

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor

SPC 242, No. 60-103
February 23, 1960

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE 20th SYRACUSE INSTITUTE of INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CHANGING DIMENSIONS in AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY was the topic of the Keynote address of Darrell Randall, Associate Director of the Department of International Affairs, the National Council of Churches. American policy, he said, is being modified by a number of factors.

1st, Changes in Weapons. Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological Warfare, plus the future possibility of manipulation of the weather suggest that "defense" is now based on military equipment that we dare not use. The theory of Deterrence is being questioned even in the highest military circles.

The National Planning Association in a study made clear that the increase in the number of nuclear powers would increase the unreliability of deterrent power. (During the Institute, France demonstrated that it had joined the "Nuclear Club.")

The West is now being challenged by the Soviet Union to a Race for Disarmament.

2nd, Changes in the Political Arena. The real struggle will not be on the military level but in the political arena where Mr. Khrushchev has challenged us to a race to share our know-how with the underdeveloped areas of the world.

It is curious that the people who say we can't trust the Russians to make and keep agreements in the political and social arena, nevertheless, trust the Russians not to throw back at us something worse than we might calculate to use in a so-called limited war!

The economic growth of the United States for five years has averaged less than 1% per year - a poor example for the people of underdeveloped countries who have watched the tremendous strides of the Soviet Union.

3rd., Changes forthcoming in the structure of the United Nations. If we are serious about disarmament, we have to do something about the China Question. When Red China comes into the UN, we must be prepared for an effort to get the Communist bloc more votes. We cannot expect the Communist powers to act responsibly in the UN when the voting arrangements are rigged against them. The Communist powers have a total population almost equal to that of the West. Presently, on the basis of one vote to each nation, their voting state is not approximately equal to that of the West.

At another point in the Conference, Dr. Randall pointed out that more people are seriously searching for other ways than violence than ever before. Not only is the theory of deterrence under attack, but many people are questioning Mr. Kissinger's theory of "limited" wars. One of the dilemmas posed by the technological developments is the possibility that an anonymous war might break out, and we would not know where to retaliate!

Religious people must seek for the implications of living by the Spirit.

INDIA: PROBING BENEATH THE SURFACE was the theme of Jim Bristol, AFSC staff member recently returned from a two-year tour at the Quaker Center, New Delhi. He pointed out that the picture in India is exceedingly complex because of the cultural diversities within the country, and the enormity of the task confronting the nation as it seeks to raise the Living Standards of the people. This is India's first and foremost job.

The USA and the UN must assist India in every possible way "but in the way India wants help." In this regard, the United States must remember that we were the recipients of Economic Aid during the 19th century in the form of Capital Investments from Europe, help given essentially in the way we wanted help.

We sometimes feel that we can decide what is best for the people of India. The people of India are sensitive to the domination of the white man in the past.

The fatalism so prevalent in India is without doubt related to the fact that life is so desperate and tragedy so frequent for many of the people. People build up an attitude that keeps them from going insane, accepting this tragedy as the Will of God.

India thus far has not achieved the sense of drive which seems to prevail in China (although bought at a tremendous cost). Nevertheless, there have been many accomplishments in terms of factories, dams, and village development projects.

The United States must go much farther than it has in the past in giving economic Aid to India. (In the past 10 years our total aid has approximated only 2 billion dollars.) And the United States must be on the side of Revolution. It is easy to wring our hands at the use of violence in achieving social change, but violence is a part of the existing order in India where, for example, mothers sometimes throw babies down village

wells because they think it kinder than to try to keep the baby alive. Many social changes will be necessary to deal with the tremendous needs, and the United States must be prepared to accept such changes.

AFRICA IN TRANSFORMATION was the topic of Fenner Brockway, Labor member of the British Parliament, pacifist, and expert on Africa. In England he is a leader in the Movement for Colonial Freedom, and he writes a weekly column in Peace News (distributed in the USA by the American Friends Service Committee).

The Industrial Revolution led to competition among the European powers for the domination of Asia and Africa because of a demand for raw materials, a demand for markets (British people were too poor to buy the flood of goods suddenly available), a demand for a place to invest surplus capital, and later a demand for more foodstuffs, particularly in Britain.

By the end of the 19th century all of Africa was in the hands of European Countries. The 19th century was a century of Occupation. The 20th century is the century of the Liberation of Africa by the African people. By 1985, Brockway prophesied, all of Africa should be free.

The major colonial powers based their policies on different theories and techniques.

The French, who controlled roughly the Northern third of Africa, regarded the territories as a part of France itself. The Colonies (Frenchmen in the territories) plus certain Africans had citizenship status. The French system, but for Algeria, has now collapsed. DeGaulle has created the French Community of self-governing areas in internal affairs, but already four of the African colonies have chosen absolute independence. In Algeria there are about 1 million Europeans to 9 million Arabs. Brockway anticipates Algerian independence.

Belgium put managerial concepts to work in administering the Congo. Administration was entirely by industrial technicians and a professional colonial service. It was successful in terms of housing, schools, medicines, etc. Up to two years ago, the Congo was a zone of silence in Africa. But you can't have education without giving people a sense of self-reliance. Recently there has been evidence of unrest, and the Belgian government has consented to grant independence by June of 1960 to the Union of Central African Republics. (There will be six regional units within the Union based upon tribal and cultural loyalties.)

The British adopted a third major approach, assuming that the African people should be advanced towards self-government so that they might join the Commonwealth. But the advance was to be undertaken cautiously. The British program worked well in West Africa where Ghana, and soon Nigeria (October, 1960) have achieved independent status. This may have been partly due to the fact that there were few Europeans in that part of Africa.

The countries which have advanced most slowly towards self-government have considerable European populations. Kenya, for example, was a place where the old African culture was destroyed. It was not replaced with one in which Africans felt a place. There the Africans were restricted to reserves. On the Kiki reserve the population density is 1,000 per square mile. On the opposite side of the road dividing the reserve from European plantations, the population is only 12 per square mile. Color discrimination manifested in signs - "Colored Not Allowed" - was a third cause for the rise of the Mau Mau Movement.

In the Central African Federation there is an unstable situation where Nyassaland does not want to be linked with the Rhodesias. All in all, there are 7 million Africans to 300,000 Europeans. In the Rhodesias Apartheid is coming into being. Central Africa might become the British Algeria.

In the Union of South Africa it will not long be possible for Apartheid to be maintained. In theory it implies the development of two separate cultures physically separated and with a minimum of contact between the two groups. The whites are dependent upon the Africans for labor. The Africans are growing in self-reliance, unity, and self-respect.

There are three British Protectorates surrounded by South African territory which may be in process of becoming models of racial equality and advance. For instance, in two of the Protectorates new parliaments will be elected from one voter's list which includes both whites and blacks.

A third influence is moral, namely the UN. In the last session even the United States voted against South Africa's Apartheid, leaving only France, Britain, and Portugal to support the Union.

The Portuguese Colonies are regarded by Portugal as provinces of the mother country. Portugal refuses to report to the UN on conditions in them. However, it is clear that there is ruthless suppression of the Nationalistic movement and forced labor on the European plantations, even by children of five years of age. In Spanish Morocco there is little evidence of a dynamic independence movement. One may be developing, and it is possible that it will take the form of unity with independent Morocco.

WITNESS At one point in the Conference, James Bristol addressed himself to the question of how we appear to others. The curse of our age, he pointed out, is that words have lost their meanings. We talk about "love" and the Asians see hatred. We talk about justice, brotherhood, and so forth, but many people remember two Atomic bombs dropped on Japanese cities; they remember the firebombing of Tokyo, which took longer than the Atomic bombs but was far more cruel:

"People see what they see and we appear as brute savages." "The reason we appear to be barbarians is because essentially we are."

Bristol went on to discuss the possibilities of non-violent non-cooperation, and concluded by saying:

"If you get a whole people determined to resist an occupation government in every possible way, there is no possible way that government can do anything about it."

AFROPOS, In Leopoldville, Belgian Congo, the Africans are practicing "civic disobedience." "For instance, they refuse to pay the taxes due on their cars and bicycles due about the middle of January. There are many thousands of bicycles in use and the tax is only sixty cents a year. The Belgian government feels it would cost more than that to confiscate the bicycles and collect the tax forcibly - and the city wants these bicycles used because the men ride to work on them. It would be a serious blow to the commercial and industrial life of the city if all these Africans did not come to work. The government has apparently not yet made up its mind what to do about it. And this is a sample of a multiplicity of little things which added together make for a great big headache. The Africans declare that they will not pay taxes until they can pay to their 'own government.' "

-- From a letter written by Bishop W. Earl Ledden
Syracuse Area, the Methodist Church

WONDERFUL Mr. Paul H. Silverstone, after a recent trip to the Soviet Union, wrote
PUBLICITY (NY Times, Nov. 4, 1959), "I visited the great Soviet Navy Museum in Leningrad... In the center of the showcase was a map from a well-known American magazine showing routes of attack which could be used against Russia, complete with vivid arrows. The museum was crowded with people... I am sure that they do not understand our freedom of the press, and do not realize that such articles and maps are not published by the government."

CALCULATING One of the great problems confronting military strategists who accept the
HOW A POTEN- theory of deterrence is how their opposite numbers on another Military
TIAL ENEMY Staff will interpret any actions of this country which are supposed to
WILL RESPOND increase our military security. This is at the root of the debate over
TO SIGNALS the so-called Missile Gap and the desirability of a continuous airborne alert by the United States Strategic Air Command.

Gen. Thomas D. White, the Air Force Chief of Staff, says the establishment of a round-the-clock United States airborne alert now might prod the Soviet leaders into rash decisions.

Such a rash decision might be that the Soviet Union's military leaders would launch a preemptive attack on us before we have sufficient missiles to retaliate in kind, an attack which would from their point of view hopefully catch many of our bombing planes on the ground so that we could not retaliate in strength.

THE PARTICIPATION is circumscribed by the Connally proviso, adopted by the Senate
OF THE U. S. IN THE in 1946, which reserves to the United States "the power and author-
WORLD COURT ity to determine which issues are 'domestic' and which issues are 'international,'" to quote Louisiana Senator Ellender.

President Eisenhower has requested repeal of this United States veto over jurisdiction of the World Court. Senator Fulbright has conceded that backers of repeal face a very difficult fight in the Senate.

In an address recorded for Louisiana radio and TV stations, Senator Ellender said, "What today would prevent the World Court from deciding to invoke its jurisdiction over the controversy between Panama and the United States as to the rights of Panama's flag to fly over the canal, if the Connally reservation did not exist?"

The Administration argues that the existence of the veto provision weakens the Court as an organ for the judicial settlement of international disputes and frustrates the President's efforts to persuade other nations to accept the rule of law.

U. S. SEEN EARL Ubell, Science Editor of the N. Y. Herald Tribune (Feb. 1, 1960) writes:
FAR AHEAD "If the Russians get a chance to test their atomic weapons freely for two
UNDER TEST years they will close the gap separating them from the more advanced American
BAN nuclear bomb technology. They will do this even though this nation continues testing weapons.

"Therefore, the United States will gain a military advantage if an agreement is signed between the two countries to stop atomic testing now. If testing had ceased four years ago, this country would have been left with an enormous nuclear lead.

"This is the assessment of a prominent physicist who spoke privately to this reporter ... at the annual meeting of the American Physical Society. Only his connections with the government prevent him from speaking out publicly."

HOW WELL The World Peace Foundation has recently completed a series of six studies on
INFORMED Citizenship Participation in International Affairs. The proportion of people
ARE WE? meeting tests of informed, concerned, and responsible citizenship in world affairs is in some localities as low as one out of each 100.

World problems are remote and baffling, yet we expect interest and response from people who are unready and uninformed.

The studies reveal that by far the most effective means of reaching people is found in face-to-face communication within small groups. One section of the report lists eight basic factors in small-group communication:

- Begin with an open-minded, or non-conformist, member of the group.
- The importance the group holds for each member makes entree hard or easy.
- An average group member is usually more responsive than a leader.
- Democratic, informal groups are more approachable than authoritarian ones.
- A group member interested in entering another and superior group is more easily influenced.
- Study the individual's personality. It reveals his approachableness.
- Entree is easier in cultured and educated groups.
- Receptivity of the group is largely determined by its basic purpose.

--- Taken from The Methodist Story, Jan. 1960

SOBER COLIN Bell, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, in
FACTS an address at the annual meeting of that group, challenged "the West to stop living in a dream world and face stupendous facts of life coming between now and the year 2000.

"For some centuries we have dominated history while other great races and nations which have known glory and power lay static, fallow, exhausted. We have grown used to the idea that history happens when we are ready for it... that assumption that we are the world's first class citizens..."

Among the facts of life he listed are:

1. Other men want to change the world faster than Western man does.
2. We are thrown off balance by this acceleration in the pace of history.
3. We say we want the four freedoms for all others but we do not want to face the social, political, and economic consequences which would result.
4. The population explosion and technological advance will lead to the greatest industrial revolution of all time - which will be global rather than Western.
5. Man now possesses power which we have hitherto regarded as the prerogative of God.

NEW At the Annual meeting of the N. Y. State Peace Council held on Saturday,
OFFICERS February 13th, Alan B. Peabody was re-elected chairman; Dick Moses, former Field Secretary, was elected vice-chairman; Martha Turner, pastor's wife, was elected secretary, and Lena Gray was once more elected Treasurer.

Jim Syphers will continue to serve as Field Secretary for the Peace Council in up-state New York under an arrangement with the AFSC. All the above persons will endeavor to render whatever service they can to the readers of PNL.

Bulk Rate
U. S. POSTAGE
P A I D
Syracuse, N.Y.
Permit No. 2380

RETURNED POSTAGE GUARANTEED
Syracuse Peace Council
841 University Building
Syracuse 2, N. Y.