

## EARLS COURT NOTEBOOK—contd.

at Cowley and its production of technocrats in its colleges are infinitely more important to our present age. What is worse, its education tradition has gone hopelessly sour and it sometimes seems to have almost nothing to offer civilisation today in its extremis. But if it has died as a centre for the enlargement of wisdom, it remains architecturally not simply a gem but a stunningly rare and precious cluster, and one of the brightest of them is surely Queen's College, a masterpiece in the Wren tradition with a deceptively simple and near-blank frontage on the High Street.

It was here that we spent two days in conference on 'India and the Crisis of Ideology' and between sessions I walked about its cloistered quadrangle in an almost drunken ecstasy of delight as the sun made patterns in the long colonaded cloisters. 'Lucky, lucky students', I thought, although I have never met any Oxbridge student who is other than wellnigh indifferent to the buildings that comprise his academic background.

At dinner, sitting on oak benches at long oak refectory tables, there was a clash of cultures. The college people said not to worry about the vegetarians as they were not serving meat that evening anyway. But the normally sedate attendants looked almost startled on seeing the main course rejected by our half-dozen vegetarians, reasonably enough, since it was fish! Somebody later explained to Mrs. J.P. that Friday is a fast day among some Christians, who abstain from meat. "But they eat fish?" she enquired with the utmost perplexity, and suffused herself and the company with merriment.

"Don't suppose", said Fritz Schumacher, during his address, "that big business is full of nothing but hard-faced men only concerned with profits; there are also many at all levels who are deeply frustrated, who see no point in the work they are doing, and who welcome a chance to give expression to their idealism".

With the staggering work-load his Intermediate Technology Group carries, and the remarkable results it is achieving on a shoe-string budget with a tiny headquarters staff, he should know. I find there are still many people who are vague about the implications of 'Intermediate Technology' and I hope he will be doing another article in the next Resurgence to spell it out. I shall certainly take care to send a copy to the Irishman who telephoned me late the other evening after *Peace News* had shunted his enquiry to me, to say he thought there was a lot of obsolescent equipment lying around in farmhouses in the West of Ireland which could be shipped very usefully to Bengal.

Incidentally, Intermediate Technology (should one call it I.T.?), has produced a quite unique handbook cataloguing the names of a great many firms (and their wares) which produce small-scale and inexpensive equipment of use to underdeveloped countries. It is called "Tools for Progress", and one small but useful result of the Fourth World Oxford conference was a proposal, readily adopted by Oxfam's Director, Leslie Kirkley, that Oxfam Groups should dig out the details of local firms in their areas with the object of making this catalogue more comprehensive.

If you were a teacher of long service who

decided to help run a new and independent school in a poor and remote part of Africa, what would be your reaction after a couple of years when, confronted with the choice of returning to England to safeguard your pension rights, or staying on because the school needed your services so badly and seeing your hard-earned pension prospects disappear? A friend of mine, confronted with this choice, decided to stay, and if I am moved by this instance of quiet, self-effacing dedication it is partly at least because I am sure there are millions around the world who would not hesitate to act similarly and who, if their ordinary goodness could become the keynote of politics, would make the world something as near to paradise as men are ever likely to know.

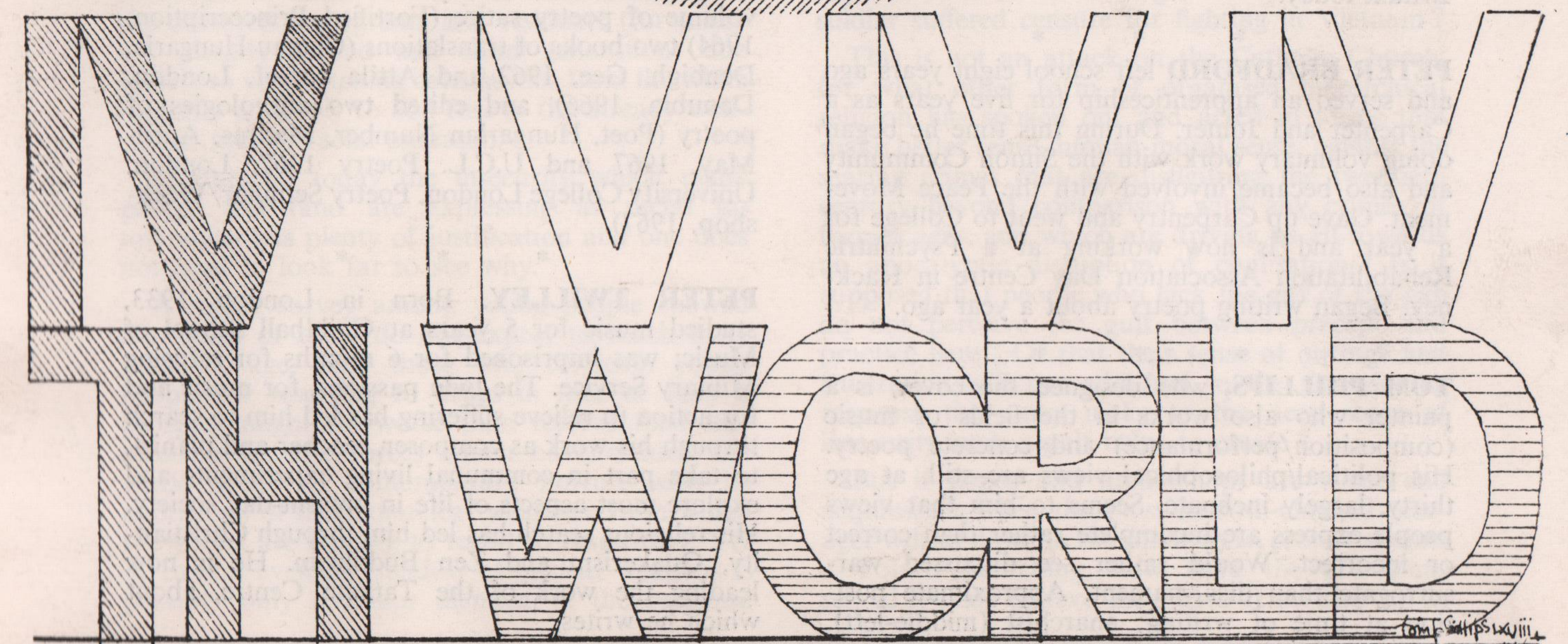
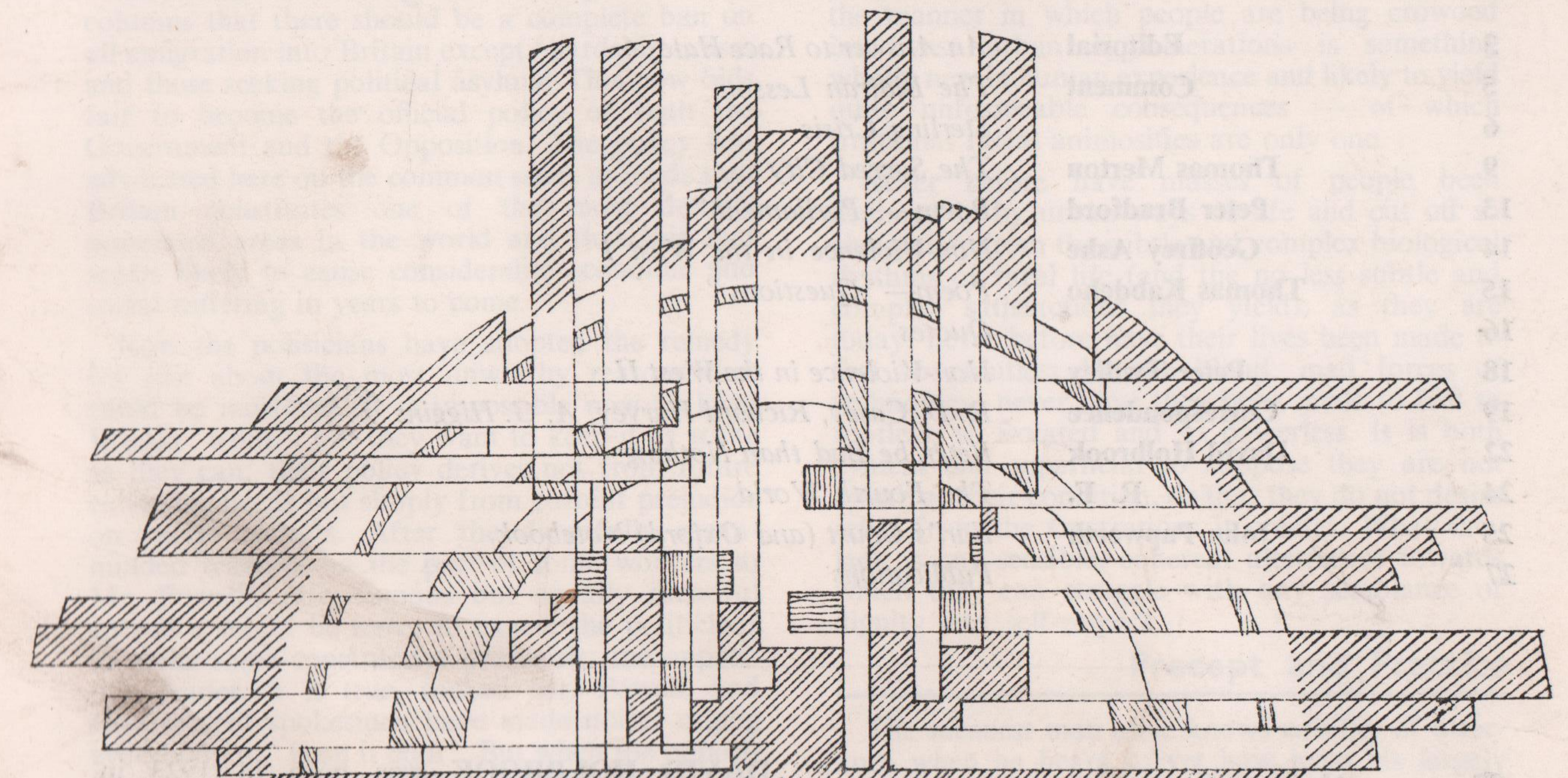
There are some changes to report in the Resurgence Editorial Group. Sybil Morrison has just been elected Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union and in losing her to the demands of her added responsibilities, we are glad to know she remains a keen supporter of our work. Sybil was generous with her practical and moral support in the difficult period of our beginnings and her encouragement at that time makes her a ready candidate for our immortals gallery!

Dharam Pal, a sociology student who comes from Northern India has joined the Group and Roger Franklin has agreed to become our Chairman, in the hope that we shall be able to expedite the work of our overloaded business meetings. We are now looking for a Treasurer who will ease the burden on the shoulders of our indefatigable Business Manager.

One of the bleaker features of modern retail shopping developments is the virtual disappearance of second-hand bookshops. Now a new one has started in the garage of a nearby mews, but this is a bookshop with a difference. It is a Free Bookshop and anyone is free to walk in and help himself to whatever he wants. We took along some books to add to the stock and met a cherubic faced youth in tattered jeans named Driffield who gave us a report on his latest Edition to the riches of Earl's Court life. On the whole people were sensible about taking books and rarely took more than one or two. It was the children who came in droves and wanted to cart off great armfuls, and they were rationed to two each. The walls of the garage were covered with notices of the free services London offers and I was surprised at the range of these familiar aspects of city life. Free parks, museums, art galleries, music and so on. "What about free food?" I enquired. Well, there was a biochemic restaurant in Notting Hill which gave away free food on Sundays if you were hard up, and the Anti-University gave away free sandwiches if there were any left at the end of the day. A friend had tried to give away wholemeal bread sandwiches in Portobello Road market but people were suspicious and few accepted. He had much more success the following day with chocolate biscuits.

Sad to relate, the mews residents are petitioning to close the bookshop down, they complain the children make a noise. What weird values some of us have; we suffer an endless succession of fourteen-wheel lorries thundering by our windows without a bleep of protest, yet we wail with anguish when children refuse to behave like trappist monks.

# RESURGENCE



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## Contributors

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His recently published book on *Gandhi, A Study in Revolution*, stamps him as one of the foremost authorities on Gandhi's life and work in Britain today.

**PETER BRADFORD** left school eight years ago and served an apprenticeship for five years as a Carpenter and Joiner. During this time he began doing voluntary work with the Simon Community and also became involved with the Peace Movement. Gave up Carpentry and went to College for a year and is now working at a Psychiatric Rehabilitation Association Day Centre in Hackney. Began writing poetry about a year ago.

**TOM PHILLIPS**, who designed the cover, is a painter who also works in the fields of music (composition/performance) and concrete poetry. His political/philosophical views are still, at age thirty, largely inchoate. Seems to him that views people express are incomplete rather than correct or incorrect. Would rather see discussed war-surrogate than disarmament. Approximate position at time of writing; anarchist (middle-left).

**DAVID HOLBROOK** was born in 1923 in Norwich, is married and has three children. During the 'sixties he has become one of our most prolific writers and his published works, which already number nearly thirty, include volumes of poetry, fiction, criticism, short stories, educational theory, libretti and songs, as well as numerous compilations on a wide variety of topics, to say nothing of a continuous stream of highly controversial articles. He has recently returned from lecturing in the United States.

**THOMAS KABDEBO** was born in Budapest in 1934. Settled in England in 1956. Studied Hungarian literature in Budapest, English history in Cardiff and Librarianship in London. Published a volume of poetry satire (*Fortified Princepsion*, 1964) two books of translations (*Gemau Hungaria*, Denbigh, Gee, 1962 and *Attila Jozsef*, London, Danubia, 1966), and edited two anthologies of poetry (*Poet*, Hungarian Number, Madras, April-May, 1967 and *U.C.L. Poetry* 1967, London, University College London, Poetry Seminar/Workshop, 1967).

**PETER TWILLEY**. Born in London 1933, studied music for 5 years at Guildhall School of Music; was imprisoned for 6 months for refusing Military Service. The twin passions, for music and for action to relieve suffering has led him to search through his work as composer, teacher and pianist, to take part in communal living experiments and explore most aspects of life in present-day society. His religious search has led him through Christianity, Quakerism and Zen Buddhism. He is now leading the work of the Tathata Centre, about which he writes.

## EDITORIAL

# AN ANSWER TO RACE HATE

More than a year ago it was urged in these columns that there should be a complete ban on all emigration into Britain except 'hardship' cases and those seeking political asylum. This now bids fair to become the official policy of both the Government and the Opposition. The policy was advocated here on the common sense grounds that Britain constitutes one of the most densely populated areas in the world and that this fact seems likely to cause considerable economic and social suffering in years to come.

Now the politicians have adopted the remedy for just about the most unworthy reasons that could be mustered. It is impossible now to keep Britain 'white', but they want to keep it as white as they can; their policy derives not from future economic needs but simply from current prejudice on racial matters. After the dreadfully mean-minded reaction on the part of some workers to Mr. Powell's now famous but equally dreadful speech it might be naive to expect the politicians to make some constructive proposals; the opposition leader, it is true, sacked Mr. Powell, and Government spokesmen have made noises urging everybody to 'keep it cool'. But when the opposition leader's own proposals include provision to help immigrants to return whence they came, it is clear that Mr. Powell's difference with his leader is not just a major one of principle, but a minor one of degree. And so long as Government spokesmen refrain from saying in forthright terms how delighted they are that Britain, along with most countries in the world, is now a multi-racial community, how welcome the non-pinks are and how considerable has been their contribution to our economic fortunes, it is difficult to see what really divides them from Mr. Powell either.

In this calculated essay in rabble rousing Mr. Powell saw no reason for being mealy-mouthed about what he had to say. A failure to be less than forthright in terms of welcome and friendship to the coloured immigrants and residents (for many are already second and third generation) due merely to vote catching calculations from the white majority is simply to add fuel to the already well-stoked fires of racial unreason.

In England today the insecurity which many people feel (and are expressing as racial intolerance) has plenty of justification and one does not need to look far to see why.

A recent survey among young people showed that most of them do not expect to reach forty years of age, (and those who condemn young people for resorting to drugs in face of such a prospect might do worse than reserve their displeasure for the forces which have created the world scene of contemporary horror, with its apotheosis of thermonuclear weapons, from which the young are coming to recoil so tragically). Yet in Britain even the shadow of nuclear weapons is possibly only a minor element in the response

people are making. We have to face the fact that the manner in which people are being crowded into vast urban agglomerations is something wholly new in human experience and likely to yield quite unforeseeable consequences — of which irrational racial animosities are only one.

Never before have masses of people been hemmed in by urban ways of life and cut off so completely from the subtle and complex biological rhythms of rural life (and the no less subtle and complex satisfactions they yield), as they are today; never before have their lives been made to feel so pointless by the bland, mad forces of technology; never have they been made to feel so rootless, so isolated and so powerless. It is both cynical and superficial to suppose they are not aware of their condition, or that they do not desire relief from the frustrations it creates. What they lack is any sensible, coherent alternative towards which they can struggle with any semblance of dignity and self-respect.

### Precept and Practice

The meanest man alive knows nobility of utterance when he hears it; yet how have his largely self-appointed mentors served him? Not even the redeeming half-decade of Pope John's pontificate can obscure the failure of the Roman Church, with all its worldly wealth and power, to speak out and act against the murder of millions of Jews and other Europeans during the Hitler war, and if one accepts the Roman Church's own disciplines in relation to its doctrinally errant members, why has not a single member been excommunicated for participating in these murders? And why, may it be asked in all charity, has not a single Catholic scientist been excommunicated for his part in helping to develop nuclear weapons? Or a single Catholic inventor suffered censure for owning shares in armament firms or ones that make napalm bombs? Or a single American Catholic soldier suffered censure for fighting in Vietnam?

This is not an attack on the Catholic Church, for what other form of organised hierarchical religion has spoken out and acted in terms that make better sense, human moral sense, against the searing crimes that are disfiguring the twentieth century beyond comparison with any crimes of former ages, and which are driving us all towards an apocalyptic disruption of civilisation? Is it supposed that people who lack the gift of the gab do not perceive the gulf between precept and practice here? Or that their sense of outrage and frustration will not add fuel to the unreasoning response they may make to the deep sense of insecurity such a gulf helps to create?

But if popes and archbishops are silent and acquiescent when the most smooth-chinned teenager will sit down in the roadway in protest against a Polaris launching, how have the politicians served? They believe they have it all tied up in

terms of votes and power, of course, and they thus cannot conceive even the most shattering issues of human destiny as being other than subordinate to such considerations. Yet in supposing that their misfocused world of irrationality is a real and reasonable one, they are quite unable to see that the increasingly irrational forms of response their behaviour is eliciting is but a reflection of their own. Again it is to be hoped these words will be accepted as analysis rather than abuse, for politicians are victims as much as any of us, and nothing is sadder or more futile than the disposition of peacenicks to get hung on the political names of the moment.

When people are being pushed to the limits of their capacity to endure psychic stress, as millions today indubitably are, some scapegoat becomes a psychic necessity. The street anarchists tend to find one in the cops, but most people are conditioned too well to look for a frustration outlet on figures *within* the law; they must be outside, and if they are not the law must be changed, as it was in Nazi Germany and as it has been in Rhodesia, South Africa, and the United Kingdom (over the Kenya Asians), to make them so.

In this light the forces of racial unreason must be expected to grow, and there will doubtless be no lack of people such as Mr. Powell to exploit them further. We are paying here a ferocious price for the failure of the churches and the politicians to be consistent with their professed beliefs; for by hanging on to place and privilege in a situation which denies the role of reason and conscience they have added a significant quota to the prevailing tide of cynicism and despair.

But man is born to hope and to quest for excellence, and when the prospects of either are so grossly denied him and repudiated, as currently they are, what else can be expected but a resort to moroseness and a repudiation of the very brotherhood of his kind which is the key to whatever magnificence he can otherwise hope to achieve? What else indeed? There remains, however, another element in this equation of which note needs to be taken.

### Capacity to Communicate

The spectacle of a vast, impersonal, government machine seeking to legislate for better racial relations is another modern instance of nonsense rampant. The key to the modern situation lies precisely in the way the impersonal forces of technology have driven modern man into isolation and engineered for him an incapacity to communicate. Men who greeted one another in the street are now anonymous commuters, or isolated in cars in which communication is reduced to signals, generally aggressive, with a hooter; men who discussed their common affairs in pubs and coffee bars now sit at home and silently commune with the television screen; and men who chatted with a neighbour who ran the local shop now wend their way silently through the artfully arranged counters of a supermarket whilst big brother tells them what from invisible loud-speakers.

'With a thousand pains that vision's face was grained', and these instances could be multiplied endlessly. They add up to one significant conclusion, if the capacity of men to communicate meaningfully is virtually destroyed how then can

they communicate their morality?

The restoration of communication and community life in our mass urban complexes is today the most urgent and revolutionary task confronting those who seek peace and progress. For until this power is restored men will continue to lack the means of making significant moral choices and to be denied the means whereby they can accumulate a body of experience that truly reflects their own moral judgments. Without the accumulation of such experience how can many of them fail to be a ready prey to all those forces of unreason which are on hand to pander with such glib mendacity to their baser instincts?

No government regulations can act as a substitute for individual and neighbourhood morality, the effect of such regulations in the existing situation of racial tension is simply to add another curb to freedom and is unlikely to do more than to channel race prejudice into deeper and more destructive forms of expression.

### Window on the World

The question may be raised whether small community and neighbourhood forms of organisation will necessarily be more free from racial antagonism than large ones. On the historical evidence, and on the evidence from many small towns in the Mississippi Delta for example, the answer may well appear to be negative. These instances spring, however, from conditions where substantial economic benefits were once derived from the exploitation of one racial group by another, whereas today the reverse would appear to be the case. In the light of modern ideas of liberty the price of racial antagonism in the U.S. South is not, as in the past, economic development for the benefit of the ruling group, but economic stagnation. This principle applies equally to South Africa where, despite the apparent strength of the Apartheid Government and the economic boom it has enjoyed in recent years, it is bound to be beset by increasing tensions and economic uncertainties as time passes. Such communities are or have been based on authoritarian forms of government which are today increasingly unacceptable. We have now a growing world mind and a growing world accord on questions of freedom, of liberty and human dignity. This accord is backed, however fitfully, by the new media of communication, which ranges from television to juke boxes, and from an enormous upsurge of literary and artistic activity reflected in an astonishing growth of small magazines and exhibitions, and to which must be added the growth of many protest and demonstration movements on a wide range of subjects, but all having some extension or preservation of freedom as part of their common aim.

In short, today it is possible for every small community to have what it previously lacked, a window on the world which not only enables people to look out and judge the quality of their lives against a wider norm, but which also admits light to hitherto dark corners. Given these conditions there seems no reason to suppose that active spirits will not arise, spirits which at present may be trapped in the passive and acquiescent routines that mass societies impose on millions, to affirm the decent things of life and to affirm successfully the law of the ordinary brotherhood of men of all races.

## The Biafran Lesson

The continued slaughter of the Ibo tribespeople of Biafra by the Nigerian Federal forces is a grim comment on all the rhetoric that has been poured out in recent years on the theme of Afro-Asian solidarity. Biafra, in its extremity, is obtaining arms from the Portuguese, who doubtless feel that any stoking up of the fires of African conflict will lessen the aid the guerillas in its colonies of Mozambique and Angola are likely to receive from other African countries.

The Federal forces in turn are receiving massive quantities of arms from Britain and are using Russian planes piloted by Egyptians to bomb the luckless Ibo civilians. Long live the Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples!

Only one public figure has had the gumption to cut through the humbug of international politics and to indicate an awareness of the urgent need to stop the killing; in according diplomatic recognition to Biafra President Nyerere of Tanzania has not only earned the gratitude of those who are being bombed and those who are seeking to stop this cruel and senseless war, he has challengingly posed the question of recognition to every other government in the world.

His gesture, for it can be little more, may well have helped to prevent the Federal Government from adding another round of genocide to its list of crimes and to have saved the Ibo people from total extermination. It is too early at present to tell, but there can be little doubt that many governments in Africa and beyond are inhibited from following President Nyerere's courageous example by the fear of similar tribal or regional moves for separatism in their own countries. In Africa especially this is a very real contingency, but instead of burking this issue and seeking to smother it with a spurious form of super-nationalism, might it not be better to face it frankly and squarely?

There is an urgent need to do so. Scarcely anywhere in the continent do the boundaries of the present 'countries' reflect more than the relative marauding strengths of the colonising powers of the nineteenth century. Far from according with the ethnic realities of Africa these colonial frontiers, with very few exceptions, cut right across them, and the sense of affront to tribal feelings which is thus created, is bound to grow with the development of African political consciousness.

In order to get rid of the colonial governments a case can no doubt be made for the necessity of playing the colonial government's game of forming 'national' parties on the metropolitan model. In nearly all instances this ploy has paid off, the colonial governments have departed and indigenous ones have replaced them.

There is a tendency for the new 'national' rulers to overlook that they are heads of an essentially

# COMMENT

colonial structure, which can often be as remote from the real wishes, and indeed the lives, of the people as were the former colonial masters. This is understandable, but there should be no lack of clarity today that in the long run, as the Biafran tragedy is already a bitterly eloquent testimony, it will be disastrous if a wholly new perspective is not soon brought to bear.

Instead of condemning tribalism as a defunct and disruptive force, there is an urgent need to restore to African life a structure of government which reflects and expresses tribal organisation and loyalties. Since tribal government has existed for hundreds of years throughout the continent, and has managed to survive some quite formidable historical barriers, common sense suggests it must surely bear some relation to the form of government that the African people themselves actually want. It also suggests that no form of government which exists by a denial of tribal realities is likely to endure except as a form of power usurpation and tyranny.

### Swiss Mode

To say this is not to suggest that tribal government does not have to be modernised and improved, as indeed it must be; but to accept this need as a justification for the imposition of other and more alien forms is to build a house of cards which, once the glamour of independence has lost its lustre, will soon begin to betray its inherent weaknesses—as well as its divisiveness—and its growing unpopularity.

The tragedy of modern Africa is that its post-independence governments are based on some European models, such as Westminster, which do not have Africa's problems of tribal reconciliation, whilst ignoring the experience of the one European country which has. It is Switzerland that has been faced with the problem of harmonising the interests of a number of ethnic groups, each with its own language and its own religious and cultural outlook, and whilst today it has a rather wooden-headed preoccupation with militarism and armaments, nobody would deny that its federal structure has been highly successful in giving free play to the diversities of its membership whilst maintaining peaceful relations between them.

In historical perspective the post-independence phase of Africa is bound to be seen as a very transient one; indeed and today's leaders will be judged not so much by their success or failure in enlarging the gross national product of their respective countries, but by their success or otherwise in effecting a transfer of power to forms of government which are truly African in their ethos and which truly reflect the enormous contribution that those traditional forms have made to the development of civilisation.

This is the real lesson of Biafra, and if further bloodshed and strife is to be avoided, not much time is left to heed it.

## Sterling Crisis

The recent devaluation of sterling will surely be followed by others, for since the value of money issued at Westminster has declined almost without interruption since the Norman conquest the real question to be answered is why, in an age that has produced more trained economists than at any time in history, currency depreciation is proceeding by such savage and unanticipated jerks. Clearly the mechanism is out of control and since an economy comprises far too many dynamic and unpredictable factors to be reduced to a working model, much learned professional economic nonsense to the contrary notwithstanding, anything asserted here by way of explanation, like anything on the subject asserted elsewhere, must be accepted as mainly guesswork.

Men produce in order to eat in order to live in order to produce; this may be true enough, but the reasons for changes in the *tempo* of production defy exact analysis, since they are locked up in the secret recesses of individual psychology. It is precisely on this question of tempo that nearly all modern governments are showing a disposition to come unstuck. The British economy especially is now characterised by a series of 'stop' 'go' changes in policy which are becoming increasingly erratic and ineffective. This is due not simply to Britain's heritage of a dangerous disbalance between its population and food resources, and one which makes it increasingly dependent on the unstable forces behind international trade for its own stability (so that a stepping up of the Vietnam War, the closing of Suez, the cutting off of Biafran oil, or moves by De Gaulle against the American dollar each creates its own pressures on Britain's trading position), it is due also to important structural changes in the British economy.

Not least of these is the growing polarisation of nearly all aspects of economic activity. We have become so accustomed to reading about take-over bids and mergers in one sector or another of the economy that we are apt to overlook their overall implications and consequences. These are certainly not confined to the sociological impoverishment behind the shrinking numbers of small shopkeepers and their replacement by a handful of mammoth chains of supermarkets. They range from sectors as diverse as banking and investment, to companies covering every kind of product or service, and on the primitive principle of small fishes being eaten by bigger ones, who in turn are preyed upon by bigger ones still, no company which successfully absorbs a rival can be sure when its own turn to be merged with (and by) another will come. The process suggests it can itself continue *ad infinitum*, but this is illusory, as Marx indicated nearly a century ago, for what in fact is happening is that the control of all essential aspects of the economy is becoming lodged in fewer and fewer hands.

What Marx failed to see, in relation to liberty, is how little it matters on such a scale as is now operated whether those hands are public or private. But he did foresee that one effect would be wilder and more erratic swings in the tempo of economic activity. For when the power of decision-making is widely spread there are a multitude of cushioning factors to minimise the effect of sudden changes of activity. A small entrepreneur confronted with a slackening of demand can manage for a while

with the same labour force doing short time, he may be able to carry some 'uneconomic' stocks of both raw materials and finished products, he may have marginal sources of credit available to him, he may have means of diversifying his small production schedule, even if it means simply that he decides to spend more time on his allotment! In themselves the size of these factors may appear trifling, but multiplied many times they may well spell the difference between stability and disaster for the economy as a whole.

## Stunted Lives

None of these options is open to a large corporation. Its operations are dominated by the supposed dictates of refined cost-accounting techniques, and its response to market changes is generally swift and unequivocal and not likely to be mitigated by mere 'human' considerations of any kind, especially in the field of labour relations. Equally, of course, other large corporations will respond to the changes that any one of them makes to a similar degree. One may compare this to transport in terms of a multitude of cyclists and a stratospheric jet airliner with hundreds of passengers. The crux of the comparison is not how well both modes serve their turn, but what happens when something begins to go wrong.

It will not be long we hope before there is an entire school of economic theory concerned to evaluate the workings of small-scale units and large ones, and their impact on the collective behaviour of the economy as a whole. In default of the guidelines such studies can yield for the management of the economy there seems little reason to suppose that all the talk about putting the economy on the right path that has been heard from our political masters for the last twenty years won't be heard for the next. It may indeed be heard in greater volume. Long decades of affluence in the west are apt to make us forgetful that the boom has now sustained it for nearly four decades does not have its origin in any wise or considered decisions of policy; it is in fact a by-product of quite other considerations. The leading capitalist countries were plagued throughout much of the inter-war period by an economic depression of the most appalling magnitude, and its results, in terms of stunted lives miserably eked out in the grip of

## CHANGE OF ADDRESS

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acute and quite needless poverty are probably beyond compute.

This depression only ended when the same countries embarked on massive programmes of re-armament and war preparation, and thus proved incidentally Keynes' contention that one important key to general market buoyancy lies in a readiness of governments to embark on deficit spending.

It is impossible to stimulate activity in one sector of an economy without affecting the rest of the economy in the same way, and for this reason millions of people experienced an improvement in their fortunes under conditions of war which had been denied them in peace. Government spending has continued to be the key to their affluence ever since. Whilst war and armaments expenditure have continued at a high level (in Britain it is now running at more than £5,000 million annually), welfare programmes were expanded considerably and these expenditures not only have their 'multiplier' effect on the rest of the economy, they also raise the minimum levels below which getting and spending will not fall.

Then what is going wrong? Why all the fears of a fresh sterling, and even a dollar, devaluation, the flight to gold and the other alarm signals?

Undoubtedly part of the reason lies in the belated discovery by the United States' leaders that they cannot indefinitely operate with a deficit on their external payments and an unbalanced budget and wage war in Vietnam. When America coughs it is of course much of the rest of the world which sneezes, but is there not also a deeper reason for our economic tremors?

Foreign trade has its origins in nations desiring to dispose of goods surplus to their domestic requirements. These origins now seem rather remote, for more and more domestic production and its attendant requirements are being geared to the exigencies of external trade needs, more and more the domestic economy is dependent on a multiplicity of factors which go to make up the market situation *between* nations, factors over which hardly any single nation can hope to exercise effective control. Is it to be wondered then that the domestic economy should reflect the same erratic courses and show itself as being equally unamenable to stabilisation?

It may well be that what in fact we are witnessing here is yet another example of the sheer impossibility of subjecting economic giantism to the fulfilment of rationally conceived social goals.

## SUBSCRIPTION NOTICE

With this issue Resurgence enters its third year, and for most readers this is also the time for renewing subscriptions.

Each issue is subsidised by voluntary donations, but even so we can't pay our way (see next page). So with this issue we are having to price raise to three shillings per copy. To make things easy for postal subscribers the annual subscription will be one pound. Please send Subscription (U.S. 3 dollars) to

Jacob Garonzhki

Business Manager, Resurgence

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# A Letter from the Editor

(of what one reader describes as "the most worthwhile Journal in the world!")

Dear Reader,

First, *Resurgence* is broke; to be more accurate it owes nearly £400 to printers, advertisers and others for goods and services supplied.

I began this letter with the intention of making this straight appeal for your urgent help with the money. But it occurs to me that the journal's financial trouble is really part of a wider problem confronting us. It is only two years since we were launched (it seems two centuries to us), but in terms of small magazine survival time, it is no doubt good going, and in that time our circulation figures have risen without a break. When people see *Resurgence* they like it and they buy it.

This suggests our subscribers could be much more numerous than they are, and this raises the question of reader involvement. From the beginning we hoped that *Resurgence* would be different in that it would be the voice not simply of the Editorial Group and its contributors, but of its readership as a whole. We anticipated, if only because we advocate, among other things, decentralist, doorstep democracy, a continuous stream of criticism, comment, exhortation and even at times abuse.

Perhaps we were being sanguine in expecting a readership in a mass society to be other than largely passive and acquiescent, or perhaps you, good reader, have come to feel we are doing alright and can manage without the extra effort and concern you might be able to give. I think it would be all wrong somehow if we could, and our situation spells out that we just can't.

The cynics tell us there is no point in trying to do anything today as the outlook is so hopeless. Such defeatism is more likely to create the consequences it predicts than any other factor. The task of postulating hopeful, realistic goals which could yield worthwhile political results is a quest which is an indelible part of man's nature, and if he resigns from it, he ceases surely to be himself.

A number of readers responded generously to our last appeal and we are grateful for this help at a time when need presses so greatly.

But may we plead for your involvement on all fronts of this struggle? Please come to our rescue with help with our debts, but please help us too, to sell *Resurgence*, to make it more widely known, to encourage your friends to attend our Fourth World Conferences and, if you are around, help with the problems of advertising, distribution, circulation and the other burdens still being willingly carried on far too few shoulders. At very least write and tell us what you think about our contents, our appearance, our name, or whatever, but please send us what you can to help us pay the bills. And are there any ways in which you can raise money? Please think about it and confer with us if you want to help.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN PAPWORTH.

Thomas Merton

# The Sacred City

Monte Alban was a city state that existed for two thousand years without war. Thomas Merton describes the background to this remarkable achievement and poses a number of important questions for those who seek an end to war today. His essay is essentially an appreciation of a new collection of studies—reports on "Discoveries in Mexican Archeology and History" edited by John Paddock under the title "Ancient Oaxaca", and published by the Stanford University Press (1966). We are indebted to Thomas Merton and the Catholic Worker for permission to reproduce his essay here.

The Valley of Oaxaca is one of the poorest and least productive areas of Mexico today. It was once one of the richest and most fertile. It was also the center not only of a great culture, but of what was probably the first real city in America: Monte Alban. What was this city? What kind of culture flourished there? What kind of people lived there?

Archeological studies have now brought to light some very rich and detailed material concerning the "early urban" and "pre-classic" Zapotecan culture of the Oaxaca valley and its central city. We are finally in a position to fit Monte Alban into the general picture of Mesoamerican civilization of the Mixtecs, Toltecs and Aztecs, whose culture was essentially decadent.

The city of Monte Alban was built somewhere between 1000 and 500 B.C. by Zapotecan Indians who knew writing, had a calendar, were astronomers and were probably the first city dwellers in America. Pottery finds at Monte Alban have brought to light an archaic style, examples of which go back about 800 B.C. But with the paving of the Great Plaza after 300 B.C. we definitely enter upon the great period of urban culture at Monte Alban. There is a certain amount of complexity in the terms used by scholars, due to the fact that the word *Classic* has become ambiguous. Morley used it to designate the Mayan culture of the 4th to 10th centuries A.D. It was until recently assumed that the Mexican and Mayan urban cultures were all roughly contemporaneous and "Classic" was used loosely of any urban culture. Attempts to find a more accurate classification have resulted in complex charts and correlations, with Pre-Classic, Classic and Post-Classic or Epiclassic, broken up into numerous sub-divisions, and reaching out to include the widely different cultures of Guatemala, Yucatan, Vera Cruz, Mexico, Oaxaca, etc. These charts may be very illuminating to the experts, but to the general reader they are not much help.

To put it in the simplest terms, we can lump together everything from 1000 B.C. to 900 A.D. as "Classic" or "Early" (though it includes various degrees of Pre-Classic and late Classic). This is a convenient and clear division because about 900 A.D. Monte Alban was abandoned and so were the "Classic" Maya cities like Peten, Uaxactun and other centers in Guatemala. After this time, the Mayan culture spread out in Yucatan in a Post-Classical civilization under Toltec domination, and in the Oaxaca Valley the old Zapotec society yielded to Mixtec conquerors, who occupied fortified towns of the region like Mitla and Yagul. The six-hundred-year period between 900 A.D. and the Spanish conquest can be called "Post-Classical" or "Late". Note that by the

time the Spaniards arrived, even the last, post-classic Mayan cities of Yucatan had been abandoned. Mayan urban civilization was at an end. But the Aztecs had a flourishing city of three hundred thousand at Tenochtitlan (on the site of Mexico City).

The great difference between the two cultures and the two periods is this: In the early or Classical cultures there is almost no evidence of militarism, of war, or of human sacrifice until very late. The late, Post-Classical civilization results from the radical change from a peaceful to a warlike and militaristic way of life brought in by conquering and relatively barbarous tribes from the north. The Mixtecs conquered the Zapotecs who had abandoned Monte Alban (though still sporadically worshipping there). The Toltecs overcame the Mayas and produced a hybrid Toltec-Mayan culture in Yucatan, centered especially in Chichen Itza. It is with the "late" period that history really begins. The history of the Oaxaca Valley begins with important Mixtec codices—such as the famous Bodley Codex 14-1V-V which tells the story of the Cacique called "Eight Deer Tiger Claw" who ends up being sacrificed. Alfonso Caso's study in Paddock shows that the value of these Mixtec codices is greatly enhanced by recent discoveries in tombs of the Oaxaca valley.

But in the Classic period there are many dated *stelae* in classic Mayan architecture and at Monte Alban, the "dates" are at first non-historical. They refer to cosmic cycles, to the stars, and to events that may be called "divine" rather than historical. In other words, the Classic chronologists were more concerned with cosmic happenings than with the rise and fall of kings and empires, with gods rather than with kings. Not that this concern with the gods excluded care for human existence: for by liturgy and celebration, the lives of men, cultivators of maize, were integrated in the cosmic movements of the stars, the planets, the skies, the winds and weather, the comings and goings of the gods. That this society was not dominated by what Marx called religious alienation is evident from the fact that its art did not represent the gods until very late: the early art represents the people themselves, the celebrants officiating in liturgical rites and feasts, vested in the splendid and symbolic emblems of their totem.

We are only just beginning to realize the extraordinary sophistication of totemic thought (as interpreted by Claude Levi-Strauss). Living records left by such North American Indians as Black Elk and Two Leggings suggest that the elaborate symbolic association of the human person with cosmic animals represents something much more intimate than an "alienated" subjection to

external forces. We know something of the profoundly interior relationship of the North American hunter with his "vision person," and we know that the Central American Indian remained in extremely close relationship with the divinity that ruled the day of his birth and gave him one of his names. What we have here is in fact not a matter of alienation but of *identity*. But it is obviously a conception of identity which is quite different from our subjective and psychological one, centered on the empirical ego regarded as distinct and separate from the rest of reality.

This "objective" identity seems to have been fully integrated into a cosmic system which was at one perfectly sacred and perfectly worldly. There is no question that the Indian in the "sacred city" felt himself completely at home in his world and perfectly understood his right place in it. And this is what we are to understand, apparently, by the splendour and symbolism of an art which signified that the gods were present not in idols or sanctuaries so much as in the worshipper, his community and his world. The individual found himself, by his "objective" identity, at the intersection of culture and nature, crossroads established by the gods, points of communication not only between the visible and the invisible, the obvious and the unexplained, the higher and lower, the strong and the helpless: but above all between complementary opposites which balanced and fulfilled each other (fire-water, heat-cold, rain-earth, light-dark, life-death). "Self-realization" in such a context implied not so much the ego-consciousness of the isolated subject in the face of a multitude of objects, but the awareness of a network of relationships in which one had a place in the mesh. One's identity was the intersection of cords where one "belonged." The intersection was to be sought in terms of a kind of musical or esthetic and scientific synchrony—one fell in step with the dance of the universe, the liturgy of the stars.

What kind of life was led in the "Classic" cities of Guatemala or Oaxaca? We can say that for roughly two thousand years the Zapotecan and Mayan Indians maintained an entirely peaceful, prosperous civilization that was essentially esthetic and religious. This civilization was focussed in urban cult-centers, but it was not what we would call a truly urban culture.

Although it has been maintained that Tikal once had a population of a hundred thousand, the Maya cities were usually quite small—and indeed had few permanent residents apart from the priests and scholars who served the temples and observatories. Most of the population was more or less rural, living outside amid the cornfields (*milpas* or *col*) which were periodically cleared

from the jungle and then allowed to run wild again. Since there was no war, at least on any scale larger than perhaps family or tribal feuding, there was no need to concentrate the population within fortified towns—until, of course, the Post-Classical period. It was perfectly safe for families, clans and other small groups to live in jungle villages as they had done from time immemorial. The city was where they came together for special celebration, for the worship which included the games and dances in which they took intense satisfaction and gained a heightened awareness of themselves as individuals and as a society. This worship was also completely integrated in their seasonal round of clearing the milpa, burning brush, planting, cultivating and harvesting the maize. This work did not take up an exorbitant amount of time, and in the great periods of enthusiasm and prosperity the people gave their surplus time and energy to the common construction projects which some of the modern scholars still find hard to understand. The example of Egypt and Assyria would suggest slave labor, yet all the evidence seems to indicate that the Mayans and Zapotecs built their classic cities spontaneously, freely, as a communal expression of solidarity, self-awareness, and esthetic and religious creativity. There is no evidence of slavery until the Post-Classical period.

#### Sacred Vision

The success of these two thousand years of peaceful, creative, existence demanded a well-developed sense of coordination, a division of tasks under the direction of specialists, a relatively high proportion of skilled labor, and above all a completely unanimous acceptance of a common vision and attitude toward life. One must of course avoid the temptation to idealize what was still in many respects a Stone Age culture, but one cannot evade the conviction that these must have been very happy people. The Mayan scholar, Morley, quotes an English statesman who said that "the measure of civilization is the extent of man's obedience to the unenforceable" and comments that by this standard the Mayans must have measured high. John Paddock, writing of the Zapotecs of Monte Alban, and remarking that there is no evidence of slavery there, says:

No whip-cracking slave driver was needed. The satisfaction of helping to create something simultaneously imposing, reassuring and beautiful is enough to mobilize endless amounts of human effort. He goes on to argue from the persistence of pilgrimage and generosity in the Mexican Indian of today:

It is common for tens of thousands of men, women and children to walk 50 or more miles to a shrine. They are not slaves; they would revolt if denied the right to make their pilgrimage . . . Mexico's shrines of today are in most cases far less beautiful and the worshipper's participation (with money) is far less satisfyingly direct; but they still come by the thousands voluntarily.

What Paddock is trying to explain here is not merely the fact that a religious center, a "sacred city" like Monte Alban existed, but

that it was in fact built on a mountain ridge, without the use of wheels for transport and without draft animals—as also without slave labor. The fantastically difficult work was carried out with immense patience and love by people whose motives cannot even be guessed if we try to analyze them solely in economic or technological terms.

Here was a major religious capital, an urban complex which at the height of its prosperity "occupied not only the top of a large mountain but the tops and sides of a whole range of high hills adjoining, a total of some fifteen square miles of urban construction" (Paddock). The maintenance of the city "would necessarily require the services of thousands of specialists: priests, artists, architects, the apprentices of all these and many kinds of workmen, including servants for the dignitaries and their families." The peaceful and continuous growth of this city and its culture—with continued renewal of buildings and art work century after century—can only be explained by the fact that the people like it that way. They wanted to build new temples and to dance in the Great Plaza dressed in their fantastically beautiful costumes. Nor were they particularly anxious to find quicker and more efficient methods of doing their work. They were in no hurry. An artist was content to grind for months on a jade pebble to carve out a glyph. And he was not even paid for it!

In purely economic terms, in fact, the whole accomplishment seems fantastic. But if we attempt to comprehend it in economic terms alone we are neglecting the crucial factors. For over a century we have been living in a world where technology has been the great hope, solving one problem after another. Perhaps we may be forgiven if we have come to demand material-mechanical explanations for everything, overlooking the possibility that they may often be insufficient . . . To ask these questions only in economic, technological or political terms will produce only some of the needed answers. Questions about religion and art must be included, and they may be in this case the most basic ones. (Paddock).

The chief economic factor in the success of the Zapotec civilization was that in the fertile, isolated Oaxaca valley, a relatively small population, which remained stable, had a highly effective system for exploiting the natural advantages of their region. They could produce the food they needed—plenty of corn, squash, tomatoes, peppers, avocados, red and black beans, cacao, along with tobacco and cotton. They engaged in some commerce with the so-called "Olmec" civilization in the jungle lowlands of what is now the state of Vera Cruz, and later with the people in the Valley of Mexico to the north. But their surplus time and energy went into art, architecture and worship. The result was a city and a culture of great majesty and refinement, integrated into a natural setting of extraordinary beauty dominating the fertile valley surrounded by high mountains. The people who collaborated in the work and wor-

ship of the sacred city must have enjoyed a most unusual sense of communal identity and achievement. Wherever they looked, they found nothing to equal their creative success, which antedated that of the Classic Mayan culture by more than five hundred years, and was not outshone by the latter when it finally dawned.

The archeology of the Oaxaca Valley is still only in his first stages and further discoveries will bring to light much more that has been barely guessed at so far. But we know enough to accurately surmise what it was all about. Paddock says:

Monte Alban was a place electric with the presence of the gods. These gods were the very forces of nature with which peasants are respectfully intimate . . . Every temple stood over half a dozen temples of centuries before. Buried in the great temples were ancient high priests of legendary powers, now semi-deified; centuries of accumulated wealth in offerings, centuries of mana in ceremonies, centuries of power and success, lay deep inside that masonry. But with their own humble hands, or those of their remembered ancestors, the common people had made the buildings . . . They were participating in the life of the metropolis; they could see that they were making it possible. They could stand dazzled before those mighty temples, stroll half an hour to circle the stunning pageantry of the ceremonies, stare as fascinated as we at the valley spread out mile after mile below. They knew that no other such center existed for hundreds of miles—and even then their city had only rivals, not superiors . . .

Three things above all distinguish this "sacred city" from our own culture today: the indifference to technological progress; the lack of history, and the almost total neglect of the arts of war. The three things go together, and are rooted in an entirely different conception of man and of life. That conception, of which we have already spoken as a network of living interrelationships, can be called synthetic and synchronic, instead of analytic and diachronic.

In plain and colloquial terms it is a difference between a peaceful, timeless life lived in the stability of a continually renewed present, and a dynamic, aggressive life aimed at the future. We are more and more acutely conscious of travelling, of going somewhere, of heading for some ultimate goal. They were conscious of having arrived, of being at the heart of things. Mircea Eliade speaks of the archaic concept of the sanctuary or the sacred place as the *axis mundi*, the center or navel of the earth, for those whose lives revolve in the cycles of its liturgy.

#### Peaceable Kingdom

Perhaps the inhabitants of these first American cities, who remained content in large measure with Stone Age techniques, who had no sense of history (and certainly no foresight into what was to come after their time!) simply accepted themselves as having more or less unconsciously achieved the kind of successful balance that humanity had been striving for, slowly and organically,

over ten thousand and more years. Their material needs were satisfied and their life could expand in creative self-expression. This was the final perfection of the long, relatively peaceful agrarian society that had grown out of the neolithic age.

According to our way of thinking, the Zapotecs were crazy not to make use of the wheel when they knew of its existence. The curious thing is that they had wheels, but only for toys. And they did use rollers to move heavy blocks of stone. They were, in a word, perfectly capable of "inventing the wheel" but for some reason (which must remain to us profoundly mysterious) they never bothered with it. They were not interested in going places.

The Indian cultures of Mesoamerica are typical archaic societies in which the creative energy of the people found expression in artistic and religious forms rather than in applied science. This is, to us, one of the most baffling of problems. Greco-Roman civilization—which was much more pragmatic and practical than that of the Indians—also presents this problem. The science of the Alexandrian scholars in the Roman empire was sufficiently advanced to permit the development of steam engines. The industrial revolution might have taken place in 200 A.D. But it didn't. So might the discovery of America, for that matter, as the Alexandrian geographers were aware that the earth was round!

What is most perplexing to us is that, as a matter of fact, economic conditions called for this kind of development. To our way of thinking, the Zapotecs needed wheels and machinery, and the economy of the late Roman empire demanded a technological revolution. Just as the Mesoamerican Indians used wheels only for toys, so the Romans also used hydraulic power, but only for shifting heavy scenery in the Circus!

A few modern scholars have tried to grapple with this enigma, and Hanns Sachs, a psychoanalyst, contends that the urge for technological progress was suppressed in the ancient world because of the radically different disposition of narcissism and libido in ancient man. Tools and machines replace the body and absorb or alienate libido energy, which is frankly cathected by sensuous man.

Once again we come upon the curious question of archaic man's sense of identity. His sense of his own reality and actuality was much more frankly bound up with sensual experience and body narcissism, whereas we have been split up and tend to project our libido outward into works, possessions, implements, money, etc. In the lovely sculptured "danzantes" (dancers) of Monte Alban with their frank and sensuously flowering male nakedness we apprehend a bodily awareness that substantiates what Sachs says: "To these men of antiquity the body, which they could cathect with a libido still undeviated, was their real being . . . Animistic man vitalized the inanimate world with such narcissism as he could find no other use for."

The "reality" and "identity" of archaic man was then centered in sensuous self-awareness and identification with a close, ever-present and keenly sensed world of nature: for us, our "self" tends to be "real-

ized" in a much more shadowy, abstract, mental world, or indeed in a very abstract and spiritualized world of "soul." We are disembodied minds seeking to bridge the gap between mind and body and return to ourselves through the mediation of things, commodities, products and implements. We reinforce our sense of reality by acting on the external world to get ever new results. More sensuous, primitive man does not understand this and recoils from it, striving to influence external reality by magic and sensuous self-identification.

The primitive, like the child, remains in direct sensuous contact with what is outside him, and is most happy when this contact is celebrated in an esthetic and ritual joy. He relates to things and persons around him with narcissistic play. Our narcissism has been increasingly invested, through intellectual operations, in the money, the machines, the weaponry, which are the extensions of ourselves and which we venerate in our rituals of work, war, production, domination and brute power.

Obviously the Zapotecs of Monte Alban knew what violence was. They knew what it meant to fight and kill: they were not a "pacifist society" (which would imply a conscious and programmatic refusal of war). They just had no use for war, as a community. It was pointless. They were not threatened, and it evidently did not enter their heads to threaten others—until the far end of the Classic period when a growing population had exhausted the reserves of land, when the deforested mountains were eroded and the hungry, restless community began to look for places to plant corn in the territory of others—or to fight others who came looking for more room in Oaxaca.

By this time, of course, the long centuries of high classic civilization were coming to an end everywhere in Mexico and Yucatan. Already in the seventh century A.D. the metropolis of the Valley of Mexico, Teotihuacan, had been sacked or burned. In the tenth century, Monte Alban was deserted. But it was never conquered, never even attacked. There were never any fortifications—and indeed there was never a need for any. There is no evidence of violent, revolutionary destruction—the city was not harmed. It just came to an end, the enterprise of sacred culture closed down. Its creativity was exhausted.

There is no satisfactory explanation as yet of why the classic sacred cities of the Mayans and Zapotecs were simply abandoned. Presumably the ancient civilization finally grew too rigid and died of sclerosis. Its creative and self-renewing power finally gave out. Sometimes it is assumed that the people became disillusioned with the ruling caste of priests and revolted against them. But we also hear of a migration of priests and scholars into the south under pressure of invasion from the north. In any case, the cities were abandoned.

The Zapotecs were conquered by their neighbours the Mixtecs after Monte Alban was abandoned, but they continued to live under their conquerors, maintaining, it is said, a "government in exile" somewhere else. Today, the Zapotecs persist. Their language is still spoken, and

in their ancestral territory they have outlasted the Mixtecs, who remain in a minority.

The Spanish conquered Mesoamerica in the sixteenth century. The bloodthirsty Aztec empire, built on military power, ruled Mexico. But it was hated and decadent. It was willingly betrayed by the other Indians and collapsed before the guns of Christian Spain. Much of the ancient Indian culture was destroyed, above all, anything that had to do with religion. But we must remember that the finest Mesoamerican civilizations had already disappeared seven or eight hundred years before the arrival of the Europeans.

#### Indirect Genocide

After the conquest, the Oaxaca valley, once rich and fertile, gradually became a near-desert as the ancient agricultural practices were forgotten and the soil of the deforested mountains washed out. Contact with the Europeans was in many ways a human disaster for the Mexicans. The Indian population of Mesoamerica was probably twenty million in 1519. In 1532 it was already under seventeen million, in 1550 it was down to six million and in 1600 there were only a million Indians left. The population dropped nineteen million in eighty years! This was not due to systematic genocide but to diseases which the Indians could not resist. The impact of Spain on Mexico was in effect genocidal. Fortunately, a slow recovery began in the mid-seventeenth century.

To summarize: the extraordinary thing about the Zapotec civilization of the Oaxaca Valley is that, like the Mayas and the so-called "Olmec" or Tenocelome culture, it maintained itself without war and without military power for many centuries. We can say that Monte Alban, in its pre-urban as well as in its urban development, represents a peaceful and prosperous culture extending over two millennia without a full-scale war and without any need of fortifications or of a defence establishment.

In the present state of our knowledge of Zapotec culture, we can say that for two thousand years Monte Alban had no history but that of its arts and its creative achievement. Indeed, the only chronology we have is determined by different styles in ceramics, architecture and sculpture. We may hope that further archeological finds and a better understanding of hieroglyphic writing may give us an idea of the development of scientific, philosophical and religious thought in Monte Alban. But we have here an almost unique example of a city-state whose history is entirely creative, totally centred in artistic work, in thought, in majestic ritual celebration. We may add that it is intensely and warmly human and often marked with a very special charm, humor, and taste. Even in its baroque stage, Zapotec Classic art is less bizarre than Mayan, and of course it never approaches the necrophilic bad taste of the Aztecs.

A more detailed knowledge of the religious thought and development of the people at Monte Alban may perhaps show us a gradual change, with an archaic, totemistic, ancestor-fertility religion and a few "high gods," giving place eventually to a more and more hierarch-

ical religious establishment, an increasingly complex theogony and a whole elaborate pantheon of deified nature forces and culture heroes to be bought off by sacrifice.

In other words, it may be that at Monte Alban and in the ancient Maya cities we may witness the gradual transition from neolithic village-agrarian culture to the warlike imperial metropolis, through the theocratic establishment of urban power in the hands of priest-kings. But it appears from the recent studies that life in the Classic era for Monte Alban was still "democratic," not in the sophisticated sense of the Greek polis but in the archaic sense of the neolithic village. It was a life of creative common participation in the general enterprise of running the sacred city as a permanent celebration.

This was made possible by special circumstances: a fertile and productive region, not too thickly populated, which allowed all the material needs of the people to be satisfied with a small amount of field work, and liberated the surplus energies for common urban projects in art, and architecture, as well as for religious celebration. The energy and wealth that other cultures put into wars of conquest, the Zapotecs simply put into beautifying and enabling their common agrarian and city life. But of course they did this entirely without self-consciousness, and their art, unlike ours, was spontaneously and completely integrated in their everyday lives. They did not take courses in art appreciation or go dutifully to the opera, or seek out good paintings in a museum.

Since this kind of life was impossible except in a small and isolated population, it flourished under conditions which have become practically unthinkable in our present day world. We have to look for some other formula. Nevertheless, it will not hurt us to remember that this

kind of thing was once possible, indeed normal, and not a mere matter of idealistic fantasy.

#### Looking Backward

By way of summary and conclusion: the purpose of this study is not merely to draw an unfavourable contrast between the peaceful, stable, aesthetic existence of the "sacred city," and the turbulent, unstable and vulgar affluence of the warfare state—the "secular city." To say that Monte Alban was nice and that New York is ghastly would be an irrelevant exercise, especially since the writer likes New York well enough and does not think of it as ghastly—only as a place where he is well-content to be no longer a resident. It is all too easy for people who live, as we do, in crisis, to sigh with nostalgia for a society that was once so obviously tranquil and secure. Yet there is some advantage in remembering that after all peace, tranquility and security were once not only possible but real. It is above all salutary for us to realize that they were possible only on terms quite other than those which we take for granted as normal.

In other words, it is important that we fit the two thousand warless years of Monte Alban into our world-view. It may help to tone down a little of our aggressive, self-complacent superiority, and puncture some of our more disastrous myths. The greatest of these is doubtless that we are the first civilization that has appeared on the face of the earth (Greece was all right in so far as it foreshadowed the U.S.A.). And the corollary to this: that all other civilizations, and particularly those of "colored" races, were always quaintly inferior, mere curious forms of barbarism. We are far too convinced of many other myths about peace and war, about time and history, about the inherent purpose of civilization, of

science, of technology and of social life itself, and these illusions do us no good. They might be partly corrected by a sober view of the undoubted success achieved by the Zapotec Indians.

The "sacred cities" of Monte Alban and of Guatemala, as we see them, looked back rather than forward. They were the fulfillment of a long development of a certain type of culture which was agrarian and which flourished in small populations. With the growth of populous societies, the accumulation of wealth, the development of complex political and religious establishments and above all with the expansion of invention and resources for war, human life on earth was revolutionized. That revolution began with what we call "history" and has reached its climax now in another and far greater revolution which may, in one way or other, bring us to the end of history. Will we reach that end in cataclysmic destruction or—as others affably promise—in a "new tribalism," a submersion of history in the vast unified complex of mass-mediated relationships which will make the entire world one homogeneous city? Will this be the purely secular, technological city, in which all relationships will be cultural and nature will have been absorbed in technics? Will this usher in the millennium? Or will it be nothing more than the laborious institution of a new kind of jungle, the electronic labyrinth, in which tribes will hunt heads among the aerials and fire escapes until somehow an eschatological culture of peace emerges somewhere in the turbulent structure of artifice, abstraction and violence which has become man's second nature?

Inevitably, such a culture will have to recover at least something of the values and attitudes that were characteristic of Monte Alban.

## Parliament

While another witty speech in support of the latest Defence White Paper was being given by the Minister to a full house of God-fearing M.P.'s bits of bodies began to fall in their thousands from the Parliament ceiling—toes fingers feet hands noses teeth ears genitals legs arms and this went on until Mr. Speaker asked for the sermon to be discontinued and by now the mound of body-bits having covered the mouths of the M.P.'s stopped rising and a gang of navvies were called in to remove the avalanche of flesh to some high tip overlooking a small Welsh village and when this had been executed and the M.P.'s were promised compensation for the red stains on their shirts and suits the Defence Minister resumed his speech and Parliament on a three line whip approved this years defence estimates by a large majority vote.

PETER BRADFORD

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## Non-Violence in the West (I)

The total failure of so-called non-violent action in this country to persuade different governments to abandon their nuclear defence policy should give us pause to consider critically the methods used, as well as the ultimate aims and objectives of this action. Non-violent action as used by Gandhi liberated India from foreign rule. If it appears to have failed here, either Gandhi's success was due to the fact that it was only applicable in a particular culture and place at a particular time and thus not necessarily applicable anywhere else in other situations, or there was something in Gandhi's concept of non-violence which was missing in ours—something which makes all the difference between success and failure.

It has to be admitted that whereas most people in Britain have heard the word "non-violence" and the name "Gandhi," they know little if anything of Gandhi's teaching (of which non-violence was but one part) and what is true of the general populace is also true of the peace movement, whose practice of non-violence is largely confined to techniques of protest such as marches and lying in the road.

Before the peace movement can evaluate the effectiveness or even the suitability of non-violence for this country, a better understanding of Gandhi's teaching as a whole is needed. The importance of such study will be realized when it is understood that Gandhi's concept of non-violence is only one aspect of a body of ideas which constitute an approach to the problems of human life as a whole, and that, furthermore, non-violence is a concept basic to Hindu culture, a culture based on entirely different assumptions from that of the west. Non-violence is therefore not something which can be torn out of its setting and exported like tea. But this is precisely what has been attempted, and the endeavour to substitute the assumptions underlying western civilization for those of the Hindus, and the dissociation of non-violence from a body of ideas affecting all aspects of human life have rendered it impotent and sterile, as the attempts of the peace movement to use it in this manner have proved only too well.

The cultural problem is that non-violence is a concept basic to Hinduism and Buddhism, remarkable for their tolerant and peaceful histories, but can it find similar roots in Christianity, which, like Judaism and Islam, is remarkable for its history of war and intolerance? Or must these faiths be abandoned for the non-violent ones of the east, or modified out of all recognition?

There is little doubt that the concept of any religion as the one and only revelation of truth is a breeder of intolerance and persecution of dissenters, and the absence of a strong reverence for life makes war, the abuse of the earth and the destruction of the natural environment inevitable. Reverence for life and reverent tolerance of the search for truth of others are basic to Hinduism and Buddhism, and are the cornerstones of Gandhi's concept of non-violence. Personal integrity for him involved the unconditional, unrelent-

ing dedication of oneself to the practice in one's daily life of the insights into truth that one directly perceived for oneself. At the same time he respected and tolerated the search of others, and only demanded of them faithfulness to their own visions, in the belief that the search for truth is synonymous with the search for God, and that because God is love all men would be united by such faithful searching.

Gandhi's reverence for life led him not only to refrain from destroying other living things but to search for a way of life not only harmless to all but promoting the welfare of all. Thus Ahimsa (non-violence or harmlessness) was for him inseparable from Sarvodaya (the welfare of all). Because he saw that the welfare of all is inseparable from the welfare of each, he strove to live by considerations, which, if adopted by all men everywhere, would alleviate the problems mankind faces. His concept of Sarvodaya is quite incompatible with the Marxism of some members of the peace movement, because although he sympathized with the Marxist concern to better the lot of mankind, he rejected its doctrine of the end justifying the means and its willingness to violate the principle of reverence for life. For Gandhi ends determined means, and means ends. He made all men's problems and disputes his own, which meant he tried to understand fully the points of view of all sides, and to seek the means to reconcile these parties in the light of truth and loving relationships. His personal integrity demanded that he should not take advantage of or co-operate with activities with which he did not agree.

Much more could be said about Gandhi's approach, but it has already been said by himself and his biographers. However, it is hoped that sufficient has been written to indicate that the non-violence of British pacifists would appear to bear little relation to the non-violence of Gandhi, and it is possible that until it does it will continue to remain ineffective. Clearly, Gandhi's non-violence is not for those who see nothing wrong with the British way of life, apart from the H.-bomb. The competitive, centralized economic and social order of the west is undoubtedly productive of war, and from Gandhi's point of view to ask a government to "ban the bomb" while taking advantage of and supporting the economic and social forces which create the necessity for it, and in whose hands the government is merely a puppet, is not only unrealistic, but dishonest.

The first call to those who would practise non-violence is to put themselves in a position of truth and love, of personal integrity or purity, where they no longer support a war-productive society but instead create a peaceful alternative way of life. Then, and only then, have they the right to approach the government about its evil actions.

This is a difficult but a challenging thing to do. Our society is so complex, and we are so dependent on others for even the most fundamental necessities of our lives, and the way even the simplest things are produced is mixed up with war some-

where along the line, that a self-sufficient, self-determined way of life in a sort of community on the land appears to be the only answer to our present situation. This, in fact, is precisely what Gandhiji considered should be the basic unit of a truly non-violent social and economic order. India is a land of villages, and his vision for India was that each village should be self-governing and self-sufficient in the essentials of life. But Britain is mainly a country of town-dwellers, and a mass return to the land could not be organized by centralised government, but there is nothing to prevent the non-violent revolution from starting unilaterally now in this way, in the present situation.

Building communities is fraught with problems, as the history of communities—on the whole a sorry one—relates. And it is to cope with the problems that are met with in community experiments that the Tathata Centre has come into existence in Gloucestershire. At this centre it is hoped to create a pattern of non-violent living

which will be a viable alternative to the prevailing war-productive life of our society. It is hoped to discover by experiment those aspects of Gandhi's philosophy which are truly relevant to conditions in Britain. The threefold preoccupations of the centre are to discover and apply methods by which individuals may attain to full psychological maturity (a prerequisite to peacemaking), to create a pattern of conventions compatible with non-violent relationships, and to experiment with ways and means of attaining self-sufficiency.

It is planned to increase present accommodation to make it possible for more people to come for study, to join in the life of the centre, and contribute as they can. It is also planned to hold conferences and courses on various aspects of non-violence in daily life. But before this can be done much work is needed to get the centre on its feet. Those who would like to know more about the centre and to help in its creation are invited to get in touch.

## Questions

Do you know the feeling

when things like lost books stray birds and people

reappear and find their place again,

when moments join like hands

and minutes wed

and hours and days are born with meaning,

when holes have their full

and prey beasts do not kill

and a cause has his sister reason,

when you count like a bead on the abacus

counting and counted

with recurring patience,

then the colours merge

and the landscape lulls and the waves of a river

beat within your pulse,

and with crowns linked up

and roots as veins interwoven

you live like a tree conscious of the woods?

THOMAS KABDEBO



# Quotes . . .

"The advance of capitalist production develops a working-class, which by education, tradition, habit, looks upon the conditions of that mode of production as self-evident laws of Nature."

MARX.

"Das Capital."

*"There are thousands of millions of people in the world at present excluded from progress. By interpreting and expressing the profound needs of these people, by helping them to take stock of their problems, by helping them to initiate enterprises of every kind, at every level, and to press effectively for changes, we can activate a positively revolutionary force.*

*Many revolutionary movements, though good at rousing consciences and effective in protest and pressure, suffer from weakness on their constructive front. But the demolition of old systems and the building of new organic groups should be simultaneous, co-ordinated activities which encourage each other: the growth of convincing alternatives encourages attack on the old groups, while the loss of authority of the old structures facilitates development of the new."*

DANILO DOLCI.

"What is Peace?"

(translated by Antonia Cowan)  
(from *Sanity*, April 10th, 1968).

"... to hear people talk you could suppose that the fear of death by H-bomb is more important as a factor in the life of Western man than fear of death by any other means—except, perhaps, cancer. The fear is justified. The horror of the H-bomb is justified. The only unjustifiable and depressing part of this situation is the discovery that a considerable number of people truly feel that if the world does take such a bad turn that the barbarians wherever they are—including the barbarian in everyone—really do loose off that bomb, then life up to then will somehow not have been worth living.

It is that which, to date, has been the most deleterious effect of the H-bomb."

CLAUD COCKBURN.

"I Claud..."

*"Tamerlane, Genghis Khan, and Hitler could exterminate whole peoples without violating their own moral standards, but a society that values the worth of the individual cannot defend itself by these tactics without destroying its own moral basis, even if some remnant should survive. If we really have a superior way of life, it will prevail in a disarmed world; if we do not, nuclear war will not save it."*

JEROME D. FRANK - 1964.

(Prof. of Psychiatry,  
John Hopkins Univ.)

## Non-Violence in the West (II)

With the Gandhi Centenary Year approaching, the time seems appropriate for an appraisal of the adaptation in the west of that aspect of his philosophy which has been most widely adopted outside India—Ahimsa, or, as it is more generally and inaccurately known—non-violence.

To Gandhi the spiritual health of India was inseparable from her economic and social health, and the overall health of Indian society was only a reflection of the health of the individuals in it. He saw that a society in bondage to a centralized government, foreign or at home, was a sick one, spiritually, economically and socially, and that release from this bondage was a *sine qua non* in restoring the "patient" to health. But as the body of the nation was quite inseparable from its members his plan had to cater for the individuals who were to carry it out, and it had to look beyond the time when the call to "Quit India" was answered, to an independent Indian people whose health would depend on the kind of life they followed and the philosophy on which this was based.

This was the context in which Ahimsa in India in Gandhi's time played such an important part. But although Gandhi derived so much of his inspiration from the west, via Ruskin, Tolstoy and the New Testament, that part of his philosophy which has been most widely adopted by the west is one which is essentially inherent in eastern culture via Hinduism and Buddhism. We have, in fact, neatly removed a slice of a philosophy and grafted it onto western culture and ideology with little or no consideration for those remaining aspects of the philosophy with which it was inextricably bound up. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the techniques of non-violence which Gandhi applied with such success to India's struggle for liberation from British rule have singularly failed to meet with the kind of success which was hoped for here—in terms of causing the government to abandon its nuclear defence policy.

It is fair to say that the philosophy of Ahimsa cannot be divorced from a much deeper and wider philosophy, and just as the philosophy of Ahimsa must be translated into practical action if it is to have any effect at all, so the philosophy of which it is but a part must likewise be demonstrated in everyday life.

Non-violence is a concept embedded in the context of Hinduism, Buddhism and Taoism, whose cultures (remarkable for their histories of peace and tolerance) are based on philosophic assumptions very different from the cultures of Islam, Judaism and Christianity (equally remarkable for their histories of war and intolerance.) It would not seem possible to transplant non-violence from its original cultural setting without also transplanting the assumptions underlying the cultures from which it is derived. Non-violent action, like all action, is individual action. But can we be said to be acting non-violently as individuals if, for instance, after taking part in a demonstration, we go home and enjoy a meal which includes meat, or shout at, or even spank, the children? Gandhi's Ahimsa was allied with Sarvodaya—the welfare of all, including the animal world, and for him the

welfare of all was inseparable from the welfare of each.

Whether it is necessary, in order to make non-violence really effective in this country, to import the assumptions of the culture from which it has sprung, and thus much of the culture's way of life, can only be determined by practical experiment. But non-violence as Gandhi understood it does not only consist in lying in the road or marching in protest (although it may involve these techniques), nor can it be allied to Marxism, whose unscientific disregard for the relationship between means and ends is quite incompatible with Gandhi's assertions that the ends determine the means to be employed. In fact, it is questionable whether much of the rootless non-violent action in Britain today really is non-violence in the sense that Gandhi understood it.

The question of what kind of roots non-violent action ought to have at this time in this country is one which a new centre in Gloucestershire is seeking to answer. The initiators of this centre believe that the present concept of non-violence needs to be deeply embedded in a more profound philosophical approach than it at present has in Britain, and that this can best be done by relating it to the "ways of liberation" which lie at the heart of eastern culture, the ways exemplified in Vedanta, Taoism, Yoga and Buddhism (of the Madhyamika school of Nagarjuna, particularly Zen Buddhism). They also believe that some of the methods and insights of western psychology are relevant to these matters. These "ways of liberation" are applicable to any culture and at the same time should enable those who participate in them to see the concept of non-violence in its true light and without the danger of misapplication.

Thus the centre aims to work out the implications of non-violence for daily life in Britain, guided and enlightened by meditation and other techniques (Upaya or 'skilful means') that certain "ways of liberation" involve. The centre aims to become self-sufficient in the essentials of life—food, clothing, shelter and sources of energy—from the land it occupies. A programme of food growing is in operation and experiments are being made into ways of producing an entirely British lacto-vegetarian diet, organically grown and according to food reform principles of preparation and preservation. A library is being gathered of relevant literature. Plans have been made to build additional accommodation so that people who share the concerns of the centre and who wish to participate in its activities may be able to stay and join in the life, study and meditation of the centre to the extent they wish. The centre will be furnished very simply but beautifully with hand made articles, some of which it is hoped to produce on the spot through the practice of crafts. The centre is to be run by a residential community who will experiment with new patterns of relationships of a truly non-violent kind. It is hoped that it will also be a place where conferences and courses in various aspects of non-violent living may be held—in particular the problems of setting up a decentralized society composed of self-governing, self-sufficient communities.

## Correspondence

### Letter from America

Watching the scene here, right now, is sort of sad—in Eugene McCarthy they have the first major figure to appear in years. (He has matured, philosophically and politically, the last few months. Seems to be the only one to KNOW this is it, for this whole society—that there is no more time left). The kids, of course, are behind him overwhelmingly—God bless them—but he hasn't the nomination, nor given much chance of getting it (follow the bookies, on these things, they seldom miss). Even if he did, don't believe he could cope with the industrial-military complex which calls the tune over here. Don't believe anyone can, just too big and entrenched. And they have chosen suppression in the ghettos. That makes it final.

To digress for a moment; Eugene McCarthy's case bears striking resemblance to that of Maximilian, French ruler of Mexico. He is one of the truly tragic figures of the New World. Was a sincere Mexican patriot, died that way, had all kinds of plans for her (more so than did her own leaders, of that day) but was placed in power by the wrong forces. Napoleon and the French Empire. Just so with Eugene McCarthy, emerging as this era closes. Even if he won the Presidency, a fifty to one shot if there ever was one, he couldn't put through a meaningful program. The economic royalists (as FDR used to call them) are too strong, too enhanced in power, and too blind to be reached in time. One man just cannot do it here, in the time left.

You see Senator Joe McCarthy's old gang still run things, as Professor Owen Lattimore so well outlined (in his Reith lectures, on your BBC), and they have spent a lifetime adhering to the 'subversive conspiracy' doctrine, it is their political creed. You'll not get the leopard to change his spots. Sooner or later LBJ will return to this, to attribute his failures to, then you'll see a witch hunt here to end all witch hunts!

Against this I tell my left wing buddies, who now listen (before they thought it too far fetched), that the only thing left to do is to co-ordinate what is left of their shattered legions, and disengage from this blood bath as much as is possible. Later they must sit in on the final talks, between negro and white and the other ethnic groups discussing partition, as a plainly separate group. Failure to do so will mean they end up as the whipping boy for a Wallace type America—blamed for all the failures and the goat of the super patriots. A sort of sacrificial lamb.

For right now read Adam Clayton Powell's surrender speech, just given in New York. He is very close to his people, a top flight politician, who has no intention of doing time for any white man's justice. He does intend to head a negro state. Read it carefully. Likewise the Minutemen's head, his refusal to surrender, his "Underground" newspaper. His outfit has been pulling large scale bank robberies (to get funds) and arms robberies. They are pretty heavy, in the rural police departments. The John Birchers seem to have the inside

track on the city police departments. Plus Ronald Reagan and Company. They are all getting ready.

The President's announcement that he will not run again will be considered to be one of the really big "blockbusters" of this political period, but actually it is not too surprising, if certain basic points are conceded:

First, that as a former teacher he does have a sense of history. That he does not care to be known as the President who presided over the liquidation of 'The American Dream' (both domestic and foreign—idealistically and as a military power). The points of no return are past, nothing can prevent the blood bath coming up this summer. Then his security phobia is well placed. He travels everywhere now in secrecy; he no longer gives his regular press conferences and the press corps never know his movements until minutes ahead. He wouldn't last four years, only under constant guard. A poor way to enjoy power. He wished to be remembered as a second Roosevelt, making necessary reforms at home, but that age is gone too. His 'Great Society' is as dead as the great auk. This is the time of revolutions, not reforms, and he dimly realizes it.

Ending the war in Vietnam will not end the system's crisis. It will merely erupt in Guatemala, Bolivia, and a host of places near home. As well as in America's own cities. This he also knows.

Add to these the secondary reasons of poor health and the developing case that Jim Garrison (the New Orleans district attorney) has on the Kennedy murder and you have the story. A sensible decision.

The rest are easily typed; Joe McCarthy's old gang. For a good analysis of Eugene McCarthy, don't fail to read the Ramparts article. He is the best, but cut out of the same cloth as Hubert H. Humphrey and Adlai Stevenson. A conventional white liberal. None of them have the choices open to them that the average well intentioned American believes. It is just too late. Time ran out on them.

Governor George Wallace, of Alabama, has been the biggest benefactor—he is now the pole around which the 'patriotic Demos' will rally. He won't win it this time, but by '72 he will be commander-in-chief of the White Knights of America. The race war here will make it final.

The Governor of the state of Maryland held a televised news conference, on the racial situation. Negro leaders came by invitation only. They were the "moderates", by the Governor's own definition. He began to reprimand them for not doing more to end the rioting in his state, saying they were afraid of the militants. Almost all of them simply got up and walked out, in front of the entire TV audience.

The polarization, preliminary to armed conflict, is going on now at a very rapid pace. Faster than I had expected. The role of the black bourgeois, in leadership positions, is about finished. They will be replaced by the ghetto's own, ones who speak the language.

Kansas City has finally quietened down, but its type of violence was different than the others—to quote David Brinkley—it lacked "the carnival atmosphere". The sniping was more deadly, lasted longer, and was directed at whites regardless of what they were doing. (Firemen, for example, who quit answering calls in the worst negro districts after one of their number was hit. Understandably. It was blind hatred. As in Cincinnati, where a 30-

year-old professor, of the local Cincinatti University, was pulled out of his car and stabbed to death).

I am now helping Alaska Native Brotherhood to draft a request for representation on a commission to end their ownership of another part of Alaska. The Aleutian chain, where they've found oil. The big steal, of South Eastern Alaska, is over. They will get 7½ million dollars !!! For a country the size of the average European nation state, and considerably richer. Thus they will not even get it in percapita payments! But will be held for "their own good". Which means they will invest it as the Indian Bureau deems best. A notoriously corrupt organization, which usually costs more—to run—than the State Department. They have one beauracrat for every 14 Indians! So depressing that I don't care to go into it. You cannot get the leopard to change his spots, you simply learn to deal with him as he is. Which often means changing him. So the average Indian is moving into the militants' circle; he has no where else to go.

In the unions the red-baiting has begun again. Believe it was LBJ's decision. Whether it survives his death, or rather—whether they postpone it until after the election game is over—remains to be seen. The winner of this popular show will not have many options open to him, the system itself is in crisis, and the big boys will tell Eugene McCarthy what they want as effectively as they did Johnson. He is, after all, no left winger but just another Establishment Liberal.

Well, that is USA as Don Passos once saw it. Our current situation, on the eve of race conflict. How long this lull will last I don't know, as time is always the hardest thing to predict, but believe it will not be too long now. The mood of thought, established by King's assassination, will evaporate quickly.

And that's the way it is, as a great dream turns into a nightmare—

R. D. Casey.

Apartment F., 819 Sixth Avenue North,  
Seattle, Washington.

## Poison

Paul Derrick's letter about diminishing supplies of oxygen in the atmosphere, printed in your March/April issue, lists only one of the menaces to human life or indeed to any life at all, which have to come up during the last 30 to 50 years, as a result of our materialist-oriented, frenetically expanding technological society. Any of the following could well within the next 30 to 50 years bring about the doomsday of earlier mythology.

1. The use and testing of nuclear weapons, and the accumulation of radioactive wastes.
2. The chemical poisoning of life either as a result of chemical warfare, including the use of defoliants, or the accumulation of chemical wastes from industrial processes and the use of insecticides and fertilisers.
3. The analogous use of biological weapons, or the coming of a 'natural' black death among a population either starved or vitiated by years of wrong feeding and use of antibiotics.

4. The overloading and erosion of the soil, so that it can no longer feed us, and the disturbance beyond the possibility of any recovery or adjustment to a new ecology, of the biological pyramid which sustains us, by killing and misuse of other animal and vegetable species.
5. The continuing of the population explosion, due to mistaken and inculcated political and religious doctrine, until there is no room left in which to live and no food left.
6. The disturbance of the not yet properly understood meteorological balance, by rainbow bombs, space shots, weather control, so that there results a new ice age, or the disappearance of the radiation shielding layers of the upper atmosphere.

In addition therefore to man's age old and sickening capacity to starve, kill, tyrannise and exploit his fellows, has now come the means totally to destroy his environment. It is to this new menace that the peace movement in its search for an integrated non-destructive and self perpetuating way of living, should turn with some of its resources for protest and persuasion. To the ranks of the old enemies of the anarcho-pacifist, the politicians, generals, priests, financiers, police and bureaucrats, is now added despite all his protests of innocence and potentiality for good, the scientists.

Yours,

Richard Harvey.

6 Folkestone Road,  
Salisbury, Wilts.

## The World of Community

The ideas behind the article by Emanuel Petrakis (Resurgence Vol. 1 No. 9) are not new though they may on the whole be sound. Man has for many centuries thought to emancipate himself from established systems of economics where one man is master and the rest are slaves.

A few years ago Professor Armitage of Sheffield published a book called "Heavens Below" in which he described dozens upon dozens of such adventures from the 16th century to the present day. Many are well documented, the earlier ones

are probably as factual as we shall ever get and are told with sympathy; the ones of the present century are not, as we know from our own experience, presented with as much care in the sifting of the facts. With the possible exception of any recent ones which may still be running, they have all failed.

In the period before 1939 communities were set up all over the country. They were so numerous that a co-ordinating Committee was set up and a 'Community Broadsheet' was printed detailing the activities of the groups. Two books were published, "Community in Britain" and "Community in a Changing World" and these were full of ideas. But how many of these Communities are left?

The trouble is that so few idealists are practical men, and land, which is inevitably the basis of life, is a hard taskmaster. Not that it is impossible to make a living off the land, but it requires a lot of skill, a lot of patience and a certain amount of luck. The communities of the thirties had none of these.

We have no hesitation in saying that we largely agree with the arguments put forward by Emanuel Petrakis, but we doubt whether any large scale support will be forthcoming from trade unionists etc. If there was a modicum of idealism in the labour and trade union movement, the Co-op would not be in the sticky position that it is in to-day. Not that we have any sympathy for the Co-op; to-day and for the past half century it has ceased to have any ideals or efficiency. In the early days of the London Co-operative Society, begun we believe by Theodore Harris, it did have a non-profit making basis. It is on this question of profit making that I would join issue with Emanuel Petrakis. For Profit, by nature of its definition, is a charge put upon goods sold, over and above reasonable payment for the work involved in transferring goods from the producer to the user. Profit, together with Interest and Rent, forms the basis of capitalistic society and should certainly be eschewed by the pacifist and idealist. Petrakis seems to have no idea of this.

If pacifists, in starting communal enterprises, hope to have economic success with the general public because of their ideals, they are doomed to disappointment. If the public is left cold by pacifist propaganda, they will not be roused from their apathy by such ventures. The lack of moral decision and responsibility which precludes them from supporting anti-war propaganda will also cause them to shrink from more practical steps. Experience has shown this. Not that these steps should not be taken, but no one should imagine that the Kingdom of Heaven is going to come overnight.

There is no particular virtue in 'community living'. In practice it is generally a hotchpotch of people with conflicting ideas who cannot cooperate. Even in the Bruderhof there was an élite who directed things and achieved a higher standard of living, whilst the rest were more or less enslaved. And what has happened to it? Frequently in communities there are a few who work and the many who scrounge. What is essential is not communising, but an established set of principles by which one's actions are guided. Man is an individual and unless he is prepared to carry out his

principles *individually* he will not do so *collectively*. For example Petrakis' illustration of war tax refusal is a case in point. If you adopt the subterfuge of having a low income or register as a Charity to avoid tax, then your example is of no use whatever. You are sacrificing nothing. I know of people who do refuse to pay and who, in order to avoid the charge of doing so for personal gain, give the money elsewhere. They face, indeed have faced, prosecution. And this should be done without waiting for a group to co-operate.

It may seem from the foregoing that I think co-operation between pacifists is impossible. That is not so, but it is not easy, as I have experienced over many decades. A factor which can often cause trouble is the 'sense of vocation'. This is all right in its place, but an insistence on strictly obeying this vocational call can lead to a lot of trouble and dissatisfaction. In one of Gandhi's communities nobody felt a vocational call to clean out the latrines. The same with a man in a community who wants to spend his time writing or painting rather than do the hard graft. The group rebels, and when one sees some of this 'avant-garde' stuff, one thinks with reason.

On balance I have found that the family unit is the basis which is most likely to produce the best results, providing there is integrity and a unity of fundamental thought, a unity which is most unlikely to be achieved in a heterogeneous collection of pacifists.

A. G. Higgins.

The Brotherhood Church,  
Stapleton, Pontefract,  
Yorks.

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## Better be Bad than Nothing

Discussions of the 'permissive' ethos, and of violence, inevitably assume a certain attitude to human nature. There is a commonly accepted model in the background—of a 'natural' man, suppressed or controlled by society, for his own good, or at some forfeiture of his potentialities. There is a struggle between 'instinct' and 'reason', while solutions are often seen in terms of 'relaxing restraints' on the one hand while 'strengthening the ego for rational control' on the other. Popular attitudes to matters of censorship, expression and education, moral training, behaviour, and so forth are often found to be implying this kind of model of human make-up. The restraints of civilization become internalised as our stern super-ego, and the consequence is inhibition, and a 'devastation of our powers.' To Sartre as to R. D. Laing the family is an instrument of violence and absurdity, while education is the 'pathetic surrender of babes'. Basically by this view

Human nature is inately self-seeking, pleasure seeking . . . and to be socialized only under very heavy pressure; and then only from non-altruistic motives, and under a never-relinquished repressed protest and revolt . . .

What is 'real' about man is that he is an animal. Civilization is the (unwilling) restraint of this animal, with consequent loss of—?—? energy.

Art must therefore be 'insurrection'. Culture is the 'release of impulse'. It is valuable to release libido, as if it were a head of steam, while violence in expression—to critics such as Susan Sontag and A. L. Alvarez—brings us the 'truth as of martyrs'. It cannot be that man's need for love, his social impulses, or his culture are a primary reality. It is the Id that is 'real'.

I have myself never found this picture of human nature, and the role of culture, convincing. I was therefore relieved to find it challenged as false by one of the most thorough chroniclers of recent psycho-analytical thought in England—Dr. H. Guntrip, of Leeds University Department of Psychiatry. Guntrip summarises and develops the object-relations theories of Fairbairn, Winnicott, Melanie Klein and others along this line. He points out that this 'impulse' model of human nature is a very ancient one. Freud merely gave it a modern twist, and offered different solutions to the problems arising from conflict in human nature.

The ancient Persian Zoroastrians thought of a warfare between matter as evil and mind as good . . . Plato describes human nature by a simile. On the outside men look like human beings but under their skin three creatures are concealed: a monster with many heads, some wild, some tame . . . the desires and passions: a lion—the spirited quality which will fight; and a human being—the rational element.

The same essential picture of what goes on inside us is found in Saint Paul's doctrine of unceasing warfare between the flesh and the spirit, the law of the members and the law of the mind.

As a first hypothetical basis for his investigations, says Guntrip, Freud adopted this 'theory' and gave it a scientific dress.

'The many-headed beast of the desires and passions' and the 'law of the members' became the instincts of sex and aggression functioning anti-socially according to a 'pleasure principle' and leading to a Hobbesian world in which life would be 'nasty, brutish and short' (as in *The Future of an Illusion*). The 'lion' becomes aggression taken up by the sadistic super-ego and turned against the id instinct-derivatives. The 'law of the mind' and the 'charioteer of reason' (on whom Freud, like Plato, pinned all his hopes) becomes the ego seeking to operate by a 'reality principle'.

Nearly every commentator, from the Editor of *Penthouse* to Koestler on psychopathology, from the Bishop of Woolwich on morality to authoritarian headmasters, conceives of the essential problem in terms of 'the need to control impulses by reason'.

Solutions of this problem either follow the official Christian path of repression. Or they follow those of Freud—of 'easing repression and showing more toleration of instincts while strengthening the ego for rational control'. Both agree to the basic nature of the problem.

Police control, legal punishment, denunciatory public opinion, moral disapproval, religious preaching of 'sin' all conspire to discipline recalcitrant instincts.

'Permissive' approaches seek to 'moderate the harshness of super-ego control and to strengthen the ego': some, with R. D. Laing, seek a 'new ego' instead of the old 'false' one which is a product of an 'absurd' society.

The consequences of this implicit model in our thinking about morality are expressed in Freud's *Future of an Illusion*:

Every individual is virtually an enemy of civilisation . . . Here are present in all men destructive, and therefore anti-social and anti-cultural trends . . . (the aim must be to lessen the burden of the instinctual sacrifices imposed on men, to reconcile men to those which must necessarily remain.

In the same work, however, there is a fly in the ointment. This Freudian model is not on the whole one which expresses a confidence in human nature, nor in the democratic way of life:

masses are lazy and unintelligent . . . it is . . . impossible . . . to do without the control of the mass by a minority . . .

nor, from this account, is there much hope for man, because his destructive impulses are innate, one has to give up hopes of his healthy socialization.

But according to Guntrip this whole model is at odds with the human facts. Guntrip suggests that man's age-old conviction that all his troubles come from his possession of mighty if nearly

uncivilized instincts of his animal nature (is) our greatest rationalization and self-deception. We have preferred to boost our egos by the belief that even if we are *bad*, we are at any rate strong in the possession of 'mighty instincts'.

The truth is rather that 'deep within our make-up we are tied to a weak, fear-ridden infantile ego that we never completely outgrow'. Our central problem is weakness—of feeling that we are too weak, psychically, to survive.

Here there has been a tremendous shift in this kind of psycho-analytical thinking, whose effect has yet to hit the world of culture, art and education. It marks a shift from *depressive* problems to *schizoid* problems. Depressive problems are those which have their origins in fears that our hate may cause harm to others. Schizoid problems have earlier roots, and are associated with fears that our *love* may harm others. Here we go back to the very start of human identity and our feelings that we are perhaps so weak at the core that our survival feels threatened, our hungry need to survive can threaten others, even.

Depression (says Guntrip) is the psychology of badness. The schizoid problem opens up the psychology of our fundamental weakness, and human beings would rather be bad than weak. This shift in the centre of gravity in psychodynamic theory will enforce a radical reassessment of all philosophical, moral, educational and religious views of human nature.

One of the biggest barriers to the coming of this real revolution in thinking about human nature is what Guntrip calls the 'taboo on weakness' prev-

### STUDENT RESURGENCE 1968

*A strategy of Student Revolution; Kenneth Patchen — Poem; Ruth Cohen — Looking Back on L.S.E.; Chris Reeve — Student Peace Action; Student Reports from Madrid, Berlin, U.S.A., India and Japan; John Papworth — Summerhill Notebook; Geoff Mumford — Pressures on Student Officers; Reports from Bristol, Birmingham, London, Oxford, Cambridge etc.; Poems, reviews, comment, etc., etc.*

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alent in our cultural ethos. And much of the permissive ethos in its implications that we all benefit from being swinging, sexy, released and 'radiantly alive' etc., is false, because it implies that our primary needs are pleasure, and that we can solve all the age-old problems of life by mere manic 'fun'—by hedonism, or by assertive aggressiveness.

From this 'schizoid' psychology a number of important implications for culture could follow. For one thing, if we accept it, morality doesn't depend upon *merely* educating 'reason', and certainly not on coercion (which only brings a false social compliance). It depends upon love and a 'facilitating environment' in early infancy, and the growth of natural capacities for being. Such a point of view implies the need for a creative education, in which self-developing powers of 'contributing in', giving and 'making reparation' can be fostered. It is important for 'moral codes' to be lying around for the child to make use of: total permissiveness can thus make it more difficult for a child to feel real and whole.

There are two ways of developing one's sense of being alive—of being strong enough to feel real, despite one's inner weak infantile ego that threatens one's sense of feeling alive. One is by accepting one's weak needs—one's dependence on others, one's need to love, one's vulnerability, one's own destructiveness. On these we work by that symbolism which is (as Suzanne Langer has emphasised) a primary need in man. The other is a false way. Sometimes it is a useful temporary assertion of still being alive—manic, like a night out in Town. The dancing girls come on, the lights flash, we drive along the lake shore. We feel alive, by a kind of magic: this is what 'pop' does for us. We are 'switched on'. This kind of confirmation on our existence we all need at times. But in it there is only a manic assertion, and there can be no lasting gain. If this is all we have to assure us we are alive, then we are still psychically under-nourished.

So—what we nowadays so often take to be manifestations of a new 'freedom'—depersonalised sex, sex-talk, sex-novels, sex-violence, violence itself, pornography, and much else that 'impulse psychology' is taken to vindicate, are but false ways of feeling strong and alive. By contrast with creativity and love, they belong to the death-circuits of hate, an inverted, ruthless expression of the need to survive. They complement racialism and war, which also make us feel Big and Strong. As with James Bond, our world becomes divided into objects to be consumed and enemies to be attacked, by splitting and projection. We attack in others the weaknesses and hatreds we cannot include in ourselves.

The truth is that our primary need in life is relationship, rather than 'release': and confirmation of our identity is to be found in 'contributing in' to social life. As Guntrip says,

good personal relationship is in itself the basic need and aim of men whose nature cannot be fulfilled without it, while aggression and pleasure-seeking only result from the frustration of this primary aim . . .

But the false picture of human make-up to which we cling prevents us seeing that this is so. We believe it is good to 'release our violence' We hang up our picture of Al Capone or Bonnie and Clyde, because we would rather be a Bad Someone than a Weak Nobody. Art is 'insurrection' or 'self-expression'.

## THE FOURTH WORLD

The movement grows; there are so many reports of the struggles of people in different parts of the world to decide for themselves what they want that it is not possible to do more than briefly summarise a selection. Some concern people who are still colonial subjects (as in Angola and Mozambique), some relate to people like the inhabitants of Gibraltar and the Falkland Islands, who are afraid of being taken over by a big neighbour, others are, as it were, nations within nations, trying to opt out of the bigger unit.

This may be called 'horizontal devolution', which does little, as yet, to bring into focus the moves towards 'vertical devolution', which includes moves towards workers control of industry, local control of community services, the work of community creation (especially in urban areas) and other aspects of door-step democracy.

Little has been heard of *Nauru*, in the South Pacific, since its 5,000 people opted for independence from joint U.K., N.Z. and Australian Trusteeship earlier this year and *Anguilla* (population 6,000) its rival as the smallest nation state, continues to maintain its independence after its break-away from the Federation of St. Kitts, even though it talks of wanting to be a member of the (British) Commonwealth.

*Mauritius* is now independent, but reports of racial unrest in the press are not surprising if one knows how badly it has fared under British rule. It is unhealthily dependent on a single cash crop, sugar, which it does not even refine. With a population of over half a million, 90% of its arable land is given over to sugar cane, hence it has to import not only virtually all its manufactured goods, but most of its basic foodstuffs too.

Scheduled for full independence on September 6th, 1968, is Britain's last African colony, *Swaziland*. With 300,000 people in an area almost the size of Wales, it is uncomfortably squeezed between South Africa and Mozambique, and lacks access to the sea. It is being saddled with a constitution that will permanently shackle it to the forces of feudalism and racialism, according to Dr. A. F. Zwane, President of the National Liberatory Council of Swaziland. He and his Vice-President, Mr. K. F. Samketi, came to London in February to make a personal non-violent protest against the final constitutional conference, at which his party was not represented. They obstructed the entrance to the conference hall with a two-man lie-in that received good publicity. But it still seems probable that Swaziland will emerge from British domination only to be effectively controlled by its racist neighbour.

Also headed for independence in 1968 is the small Spanish colony of *Equatorial Guinea*, comprising *Rio Muni* on the mainland and the island of *Fernando Poo*.

Unlike Spain and Britain, France and Portugal continue to hold stubbornly to their remaining colonies. Struggles against Portuguese domination continue in all her African colonies, and guerrilla fighters in *Portuguese Guinea* were recently featured very prominently in a television docu-

mentary. There has also been increasing agitation from the French colonies of *Guadeloupe* in the West Indies, and *New Caledonia* in the Pacific.

An excellent article in the American socialist magazine 'Monthly Review' (March, 1968) on Scottish and Welsh nationalism describes the "revolt against satellization" especially of *Wales*, and dispels most effectively any doubts that may remain about the economic viability of these smaller parts of Britain:

"Wales . . . is, on a per capita basis, better endowed with coal and agricultural land than England. The country produces 99 per cent of Britain's output of tinplate, 92 per cent of the output of sheet steel and 24 per cent of the crude steel," but "the export of these semi-finished products obviously means for Wales a loss of employment, a loss that is England's gain." Power, water, and trained teachers also flow in large quantities from Wales to England. Thus "outlying regions are subjected increasingly to exploitation and impoverishment by centralised authority—in this case London", and . . . "imperialism brought industrial concentration in the 'metropolis' and debasement and satellization of Britain's Celtic colonies long before the German 'new Order' attempted this in Europe."

Home-rule has become almost a Tory password, while the Liberals continue their talk of Scottish and Welsh parliaments; but Labour merely puzzles over its waning support amongst the Scottish 'proletariat'. Now the Liberals have come forward with a detailed proposal for the devolution of power within England in a report entitled, unfortunately, "Power to the Provinces". The 12 proposed "provinces" could collect and dispense their own tax money, but the central government would retain power over most matters, and it would attempt to subsidise the poorer "provinces" by taxing the richer.

*Biafra* is being compelled to prove its right to a separate identity the hard way. Its 'recognition' by Tanzania is expected to be followed by recognition from the Ivory Coast, and others. Yet Britain continues to ship arms exclusively to the so-called Federal Government. *The Observer* and *The Times* now feature reports from inside Biafra—reports that always tell of a firm determination to hold out and the Britain-Biafra Association has recently published a booklet stating the Biafran case for independence.

In India, where trends toward a separation of the states is frequently reported as a 'breakdown of democracy', the *Tamil* secessionist movement is reported to be spreading fast from the two Madras districts of Madurai and Coimbatore where it is strongest; the move was sparked by the mishandling of the language issue by the Delhi government. *Nagaland* continues to be a scene of sporadic guerrilla fighting, generally blamed on the Chinese, and recognition of its separate status is still withheld; it is also reported that 'tribesmen' in the nearby regions of *Manipur* and *Mizo* are fighting for independence.

Little news trickles out about the plight of the *Kurds*, but reports declare they are being bombed regularly by the Iraq government, using planes now supplied by France, where previously Britain

*Continued on next page.*

John Papworth

## EARLS COURT NOTEBOOK

It was Arnold Toynbee, writing recently on his visit to the U.S.A., who declared that the Hippies and the Flower Power people could well be laying the basis of an entirely new civilisation. I get much the same impression from reading *International Times*. There are, of course, many oldsters who tend to dismiss I.T. as being little more than a gaudy manifestation of teenage sex mores and drug addiction. This is apt to go along with an unstated assumption that if only young people who are disturbed by the drift of world affairs would join the Bow Group, or perhaps The Fabian Society . . . which is as good an indication as any I suppose as to how easy it is to get out of touch, and I would urge them to look at I.T. again more closely.

"If a policeman hits you", I read in a recent issue, "give him a flower". Elsewhere I read an eloquent appeal to youngsters to turn their backs on the materialist values of our corrupt societies; I have read frequent references to the internationality of their outlook (which has created its own incredible and almost completely non-organised international fraternity) and repeatedly, as in the articles on diet in the last two issues, a message is affirmed of restraint and simplicity in the material things of life. Gandhi might not recognise the garb, but if this is not the spirit of Gandhism I would like to know what is.

### The Fourth World—continued

and the United States had provided for such needs. It also seems that there are fractions of the Kurds disputing amongst themselves, egged on of course, onesidedly, by the Iraq government.

In *Quebec*, 60,000 copies of Rene Levesque's book "Option Quebec" were sold between January and March. The movement has provoked a counter-attack from a combination of French and English-Canadian businessmen, who are to publish "Option Canada". Meanwhile Quebec moved into de-facto independence when it sent a representative to an education conference of French-speaking states held in Gabon. "He was given, so it seems, the full treatment normally reserved for heads of national governments and the Quebec flag flew among those of other nations taking part" (*The Times*, 6 March, 1968). Relations between Ottawa and Libreville are reported to be somewhat strained as a result!

Most reports on the unrest in Czechoslovakia include mention of past tensions between *Czechs* and *Slovaks*, and it seems that Dubcek has urged, among other reforms, a federal system that would give the Slovaks more power to run their own affairs. Dubcek himself is the first Slovak to become head of state.

From Spain comes a report of a demonstration in San Sebastian, capital of the *Basque* province of Guipuzcoa, where the Basques defied a force of

I find much in its political attitudes confused, but I.T.'s crowning achievement to me is the manner in which it creates precisely the kind of mood in which the policies and arguments put forward in *Resurgence* are helped to become matters of practical politics.

It was as we waited in the airport lounge for Jayaprakash Narayan to arrive from New York that somebody asked us if we heard the dreadful news. There was a tone in his voice, a note of near glee, that sense of exultation in a sudden sense of power that people sometimes betray when it dawns on them that their listener is totally innocent of the import of their tidings, that made me steel myself.

In his heart I have no doubt my informant was not the least happy at what he knew, quite the reverse in fact, but the obvious relish with which he proceeded to tell us that Martin Luther King had been murdered arose from his sense of power, or his customary lack of it, and was only incidentally related to the nature of his news.

I heard Martin Luther King preach in his Baptist Church in Atlanta about four years ago. It was, I recollect, packed with opulently dressed members of the Negro bourgeoisie whose shiny, parked cars hemmed the pavements outside. The

cont. overleaf—

some 1,000 police sent out to suppress celebration of the Basque "Day of the Patriots" (April 14th).

It is curious to notice that the unifiers remain active, in spite of all evidence that countries can get too big. Recently two organisations were formed linking (loosely to be sure) large sections of West and Central Africa. Each covers an area roughly the size of India, but with population densities resembling Canada and Australia. What it is hoped to achieve from such unwieldy units is hard to imagine.

Nearer home our own 'Student Power' conference got off to a weak start in terms of numbers although it picked up somewhat on the second day after some adverse press publicity (perhaps confirming the advertisers adage that there is no such a thing as bad publicity!). The discussions are being edited, like those at other 'Fourth World Conferences' and these will be made available in due course.

No space to report on the conditions in Belgium and moves for *Walloon* separatism from the *Flemings*, or of the Palestine/Israel issue, the project of a move towards a Negro Republic of Songhay in the Southern part of the United States, and much else. We badly need first-hand reports of all these matters. Will *Resurgence* readers oblige here, or prod friends who live in trouble spots to write to us?

poverty-stricken South is a reality without any doubt, but there was far less evidence of it in this church in the former Confederate capital than probably in any other part.

He preached like a jewel, his voice full of warm, deep cadences which might easily lull the mind into concurrence if his words were not so challenging and though-provoking. He referred easily to Kant, Hegel and other writers I doubt many of his audience had read, he spelt out some of the assumptions of modern science and repeatedly reiterated that all schools of modern thought had to bow before the implacable fact of the ultimate mystery of life. They had to take life on trust, itself an act of faith, he argued, so why deny oneself the limitless blessings of faith in Jesus and his message of redemption?

Now they have shot him down, a man who could ask questions like that, and whose spirit wrestled with the ultimate principles of human conduct in a society which seems bent on denying them all.

When Jayaprakash Narayan (whom everyone calls J.P.) arrived I think he already knew, perhaps they told him in the car which brought him from the plane to the V.I.P. lounge. He looked at the screaming newspaper headlines, his finely chiselled features, with their perplexing blend of aristocratic serenity, unselfconscious humility and sheer human kindness, seeming more taut and drawn than even a transatlantic air journey could make them and then, the business of greeting over, he lapsed into silence.

There was the usual wait for luggage and we talked a little with J.P.'s wife, Shrimati Prabhavati. She was dressed in a beautiful homespun Kashmir sari and an overcoat of grey homespun cloth which excited my wife's admiration to the point of wistfully discussing the possibilities of learning to spin and weave. Her face was stern with fatigue, but when she smiled she was transformed. We learnt to look for that smile; it was as though she possessed some long-sought secret of joy she wanted to communicate and share. Having met and corresponded with J.P. over a number of years I had supposed his wife to be one of those quiet, retiring women who are content to maintain domestic order for their men. Nothing of the sort; she has played a full part in public life and worked closely with Gandhi when J.P. was in prison (he served seven years in jail under British rule). One of the tragedies of her life was to have left Gandhi's Ashram after living and working there for some years only the day before he was assassinated.

She used her sari to keep her head covered, but in all the time I spent with her it never stayed put for more than a few minutes and she must have spent a fair fraction of her life in readjusting it. Her manner, we came to learn, had an abrupt bird-like directness about it, as though at any given moment she wanted to communicate with one to the exclusion of almost any other consideration. Her conversational opening was characteristic; "Eh", she would say, and the 'h' would be very short, accompanying this sound with a gentle, urgent nudge in the ribs, and this "Eh" with its nudge, was her standard call sign with which she asked questions, regaled us with jokes or initiated us into Indian culinary mysteries with a gusto and gaiety which seemed totally at variance with her sixty odd years. Like J.P. these qualities of gentleness, dignity and directness were predominant and

they made them a very well matched couple.

At public meetings at which J.P. spoke she would sit at the front row, kick off her shoes and tuck her feet under her and then proceed with her voluminous correspondence, or, bless her, she would just doze off. She came to our home one evening and inside five minutes she was slicing onions in the kitchen and her face and gestures seemed to be expressing relief that she was doing something useful with her capable hands after her days in big hotels and diplomatic residences. They stayed only one week in England, but before they left she had become very dear to us.

By all conventional standards J.P. should be a rather poor public speaker. He prefers to sit rather than stand, he rarely raises his voice above a quiet conversational level, he fidgets with nervousness, he engages in no histrionics, he rambles, he pauses for long periods whilst he decides what next to say and sometimes he simply loses his way altogether. And yet, by some alchemy, he gets his audiences hanging on to every syllable he utters.

As he talked at his first public meeting (in the Oxfam Headquarters), his head framed by a glossy, old fashioned, Mercator-projection map of the world on the wall behind him, I looked at the intent faces of the audience. It was a mixed crowd of all working ages and one felt a core of something indefinably English about them, something in the casual tweeds and thick soled footwear that suggested rural affinities, and in those pink open faces with wide spaced eyes, something that suggested care and concern for the verities. It is just possible, I suppose, that there was not a single Quaker, a single communicant member of the Church of England, not a single member of the Labour or Liberal parties, nor of CND, nor the Peace Pledge Union, nor of the Soil Association, the Vegetarian Society or of the League against Cruel Sports, or even of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England among them all, but it was an audience of people the like of whom has created all these bodies and thousands more in a most incredible output of voluntary effort of a luxury and variety few countries I know can equal; representatives of an England which given half a chance by monster governments and business corporations might do yeoman work in rescuing England, to say nothing of the world, from its present mess.

J.P. talked about the general political situation in India, and there was a flatness in his voice, the sound of a man whose heart was not really in his words. But he soon went on to talk about the famine in Bihar and the work of Gramdan, the land gift movement, and then he was a man transformed. There was a light in his eyes, the light of the promised land, of human hope and the prospect of human regeneration glowing out of him, there was a perceptible quickening and firmness in his voice and the nervous movement of his hands gave way to incisive little gestures of emphasis.

Since he affirms *diminuendo* as it were, this change was outwardly on a small and perhaps not immediately obvious scale, but it was there nonetheless, and I saw this quiet transformation several times more during his stay.

I have been passing through Oxford with some frequency over the past few years and I have always regarded it primarily as a university. This is no longer true of course and its car production

—Continued on page 28.

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