nature—to be one with it—is to gain one's own freedom to grow in fullness. In Herbert Read's words, child art "is its passport to freedom, to the full fruition of all its gifts and talents, to its true and stable happiness in adult life. Art leads the child out of itself".⁸²

I have already mentioned about the therapeutic aspect of art. I do not here refer to its tremendous potential as therapy in 'special' education—education of emotionally disturbed people or the neurotics and the psychotics.

I consider art activities in general having the therapeutic quality which liberates the individual to a great extent of their aggression and other repressed instincts accumulated during childhood. I shall give two examples from my own experience in this field, child art and education. In the Seva-gram (India) school, we had a boy from a tribal area. His father was a nationalist rebel during the Quit India freedom struggle, and was waiting for trial, in solitary confinement. The Gonds are a hard and warring people. The boy, ten years of age, was not only endowed with his tribal characteristics, but

he was also emotionally highly tense. He used to get violent with other children.

I took him in my class and gave him all the freedom to spend as much time as he liked in art and craft activities. He liked it; interestingly, he often drew pictures of historical heroes. He was also encouraged to join in hard physical work such as chopping fire wood. In a year or so he was a different person, responsible and active in a constructive sense, and he continued making interesting pictures. To put it simply: his need was to give vent to the extra energy and frustrations and anger he had accumulated during months and years. I wonder, what would have happened if he had gone to an ordinary school. He would have, perhaps, come out as an anti-social and thoroughly alienated person.

The other case is of a girl of fourteen years, but who had not grown beyond eight or nine. She always sat in a corner in every class and did or said nothing. All the teachers considered her nearly useless socially. She herself knew that nobody cared for her. In the art class also she did nothing for months. The only difference was that the teacher often talked to her and asked if she would also like to make a picture like other children. One day she came and pushed a piece of paper on my desk and ran away feeling shy. The paper had a bright golden—cadmium yellow to be correct —patch resembling a person sitting on a floor. This, her first attempt to say something, was probably, the expression of her joy and gratitude to the teacher for being treated like any other child in the class. Later she told me that it was my portrait! Next time I asked her to make a picture specially for me to keep. This was a picture of an elephant in some sort of folk style. I was astonished at the imagery of this girl. At last she discovered herself, and in six months she was our best "painter", recognized by the whole community. She became self-confident, more active and responsible.

My experience of the Sevagram experiment convinced me that children in whose life creative activities become spontaneous and joyful grow into, more mature individuals at peace with themselves. It is similar to another

observation I have made in different communities. In general people who live on the land in activities such as farming and gardening, and also those who make their livelihood by arts and handicrafts—making things—are by and large more disinclined towards war and war-like activities than those who do more intellectual type of work. Even among people who are engaged in art and music, but who have fallen into the rat race must be excluded from our example of creative people, for their motivation has shifted from creativity to competition.

This disinclination towards war in the peasant and the artisan can be attributed to two factors. The work that they do, as has already been mentioned, provide them with healthy outlets for their emotions and probably sublimates their aggression. However it is not the outlet of aggressive instincts which is so important here; but the very fact that their activities are such that they are at one with nature and the natural material which they handle.

According to Indian as well as Chinese aesthetics it is of supreme importance that the maker should feel completely identified with the object that he makes. Writing on Chinese Painting Anand Coomaraswamy said: "The Chinese artist does not merely observe but *identifies* himself with the landscape or whatever it may be that he will represent. The story is told of a famous painter of horses who was found one day in his studio rolling on his back like a horse: reminded that he might really become a horse, he ever afterwards painted only Buddhas. An icon is made to be imitated not admired. In just the same way in India the imager is required to identify himself in detail with the form to be represented. Such an identification, indeed, is the final goal of any contemplation reached only when the original distinction of subject breaks down and there remains only the knowing, in which the knower and the known are merged. If this seems at all strange to us, whose concept of knowledge is always objective, let us at least remember that an 'identification*' was also presupposed in mediaeval European procedure; in Dante's words, "He who would paint a figure, if he cannot be it, cannot draw it."⁸³

I want to remove the chances of a misunderstanding that might arise at this stage. When I use the term aesthetic or art, it is in the widest possible sense. At the same time it incorporates the essence of a perfect quotation from Coomaraswamy that I had once seen in a place, that I am unable to place my finger on at this moment. It reads somewhat as follows: An artist is not a special kind of a man but every man is a special kind of artist. There is no difference in the processes involved in painting, music, craft or cooking. Plato writes: "The graphic arts are full of the same qualities and so are the related crafts, weaving and embroidery, architecture and the manufacture of furniture of all kinds; and the same is true of living things, animals and plants. For in all of them we find beauty and ugliness. And ugliness of form and bad rhythm and disharmony are akin to poor quality expression and character, and their opposites are akin to represent good character and discipline."⁸⁴

This quality of identifying with the subject of the final art product by the artist is universally observed in child art. I could give an endless number of examples of children's capacity to get totally absorbed not only in the act of painting or modelling' but in the "drama" that is the subject matter of the picture or model. A child of nine years once made a picture of a landscape with a bullock tied to a tree across a brook and a boy trying to cross the brook to go and bring the animal to-> the shed, as it had started raining. He was holding an umbrella. The boy slipped and fell down and the umbrella-flew away. Just before he was going to give finishing touches to the picture, he took it and kept it at a distance to have | a good look at it. I was all this time observing him from-the window. After placing the picture against a wall he started walking backward. His right hand was > in a position as if he had the umbrella in his hand. All of a sudden he acted the falling boy and moved as if to catch the umbrella which had flown away.

From the examples-1 have-given from, my own experience the question may arise: was it on account of creative activities that the children were helped; or was it due to special teacher-pupil relationship? The answer is: both. In the framework of education that is being advocated in this book these two

elements are inseparable, in education where spontaneous creative activities are the basis of learning, the relationship between teacher and pupil must be different from that of the current systems. It will be a relationship between creator and creator not teacher and taught. One is more experienced and the other just beginning to gain experience, and is looking for a sympathetic response.

What is needed is a true dialogue in which both are equal partners. The teacher should enter into the dialogue without any hesitation, and to ask the partner—the pupil—such hard questions of which he himself does, not have the answer. And the pupil will answer on the basis of his experience and opinion. The teacher will answer the questions put by the pupil, from the deepest level of his experience. Creative activities cannot be spontaneous without such a relationship. Nor can such relationship be created in an education which is divisive—between individual and individual and between human beings and nature—and therefore is deadly.

When I say that creative activities should be the basis of education, I mean exactly that. It is not a plan to devote an hour or two for 'artistic activities' or 'cultural activities' as they are called. It is not entertainment or a period for relaxation or any such thing. The thesis presented here is a proposal to change the entire approach to education. It is a proposal to reconstruct our educational systems, and by design and implication, the outlook on the processes of human development. It is a way to liberate education from its present hierarchical pattern, in which intellect and rationality enjoy supreme importance, and those values and behaviours which enhance the spirit of caring, cooperation and social responsibility, are either totally ignored or given minor position. Art, as the most meaningful creative labour, is not to be an *extra curriculum* activity, or even a compulsory subject in the curriculum. It has to be *the centre* of education.

Needless to say that what is generally understood by art today is not what art is referred to be here. Art "today", wrote Herbert Read, "is too often a wayward, partial, even perverse expression of universal harmony. It is too

often but an expression of personal phantasies, of egoistic and aggressive impulses. It is prostituted to purposes which destroy its aesthetic nature."⁸⁵ In other words, the whole conception of art has to be purified and expanded. This is not the occasion to go into that discussion.

The idea here is to experience and develop the unity in which the child is born, by learning from nature, and in the process of creation, all the necessary information and knowledge is gathered. After all creative activities are related to the external world. To make an efficient table, a pot or a house it is necessary to know arithmetic, even history and geography. There is no subject physical or philosophical which is not correlated to or is separate from the unity and harmony we have been talking about. The natural way to acquire that knowledge is through the unconscious discipline that is possible only by aesthetic activities described here. It is this procedure that makes education an unconscious process, therefore natural.

Let nobody jump to the conclusion that I expect that once creative activities become the centre of education a world without war will come into being and a new lifestyle will emerge. I am suggesting no such thing. What I wish to convey is this: to abolish war it is essential that men and women must be predisposed to peace, i.e., free and courageous enough to choose the path of love and unity with all human beings, instead of the path of hatred and fragmentation of human society.

And to do that, the first and foremost task before us is to start here and now a campaign and a programme to revolutionize education and the methods of bringing up children, along with convincing the peace movements and their associated groups and organisations that the present education is harmful and the sooner it can be transformed the greater the chances will be for them to succeed in bringing peace on earth.

I am asking no more than what Maria Montessori had suggested in her message to the International Congress against war and militarism which was held in Paris in the month of August, 1937: "If at some times the Child were to receive proper consideration and his immense possibilities were to be developed, then

a Man might arise for whom there would be no need of encouragement to disarmament and resistance to war because his nature would be such that he could not endure the state of degradation and of extreme moral corruption which makes possible any participation in war."

Montessori did not explain in her message how she thought we can get to that goal. Her educational system is not the answer, nevertheless, we know of her tremendous faith in human potential and that she considered the early years of one's life to be of great importance for the development of inclination towards peace and justice. In her message she is asking the anti-militarist, anti-war movement to reflect and discover the "immense possibilities" of the child so that in adult life he or she will be predisposed to peace. What I have tried to convey here is that the path to that kind of development is of aesthetic discipline—the path of *art*, of creative activities.

I am aware of the likelihood of being accused of minimising the need and importance of peace education as it has been described in the first part of this book. I am not in the least suggesting that that work should be abandoned in favour of working for the proposed educational revolution. Quite the contrary. I am actually convinced that the approach and proposal I am making, if accepted and a beginning is made to implement it, the hard and dedicated work that thousands of our brothers and sisters have done in the past decades and many more doing so today will come to fruition sooner than we can imagine. On the other hand, I am afraid that without changes such as proposed above, the success of the peace education movement as well as the work of the anti-war movement will be too slow and its work ineffective as far as abolishing war and bringing peace on earth is concerned.

To put it in Gandhian terms, in fact, it is *satyagraha*—living with truth—that we have to go to. *Satyagraha* is generally understood to be the equivalent of civil disobedience, which is a distorted or a very limited view. *Satyagraha* is the discovery of truth (and harmony) and living with it in its fullest sense, come what may. Education within the framework of *satyagraha* is the process involved in that kind of living during all stages of one's life and the life of the community.

In *satyagraha*, nonviolent direct action, civil disobedience and other similar methods of resistance are resorted to only when absolutely assential. But at the same time, a person who lives an honestly truthful life, would never be able to run away from a situation that might be in need of such an action, for, his or her conscience would compel him or her to do something to mend matters. Gandhi once said: "... It is not enough not to want to hurt or take the life of your enemy. You are no Satyagrahi if you remain silent or passive spectators while your enemy is being done to death. You must protect him even at the cost of your life. If thousands in India learnt that art, the face of India would be changed and no one would be able to point his finger of scorn at her nonviolence as being a cloak of weakness."⁸⁶

A glimpse of such an educational system, the individual, social and moral foundations of which have been briefly described above, can be had from the educational philosophy of Gandhi in the form of Nai Talim (new education). Before starting the experiment in Sevagram, he wrote: "...By education I mean an all-round drawing out the best in child and man— body, mind and spirit...I would therefore begin the child's education by teaching it a useful handicraft and enabling it to produce from the moment it begins its training...I hold that the highest development of the mind and the soul is possible under such a system of education. Only every handicraft has to be taught not merely mechanically as is done today but scientifically, i.e., the child ^should know the why and wherefore of every process."⁸⁷

In this system the following three *[arts]* were considered as *centres* of education: the art of creating things involving manual labour; the art of living cooperatively, which envisaged the school as a living community; and the art of being one with nature. The plan for each of these learning processes should be prepared as a starting point, but the actual educational programme is to be planned by the community as whole and its concerned sections as needed at the given time. In other words scheme is not to be imposed from top or outside the day to-day social and technical needs are the factors which dictate the contents of the programme. The individual's needs are not limited only to his

or her own personal developments, but as a part of the life of the community. The social needs are defined in the context of the society at large.

Similarly, the relationship between the individual and the community on the one hand and nature on the other should have the perspective according to which the whole universe is a family. The idea that the human race is there to enjoy the riches of nature, and if necessary to *exploit* it in the pursuit of that objective, was totally rejected. We are here to be part of it and not as its masters.

CONCLUSION

The task of building a peaceful and a warless world is a twin programme. The first is the task to redefine our educational needs, work out a practical programme, inject this perspective into *all* our activities and aspects of life, and the second is to go on nonviolently resisting the evil .that war is and its preparation—indirect or direct. It is a programme for learning the art of Satyagraha, with its two essential aspects—constructive work and resistance to evil. It is a plan to build a new civilization—*civilization of nonviolence*.

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2. peace organisations

—a selected list

The following is a short list of organisations whose main activity is either on pacifist lines or only for disarmament. Some of them concentrate on only nuclear disarmament whilst others on general and total disarmament. Many of them believe in the unilateral approach while welcoming any worthwhile step taken towards disarmament by the multilateralists. Some of them are oriented to total nonviolence and others only to tactical nonviolence but all are against war. In formulating the list I surely have not been able to cover all of the movements- due to my limited information. I may have included some who I knew to be active at some time but are no longer so. I shall be grateful to readers who would take the trouble of sending up-to-date information on groups they know to be active in their areas. The best thing to do will be to send such information to the Peace News *Peace Diary* which is the major source today on this subject. The *Diary* contains addresses, telephone numbers and other information on more than one thousand groups in nearly 120 countries and various kinds of movements connected with peace. Its address is Peace News World Diary, 5 Caledonian Road, London N. 1, U.K.

INTERNATIONAL

Christian Peace Conference, Jungmannova, 9, 111 21 Prague 1, Czechoslovakia.

European Nuclear Disarmament Campaign, 227 Seven Sisters Road, London N 4, U.K.

Friends of The Earth, 337 City Road, London EC 1, U.K.

International Collective Resistance, 35 Van Elewyckstraat, 1050 Bruxeiles, Beigium.

International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Hof van Sonoy, 15-17, 1811 LD Alkmaar, Netherlands.

International Peace Academy, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A.

International Peace Research Association, Faculty of Law, University of Tokyo, Bunkoyoku, Japan.

Pax Christ! International, Kerkstr. 150, 2000 Antwerpen, Belgium.

Peace Brigades International, 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Suite 2, Philadelphia, Pa 19143, U.S.A.

Quaker Council for European Affairs, 28 av de la Brabanconne, B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium.

Servicio Paz Justicia, Casa de la Paz, Mexico 479, 1097 Buenos Aires, Argentine.

War Resisters' International, 55 Dawes Street, London SE 17, U.K.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1 rue de Varembe 1211 Geneva, Switzerland.

World Conference on Religion and Peace, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017, U.S.A.

AUSTRALIA

Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament and Australian Liaison Peace Committee, POB A243, Sydney South, NSW 2000.

Campaign Against Nuclear Energy, 310 Angas St., Adelaide 5000, SA. **Campaign Against Nuclear Power**, POB 238 N. Quay, Brisbane 4000, Qld.

Friends of Earth, 366 Smith St., Collingwood 3066.

Peace Pledge Union, 6 Coolibah Avenue, Kensington Gardens, SA.

AUSTRIA

International Atomic Energy Agency, Kaerntnerring 11, A-1010 Vienna.

Religiose Gesellschaft Der Freunde, Juaressgasse 13, A-1030 Vienna.

BELGIUM

International des Resistants a la Guerre, rue van Elewyck 35, 1050 Bruxelles.

Internationale van Oorlogstegenstanders, rue van Elewyck 35, 1050 Bruxelles.

World Information Service on Energy, 22 rue de Toulouse, 1040- Bruxelles.

CANADA

Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility, 2010 Mackay St., Montreal, Quebec.

Greenpeace, 2108 W 4th. Avenue, Vancouver, BC.

Peace Research Institute, 119 Thomas St., Oakville, Ontario L6j 3A7.

Project Ploughshares, Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies, Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, Ontario N21 3G6.

Union de Pacifistes du Quebec, 1264 rue St. Timothee, Montreal H2L 3N6.

DENMARK

Aldrig Mere Krig, Thorsgade 79, 2200 Kopenhagen N.

Arhus Peace Centre, Vester Alles Kasernebygning opg. 3-5, 8000 Arhus. **FINLAND**

Finnish Peace Research Association, C/o Dept. of Political Science, Box 607, 33101 Tampere 10.

Union of Conscientious Objectors, Sakhottajankatu 6, 00520 Helsinki 52.

FRANCE

Communaute de L'Arche, La Borie Noble, 34260 La Bousquet D'Orb.

Mouvement Pour une Alternative Non-violence, 20 rue Devide, 45200 Montargis.

Union Pacifiste de France, 4 rue Lazare Hoche, 92100 Boulogne sur Seine.

GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft-Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner, Jungfrauenthal 37, 2000 Hamburg 13.

Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft Vereinigte Kriegsdienstgegner, 4300 Essen 11 Relinghauserstr 214.

Graswurzelrevolution, Steinbruchweg 14, 3500 Kassel-Bettenhausen.

Greenpeace Deutschland, Hohe Bruecke 1, 2000 Hamburg 11.

Die Gruenen, Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 120, 5300 Bonne 1.

Societas Populorum Progressio, Hergensroderstr 15, 6050 Offenbach.

GREAT BRITAIN

Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 45 Gamble Street, Nottingham NG74ET.

Campaign Against Arms Trade, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1.

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ.

European Nuclear Disarmament, 227 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 2DA.

Fellowship of Reconciliation, 9 Coombe Road, New Maiden, Surrey KT3 4QA.

Journalists Against Nuclear Extermination, C/o Magazine Branch, National Union of Journalists, 314 Gray's Inn Road, London WC 1.

Medical Association for Prevention of War, 238 Camden Road, London NW 1.

Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons, 5/15 Tenison Road, Cambridge.

Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh St. London WC 1.

Quaker Peace Service, Friends House, Euston Road, London NW 1.

Scientists Against Nuclear Arms, 112 Newport Road, near Brad well, Milton Keynes, Bucks.

ISRAEL

International Movement of Conscientious War Resisters, POB 28068, 61280 Tel Aviv-Jaffa.

World Disarmament Campaign, 3 Elizer Rivlin St., Jerusalem.

INDIA

Bharatiya Shanti Sena, Paunar Ashram, Paunar, Dist: Wardha. Centre for Science and Environment, Vishal Bhavan Nehru Place, New Delhi.

Gandhi Peace Foundation, 221-3 Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Marg, New Delhi 110002.

Indian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, C/o Gandhi Memorial Committee, 59 B Chowringhee Road, Calcutta-700020.

Sampoorna Kranti Vidyalaya, Vedchhi 394641, Gujrat.

Sarva Seva Sangh, Rajghat, Varanasi 221001.

Sarvodaya Press Service, 128 Tilak Road, Indore, MP 452004.

ITALY

Lega Degli Obgettore di Coscienza, Via G.B. Vico 20, Roma 00196.

Movimento Internazionale Delle Riconciliazione, via della Alpi 20, Roma 00198.

Movimento Nonviolento, Via Villaggio, S. Livia 103, 06100 Perugia.

Partito Radicale, via di Torre Argentine 18, 00186 Roma.

JAPAN

Gensuikyo, (Council Against A & H Bombs), 6-19-23 Shimbashi Minato-ku, Tokyo 105.

Japan Congress Against A & H Bombs, 4th Floor, Akimoto Building, 2-19 Tsukasa-cho Kanda, Chiyodo-ku, Tokyo.

Nipponzan Myohoji, (Japan Buddha Sangh), 7-8 Shinsen-cho, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo.

Peace Studies Association of Japan, Shikoku Gakum University, 765 Zentsuji-shi, Kagawa Ken.

MALAYSIA

Sahabat Alam, 7 Cantonment Road, Penang.

MEXICO

Amigo de la Tierra, Apt. Postale 269, Cuernavaca, Lorelos.

NETHERLANDS

Centrum voor Geweldloze Weerbaarheid, Leliegracht 54, 1015 DJ Amsterdam.

Kerk en Vrede, Utrechtseweg 159, 3818 ED Amersfoort,

Stop the Neutron Bomb/Nuclear Arms Race, Lauriergracht 13, 1016 RD, Amsterdam.

NEW ZEALAND

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, POB 5890, 121 Sumonds Street, Auckland.

Christian Pacifist Society, 29 McGregors Ave. Christchurch 6. Greenpeace (NZ) Inc., Private Bag, Wellesley Street, W. Auckland 1. NORWAY

Fo¹reisning Mot Krig, Goteborggt 8, Oslo 5.

International Peace Research Institute, Radhusgaten 4, Oslo 1.

Aksion Mot Atomkraft, POB 8395, Schweigaardsgt 34, Hammersborg, Oslo I.

SINGAPORE

Quaker International Seminars in S.E. Asia, 54A Shrewsbury Road, Singapore 11.

SPAIN

Group for a Political Objection, C/o Virgili 97, 1^{er} la, Barcelona 30. MOC, Cenicientos 16 baos, Madrid 29.

School Day for Nonviolence and Peace, Calle Marbella 41, Local no. 10, playa de Pal ma, Maliorca.

SRI LANKA

Nonviolent Direct Action Group, Vale Cinema Road, Chavakachcheri.

Sarvodaya Shramdana Sangamya, 98 Rawatawate Road, Moratuwa.

SWEDEN

Kampanjen Mot Verneplikr, Lyngakravagen 29, 310 40 Harplinge.

Kristna Fredsroreisen, Linnegatan 16, 753 32 Uppsala.

Stockholm Peace Research Institute, (SIPRI), Bergshamra, S-17173 Solna.

Sveriges Fredsrad, Kungsgatan 55, 111 22 Stockholm.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Buddhist Peace Fellowship, POB 805, Mokawao, Hi 96768.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 345 East 46th Street, New York, NY 10017.

Catholic Peace Fellowship, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012.

Centre for Conflict Resolution, 731 State Street, Madison. Wi 53703.

Centre for Peaceful Change, Stopher Hall, Kent State University, Kent, Oh 44242.

Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960.

Friends Peace Committee, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pa 19102.

Humanitas International, POB 818, Menlo Park, Ca 94025.

Jewish Peace Fellowship, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960.

Mennonite Central Committee Peace Section, 21 South 12th Street, Akron, Pa 17501.

Movement for a New Society, Baltimore Are., Philadelphia, Pa. 19143

Pax Christi, 6337 W, Cornelia Avenue, Chicago, 111 60634.