Nonkilling History

Shaping Policy with Lessons from the Past

Edited by
Antony Adolf

Center *for* Global **Nonkilling**

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"There is no flag large enough to cover
the shame of killing innocent people."

Howard Zinn
(1922-2010)

In memoriam

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Nonkilling History is Global

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Foreword

Glenn D. Paige
Center for Global Nonkilling

In the life of a scholar, young or old, there are moments of discovery in the search for knowledge that are breathtaking. One for me was finding the chapter under Nonkilling History by Antony Adolf and Israel Sanmartin in the unique interdisciplinary exploration *Toward a Nonkilling Paradigm* (2009) edited by Joám Evans Pim. Among other surprise discoveries in that volume were under Nonkilling Mathematics by Ubiratan D' Ambrosio and Nonkilling Engineering by David Haws.

The surprise insight from Nonkilling History is that *what did not happen* explains why humanity lives today. This turns upside down understanding of history as the story of the victory of righteous or reprehensible human violence in struggles to satisfy human aspirations, wants, and needs.

Hitherto I had argued for human ability to create nonkilling societies on common sense grounds that nonkilling attributes of human nature must have predominated over lethal ones. Otherwise humanity long ago must have spiraled into extinction (Paige [2002] 2009: 40).

In the introduction to nonkilling historiography that begins the present volume, editor Antony Adolf advances far beyond such common sense understanding. He establishes seminal methodology for establishing a new nonkilling science of history. Such a science will not only help to explain past to present human survival but will inform decisions, individual and collective, to promote future killing-free societies that sustain and celebrate human life.

Adolf's chapter invites close reading and re-reading to grasp basic concepts and to ponder their implications for thought, inquiry, education, and action. They include *deductive historicization* (from nonkilling theory to observation to specificity), *inductive historicization* (from nonkilling observation to theory to generality), *historical didacticism* (investigation of analogs and assumptions), *reflexive relativity* (nonkilling in specific cultural contexts, but universally present across contexts), and *predictive history* (nonkilling probabilities based upon past patterns and implications).

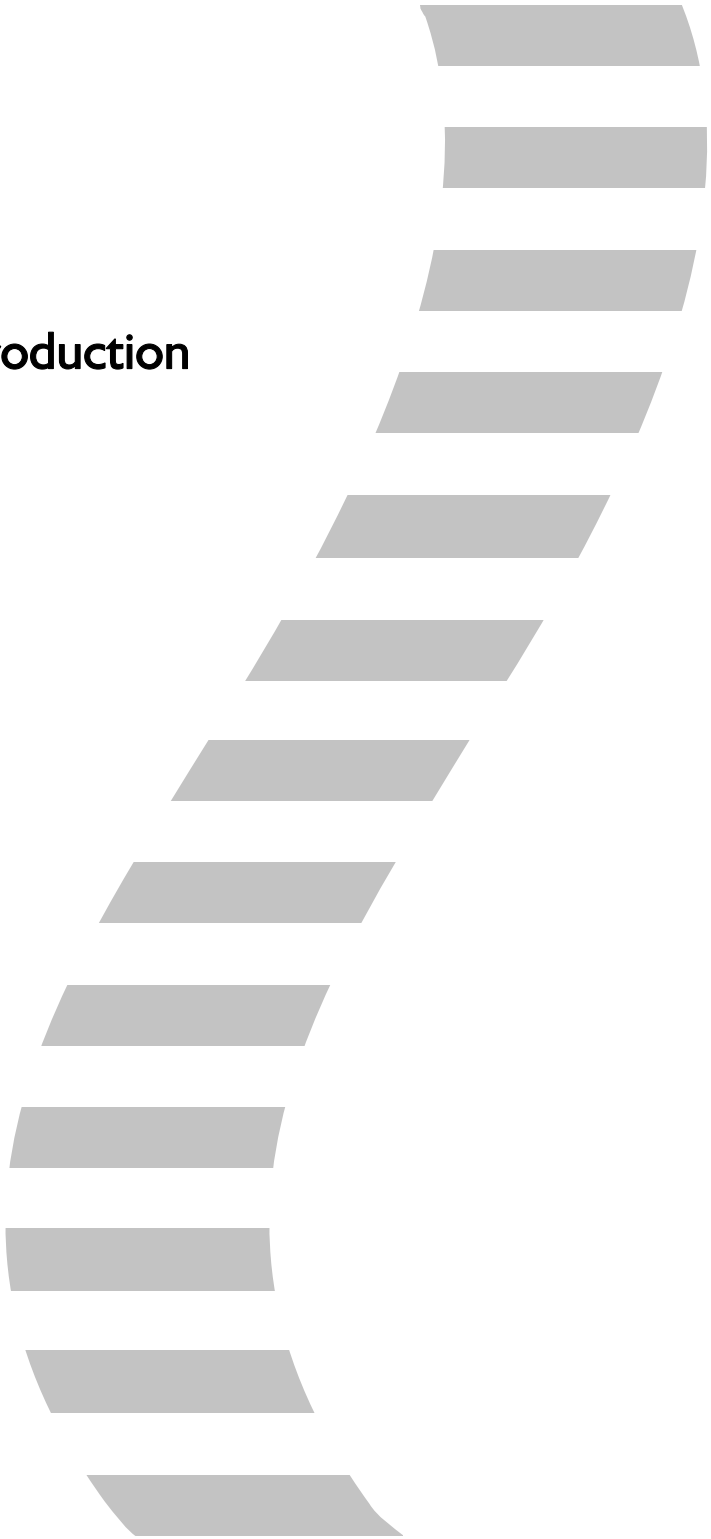
Nonkilling history like nonkilling approaches to other academic disciplines and other vocations does not mean to neglect the facts of human lethality. For knowledge is needed of the causes of killing and transitions from killing to nonkilling in order to understand human capacity to envision and achieve completely killing-free societies. Likewise the sciences and arts of nonkilling are indispensable partners of principles and practices of nonviolence and peace. For being alive is a precondition for pursuit of all other human values and problem-solving actions.

The invitation to explore nonkilling history in this volume will interest not only young and old scholars in history and other academic disciplines, but will surely invite nonkilling questions by general readers as well. For example, nonkilling questions can throw new light on conventional explanations of why nuclear weapons have not yet been used since 1945 and why abolition efforts persist; why powerful regimes in repressive states and dominant whites in apartheid conditions have acquiesced in largely nonkilling political and social change; why the British did not kill Gandhi; and why 95 countries have completely abolished the death penalty.

Combining Adolf's reflexive relativity with Israel Sanmartin's historical survey in this volume of forms of inter- and trans-national organization, permits one to envision a future Global Commonwealth of Nonkilling Societies bound by a powerful global nonkilling ethic as an alternative to forms of global governance currently being discussed.

The fact that *Nonkilling History* follows closely upon Antony Adolf's unprecedented survey of *Peace: A World History* (2009) is itself historic. For his vast scholarship has enabled him and us to see how nonkilling historiography can help to achieve Nonkilling Global Peace.

Introduction



Preconditional, Didactic and Predictive Histories

An Introduction to Nonkilling History

Antony Adolf
Author of Peace: A World History

Introduction: Rhinoceros for Breakfast and the Survival of Humanity

History is, as a rule, about the when and where of what was done by whom and even, sometimes, about the why. Overwhelmingly, focus is on the done. We know from material, documentary and firsthand evidence engrained by force of repetition, for example, that across Europe millions of Jews and others considered degenerate by Nazis were killed by them during World War Two. As a result of this rule applied as the perennially predominant historical theory and practice, what was (and is) *not* done tends stalwartly to be considered at best historically uninteresting and at worst not history at all. To stress the point: no one cares why or how they did not eat rhinoceros for breakfast. But, we believe, they surely would if it explained why they are alive today and predict whether they may be tomorrow (sic). It is as usual the exception that proves the rule and, in the case of history, makes it possible both as a lived experience as well as a field of study, debate and always already impending influence on the present and future.

There is little if anything in history that more pertinently puts the practice of this valid rule—and especially its as-valid exception—into theory or vice versa than particular histories of nonkilling within ever-wider histories of nonviolence, peace and, ultimately, humanity and life on earth. Here, our concern with the particular is both informed by and informs the wider. In one sense, the historicization of nonkilling explains behavioral, psychological, social and other conventions or status quos that have *de facto* sustained our survival as a species literally from before time immemorial up to and including the moment you are reading this, despite constant blinding focus on their temporary lapses, such as violence, conflicts and wars. In a second sense, the histories of nonkilling are the interpreted records of attempts

and successes at preventing or overcoming acts and systems of killing, which if they had failed completely you would not be reading this. Paradoxically, then, historicizing what did not happen (but makes the past, present and future possible) is at once radically revisionist in reversing the most elemental hierarchy of traditional historiography and dogmatically orthodox in reaffirming what was/not done, when, by whom, how and perhaps even why, as in traditional historiography.

We seek neither to reconcile nor to argue exclusively for one or the other of these two approaches by which arguably the most important events that never happened actually did not can become intelligible and useful. Nor do we present a "third way" of any kind because, strictly speaking, there cannot be: what is not part of the historical record is determined by the historical record rather than the other way around, in the same way that what is not known is determined by what is known. Instead, the case is made that only by taking these two approaches separately and together can any viable, pragmatic accounts of nonkilling specifically and nonviolence generally be given with the purpose of perpetuating the principles and learning from the practices thereby gained, debated and applied. The history, nonhistories to be precise, with which we are engaged are scientific in that they involve what is concurrently visible and invisible and equally legitimate, like the proverbial Newtonian apple which in falling revealed the force of gravity. You can see apples falling, you cannot see gravity: it must be deduced or induced. Technically, gravity did not actually happen as the falling apple actually did, but the negative actuality of gravity explains why and how the apple positively fell on Newton's head in the late 17th century (or so his story goes), and can predict how other objects will fall in the present and future. The key difference between gravity and historicizing what did not happen are the vastly greater influence and concomitantly added complexity of continually evolving sets of conditions and participants involved in the latter, as in reflexive relativity not relativism (contrasted below).

A clear and unequivocal distinction must also be made between the facts of what actually did not happen and the fictions of what could, would or should have happened. It is feasible, if easier said than done, to account for rhinoceros not being eaten for breakfast; it is not for neon rhinoceros. This distinction, its methodological implications, its import to better understanding related (non)phenomena and (non)histories in ethical to socio-economic to political realms and beyond, their practical uses in policy formation, identity construction, conflict resolution, peace-building, the course of cultures and so on are at the heart of our project. *Deductive historicization* of what did not

happen begins within the context of a theory, posits a hypothesis, collects data by observation and analyzes it, finally confirming or invalidating the hypothesis or theory. *Inductive historicization* of what did not happen is not the reverse. Beginning with observation, data and its analysis leads not to a hypothesis, but to the identification of patterns in the observed that then may form a hypothesis or theory that can inform inquiries into what did not happen in other ways. Deduction seeks specificity, induction generality, and so only the two together can provide a full view of what has not happened, the unification of which is a challenge unto itself. If you were to stack up all that has happened in one pile, and all that has not in another, the latter would immeasurably out-proportion the former. Likewise, to account for every instance of nonkilling would be counterproductive if not nonsensical, and so foci of historical attention with the most contextually-relevant didactic and/or predictive potential must be determined. Thus it is our purpose here to show how to historicize what did not happen indicatively more than definitively.

Deductive Historicization

Positing nonkilling as a field of historiography is itself based in a theory and hypotheses that must be validated deductively before proceeding; doing so in tandem indicates how other related theories or hypotheses can similarly be validated. Namely, that the *concept of nonkilling* is: (a) sufficient to account for and/or explain at least a discrete set of historical phenomena, the theory; (b) of sufficient import to justify the allocation of resources and efforts to historicize it, hypothesis one, covered in the next section on inductive historicization; and (c) is didactical and/or has predictive powers, hypothesis two, covered in the conclusion below. Glenn D. Paige's foundational conceptualization of nonkilling is our starting point: the absence of killing, threats to kill, and conditions conducive to killing in human society (2009 [2002]). Our end-point must be how, if valid, the historiographical theory of nonkilling, and the hypotheses and observations upon which it is rests, fits within those of nonviolence, peace and humanity more widely. However, to get to the deductive historicization of nonkilling, the spectacular extent to which historiographical theory and practice is currently and always has been paramountly preoccupied with killing, violence, conflict and war must be acknowledged, confronted and overcome, which can only be done cursorily here (see Adolf, 2009).

To witness the predominance of violence, conflict and war over nonkilling, nonviolence and peace in historiography first-hand simply walk into any bookstore or library and ask for their military history section, or sections.

Upon receiving your directions and following them, you will encounter stack upon stack and row upon row of erudite studies and their popularizations with focuses on aspects of war you did not even know existed, and you wish never had, even if the military is your chosen profession. Problematically, under the Dewey classification system used by many libraries, many of the various "War" sections fall under "Public Administration." All the periods in warfare, all the types of warfare, all the strategies of warfare, all the instruments of warfare, all the causes and consequences of warfare, all the changes in warfare, all the conditions of and participants in warfare, all the approaches to studying warfare historically may stun you no matter what your predispositions toward warfare are and, by seeing all this at once, become. Then, you try to look for sections on nonkilling, nonviolence and peace history, only to realize that there is comparatively little to be stunned by, even if you know peace studies as a discipline is well-established (see Katz and López, 1989; Wallerstein, 1988). You may wonder who is to blame: scholars or writers, publishers or book-buyers, readers or funders. Does this situation say more about historians, their vehicles and audiences or about human history itself?

The answer to this question is decidedly that historians, their vehicles and audiences must be held accountable for not accounting for the better part of human history, qualitatively and quantitatively. This answer forms the deductive bedrock of the theory of nonkilling upon which its historicization is to be based for now. The widely held contention that the principal collective actors in history (groups of people, nation-states, etc.) have conceived of war as an end in itself is predicated on the fact that in being able to carry out wars against their enemies they were not busy killing themselves, each other or their allies (see Bobbitt, 2002). That they did not do so on bases of kin, clan, country or culture is of prime import. They all had to be alive in order to kill so many people, but historians are consistently more concerned with the latter acts than former states, and so put their carriage before their horse. Violence, conflicts and wars are for historians and readers generally like shiny things are for children: easy to focus upon and so attention-grabbing. As a historical fact nonkilling is, paradoxically, what makes them possible (though as an ethical principle against them) and what limits them in success or failure insofar as being and remaining alive is a precondition for each. Even the glorification of war is a testament to its abnormality. In this light, the intimate relationship between historians and war from ancient times up to the present is, from a factual point of view, fetishistic and perverse. Historians, by centering violence, conflict and war have also, if counter to their very intentions, con-

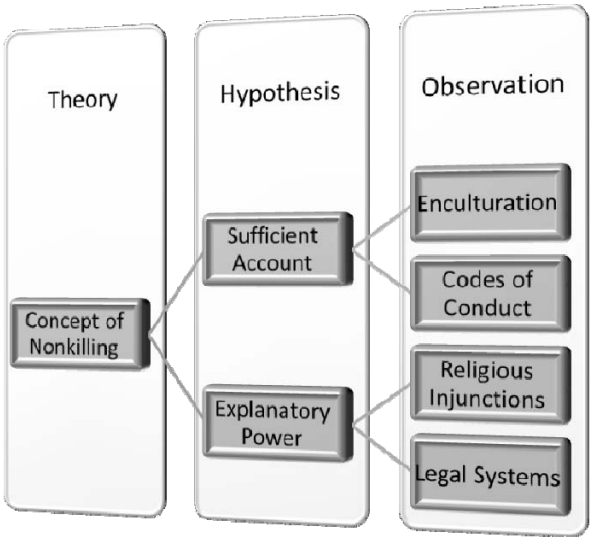
tributed to their enduring legitimization, popularization and perpetuation by marginalizing nonkilling, nonviolence and peace. Here, in a troublesome way, we begin to see how the concept of nonkilling is not only sufficient to account for discrete sets of historical phenomena, but to a certain degree *a priori* in order to account for any.

Productive encounters with the explanatory powers of the concept of nonkilling requires moving into the realms of observation, data accumulation and analysis to be firmly grasped, links illustrated in the graph that follows. Two "zones" Paige identifies as key to transformation in the present and future also, in retrospect, provide foci for finding, documenting and analyzing nonkilling as a negative actuality in the past, with present and future import (the other three are discussed in different context below). The diverse and specific spatiotemporal locations in which predispositions toward killing are or are not instilled in individuals and/or groups Paige calls *cultural conditioning zones*. Within these zones, distinctions between and convergences of the two senses of the historicization of nonkilling put forth above become immediately evident. For example, nonkilling as a convention or status quo among the Semai and Tasady tribes is well-documented, and begins with implicit enculturation mechanisms as children's games. In a more explicit but still within the same sense, nonkilling in Euro-American culture is enshrined in Hippocratic Oaths doctors take to do no harm, even as help (among other codes of conduct). The concept of nonkilling transcends these two very different cultural conditioning zones, but its manifestations and modes, participants and conditions are immanently within them.

Likewise in the second sense, nonkilling as attempts at preventing or overcoming acts and systems of killing have come down to us and exist in several domains, notably though not exclusively as religious injunctions and legal systems. Paige's *structural reinforcement zone* of institutions and material means brings out this sense. The degrees to which, for example, the Judaic and Christian divine Commandment not to kill has or has not been followed by adherents; the justifications put forth to break it (the "just war" tradition) or uphold it (Church proscriptions on killing under the Pax and Truga Dei of the Middle Ages); the Buddhist Eightfold Path, at the center of which is nonviolence toward all living creatures; the actual laws of different national traditions which prohibit and punish killing of different (but usually not all) kinds; the human and other resources allocated to enforce or uphold these laws, from police to peacekeepers; all these are insightful and practical foci of observation, data accumulation and analysis that can confirm or validate more specific historical hypothesis about nonkilling. Re-

member, however, that religions and laws do not (not) kill people, people do not (not) kill people. As mentioned here, they and the examples of the first sense above, taken together, double as the observational basis confirming the validity of the concept of nonkilling as a field of historiography. As the graph below shows, historiography—and particularly the deductive historicization of what did not happen—is a rude awakening to those who still hold that theory is of no consequence.

Figure 1. Deductive Historicization Visualized



Inductive Historicization

I did not kill anyone yesterday or today, did you?... No, did he?... No, did she?... No, did we?... No, did they? Why? Do you think I, you, he, she, we or they will tomorrow? Why?

The preceding elementary questions are but partially apt for nonkilling history fieldwork and more so for opening up discussions about how to conduct inductive historicization. From a historical standpoint, if we understand nonkilling as a "not done" that is "not done on purpose", what we lose of it as a normative status quo we gain as an individuated intention, as something special but not abnormal. When we do this, historicizing nonkilling turns into

the psychology of nonviolence because the orientation of individual intent tends toward an obscurity from the point of view of an observer equipped with lenses and analytical tools meant for other tasks. The elusive historical question, *why*, proposed as an area of inquiry above can, should and must be asked, but its answers insofar as historicizing nonkilling is concerned are to be limited to the extra-individual: social, collective, material, systemic, structural, etc. It makes no sense to ask someone why they did not eat rhinoceros for breakfast when the asker knows the answer would be a product of imagination rather than memory, closely related as they are. However, knowing that rhinoceros was not eaten for breakfast opens up questions which the individual who did not, cannot answer but the historian can, a heuristic scenario that opens up to inductive historicization as a second, separate and equally insightful and practical as deductive historicization.

Just as deductive historicization requires acknowledging, confronting and overcoming historiographers' preoccupation with killing, violence, conflict and war, so the inductive requires overcoming among the most charged epithets that can be hurled at it, as at other humanistic disciplines, today: *relativism.* The basic tenet of cultural relativism is that social and collective norms (behavioral, truth regimes, power legitimization, beauty constitution, group formation) are determined exclusively within a given culture, heterogeneous as all are to some degree; are only valid within that culture; and so the norms of other cultures are irrelevant in ascribing value to them from the outside even if that is the only vantage point observers have. Universalism holds there are absolute norms valid in all times and places. The point here is not to debate relativism vs. universalism, but to distinguish them from the domain of historicizing what did not happen, particularly nonkilling. As we have seen, nonkilling, like nonviolence and peace, belong to a distinct category of norms that simultaneously transcend cultures and are imminently within them. The concept of *reflexive relativity*, in stark contrast with relativism and universalism, is in our particular case: nonkilling is culturally-specific (relative), inter-subjectively understood and enacted (reflexive), and historically constant (norm). Gravity on Earth and on the Moon has a different value because of astronomical factors; nonkilling in the Southern U.S. and Northern Nigeria in the 1970s likewise has different values because of historical factors. However, agency exists vis-à-vis norms like nonkilling that does not vis-à-vis gravity, no matter where you are. That is, no matter how well-established, nonkilling norms are always violable; technically, you cannot defy the law of gravity anywhere, no matter who you are. Reflexivity lies in this agency, omnipresent and circumscribed; rela-

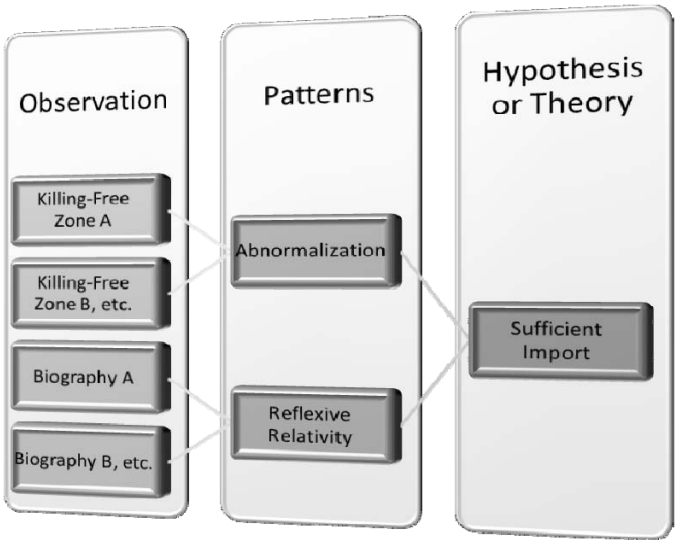
tivity in this historicization, psychological as intent and historiographical as a wider actuality, positive or negative.

Some may counter that Paige's *neuro-biochemical capability zone*, comprising physical and neurological factors that contribute to both killing and nonkilling behaviors, reduces the psychological to a biological determinism that in the end invalidates the historiographical. It may be more precise to say, also as a first inductive step addressing the hypothetical line of questions above, that when neurology joins psychology and historiography to become *bio*graphy, the lines are productively blurred. The life stories of individuals are a prime starting point for inductively historicizing nonkilling. Comparative biographical or autobiographical studies, within or across cultures and timeframes, can point both to how nonkilling as a status quo allowed agents to do or not do what they did, and can indicate how they were able to prevent killing or overcome acts and systems of killing in their own ways as defined participants in definite conditions. We know, for example, that practitioners of certain philosophical (Stoic and Epicurean, among others) and religious schools (Zen, cenobite and eremite monks) retreated from highly violent societies or proscribed modes of intervention for their members inside in order to transform individuals and societies at once. We also know that they contingently succeeded, but the causes, consequences and means of the efforts have barely been scrutinized in relation to the import they may have as duplicable common denominator patterns of thought, behavior and otherwise.

Yet another ground for historical observation can be located through what Paige calls the *killing zone* (where people kill) and its correlates, killing-free zones (where people do not kill). In prehistoric societies the most common social structure was "home bases," where people lived and ate, and from which the animal killing site was always at a distance. With the introduction and sustenance of geo-semantic distinctions between "military" and "civilian" in Mesopotamia continuing to Roman, Medieval and modern times to today, war zones were often separated from militarily killing-free zones, civil wars and invasions here being the exception. Aerial bombing of towns and cities, atomic bombs and terrorists acts were shocking developments in warfare because they erased these long-held lines of demarcation between killing and killing-free zones. Gang warfare, police brutality and lone wolves in cities are historical forces, among many others, threatening killing-free zones considered militarily. Within twenty years of the first deployment of nuclear weapons, regional and world bodies created nuclear-free zones, and places for asylum and sanctuary exist in most cultures in some form. Nation-state neutrality, neutral-zones enforced by peacekeepers, buffer zones created to

avoid war-triggering skirmishes between conflicting states, the list of nonkilling zones with distinct but comparable histories goes on. Considering the tremendous number of participants and conditions required for any item on this very topically limited list to be an actuality, historians of nonkilling, nonviolence and peace have their work cut out for them, and the beneficial roles they can play in world affairs also cut out for them.

Figure 2. Inductive Historicization Visualized



Even within peace studies broadly, professional and activist documentation, critique and transformation of what is often called "structural violence" significantly preponderates what may called "structural nonviolence," with nonkilling at its core. The Global Peace Index and Global Corruption Index are in this sense writing the history of the future. The point here is that there is significant tension between the two ways in which we have taken nonkilling. As a historical constant status quo, nonkilling is so obvious it has for the most part remained unseen. Deductive and inductive historicizations are ways to "see" the history of nonkilling for their didactic and predictive enablement. The abnormalization of killing—making killing abnormality effective—can be reactive or proactive in preventing or overcoming acts and systems of killing. The tension is not represented in Figure 2, depicting the inductive historicization

process we have just enacted as an example. If one becomes ubiquitous, universal status quo or universal abnormalization, the other would lose much of its import; but if history is any indication, then this tension is unlikely to be resolved any time soon, probably for the better. This is where inductive and deductive historicization combined can have their greatest impact: by providing the best possible theoretical or hypothetical lenses through which patterns based on observation can be identified. Patterns most closely or best relating to now or the future can be accurately determined, modified and applied, a process we turn to in closing, wherein lies the import that justifies the allocation of resources and efforts to historicize what did not happen.

Conclusion: Historical Didacticism and Predictive History

Nonviolence since Tolstoy and Gandhi has generally been asserted as a principle that *should* be followed for moral or religious or political or other reasons. As an imperative in this sense, nonviolence was put into practice by Martin Luther King, Jr. and Petra Kelly, among others, who both drew on the principle and attempted to institutionalize it within the nation-state system as equitability and total structural nonviolence. In focusing on nonkilling here, we have shown how the principle of nonviolence—prior to being *imperative* along this line of thought and practice—has always been, is and is likely always to be a *precondition* of history; in other words a *necessity* for human and all life as we know it, the source of the perennial import of nonkilling to all branches of knowledge and action. Deductive and inductive historicization, then, are essential tools in experiential progressions that debunk the notion that nonkilling is impossible by accounting for participants and conditions in order to explain them and, in the end, to assert that not only is nonkilling possible, its indispensability is extendable as far and as deep as we can muster the wherewithal. Breaking with the playful rhinoceros-for-breakfast analogy, little is more serious than historicizing nonkilling, nonviolence and peace.

The purposes of proposing historical didacticism and predictive history as next steps after deductive and inductive processes are precisely to ensure that extending the indispensability (not to mention self-evident, to-be-discovered benefits) of nonkilling in particular as a synchronized stride within wider nonviolence and peace studies is expedient and effective through ongoing investigation, critical dialogue, innovation, adaptation and perpetuation. So before proceeding to the didactic and predictive, it is important to sketch where the historiography of nonkilling, and the hypotheses and observations upon which it is rests, fit within those of nonviolence,

peace and humanity more widely. Put simply and succinctly, nonkilling is at the core of nonviolence studies in that, by providing a fixed physiological basis (life/death), it also can provide practical, theoretical and empirical breakthroughs difficult to come by and even more difficult to apply in more ambiguous areas. The two fields of study are linked and run parallel to each other by the dichotomy supporting them, in each case the "non-" tied to the inferences of its absence, methodological, conceptual and otherwise. Continuing this linkage and parallel with peace studies requires reverting to notions of "negative peace" as the absence of war, etc. and "positive peace" as the presence of justice, etc., which have proven to be more limiting than enabling as historiographical concepts. The infrastructure of how peace is made, maintained and broken on the levels of individuals (within and between persons), societies (within groups) and collectives (between groups) may be more propitious for shared advances in peace, nonviolence and nonkilling historiography and studies generally, leading to a more complete, diverse, accurate, etc. overall understanding of human history and life on earth. Breaking with the heuristic gravity analogy, historicizing nonkilling, nonviolence and peace is not just an empirical science, nor relativistic or universalistic, but a human and life science strictly bound by reflexive relativity.

To be effective, historical didacticism first and foremost must fend off the connotation of its term as being boring, preaching to the choir or belaboring. Here is where the historian's skill at defining profiles of their intended audiences and targeting them is vital. Students at different levels, policymakers in different areas, scholars or activists with different interests, people of different identities (age, class, ethnicity, gender, religion, etc.), professions, nationalities all stand to learn something from the history of nonkilling, nonviolence and peace. What that something is, however, and how to present it is the crux of shedding these connotations of didacticism so that its proper business through choices of subjects and methods of instruction can be carried out. With this in mind, two crucial modes of historical didacticism can be put forth. First by *analogy*, the drawing of which is always easier than the drawing of lessons from: for instance, no shortage of comparisons has been made between the U.S. war in Iraq today and its war in Vietnam in 1960s. Futile for us to point out that had historians used the powers of historical didacticism through analogy to effectively inform a concerted effort within the U.S. and abroad, lives may have been saved. It is in this spirit that H.G. Wells gave up fiction in order to write his *Outline of History* after the Versailles Treaty of 1919, and that history itself can be considered, in Paige's term, as a *socialization zone* where people learn (not) to kill.

Of course, this is not to criticize historians for not being activist enough, but for not doing their jobs well enough. Drawing out relevant assumptions is a second crucial mode of historical didacticism, as say determining what underlay the Pax Romana, Pax Islamica, Pax Britanica and whether this can determine if or how a Pax Americana takes shape now. Historical didacticism makes possible a direly needed shift from a disingenuously amoral science aimed at professional or popular success to a self-aware and ethically responsible one, and no they are not mutually exclusive (Küng, 1991).

History can be predictive without being deterministic (say in an apocalyptic, Marxist or other teleogical sense) or hallucinogenic (say in any flavor of utopia or dystopia) if it is based on probabilities rather than creeds. All that teleological and hallucinogenic constructs achieve is privileging particular histories. This is another way historicizing nonkilling in particular, and nonviolence and peace more widely, can directly contribute to the peaceful coexistence of our planet's billions of inhabitants. As analogy and assumptions are two turnkeys for historical didacticism, *patterns* and *implications* are for predictive history. For example, advocates for global liberalism (nation-state sovereignty, free markets, individual liberties, etc.) today tend to present liberalism as a set of social and collective patterns based on the "best" in Western traditions, universally applicable to local conditions and participants. Commonalities and innovations that inductively make up such historical patterns are of great import because they justify the reproduction of liberalism everywhere (see Thompson, 1992). Among the major shortcomings of alter-globalization movements is that their efforts to "resist" this liberalism and implement albeit disconcerted alternatives are primarily deductive—except when they point out actual implications of liberalism (poverty, inequality). And so alter-globalization movements by and large neglect the primacy of the inductive in recognizing and implementing positive patterns, which liberalists have seized in their universalism and alter-globalists seem unable to in their relativism, even while their inductive critique of liberalism is compelling (see Houtart and Polet, 2001). The promising notion of progress on several paths at once, devoid of determinism, with individualized options and participations is itself devoid of patterns (if purposefully) because it scarcely builds on any, and so fails to offer the predictive powers the patterns of liberalism do despite their implications. The point here is to stress how patterns and implications can serve as aids to probabilistically predict the future based on interpretations of historical facts; in turn, such predictions become active, living arguments that do in the end influence the shape the future takes by influencing participants and conditions. Reflexive relativity and historical didacti-

cism can serve as arbiters in these debates, which are worthy of never ending because the past, present and future depend on them.

What remains to be worked out, but is far beyond our mandate here, is how existing resources within what is still a zero-sum academic-economic game can be reallocated on a global scale to pragmatically address the tyrannical asymmetry of information available on nonkilling and killing respectively. For indeed they must or we risk being judged by posterity as those who missed the calling to set records straight, and so save humanity from itself for the last time. If we imagine that peace and the environmental movements started in the 1960s (which, of course, they did not even if they surely received a boost), and think of them today as competing for media attention, government and corporate support, private donations, social entrepreneur initiatives and technological developments, few if anyone would say that peace is "winning." Although it reinscribes the very structure it seeks to overturn, this last metaphor presents itself as a significant opportunity to figure out why environmentalism is doing so well, and peace from most points of view (though not the one held herein) could do so much better. Apparently the 60s peace symbol is, in North America, "in" this summer as a fashion accessory or imprint on any piece of clothing you can imagine, including underwear. If the point of this essay can be summed up in one sentence, it's that while fashions change, wearing clothes does not.

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Nonkilling History is Personal

Bio-Historical Accounts

Army GI, Pacifist CO*

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> I was born a twin. My brother came from the same placenta twenty minutes after I made my first cries and gasped my first breaths of air. We came from the same egg, and developed together, almost simultaneously. We were nursed together, we slept together, we were carted together in a big, black baby-buggy. We learned to walk together, to talk together, to play together. We went to school together and eventually graduated from the University together. Later we took graduate work and each received his Master's degree at the same time. I am now a Child Welfare Worker in the State of Nebraska, my twin brother is a Child Welfare Worker in the State of New Mexico. The fact that I was born a twin has had a profound influence upon the growth and development of my personality.
>
> –Albert G. Dietrich, 1942.[1]

> I think our correspondence now may be valuable. Preserve the letters and some day we'll put them together to see if they would be worth a publisher.
>
> –Frank R. Dietrich, 1943.[2]

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* Bennett, ed. (2005). "Introduction" to *Army GI, Pacifist CO: The World War II Letters of Frank and Albert Dietrich*. New York: Fordham University Press, pp. 1-46, 327-64.

[1] Autobiography [1942?], Albert G. Dietrich Papers (hereafter cited as AGD Papers). For a list of abbreviations used in the notes see end of chapter.

[2] FRD to AGD, 24 February 1943, Albert G. Dietrich and Frank R. Dietrich Correspondence, 1939-46 (hereafter cited as Dietrich Correspondence). When citing letters in the Dietrich Correspondence written from 1939 to 1946 by Albert G. Dietrich (AGD), Frank R. Dietrich (FRD), or Christine Dickey Dietrich (CDD), I have identified the author and recipient by their initials, and I have provided the letter's date, but for brevity I have not included the phrase "Dietrich Correspondence." When citing other letters and materials that appear in this collection, I have not used initials, and I have identified the source as the Dietrich Correspondence.

> But I also want to tell you something about my reactions to [re-reading] those letters. They called up an enormous amount of feeling from the past. It was as though I were being transported back some 45 years in my life, and involved in that terrible emotional struggle again. I started to cry and couldn't stop.... It was your letter to General Hershey that triggered my upset. It was a splendid letter, and it was simply that strong support from a soldier for a conscientious objector that got to me deeply.
>
> –Albert G. Dietrich, 1986.[3]

> In order that you may understand the origins of the book, let me relate an incident that occurred several summers ago and prompted this book to be compiled. As was our custom, my wife and I were taking our usual evening walk. At the edge of the town on the airport road, Christine exclaimed, "What's that?" and pointed to a large insect ahead of us on the other side of the paving. I went up to it and discovered it was a large praying mantis. It revived fifty-year-old memories of when I was a soldier in the Philippines. I had caught a large mantis [named Manty], put a thread around its abdomen, and tied it to the center post in our tent next to a light bulb, where it remained for weeks catching insects flying around the bulb, and finally laying a large cluster of eggs. My soldier friends and I were amused watching it devour parts of insects like we would eat a chicken drumstick...
>
> I remembered that Chris had saved all my letters from the Philippines...
>
> I decided to select some of them in order to prepare a paper for the Men's Study Club to which I belonged. In doing so, I sensed the possibility of their historical significance, and the men enjoyed my presentation so much, the project evolved into compiling them into a book.
>
> –Frank R. Dietrich, mid-1980s to early 1990s.[4]

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[3] Al [Dietrich] to Frank and Chris [Dietrich], 10 April 1986, typescript copy in Dietrich Correspondence.

[4] Frank R. Dietrich, "Preface" to typescript version of Dietrich Correspondence [late-1980s-early 1990s]. For Manty, the praying mantis, see also FRD to CDD, 20 July 1945.

Introduction

Despite their close relationship and frequently parallel lives, identical twins Frank Ryall Dietrich and Albert Giles Dietrich took opposite positions toward World War II. One became a soldier, the other a conscientious objector (CO). Drafted into the Army Air Forces (AAF), Frank trained as a radio operator and technician, worked as an army radio instructor in Wisconsin, and shipped to the Philippines in May 1945, where he expected to participate in the invasion of Japan. Conversely, Albert, a pacifist, refused to serve in the military, took the CO position, and served in Civilian Public Service (CPS) camps in South Dakota, Iowa, and Florida. Together, Frank and Albert typify the 16 million men and women who served in the armed forces and the 18,000 COs who refused to serve in the U.S. military during World War II to honor their pacifist convictions. (Yet another 25,000 COs performed noncombatant work in the armed services.)

The Dietrich Correspondence (1939-46) provides valuable insights into the experience of GIs and COs. Besides offering a social portrait of a GI wartime marriage, parenthood, and military service on the home front and overseas, it illustrates the role that noncombat GIs played in the U.S. military effort.[5] It also offers a neglected perspective on conscription, on the legal and administrative struggle that pacifists often had to wage to obtain CO status, and on the CO experience in CPS camps. Significantly, the Dietrichs' letters–the first published correspondence between GI and CO twins or brothers—provide a unique narrative on World War II and the debate over armed force and pacifist nonviolence in an era of global war.

From 1939 to 1946, Frank and Albert wrote at least 243 letters to one another. They wrote long letters detailing their views on war and peace and on military service and pacifist nonviolence. They discussed their wartime experiences in the AAF and CPS, Albert's protracted legal battle to obtain CO status, cultural interests (particularly music and literature), girlfriends, family, travels, and their jobs as social workers. The Dietrich Correspondence also contains 270 letters that Frank and Christine Dietrich wrote to one another after their 1943 marriage. In addition, the correspondence includes nearly three dozen letters that Frank and Albert exchanged with their parents, mainly their father, and a few others that they exchanged with other family members and friends.

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[5] For a good treatment of this theme, see Aquila, Ed. (1999). His excellent introduction has informed my approach.

Letters make up the bulk of the correspondence, which also includes postcards, telegrams, and several documents reproduced in typescript.

For this volume, I have selected 170 of the more than 560 total letters in the Dietrich Correspondence. Since Frank and Albert's letters to one another do not provide a complete narrative of their wartime experiences, I have supplemented their epistolary exchange with letters written by Frank and Christine to one another, along with a few other letters and documents that appear in the correspondence or in other collections. After Frank's marriage, the twin's wrote each other less often; during the eight months that Frank spent in the Philippines—the most interesting period of his service—they exchanged few letters. But Frank did write regularly (often daily) to Christine. They packed their letters with professions of love, discussions of future plans, and the latest news or questions about their infant daughter, Sally Lou. Besides writing about his military duties, fellow GIs, camp life, and his social and cultural activities, Frank offered evocative descriptions of Manila, the Philippines, Filipinos, and his local trips and adventures. I have used these letters to relate his Philippine experience.

Even though the Allies triumphed and the Axis nations were vanquished in 1945, the impact of World War II continued well beyond V-E Day and V-J Day.[6] For instance, it spawned the postwar cold war, revolution, decolonialization, the atomic age, and a myriad of worldwide social, political, and economic changes. Moreover, the demobilization of American GIs, though rapid, continued through 1946; similarly, many COs remained in prison or in CPS camps after 1945; and GIs and COs alike had to refashion personal and professional lives disrupted by war. The letters written by the Dietrichs from August 1945 through 1946 address this neglected aspect of the World War II experience. In 1946, they began to exchange letters regularly again; because Albert remained in CPS until August 1946, his postwar letters also shed important light on this program of alternative service.

For the most part, I have not included Christine's letters in this volume; furthermore, Frank's letters to Christine that I did include deal mainly with his GI experiences and views on war and peace. Their letters do capture the experience of GI wartime marriage (marked by frequent transfers and separations) and parenthood (marked by distant GI fathers and mothers assuming even more responsibility for rearing children). Although I have included representative letters that shed light on wartime marriage, parenthood, and gender roles, for reasons of thematic focus and space I have mainly selected let-

[6] For a recent statement of this theme, see Deak; Gross; Judt, Eds. (2000).

ters that highlight issues of war and peace and the twins' divergent wartime experiences in the army and CPS. Moreover, there are many published collections of letters written by World War II GIs, and, more recently, historians have published letters written by wartime women (in uniform, in factories, and in homes).[7] However, there are virtually no published collections of letters written by World War II COs.[8] Thus, Albert's letters detailing his tribulations with Selective Service, his struggle to win CO status, and his experience in CPS, along with his and Frank's broader discussion of war and peace, make a contribution to the literature on World War II.

Prewar Prelude: Parallel Lives

The twins were born in Pittsburgh on January 4, 1914. "It was an inauspicious year to be born," Frank recalled, "when war clouds were gathering in Europe, culminating in the tragedy of Sarajevo and the outbreak of World War I." Frank was named for his mother's brother, who lived in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania. Frank's middle name, Ryall, was the name of the physician who delivered them. Albert was named for his father's brother, who lived one block away. Albert's middle name, Giles, was the name of the Methodist minister who baptized them. In addition to their parents, their family included Louis, a brother eight years older, and Grace, a sister four years older.[9]

Their parents were Frank Adam Dietrich (1878-1950) and Louise Edwards Dietrich (c.1880-1941). Frank was a formidable, entrepreneurial, self-made man. A staunch Republican and a political and religious conservative, he was "stern and rigid in his thinking" but generous with his family. He was born in Ohio, where the Dietrich clan had settled when they immigrated from Germany. Reared in Pittsburgh, he quit school after the eighth grade and went to work in a grocery store. In 1902, Frank and his brother-in-law opened a grocery, which became the Frank A. Dietrich Grocery in West End when they dissolved their partnership two years later. Frank remained preoccupied with work and had few interests or diversions outside his family. Under his supervision, work and family were fused, since, except

[7] Particularly noteworthy are Judy B. Litoff and David C. Smith, who have coedited several volumes of letters written by World War II women (1997, 1994, 1991a, 1991b, 1990). In addition to letters, important early studies of women and World War II include Anderson (1981), Hartmann (1982) and Cambell (1984).

[8] I am aware of one published collection of CO letters: Wilson (1990).

[9] For this paragraph, including the quote, see FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.

for Grace—who had household duties—the entire family helped out in the store, with Louise doing the bookkeeping.[10]

Born in Blackpool, England, Louise immigrated with her parents to the United States in the 1880s. She met Frank in a West End grocery where he worked before becoming his own boss. They married in 1902. Following her husband, she too was a Republican and a political conservative, though, unlike him, she developed cultural and intellectual interests. She was a member of the Women's Missionary Society and a board member of the Ward Boyd Home, a Methodist orphanage. Peace was her "keynote to living." Even amid the pro-war hysteria of World War I, "Mother taught us kids to love and not to hate," Albert recalled. "You should even love the Kaiser," she insisted.[11]

Frank and Louise had a strong marriage cemented by love, work, family, and religion—though church issues also provided a rare note of discord. A Presbyterian, Frank supported, through his attendance and donations, a Methodist church because of his wife's affiliation. However, during the Depression he severed his relationship with the church after the minister asked him to raise funds to purchase a car for his personal use. Believing that she should support her husband, Louise reluctantly cut her ties with the church, though she later confided that it was a "severe blow" to her marriage. Still, they continued to support the Ward Boyd Home—with Louise serving on the board and Frank supplying groceries on special occasions.[12]

Economically, the Dietrichs were part of the "substantial middle class"—the upper one-third of West End. During and after World War I, their father's grocery business prospered. He soon had a "little capitalist empire"—owning his store, five houses, and a piece of commercial property.[13] The Dietrichs enjoyed all the essentials and some luxuries, including an automobile in which they took regular Sunday trips to the countryside. In 1923, they moved from a modest old Victorian into a large newly built house. But the stock market crash and Depression transformed the Dietrichs' grocery business. Frank A.

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[10] For this paragraph, including the quote, see FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.

[11] For the quotes in this paragraph, see [Albert Dietrich], Autobiography, AGD Papers. For Louise Dietrich, see also FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002. For more on the twins' mother and maternal relatives, including their mother's dramatic voyage to America (which included a ship fire and the reversion to sail when the engines broke down), see Albert Dietrich, "Journal," 1946, AGD Papers.

[12] For this paragraph, including the quote, see FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.

[13] For the quotes in this and the preceding sentence, see A. Dietrich, Autobiography, AGD Papers.

Dietrich suffered severe losses in the stock market. In 1933, with business declining and three months behind on the store's rent, he closed the storefront—but remained in business. Until his death in 1950, he operated a neighborhood grocery out of the basement of the Dietrichs' house. Despite his financial losses, he managed to put his children through college.[14]

Socially, the Dietrich's West End enclave was a "boiling" melting pot. Writing during World War II, Albert offered a memorable social portrait of his neighborhood. The Dietrichs lived on Church Hill in a commodious house on a two-block red brick street lined with maples—a Methodist-dominated "protestant stronghold" located at the height of a narrow valley populated by a multi-cultural community. A series of 216 wooden steps and landings provided a shortcut to the valley below—and to the "Niggers," "Dagoes," "Hunkies," Germans, and Catholics who resided on the slopes and the valley floor. "Occassionally [sic], a fiery cross burned on the barren hill across the valley, a warning to the 'Niggers' and Catholics," Albert recalled. He went on to describe the cultural, economic, racial, and religious conflict that shaped his neighborhood and valley:

> We called the kids who came up from the valley "fun spoilers." We hated them with their dirty, ragged and sometimes odd-looking clothing; with their stinks of garlic and onions and foreign spices. They were filthy and tough, they smoked cigarettes and swore; they talked Polish, Italian or German mixed with English. We were suspicious because we could not understand. They were an element with whom we did not associate. To us they were not Americans. When they came up from the valley below we jeered them and chased them back if they were weak and few in numbers. But when they were our equal we were afraid of them and ignored them or ran away ourselves. Occassionally [sic] we let one or two filter into our play groups. Once two "Niggers" drifted in and eventually were accepted whole-heartedly by our gang. But those who were allowed to come up out of the dirty valley were considered "different." The scum still stayed below. We were smug and self-righteous on our high, tree-studded perch above the smoke-belching factories, the shifting freight trains, the dangerous, fast-moving, noisy traffic. We were better than they. We were exalted Americans.[15]

Although Frank's recollections of his family's attitudes are more benign, they nevertheless indicate a paternalist, biased attitude toward blacks and immigrants. He recalls that blacks were accepted, but "in their place." The twins had a good relationship with a long-term black employee. According

[14] Ibid; FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.

[15] For this paragraph, including all quotes, see A. Dietrich, Autobiography, AGD Papers.

to Frank, his family never ridiculed immigrants, and his father dealt with Jews in the wholesale grocery markets and considered them friends. But when customers asked for discounts on groceries, he also recalls his father replying: "I don't have a drop of Jewish blood in my veins." Both Frank and Albert would later reject the cultural racism that marked their childhood environment. In Frank's relationship with Nazis, Navajos, and Filipinos, in Albert's opposition to Jim Crow, and in their common social work profession, they embraced a multicultural America and world.[16]

Members of a close-knit family, the twins were involved in various chores, activities, and routines. To help their father, they swept the store, delivered groceries, and slaughtered and dressed chickens and turkeys. Steeped in religion, they considered themselves "budding ministers" and preached to one another. Both parents encouraged them to appreciate music. At their mother's insistence, they began violin lessons at age nine; and they continued to play throughout their lives, though Frank later switched to the viola. Their father bought a wind-up Victrola and console radio, which became important fixtures in the home. On Sunday mornings the family awoke to opera or orchestral music, which their father played on the Victrola. Radio was also a shared family experience. After dinner, the entire family often listened to radio newscasts about the Depression and labor strikes. Most memorable, however, were their summers in Chautauqua.[17]

Beginning in 1921, when the twins were six, the Dietrichs summered in Chautauqua, New York. The year after visiting their Uncle Albert's summer cottage at Point Chautauqua, their parents rented (and later purchased) a cottage in Chautauqua town in order to participate in the Chautauqua Institution's cultural and religious activities. Life in Chautauqua marked a "turning point" for the family and provided a formative influence on the young twins. Louise's involvement in Chautauqua's cultural activities broadened her horizons; in turn, she stimulated Frank and Albert's lifelong interest in music, books, and ideas. Her reaction to the Scopes trial—and the debate over evolution—demonstrated Chautauqua's impact on her intellectual development. Unlike her husband who declared that "anyone who believes that we came from monkeys is a monkey himself," Louise—influenced by Samuel Schmucker, a prominent evolutionist who lectured at Chautauqua—embraced evolution. At Chautauqua, the twins attended opera, plays, symphonies, lectures, nature studies, and religious meetings. They swam, canoed, hiked, and, with their father, rowed for

[16] For this paragraph, including all quotes, see FRD/CDD to SHB, 4 July 2002.
[17] For this paragraph, including the quote, see FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.

miles on the lake. To earn money, they hauled luggage, carried messages, mailed letters, and delivered messages for guests and local residents.[18]

For Frank and Albert, being identical twins both offered emotional comfort and engendered psychological dependency. Except for a birthmark on Frank's right buttock, the twins were nearly identical in appearance; even their father sometimes confused them. From childhood into university, they were inseparable. Their parents, who encouraged them to look and act the same, dressed them alike until about age seventeen, when they started to dress differently.[19] Gradually, their personalities were "integrated and fused." Later, Albert observed that their "mutual dependency" had triggered their "struggle for independence and emotional and intellectual maturity." A psychological interpretation may not explain their divergent responses to World War II, but their separate paths during the "good war" marked an emancipation—even though the process toward psychological independence started before the war.[20]

High school (grades seven through twelve) was a time of personal, social, and intellectual growth, experimentation, and independence. During their first two years of high school, three circumstances led the twins to discard temporarily much of their religious beliefs. First, from seventh to ninth grades, the Pittsburgh education district collected twenty-five cents from each student to aid starving children in Armenia. By the time the twins reached ninth grade, they "wondered how God could allow children to starve for three years. It didn't seem merciful." Second, Pennsylvania law required that the school day begin with a Bible reading, a mandate that prompted an antireligious response by the twins. In the tenth grade, their first period teacher—the one assigned to read the Bible—was their science teacher. Although he read the Bible in compliance with the law, he sometimes told the students that other religions and holy books existed, which led them to conclude that many gods—or perhaps none—existed. Third, the study of Greek mythology in English class and the realization that the Greeks also believed in their gods led them to conclude that the Bible, too, consisted of myths. For several weeks, they proclaimed their short-lived atheism.[21] While much later, Frank and Albert would became atheists, during the World War II era both

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[18] For this paragraph, including the quote, see FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.
[19] For this paragraph, including the quote, see FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.
[20] For the last two sentences, including all quotes, see A. Dietrich, Autobiography, AGD Papers.
[21] FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002; Al [Dietrich] to Evan [A. Dirksen], 1 October 1999, Frank R. Dietrich and Christine D. Dietrich Papers (hereafter cited as FRD-CDD Papers).

twins believed in God, though they—particularly Frank—often adopted an independent stance toward organized religion and received theology.

In high school, Frank and Albert, influenced by Jack Rothweiler, a liberal friend who argued that Republicans supported the rich, developed a liberal political philosophy, read the *Nation* and the *New Republic*, admired both Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, and became lifetime Democrats. In 1936, in their maiden presidential election, they voted for FDR. Displaying a more radical bent, in 1933 Albert briefly joined the Young People's Socialist League, the Socialist Party's youth organization.[22] Although their Republican parents probably hoped that Frank and Albert would outgrow their liberalism, they never criticized them for their views.[23]

After taking two years of Latin together, Frank studied German and Albert took Spanish during their last two years of high school. When his German teacher circulated the names of potential German pen pals, Frank initiated a long-term correspondence with Friedrich Metz, who lived in Weinheim, Germany. In 1932, Frank and Albert graduated from Langley High School.[24]

From 1932 to 1936, Frank and Albert attended the University of Pittsburgh. At brother Louis's suggestion, they enrolled in the Reserve Officers Training Corps. But they also participated in the YMCA, whose antiwar and pacifist members influenced the twins' decision to drop ROTC after their second year.[25] After repeatedly switching majors, they settled on sociology in their senior year and decided to continue their studies at the university's Graduate School of Social Work, since this field offered the "brightest prospects" for employment, an important concern during the Depression.[26]

During the summer of 1935, Frank studied in Germany. His German professor at the University of Pittsburgh distributed invitations from the German government to attend a summer course at the University of Munich. His mother and brother Louis raised the necessary five hundred dollars. Later,

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[22] For Albert's YPSL membership, see Robert W. Root to Huldah W. Randell, 26 May 1943; Albert G. Dietrich, "Statement of Rebuttal," June 1943, Albert G. Dietrich File, all in National Service Board for Religious Objectors (NSBRO) Records (hereafter cited as AGD-NSBRO File).

[23] For this paragraph, see FRD/CDD to SHB, 4 July 2002.

[24] FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.

[25] For an introduction to the modern peace movement and interwar pacifism, see DeBenedetti (1980); Moskos; Chambers (1993); Brock; Young (1999); Chatfield (1992, 1971); Wittner (1984); Alonso (1993); Early (1997).

[26] For the quote, see A. Dietrich, Autobiography, AGD Papers. See also FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.

Frank surmised that Louis—who thought that the twins should be separated more often—helped to persuade his mother to grant permission. In Munich, Frank took courses on German culture. British and American students tried to discuss Nazi policies, but the professors refused to talk politics. But Frank did observe Julius Streicher, a prominent Nazi anti-Semite, deliver an inflammatory lecture at the university. Outside academia, he also witnessed pervasive anti-Semitism, including town signs proclaiming, "Jews are not wanted here."[27]

In Germany, Frank spent a week with his German pen pal, Friedrich Metz, an ardent Nazi. Metz's friends repeatedly asked: "How do you like Germany?" To which Frank replied: "The country is beautiful, but I do not like the government." On one occasion, Frank declared: "I have Jewish friends and they are just as good as you." When in response one of Metz's friends—a Nazi Brownshirt—prepared to slug him, Frank added—"and I." These words—and Metz's intervention—forestalled a brawl. One night at dinner Frank remarked, "If Germany invades England, America will immediately help her, and Germany could not possibly win a war against both nations." "Nein, Nein!" the Metzes replied, shaking their heads in disagreement.[28]

Frank's German summer laid the foundation for the twins' divergent wartime paths. Direct exposure to Nazi militarism, authoritarianism, and anti-Semitism deepened Frank's awareness of fascism's evils, "tempered" the YMCA's "pacifistic influences," and strengthened his conviction that Hitler could not be defeated with nonviolent methods. No comparable experience challenged Albert to question his pacifism, which was reinforced by his relationship with the Penners, a pacifist family with whom he roomed in Nebraska from 1940 to 1943.[29] Frank's trip—their first prolonged separation—had another influence on the twins' development: they discovered that they were not "dependent" upon one another for happiness.[30]

In 1936, Frank and Albert enrolled in the Graduate School of Social Work at the University of Pittsburgh. While working on their master's degrees in social work (MSW), they were required to complete field training with social agencies.[31] Meanwhile, Albert began applying for jobs in the West. In 1938, a year

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[27] For this paragraph, including all quotes, see FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.
[28] For this paragraph, including all quotes, see FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.
[29] Mr. and Mrs. John Penner (and their daughter, Erna Marie, who was in her twenties), Route 1, Beatrice, Nebraska.
[30] For this paragraph, including all quotes, see FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.
[31] Frank did his field training at Old Age Assistance and the Mothers' Assistant Fund; previously, he had counseled teenage boys at Brashear settlement house in Pitts-

and a half into his graduate program, he accepted a position with the Family Welfare Bureau in Sioux City, Iowa, a move that led to their second major separation. Frank remained in Pittsburgh, where he worked for the Allegheny County office of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Assistance.[32]

Despite regular correspondence and occasional visits, Frank and Albert grew increasingly independent between 1938 and 1941, in part because they had fewer direct opportunities to discuss ideas with one another.[33] It was not a complete break, however. In 1940, after Frank and two friends met up with Albert in Sioux City, the group camped throughout the American West, which instilled in the Dietrichs a deep love of the region. Later that year, Frank informed Albert that he would receive his MSW degree in June 1941. This prompted Albert to obtain a leave of absence and return to Pittsburgh to complete his degree and graduate with Frank.[34] "Evidently, our sibling rivalry was still intact," Frank later observed.[35] After earning their MSWs, they took another Western trip together; in Santa Fe, Frank interviewed with the New Mexico Department of Welfare. Less happily, in October 1941 the twins would spend a week together in Pittsburgh when they returned to attend their mother's funeral.[36]

Shortly after returning to Iowa with his MSW, Albert took a better-paying job in Beatrice, Nebraska. In August 1941, in Beatrice, Albert moved in with the Penners, a pacifist Mennonite family who provided room and board and became his lifelong friends. Significantly, both the Penners and the Mennonite community in Beatrice strengthened his pacifism.[37]

In late August, Frank accepted a position as a child welfare worker in Gallup, New Mexico. The next day he received his draft questionnaire, along with news that he would probably be inducted within two months. Worried—

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burgh. Albert completed his training with the Juvenile Court of Allegheny County and the Jewish Social Service Bureau. See FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002; Albert G. Dietrich to Charles F. Bragg, 30 March 1946, AGD Papers.

[32] FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002; A. G. Dietrich to Charles F. Bragg, 30 March 1946, AGD Papers.

[33] For separation, less interaction, and independence, see A. G. Dietrich to Sterling F. Mutz, 31 January 1943, AGD-NSBRO File; FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.

[34] Albert Dietrich, "A Study of One Hundred Applicants Rejected for General Assistance" (master's thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1941); Frank Dietrich, "A Study of Unemployables and Handicapped Employables Receiving Assistance in a Restricted Area (master's thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1941).

[35] FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.

[36] FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.

[37] FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.

even frantic—that he might lose his job, Frank reported his dilemma to his Pittsburgh draft board that evening. The following day, his draft board advised him to take the job in Gallup, but told him to remain in contact in case his draft status changed. Frank was fortunate. Apparently, a member of the draft board had noticed that Gallup was located in McKinley County, home of Fort Wingate; and he assumed, incorrectly, that Frank would be serving army families there. When Frank arrived in New Mexico, he learned that Fort Wingate no longer existed as an army base; in 1925, it had been transferred to the Bureau of Indian Affairs to provide a boarding school for Navajo and Zuni students.[38]

Frank and Albert's letters were culturally literate and revealed a considerable knowledge of literature, music, art, architecture, and other forms of expression. Frank shared news about his viola lessons, reported on his participation in the Pittsburgh Music Institute Orchestra and the Bach Choral Society, critiqued classical recordings and concerts, and commented on books that he read. He praised films like *The Grapes of Wrath*, *Of Mice and Men*, and *All Quite on the Western Front*. Similarly, Albert notified Frank when he joined (and later served on the board of) the Sioux City Civic Chorus and took classes at the Sioux City art center. They subscribed to the "record-of-the-month" club and exchanged records. In their letters appear references to Bach, Glinka, Paul Whiteman, Beethoven, Dietrich Buxtehude, Haydn, Mozart, Sibelius, Prokofiev, Dvorak, Brahms, Tchaikovsky, Mendelssohn, Rudolf Kvelve, Arcangelo Corelli, Benny Goodman, and *Negro Sinful Songs*. They read widely—and Frank read in German. For instance, on war and peace, Frank recommended Eric Knight's *This Above All* (1941), a story of a soldier turned CO, while Albert read Allan Hunter's *White Corpuscles in Europe* (1939), an account of contemporary European pacifists.[39]

Both before and after Pearl Harbor, Frank and Albert discussed and debated the issues of war vs. peace, armed force vs. pacifism, and military service vs. conscientious objection. Albert repudiated military force, defended pacifism, and advocated nonviolent alternatives and Christian love. Frank, who held that pacifism was utopian against Nazi and Japanese armed aggression, argued that war, regrettably, was "the lesser of two evils."[40]

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[38] Ibid; FRD-AGD, 25 August 1941; FRD-AGD, 30 August 1941.

[39] For this paragraph, which includes only a sample of the Dietrichs' cultural interests, see FRD-AGD, 17 April 1939; FRD-AGD, 1 November 1939; AGD-FRD, 7 November 1939; AGD-FRD, 2 March 1940; FRD-AGD, 25 March 1940; AGD-FRD, 9 August 1941; AGD-FRD, 26 June 1942; FRD-AGD, 29 November 1942.

[40] FRD-AGD, 22 January 1942.

Amazingly, their correspondence contains little on the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, perhaps because they discussed this dramatic event by telephone. Writing his father two days after Pearl Harbor, Frank, an apparently reluctant warrior, declared: "I still can't condone war and I can't picture myself pulling a trigger to kill some innocent Japanese boy. But my respect for democracy can carry me to great lengths for its defense. I certainly am ready to do my part."[41] Despite his antiwar and antimilitaristic sentiments, Frank never considered becoming a CO or joining a pacifist organization such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, but he respected both.[42] Their thoughtful exchange provides a window on the individual struggle with the issues and ethics of war and peace during the World War II era.

Notably, once Frank entered the army, his fellow GIs never criticized Albert's pacifist position. Rather, they expressed tolerance toward and interest in his CO stand. In a June 1944 letter to his brother, Frank declared: "Of course, I don't mind receiving your C.O. literature. I often show it to soldier friends and I find it quite stimulating. It doesn't jeopardize me in the least."[43] But tolerance and interest were not agreement. In October 1944, Frank and Albert obtained three-day furloughs and met in Mankato, Minnesota—a midway point between Frank's AAF base in Madison, Wisconsin, and Albert's CPS camp in Hill City, South Dakota. The meeting gave them the opportunity to elaborate their different views on war and peace, while underscoring their mutual respect. "My admiration for your tenacity and convictions has grown, even though I can't see myself in your role," Frank wrote his twin several days later. "The only straw I can grasp at is that your situation is too unrealistic, too far removed from the facts of this world."[44]

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The Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and the War Resisters League (WRL)—America's major radical pacifist organizations—influenced Albert. Founded in 1915, the religious pacifist FOR was the nation's largest radical pacifist organization. The WRL, a smaller, secular, and more radical group created in 1923, enlisted members under the slogan "Wars Will Cease

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[41] FRD to Dad [Frank A. Dietrich], 9 December 1941, Dietrich Correspondence.
[42] For Frank on not becoming a CO or FOR member, see FRD/CDD to SHB, 4 July 2004.
[43] FRD to AGD, 25 June 1944.
[44] For the quote, see FRD to AGD, 18 October 1944. For this paragraph, see also FRD to AGD, 18 October 1944; FRD/CDD to SHB, 9 January 2003; FRD/CGD to SHB, 5 March 2003.

When Men Refuse To Fight." Both the FOR and WRL—which repudiated all war, armed social revolution, and militarism—argued that modern technological war was both unethical and counterproductive. In addition, they sought to eliminate the social causes of war and violence through nonviolent social reform. The WRL—and to a lesser degree the FOR—espoused opposition to military aggression, political tyranny, and social injustice through nonviolent means, including mass strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, and noncooperation. Albert joined the FOR in Beatrice, Nebraska, in 1941. His conviction that radical pacifism offered a realistic and effective alternative to armed violence and the arguments that he used in his debates with Frank reflect the principles advocated by the FOR and WRL.[45]

During the war, Albert occasionally mailed Frank FOR and WRL literature. This literature sheds light on his thinking. "India's Cause"—a FOR flyer—championed Mohandas Gandhi and Indian independence from British colonial rule. The flyer advocated the use of nonviolent methods in India and elsewhere to obtain freedom, peace, and justice. It also advertised a pamphlet-length summary of *War Without Violence*, a powerful explication on Gandhian nonviolent techniques, which the Indian leader called satyagraha. Written by Krishnalal Shridharani, a Gandhi disciple who lived in New York, the study offered both a historical treatment and an instructive guide to the philosophy and practice of sayagraha. During the 1920s and 1930s, Shridharani and other radical pacifists developed a literature—which drew on historical precedents—that argued that Gandhian nonviolent strategies offered an effective alternative to war and violence. The FOR, WRL, and *Fellowship,* the FOR's magazine—which Albert read—disseminated and popularized these ideas.[46]

Albert also sent Frank a WRL flyer entitled "Did Conscription Save Them?" "Which will make us safer," the flyer asked, "militarization or removing the causes of war?" It noted that militarism, armies, armaments, and conscription had not "saved" Europe in either world war. Moreover, it asserted, the "blind

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[45] For Albert joining the FOR, see AGD-FRD, 2 October 1941. The FOR and WRL were affiliates of international radical pacifist organizations. The International FOR was established in England in late 1914, while the London-headquartered War Resisters' International was founded in the Netherlands in 1921. For an introduction to the WRL, the FOR, and radical pacifism, see Bennett (2003a); Wittner (1984); Chatfield (1971); Tracy (1996); Brock; Young (1999).

[46] FOR, "India's Cause" (New York: FOR, [1942?]), copy in Dietrich Correspondence, enclosed with AGD and FRD, 2 October 1941. For examples of this interwar literature, see Allen (1930); Gregg (1966); De Ligt (1938); Shridharani (1939); and Hughan (1942). For a post-World War II study that extends the interwar literature, see Sharp (1973).

obedience" demanded of soldiers fostered "regimentation and totalitarianism"—not independent thinking and democracy. Instead of national security through conscription, which had failed, the flyer advocated a program of "real social security"—jobs, national health care, and citizenship education—to attack the "causes of war." The flyer, though not one of the WRL's best, sought to promote conscientious objection to conscription and military service.[47]

Finally, Bayard Rustin's "Non-Violence vs. Jim Crow," which was published in *Fellowship*, illustrates Albert's interest in the use of nonviolent techniques to promote civil rights.[48] Rustin—a black Quaker, socialist pacifist, and civil rights leader—was then on the verge of becoming a FOR and WRL leader and a prominent activist in the nonviolent peace and justice movements. In 1943, adopting a radical CO position toward Selective Service, he refused to report for his physical examination, in part because he believed that religious and secular COs should be treated equally and that both should receive CO status. In March 1944, convicted for his refusal to abide by the draft laws, he went to prison for twenty-eight months. Before his conviction and imprisonment, Rustin, a FOR staffer, visited CPS camps and discussed peace, justice, and nonviolence with COs. Rustin participated in the CO struggle for civil rights while in jail, where he waged hunger strikes and took other nonviolent measures against prison Jim Crow. In the fall of 1942, Albert heard Rustin speak in Nebraska—and he was impressed.[49]

In "Non-Violence vs. Jim Crow," Rustin recounted his attempt to use nonviolent techniques to challenge racial segregation and discrimination—commonly known as Jim Crow—in southern interstate bus travel. Boarding a bus in Louisville bound for Nashville, he refused to sit in the black section, refused to move when ordered by the driver, and refused to strike back when the police beat him and called him a "nigger." During detention and questioning, Rustin maintained his courageous and dignified nonviolent demeanor. Consistent with the pacifist contention that nonviolent strategies could both resist injustice and convert one's opponent, Rustin argued that his nonviolent resistance disarmed several opponents and/or prompted them to intervene on his behalf, including a policeman and the assistant district attorney. Although his protest did not integrate southern bus travel, Rustin did resist Jim Crow and gained the support of several southerners involved in the

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[47] For the WRL, see Bennett (2003a).

[48] Bayard Rustin, "Non-Violence vs. Jim Crow," *Fellowship*, July 1942, p. 120, copy in Dietrich Correspondence, enclosed in AGD to FRD, 11 February 1943.

[49] For Albert on Rustin, see AGD to FRD, 11 February 1943.

incident.[50] His example also persuaded Albert that nonviolent methods were effective. Commenting to Frank on Rustin's article, Albert wrote: "Bayard is fighting for the rights of the Negro as I have seen no one fight. Of course, his methods are entirely through pacifist techniques, but I believe he is getting places as his story which I am sending you indicates."[51] After World War II, Rustin and other radical pacifists, inspired in part by Gandhi, would infuse nonviolent direct action in social movements—often successfully. But in 1942, Germany and Japan remained the immediate challenge.[52]

In September 1940, one year after Nazi Germany invaded Poland, President Roosevelt signed into law the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, the first peacetime draft in American history (Sibley; Jacob, 1952: 45-52, 487; Chambers, 1993: 33-37; Chatfield, 1971: 305-306; Flynn, 1993: 9-52). After pacifist lobbying, Congress amended the original Burke-Wadsworth bill to include more liberal provisions for COs. Pacifists won two major concessions. The law granted CO status to any "person who by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form." This language broadened the Selective Service Act of 1917, which during World War I had effectively restricted CO status to members of the historic peace churches (Quakers, Mennonites, and Brethren). In addition, the 1940 law permitted COs to choose either "noncombatant service" under military control or "work of national importance under civilian direction." But the law did not grant conscientious objector status to secular objectors or to absolutists (who refused to register and/or to cooperate with Civilian Public Service). Finally, the 1940 law authorized the Selective Service System to administer the conscription program (Sibley; Jacob, 1952: 45-52, 487; Chambers, 1993: 305-306; Chatfield, 1971; Flynn, 1993: 9-52). In accord with the law's provisions, both Frank and Albert honorably served their nation during World War II—though in quite different ways.

Army GI: Frank R. Dietrich, the Army Air Forces, and the "Good War"

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. With America at war, Frank kept in touch with his draft board, which did not order him to report until July 31, 1942. During the interim, he continued to work for the Child Welfare Division of the New Mexico Department of

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[50] For quotes, see Rustin, "Non-Violence vs. Jim Crow."
[51] AGD to FRD, 11 February 1943.
[52] For Rustin, see D'Emilio (2003); Anderson (1997); Levine (1999). Rustin's link to the WRL is emphasized in Bennett (2003a, ch. 4-8).

Welfare. In Gallup, which was located on Route 66, Frank joined several social groups, including the 20-30 Club, an organization akin to a Junior Chamber of Commerce with a male membership between the ages of twenty and thirty (Kennett, 1987). There he met Christine Dickey, a public school music teacher who accompanied the club's singing on the piano and who would become his wife. Brought together by their shared love of music, they found their romance blossoming as they listened to records and took sightseeing trips around Gallup.[53] Like many GI wives, Christine had two brothers who served in World War II—both in the Navy. Her younger brother, Milton ("Dick"), enlisted in 1940 and survived the Pearl Harbor attack on board the *U.S.S. Detroit*, a light cruiser and one of the few ships to have avoided Japanese bombs and torpedoes. Her older brother, Ralph, signed up immediately after Pearl Harbor; he was a noncommissioned officer who served in the Pacific war zone on the *U.S.S. McDonough*.[54]

Frank's wartime Army experience conforms to historian Lee Kennett's masterful composite of the American GI in World War II (Kennett, 1987). Inducted into the Army at Pittsburgh on 17 July 1942, Frank immediately went to Fort Meade, Maryland, where he took the Army General Classification Test (AGCT) and completed a week of drills and inspections. AGCT scores, civilian job experience, and personal preference determined in which branch GIs served. Frank was assigned to the AAF. The army was at that time divided into three branches—the Army Ground Forces, the Army Service Forces, and the Army Air Forces—the successor to the Army Air Corps and predecessor of the United States Air Force. Each branch had its own training program. From Fort Meade, Frank was sent to Clearwater, Florida, for occupational classification. There, he took several occupational aptitude tests, qualified for each, but chose radio operator and mechanic, primarily "for the adventure of new experience."[55] In addition to depending on AGCT and aptitude test scores, GI work assignments hinged on a fifteen-minute interview with a classification specialist. Fortunately, Frank established a quick rapport with the classification specialist, a violinist with a social worker wife, who classified him for radio training.[56]

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[53] FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002; FRD/CDD to SHB, 17 July 2004

[54] See Frank's note on his typescript version of FRD to CDD, 18 September 1945; CDD to AGD, 9 July 1943; FRD/CDD to SHB, 9 January 2003.

[55] FRD to AGD, 18 August 1942.

[56] Ibid; FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002; Kennett (1987: 30-36, 465); Craven; Cate, Eds. (1955).

Radio and other new modes of communications were essential to the AAF, the air war, and the American war effort. World War II's unprecedented global scale, its mobile field of action on air, land, and sea, and its reliance on air power made radio technology and radio technicians critical to an Allied victory. During World War II, only 25 percent of GIs were combat solders; the other 75 percent served in various technical, support, and service assignments. The AAF needed four technical specialists for each pilot, plus a 7:1 ratio of ground personnel to flying personnel, and a 16:1 ratio of total noncombat personnel to combat pilots. Less celebrated than their combat comrades, Frank and other noncombat GIs nonetheless made a vital contribution to the Allied triumph.

To meet the increased demand for communications experts, the AAF expanded its wartime training program for communications officers and technical specialists. In late 1940, the AAF also decentralized radio training. Ending its practice of training all radio technicians at the Air Corps Technical School at Chanute Field, Illinois, the AAF established new radio schools. Between 1939 and 1945, more than 200,000 GIs—including Frank Dietrich—completed AAF radio courses, while 85,000 soldiers graduated from the AAF radar training program. To overcome the shortage of wartime technical instructors—particularly acute in the war's early years—the AAF tapped graduates of its technical training schools to teach new recruits. Like Frank, such instructors often had good educational backgrounds and high scores on the AGCT and mechanical aptitude tests.[57]

After leaving Clearwater, Frank studied and taught radio and electronics at four stateside training schools between August 1942 and March 1945. Like many GI wives, Christine, once married, followed Frank to his posts whenever possible (Kennett, 1987: 72-73; Aquila, 1999: 8). When conditions prevented them from living together, they carried on an active correspondence.[58]

To use Lee Kennett's phrase, Frank—like most GIs—remained a "civilian at heart." According to Kennett, the GI remained "suspended" between civilian and military life. "Physically he left civilian life, yet mentally he never joined the Army; he was in the service but not of it," Kennett observes. "He spent part of his time thinking about what was for him the present—that is, his Army

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[57] For AAF technical training and noncombat GIs in this and the preceding paragraph, see Craven; Cate (1958, 7: xxii, 339, 344); Craven; Cate (1955, 6: 472-474, 515, 629, 631, 637-641, 654); Kennett (1987: 95, 129).

[58] For wives following their GI husbands, see Kennett (1987: 75). Similarly, approximately 2,000 women followed their husbands and fiancés and lived in or near CPS camps (Goossen, 1997: 45, 68).

experience—and fully as much time thinking about his past—and what he hoped would be his future—in the civilian world." According to Kennett, GIs maintained contact with home—the civilian world—through mail. Kennett thus provides insight in the larger significance of Frank's correspondence. His letters to Christine, Albert, and others, which formed a central part of his overseas routine, allowed him to focus on civilian concerns of love, family, culture, and career. In addition, they served to sustain his pre-army antiwar and antimilitaristic convictions and helped him to remain sympathetic to, though unpersuaded by, Albert's pacifism (Kennett, 1987: 72-73; Aquila, 1999: 8).

From August 1942 to January 1943, Frank studied at the AAF Technical School at Sioux Falls Field, South Dakota, where he completed an eighteen-week course for radio operators and mechanics (ROM) with a rating of "very satisfactory." The ROM curriculum, the AAF's most important communications program, included training in direct current, alternating current, vacuum tubes, transmitters, receivers, circuit analysis, low power equipment, high power equipment, maintenance, inspections, ground equipment, telegraph procedure, international Morse code, and signal lamps.[59]

From January 1943 to March 1944, Frank was stationed at the AAF TechnicalSchool in Tomah, Wisconsin. At Tomah, he trained in fighter plane radio communications, specializing in transmitter mechanics, in particular the British-developed BC-640 transmitter. Completing his training in February 1943, Frank—now Corporal Dietrich—became an instructor and joined the 48th Academic Squadron at Tomah, where he remained for about a year. "I'm a corporal now—two hard-earned stripes," Frank informed Albert. "That calls for a salute from you, even if you are a C.O."[60] Despite his promotion, Frank expressed dissatisfaction with "inanimate objects like radio equipment," complained that "all I ever knew is being crowded out of my head by resisters, condensers, and turning coils," and longed to return to social work.[61]

In May, on furlough, he visited Christine in Gallup. Despite their intention to wait until peacetime, they married on May 14, 1943—nine days into

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[59] Frank R. Dietrich, Diploma (AAF Technical School, Radio Operators and Mechanics), Sioux Falls Field, South Dakota, 1 January 1943, copy in Dietrich Correspondence; Craven and Cate (1955, 6: 638).

[60] FRD to AGD, 3 March 1943.

[61] FRD to AGD, 14 November 1943; FRD to AGD, 3 March 1943; for this paragraph, besides the citations to the quotes, see FRD to AGD, 12 January 1943; FRD to AGD, 24 February 1943; FRD to AGD, 9 March 1944; FRD to CDD, 15 September 1945; FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.

a ten-day furlough. The next day, Frank left for Tomah.[62] Writing her from the *U.S.S. Detroit*, then in port in San Francisco, Christine's brother, Dick, offered congratulations. "I know just how much you wanted to be married at home with all your family and friends, but I am so glad that you had sense enough to go ahead when Frank could get leave," he wrote. "The old rules of things sensible don't apply now and it seems the whole family agrees."[63]

In June, after visiting her family in Arkansas, Christine joined Frank in Wisconsin. Initially, they rented a furnished room in the home of a local family, the Vandervorts.[64] Christine waited tables at a drug store, but with Frank's encouragement quit after three days, as the low pay and long hours were "exasperating" and "exhausting," which made it difficult to search for more suitable employment.[65] In August, their "dream came true." Christine found work on base as the chaplain's secretary, a "good job" that paid $130 a month and made the Dietrichs eligible for on-post housing.[66] Moving into a public housing project built for defense workers, Frank informed Albert that it's "wonderful" to have "our first home."[67] Delighting in the "radiance" of newly-married life, Frank wrote his twin: "Al, I can't emphasize enough the wonders of marriage, and I certainly think you should grab yourself a dame."[68] But in March 1944, the AAF closed Tomah and transferred Frank's outfit to Chanute Field, Illinois. Christine—now pregnant—returned to her parents' home in Arkansas until Frank could find housing at his new post.[69]

Between March and May1944, Frank attended the radio school at Chanute Field in Rantoul, Illinois. Transferred there to teach electronics, Frank first took the course himself to obtain the necessary expertise. Despite his criticism of the poor teaching, the insufficient number of instructors, and the lack of adequate equipment—a common problem in AAF technical schools—Frank liked Chanute Field, the most efficient base on which he had served. "Darling, this is really a wonderful post," he wrote Christine. "Never, in all my Army career

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[62] FRD to AGD, 27 April 1943; FRD to AGD, 19 May 1943. See also FRD typescript copy of "Miss Christine Dickey Weds Corp. Frank Dietrich," *Gallop Independent*, 15 May 1943, in Dietrich Correspondence.
[63] Dick [Dickey] to CDD, 23 June 1943, in Dietrich Correspondence.
[64] FRD to AGD, 18 June 1943.
[65] FRD to GD, 12 September 1943; FRD to AGD, 18 June 1943.
[66] FRD to AGD, 12 September 1943. See also CDD to AGD, 26 August 1943.
[67] FRD to AGD, 12 September 1943.
[68] FRD to AGD, 14 November 1943.
[69] FRD to AGD, 9 March 1943; FRD to AGD, 27 March 1943.

have I seen such a helpful and respectful attitude toward the enlisted men."[70] Less positively, he also detailed Chanute Field's educational shortcomings:

> Today I have become a student of electronics. We had our first day of classes from 12:30 to 6:30. The course proves to be interesting, but as usual with G.I. schools, there is far too little equipment and not nearly enough instructors. As a result, we have to plod along as best we can. I was expected to do a problem in lab today with three vital pieces of my equipment missing and no replacements. I lacked a tube, a battery and a meter. When finally the school gets sufficient instructors and equipment, I am sure it will be abandoned. That's the way it was at Sioux Falls and Tomah, and that's the way it will be here. Too little and too late. Sometimes I wonder what in the world keeps the Army going. It must be sheer mass inertia—just the weight and pressure of ten million men. Certainly it's not the sum total of their activities, for much of the effort and so-called work is wasted time. Of our six hours schooling today, I'd say the same material could have been covered more thoroughly and more efficiently in two hours with the proper organization of time, subject matter and equipment. I often wonder if the German Army is like this, too.[71]

Frank's search for off-base housing at Chanute Field proved difficult. A job opening on base never materialized, which prevented them from living in post housing. Rooms and apartments were scarce in Rantoul and expensive in nearby Urbana and Champaign, seven to eight dollars weekly for a room. Christine's pregnancy—though still at an early stage—also made them cautious. "I'm usually more adventurous, disregarding seeming obstacles, but in this case when you're pregnant, one has to think more conservatively," Frank confessed. "I think much depends on how you feel and whether you think you can put up with the trials of waiting for a job opportunity."[72] The prospects of fatherhood excited him, however. "Raising a child must be like watching a glorious sunrise," he mused. "Oh darling, I can scarcely wait."[73] Mostly, he was lonely, however. "I'm practically sick with loneliness," he confided to Albert. "GI life was endurable before I was married, but since then I have been spoiled rotten, as Chris would say."[74] Eventually, Frank located a

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[70] FRD-CDD, 27 March 1944.

[71] Ibid. For this paragraph, besides the citations to the quotes, see FRD-CDD, 24 March 1944; FRD to CDD, 31 March 1944; FRD to AGD, 7 April 1944; Craven; Cate (1955, 6: 654).

[72] FRD to CDD, 2 April 1944.

[73] FRD to CDD, 5 April 1944.

[74] FRD to AGD, 7 April 1944.

basement apartment in Urbana, complete with a toilet mounted on a cement platform—which they dubbed the "throne"—and Christine joined him.[75] In Illinois, Christine worked in Champaign at the Collegiate Cap and Gown Company. Six weeks after arriving in Urbana, Christine pulled up roots once again and accompanied Frank to his next assignment in Wisconsin.[76]

From June 1944 to March 1945, in his last stateside radio school posting, Frank was an instructor at Truax Field in Madison, Wisconsin. Replying to Albert's July 1944 invitation to visit him in South Dakota's Black Hills, Frank declined, since Christine was nearly seven months pregnant, which made travel difficult. He confided that "we live in daily dread that we'll be forced to travel,... I think Chris will go back to Arkansas within the next week or two and await the baby's arrival there. I hate a separation again, and especially at such a time, but it seems the only logical thing to do. Otherwise, Chris may be stuck here alone."[77] The Dietrichs, of course, were not alone. Millions of other married (and single) GIs and their families and loved ones had to cope with the disruption, the unpredictability, and the strain caused by repeated and/or prolonged separations.[78]

In mid-September, Christine returned to her parents' home in Arkansas to await the birth of their child. After an "excruciating" week of loneliness, Frank again "adjusted" to living alone on base. "I am almost beginning to feel like a single man again," he confided to Albert. But his own experience made him "appreciate" how "prolonged separation" could strain marriages and "the predicament of young couples separated several years by oceans and continents." During this period, Frank wrote several expressive letters to Albert and Christine about love, marriage, pregnancy, and parenthood.[79]

Christine gave birth to Sally Lou in a Pine Bluff hospital on October 20, 1944. Summoned from teaching to take a long-distance telephone call, Frank learned from his mother-in-law that he had a daughter. "Darling," he told Christine,

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[75] FRD/CDD to SHB, 5 March 2003.

[76] For this paragraph, besides the citations to the quotes, see FRD to CDD, 26 March 1944; FRD to CDD, 27 March 1944.

[77] FRD to AGD, 12 July 1944.

[78] Kennett (1987: 75). For Frank's sadness over family separations, see FRD to AGD, 12 July 1944; FRD to AGD, 1 June 1944. Financial pressures exacerbated the problem; for instance, in May-June 1944, before reporting to Traux Field (from Chanute Field) Frank used a furlough to visit his father in Pittsburgh; however, since he could only afford one train ticket, Christine remained in Madison. See FRD to AGD, 1 June 1944.

[79] For all quotes in this paragraph, see FRD to AGD, 6 October 1944. For additional examples of expressive letters, see FRD to AGD, 24 September 1944; and FRD to CDD, 19 October 1944.

"you've made me the happiest man in the world."[80] Taking a ten-day furlough, he arrived in Arkansas a week later to visit his wife and newborn daughter. Writing to Albert from Altheimer, he described his joy and obsessions:

> Honestly, I can scarcely live an instant with the infant out of my sight....You can readily see that I'm destined to be an over-indulgent parent, spoiling parent....I look at her tiny hands and see how perfectly they are made for the piano, the violin or the cello. I hear her crying, screaming her lungs out, and fear she's ruining a preposterously beautiful voice. I look at her head & test her reactions to make sure she'll be a very capable & intelligent woman....These are the things that make parenthood so absurdly wonderful.[81]

Frank had a good relationship with his in-laws. "The Dickeys are just wonderful to me," Frank reported. "It has been years since I felt like a son."[82] Besides doting on Christine and Sally Lou, he frequented the nearby POW camp in Altheimer—one of more than 660 camps that held 375,000 German POWs—where he had "some interesting talks" with the prisoners.[83]

After returning to Madison, Frank concentrated on finding an apartment so that Christine and Sally Lou could join him. He wore himself "ragged" hunting for an apartment and working in a battery factory from 6:00 P.M. to midnight earning sixty-four cents per hour.[84] Not only were apartments scarce, but the "desirable ones don't want babies ... and the ones that will allow babies are filthy rat holes," Christine lamented in a letter to Albert.[85] Both Frank and Christine were discouraged, but their letters were filled with professions of love and, in Christine's, news of Sally Lou's development and activities. "Darling, I'm living for our return to Madison," Christine wrote, and

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[80] FRD to CDD, 20 October 1944.
[81] FRD to CDD, 4 November 1944.
[82] FRD to CDD, 4 November 1944.
[83] FRD to AGD, 13 November 1944. Between 1942 and 1946, the War Department interned approximately 375,000 Germans POWs in 155 (prison) base camps and 511 branch camps. The POWs, who arrived in the United States from battlefields in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy, should not be confused with the internment of nearly 11,000 people of German ancestry in the United States. To alleviate the wartime labor shortage, a POW labor program was developed. In order to situate POWs—who performed mainly agricultural labor—near work sites, branch camps were opened. In Arkansas, for instance, three base camps supplied POW labor to 30 branch camps. Altheimer was a branch camp of Camp Monticello, Arkansas. See Krammer (1979: vii, xiv, 79-113); Krammer (1997).
[84] FRD to AGD, 13 December 1944.
[85] CDD to AGD, 28 December 1944.

"Sally Lou sends a kiss to her daddy."[86] Mother and daughter delighted Frank with birthday greetings that included Sally Lou's footprint impressions. Finally, in mid-January, Frank secured a "lovely apartment" (at forty-five dollars a month) when another GI moved out and bequeathed it to Frank.[87] Within the next several days, he signed the lease, bought furniture, arranged for "separate rations," and welcomed Christine and Sally Lou.[88]

Their reunion, though "like a second honeymoon," was short-lived.[89] The reunion also offered Sally Lou the opportunity to obtain good medical care. Shortly after birth, Sally Lou developed a hemangioma on her forehead—which created red dislocation and a bump. It also caused Frank and Christine anxiety. Army doctors surgically removed the hemangioma, which had been misdiagnosed by Christine's family doctor in Altheimer. In March 1945, when Sally Lou was five months old, the Army ordered Frank to the Philippines. Christine and Sally Lou returned to Arkansas for the remainder of the war.[90]

Before Christine and Sally Lou returned to Arkansas, Frank and Christine developed a secret code—based on his army serial number, 33284232—to bypass army censorship. In letters beginning with "Dearest darling," Frank included a coded message; he used the digits in his serial number to designate the first letter of a specific word in each successive line of his letter. For instance, the first number, "3," corresponded to the first letter of the third word in line one; the second number, "3," corresponded to the first letter of the third word on line two; the first "2" corresponded to the first letter of the second word on line three, and so on. Frank was sent to the Overseas Replacement Depot in Kearns, Utah, for overseas preparation. During March and April 1945, he spent three weeks in Utah before proceeding to California. From San Francisco, Sgt. Frank Dietrich shipped to the Philippines on the *S.S. Lurline*, a Matson luxury liner converted into a troop ship. The April 27-May 17, 1945 voyage to Manila under the blistering sun took twenty-two days, since the ship traveled slowly and zigzagged across the Pacific down nearly to Australia to avoid Japanese submarines. En route, the *Lurline* passed Guadalcanal, coursed through the

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[86] CDD to FRD, 28 November 1944.
[87] FRD to AGD, 19 January 1945.
[88] FRD to CDD, 15 January 1945. For this paragraph, besides the citations to the quotes, see CDD to FRD, 19 November 1944; FRD to CDD, 6 December 1944; FRD to CDD, 6 January 1945; CDD to FRD, 11 January 1945; FRD to CDD, 14 January 1945.
[89] FRD to AGD, 14 March 1945.
[90] Ibid. For Sally Lou's hemangioma, see FRD-CDD correspondence between 10 December 1944 and 26 February 1945; FRD/CDD to SHB, 18 January 2003.

Solomon Islands, and docked at Finschhafen, New Guinea. On board, Frank played chess, sang in the ship's choir, and read—mainly Shakespeare, though at Finschhafen, he invoked Joseph Conrad to express his thrill at the promise of tropical adventure prompted by "the sea and the jungle."[91]

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Meanwhile, General Douglas MacArthur's forces had liberated Manila from the Japanese. MacArthur's "return" (following his May 1942 escape from Corregidor) would further shake up Frank's life. A U.S. colony since the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War (1898), the Philippines was an important theater during World War II. In December 1941, the Japanese had invaded the Philippines. In the Battles of Bataan and Corregidor (December 1941-May 1942), the Japanese captured Bataan Peninsula and the 2.74-square-mile island fortress of Corregidor in Manila Bay, which compelled Lieutenant General Jonathan Wainwright to surrender the "Gibraltar of the Pacific." During the Bataan Death March that followed, more than six hundred American and five to ten thousand Filipino prisoners died from Japanese abuse, malnourishment, and disease during a forced march to POW camps.

The liberation of the Philippines started in October 1944 with the assault on Leyte Island and the January 1945 invasion of Luzon, the main Philippine island and home to Manila. Landing in northern Luzon at Lingayen Gulf, MacArthur's troops marched across Luzon and encircled Manila by mid-February. General Tomoyuki Yamashita, the top Japanese army leader in the Philippines who commanded the 14th Area Army, divided his forces into three groups to defend Luzon and Manila.

The Battle of Manila (February 3-March 3, 1945), which devastated the capital, was marked by brutal atrocities by Japanese defenders. Despite Yamashita's intention not to contest Manila, Admiral Sanji Iwabachi, commander of the Manila Naval Defense Force, chose to defend the capital south of the Pasig River, which bisects the city. Yamashita's order to destroy the harbor facilities and military installations led to a huge fire which scorched much of northern and western Manila. American troops fought the fire—and the Japanese. During the month-long battle, twenty thousand Japanese in Manila fought Americans block by block, house by house, and some-

[91] For the quote, see FRD-CDD, [May? 1945]. For examples of his coded "Dearest darling" letters, see FRD to CDD, 26 March 1945; FRD to CDD, 23 June 1945. For his sea voyage to the Philippines, see FRD to CDD, [May? 1945]; FRD to CDD, 6 September 1945; and the other letters he wrote during the trip.

times floor by floor and room by room. Both the massive concrete government buildings and the stone walls of Intramuros, the ancient walled city, shielded the defenders. In an attempt to limit damage and civilian casualties in a city with 1 million residents, MacArthur prohibited air strikes, though he did authorize the use of artillery. Approximately sixteen thousand Japanese and one thousand American soldiers died in the street fighting. The Japanese butchered, shot, bayoneted, tortured, clubbed, and raped Filipino civilians. The Japanese massacres and the ferocious battle, which included American bombardment with 75-, 155-, and 240-mm guns, killed more than 100,000 Filipinos and left Manila the most damaged Allied capital after Warsaw.

With the capital liberated, the Philippine government returned, reconstruction began, and the United States moved to liberate the remainder of Luzon. Assisted by more than 300,000 Filipino guerillas, the Americans gradually defeated Yamashita's well-entrenched forces. At the time of Japan's surrender in August 1945, he commanded fifty thousand men. Several weeks later, on September 2, 1945, Yamashita surrendered.[92]

Meanwhile, Frank, who reached the Philippines three months after the Battle of Manila, described the wartime damage in Manila and elsewhere. The "devastation and destruction are positively staggering," he wrote after arriving in Manila in May 1945.[93] Both the Spanish colonial walled city and the residential districts were in "shambles." Despite "gaping holes," the Cathedral remained one of the few buildings in downtown Manila to survive the war intact.[94] Still, amid the "burned and charred and pock-marked buildings," Frank detected the beauty and elegance that characterized prewar Manila, once the "Pearl of the Orient."[95] Despite the Filipinos' suffering, Frank observed: "The spirit of the people is amazing. In the ruins, they

[92] For the Philippine campaign and the Battle of Manila, see Weinberg (1994: 842-865); Smith (1963: 237-308); Aluit (1994: 152-414); Astor (1996); Reel (1971); Meixsel (1999: 547). For an excellent collection of photos that depict Manila's destruction, see the Battle of Manila Jump Station, a Web site maintained by Paul F. Whitman, at <http://corregidor.org/chs_manila/mjump.htm>.

[93] FRD to CDD, [May 1945].

[94] FRD to CDD, 11 October 1945.

[95] For the two quotes in this sentence, see two letters, both Frank to My Darling [CDD], [May 1945], Somewhere in the Philippines. For the destruction, along with the other citations in this paragraph, see FRD to CDD, 13 November 1945; FRD to CDD, 17 November 1945.

have tried to reestablish their businesses under the most unimaginable handicaps—almost a complete lack of public utilities."[96]

In the Philippines, Frank joined the Fifth Air Force. The Fifth Air Force had been established as the Philippine Department Air Force in August 1941, renamed the Far East Air Force in October 1941, redesignated the Fifth Air Force in 1942, and assigned to the Far East Air Forces in June 1944. In December 1941, following the Japanese attack on the Philippines, the Fifth (then Far East) Air Force had retreated to Australia and regrouped. Beginning in 1942, it provided air support for the Allied campaigns against the Japanese in the Pacific, including the struggle to liberate the Philippines.[97] Initially part of the First Fighter Control Squadron, Frank spent most of his time assigned to the Eighth Fighter Control Squadron. When, after Japan's surrender, the Fifth Air Force was ordered to Japan, the Eighth Fighter Control Squadron was originally included in the order. However, another unit—one with less service—was sent to Japan instead. Frank's squadron was transferred to the Far East Air Force and later to the Air Defense Command, charged with the postwar defense of the Philippines. Instead of performing occupation duty in Japan, Frank would return home.[98]

Frank was first stationed in Angeles City, fifty miles north of Manila in Pampanga Province and the home of Clark Air Base, which was located just outside the city. In June, Frank reported that fighting continued and that Americans were dying, but assured Christine—who expressed concern after reading press accounts of the fighting—that the shooting remained distant. "I have seen no combat," he declared, "although our Squadron is ... actively supporting combat."[99] Although not at the front lines, he did not totally escape the Japanese presence. Occasionally, he observed Japanese soldiers in Angeles City; some

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[96] For the quote in the text ("The spirit of the people is amazing…") and for the reference to Filipino suffering, see both letters, Frank to My Darling, [May 1945], Somewhere in the Philippines, cited in the preceding note.

[97] Army Air Forces (1944: 289-291); Bright, Ed. (1992: 232); Goldberg, Ed. (1957: 52-53, 78-82, 112-113); and "Numbered Air Forces," at Air Force Historical Research Agency site, at: <http://www.au.af.mil/au/afhra/wwwroot/rso/numbered_airforce_index.html>.

[98] Apparently, the First Fighter Control Squadron and the Eighth Fighter Control Squadron remained together, as separate units, and were not assigned to a group. Yvonne Kinkaid (Air Force History Support Office), telephone conversation with the author, 27 July 2004. See also FRD to CDD, 4 September 1945; FRD to CDD, 6 September 1945; FRD to CDD, 9 September 1945; FRD to CDD, 16 September 1945; FRD to CDD, 14 November 1945; FRD to CDD, 28 November 1945.

[99] FRD to CDD, 27 June 1945. For Christine's anxiety, see CDD to FRD, 20 June 1945.

walked into town to surrender, others were brought in as prisoners.[100] In Manila, he picked up a U.S. army flyer that identified the bearer as a Japanese who wished to surrender. Written in English, Japanese, and Tagalog, the flyer ordered all persons to escort capitulating Japanese safely to American soldiers.[101]

Meanwhile, Frank and Christine welcomed the Japanese surrender on August 14, 1945. "I thank God you're safe," Christine wrote. "I'm very proud of you for having been such a fine soldier."[102] In contrast to the atomic knockout delivered at Nagasaki, Frank considered the formal surrender an "anti-climax" but nonetheless celebrated peace by visiting Manila.[103] Five weeks later, he attended a belated V-J Day parade in nearby Tarlac.[104]

Frank approved of the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He believed that it was a military necessity, made an invasion of Japan unnecessary, and enabled him to return home more quickly. Like many GIs in his unit, Frank was relieved that the bomb ended the war, since he had expected to participate in an invasion of Japan.[105] In addition, he immediately realized the bomb's revolutionary implications. "If the shot at Concord was heard 'round the world,'" he wrote Christine, in a reference to Ralph Waldo Emerson's salute to the opening salvo of the American Revolution, "the atomic bomb reverberated throughout the universe into the outermost galaxy."[106] Human survival in the atomic age, Frank argued, required no less than the Christian "brotherhood of man" and "all the intelligence of mankind." "This is the greatest hour for Christianity," he asserted; "if it fails this time, the human race is lost."[107] Fascinated by the bomb and atomic energy and advocating the collective ownership of atomic technology, Frank "devour[ed]" everything on the subject in *Time*, the *New Yorker*, and other available publications.[108]

Working as a radio technician, Frank spent eight months in the Philippines waiting to participate in the invasion, and later the occupation, of Japan. At

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[100] FRD to CDD, 27 June 1945; FRD to CDD, 1 June 1945; and CDD to FRD, 20 June 1945.

[101] U.S. Army flyer, located in Dietrich Correspondence with July 1945 letters.

[102] CDD to FRD, 14 August 1945.

[103] CDD to FRD, 14 August 1945.

[104] For this paragraph, besides the citation to the quotes, see FRD to CDD, 16 August 1945; FRD to CDD, 25 September 1945.

[105] FRD to CDD, 2 September 1945; FRD to CDD, 5 October 1945.

[106] FRD to CDD, 24 August 1945.

[107] FRD to CDD, 5 September 1945.

[108] For the quote, see FRD to CDD, 30 October 1945. For Frank and the atomic bomb, besides the citations in this paragraph, see FRD to CDD, 7 August 1945.

Angeles City and Fort McKinley—both on Luzon—he worked as a radio maintenance technician for the Eighth Fighter Control Squadron. At Angeles City, his unit was housed in a Catholic school building. Assigned to a unit that had recently transferred from Australia, he immediately was tasked with repairing its rundown transmitters. Using aluminum that he cut from a Japanese plane that had crashed into the steeple of a nearby church, he repaired the transmitter casings and fixed the circuits. In mid-August 1945, Frank was transferred to Fort McKinley, five miles outside Manila. His hilltop transmitter shack—where he typically worked eight-hour shifts maintaining equipment—offered superb vistas of Manila Bay, the capitol, the rolling hills, and the farmers cultivating rice fields and tilling plots with carabao and primitive plows.[109] Promoted to staff sergeant in October 1945, he was made the VHF (Very High Frequency) communications chief one month later.[110]

Frank thoroughly enjoyed the Philippines and Filipinos. Building on his multicultural experience in New Mexico with the Navajo Indians and adopting an anthropological approach to yet another culture, Frank accepted Filipino customs, though he did make benign judgments. He observed that his Filipino friends had "hosts" of superstitions, including the conviction that dwarfs lived in a nearby volcanic mountain and that anyone who looked at them would become ill and die.[111] He interacted with different Filipino racial and ethnic groups, including aboriginal Negritos, whom he called "the strangest and most unexpected sight."[112] He even learned a bit of Pampango (the local dialect) and Tagalog (the Philippine national language).[113] Often, he showed photographs of Christine and Sally Lou to fascinated Filipinos, who "stared, glared, gaped and gazed" at the snapshots.[114] Contrary to most GIs—who called them "Flips"—he rejected the notion that Filipinos were "primitive," "uncivilized," or "uncultured" because they were a different race or had a low material standard of living.[115]

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[109] FRD-CDD, 4 September 1945; FRD-CDD, 20 September 1945; FRD-CDD, 3 October 1945.
[110] FRD to CDD, 3 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 4 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 5 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 6 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 3 November 1945.
[111] FRD to CDD, 17 July 1945.
[112] FRD to CDD, 8 June (I think) [1945].
[113] For languages, see FRD to CDD, 28 May 1945; FRD to CDD, 11 June 1945; FRD to CDD, 11 July 1945.
[114] FRD to CDD, 1 August 1945. See also FRD to CDD, 2 July 1945.
[115] FRD/CDD to SHB, 14 November 2003; FRD to CDD, 18 June 1945.

Unlike most GIs, Frank traveled to local towns and villages and socialized with ordinary Filipinos. At Angeles City, Frank developed warm friendships with several Filipinos who lived in nearby Porac, a village located on the river of the same name. These friends included Alberto, Celio, and Vlademir, the last named after an American-German sailor friend of his father. He went underwater spearfishing and dynamite-fishing with them, visited their bamboo homes built on stilts, befriended their families, and had meals at their homes. Not wishing to offend his hosts during one dinner of fish cooked whole with head and guts, Frank summoned up his courage and ate the fish brains and liver. Later, at Fort McKinley, Frank visited local villages and made friends with fishermen, who invited him to join their fishing expeditions and to ride in their dugout outriggers. Frank's GI friends accused him of "going native," which he no doubt considered a compliment.[116]

Frank condemned the Japanese for their harsh, arrogant, and stupid occupation policies. He observed that their expropriation of homes, confiscation of crops, and other oppressive measures had alienated Filipinos and proved counterproductive to their goal of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity sphere. He also noted that the Japanese assigned Koreans, who had a reputation for abusing prisoners, to guard American POWs.[117] Extrapolating from conversations with Filipinos, he contended that the Filipino response to the Japanese occupation varied from heroic guerilla resistance on the one hand to "collaboration, opportunism or simple resignation" on the other.[118]

Camp life and social interaction with GIs occupied much of Frank's time. At Angeles City and Fort McKinley, the men lived in communal tents. Even though their campsite at Fort McKinley was a "quagmire" situated between a cesspool and a dump, the men adjusted to their conditions and through common experiences built a sense of community.[119] He shared a camaraderie with barrack mates, participated in bull sessions, and socialized with the

[116] FRD to CDD, 25 June 1945. For Frank's interaction with Filipinos, besides the citations in this and the preceding paragraph, see FRD to CDD, 5 July 1945; FRD to CDD, 27 July 1945; FRD to CDD, 7 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 10 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 24 November 1945; FRD to CDD, 28 November 1945.
[117] FRD to CDD, 5 August 1945; FRD to CDD, 17 September 1945.
[118] FRD to CDD, 17 September 1945.
[119] FRD to CDD, 22 October 1945.

other men. Pranks added levity. Once, while Frank showered, his barrack mates hid his belongings and equipment in another tent.[120]

In the Philippines, the GIs endured tropical heat and torrential rainfall. Except on Sundays, when he took excursions, Frank welcomed the rain, which provided some relief from the heat. To cope with the heat, the men often remained partly or fully undressed. "Most of us always sit in our shorts in our tents, and sometimes we work in our shorts," Frank reported. "I go around with my shirt off as much as I do with it on. An unsuspecting visitor to a G.I. overseas camp might well suspect he was in a nudists' camp," he remarked. "Soldiers frequently lie about their tents, go to the shower or latrine stark naked (Kennett, 1987: 22-23, 59). Filipino laundry girls are apparently quite accustomed to it now," he noted. "They simply don't pay any attention to a nude male, [and] treat it as a phenomenon that doesn't exist."[121]

Even though most GIs in the Philippines did not possess a university degree or share his cultural interests, Frank formed quick friendships and participated in the camp's social life. As the average GI had only one year of high school, in contrast to Frank's M.A. degree, this illustrated Frank's ability to mix with less-educated men and the impact of their shared army experience in molding a common culture among men with different backgrounds (Kennett,1987: 22-23, 59). Despite his friendships, Frank was disappointed with GI behavior and their lack of cultural knowledge level and intellectual curiosity, though there were notable exceptions. During a trip along the Porac river, he deplored "the typically American desecration of the countryside by hordes of picnikers who leave a trail of papers, cans, beer bottles and what-not in their wake." "I felt as though I were transforming a Beethoven Sonata into a boogie-woogie," he lamented."[122] Commenting on a critical article in the Filipino press on GI behavior, he lamented that "the coming of the Americans to every continent of the globe has been like an invasion ... supported on a conceit that mechanical gadgets and wealth alone comprise a civilization or culture."[123]

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[120] Ibid; FRD to CDD, 9 July 1945; FRD to CDD, 13 July 1945; FRD to CDD, 25 July 1945; FRD to CDD, 4 September 1945.

[121] For all quotes in this paragraph, see FRD to CDD, 10 September 1945.

[122] FRD to CDD, 10 July 1945.

[123] For the quote, see FRD to CDD, 18 July 1945. For Frank's views on his fellow GIs see, along with the other citations in this paragraph, FRD to CDD, 24 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 10 November 1945.

Concerned with maintaining the morale of GIs—especially those stationed overseas—the Pentagon, through Special Services and the Information and Education Sections (I&E), provided soldiers with Hollywood movies, civilian and military publications (such as *Yank* and *Stars and Stripes*), American food and drink (including donuts and coffee), PX supplies, refrigerators, cheap radios and phonographs, symphonic concerts and operatic performances, USO show tours, university extension programs, and other services, diversions, and links to home. To celebrate Thanksgiving, the army served a feast on which Frank "gorged."[124] Perhaps most importantly, the Army Postal Service delivered a reliable exchange of mail—the "biggest morale booster" (Craven; Cate, 1958, 7: 469). Without doubt, these programs and services helped to sustain Frank's morale in the Philippines.[125]

In addition, the American Red Cross, working with Special Services and I&E, boosted morale by providing leisure-time activities, including off-base service clubs that offered GIs assorted services, amusements, and opportunities. Like other GIs, Frank considered the Red Cross, which established facilities in the Philippines, a "God-send," a refuge from the cramped bustle of camp.[126] In Angeles City, the Red Cross operated in an elegant house. In Manila, where the Red Cross had centers throughout the city, Frank frequented the Red Cross Roosevelt Club, a luxurious accommodation housed in the modernistic Jai-Alai Club, which had been damaged by artillery. The Roosevelt Club, which contained a coffee shop, dining room, game room, craft room, and theater, also featured bingo and a loudspeaker that broadcast NBC radio concerts. In Angeles City and Manila, Frank often wrote Christine from the Red Cross center, which provided free stationery and quiet solitude. Finally, he visited the Red Cross to relax, snack, buy concert tickets, escape the heat, use the library, study for his criminology class, and shower after swimming at Cavite beach.[127] In the Philippines and elsewhere,

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[124] FRD to CDD, 23 November 1945.

[125] Craven; Cate (1958, 7: 432-473); Kennett (1987: 92-93); FRD to CDD, 28 July 1945; FRD to CDD, 23 November 1945.

[126] FRD to CDD, 8 June (I think) [1945].

[127] Ibid; FRD to CDD, 12 June 1945; FRD to CDD, 5 July 1945; FRD to CDD, 15 July 1945; FRD to CDD, 21 July 1945; FRD to CDD, 23 July 1945; FRD to CDD, 2 August 1945; FRD to CD, 8 August 1945; FRD to CDD, 16 August 1945; FRD to CDD, 19 August 1945; FRD to CDD, 12 September 1945; FRD to CDD, 23 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 24 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 13 November 1945.

the American Red Cross—including its Philippine branch—made important contributions to maintaining GI wartime morale.[128]

In the Philippines, Frank remained socially and culturally active. Music and reading were his major cultural interests. Besides listening to radio broadcasts, on base and in Manila, he attended musical performances, operas, and concerts, including the Manila Symphony.[129] He read eclectically, due in part to the limited titles available. He read—and discussed in his letters—classic and modern novels, poetry, biography, history, and social science.[130]

Reading Herman Melville (*Moby Dick*) and Joseph Conrad (*Heart of Darkness*, *Mirror of the Sea*, and *Victory*) in the tropical and to him exotic Philippines stirred Frank's imagination and led him to identify with the romantic novelists. Writing to Christine in June 1945 on a makeshift "mahogany plank table," he described his surroundings—a "typical tropical scene," complete with a tent, mosquito-netted cots, and a bottle of rum that he sipped as he composed.[131] In another letter, he declared that "I only wish this was peace time and you two were here with me to enjoy the tropical splendor of these islands." "Tropical adventures always fascinated me when I was a boy," he confessed, "and now, I guess, I'm re-living those stories I

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[128] The Red Cross in the Philippines was closely linked to the U.S. occupation (1898-1946) and the American Red Cross. In 1905, with Governor-General William H. Taft presiding, American and Filipino officials created the Philippine Branch of the American National Red Cross. In 1910, the American National Red Cross replaced the inactive group with a Red Cross society. In 1917, in yet another reorganization, the American Red Cross established a chapter in the Philippines. In 1942, the Japanese abolished this branch and created an "independent" Philippine Red Cross. American Red Cross officials, who accompanied General MacArthur on his return to the Philippines in 1944, reestablished the Philippine branch, which became the independent Philippine National Red Cross in April 1947. Under Japanese occupation during World War II, Filipino Red Cross workers risked their lives to assist American POWs and Filipinos. See Aluit (1972); Ong (1997); Craven; Cate (1958, 7: 471-73).

[129] For Frank's musical activities, see FRD to CDD, 19 July 1945; FRD to CDD, 21 August 1945; FRD to CDD, 22 August 1945; FRD to CDD, 4 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 17 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 25 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 6 November 1945; FRD to CDD, 15 November 1945; FRD to CDD, 20 November 1945.

[130] For Frank's reading, see FRD to CDD, 23 May 1945; FRD to CDD, 11 June 1945; FRD to CDD, 12 June 1945; FRD to CDD, 27 June 1945; FRD to CDD, 25 July 1945; FRD to CDD, 20 August 1945; FRD to CDD, 6 September 1945; FRD to CDD, 11 September 1945; FRD to CDD, 18 September 1945; FRD to CDD, 21 September 1945; FRD to CDD, 22 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 2 December 1945.

[131] FRD to CDD, 27 June 1945. For a similar description, see FRD to AGD, 27 June 1945.

read, plus the more mature Conrad novels."[132] He also invoked Melville. Shortly after arriving in the Philippines, Frank compared his encounter with a "heroic" Australian soldier to "Ishmael and Queequeg."[133] Presumably, Frank identified with Ishmael, the narrator of *Moby Dick* and a teacher turned seaman who represented civilization, while Queequeg, the tattooed South Sea harpooner, represented uncivilized, but noble, society—and, in this case, the stereotypical more natural and less corrupted Aussie.

Frank had other interests besides reading and music. He regularly watched movies, though he thought most were "mediocre."[134] He played catch, went to a baseball game at Rizal Stadium, and enrolled in courses at the Philippine Institute. Sponsored by the army, the institute's educational program enabled him to pursue intellectual interests and escape camp. Meeting two nights per week, Frank's classes gave him something to do with his evenings. His Spanish course was disappointing, but his criminology class proved "very stimulating after such a long absence from Sociological considerations."[135]

Notwithstanding his intellectual bent, Frank visited bars and clubs for drinks, comradeship, and entertainment. In Manila, he frequented dives and upscale establishments alike. Barhopping one night in Manila, he went from a "honky-tonk dive" in a "bombed-out theater," to a "fancy" club with white tablecloths and an excellent jazz band, to a "cheap" vaudeville show that featured "acrobats, midgets, Spanish dancers and hula dancers."[136] Occasionally, he got drunk.[137] Once, when he passed out en route to the base, his friends, undeterred by his lack of underwear, removed his pants. Always the good sport, Frank observed that such events helped "to relieve the

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[132] FRD to CDD, 5 June 1945. For Conrad, besides the citations to the quotes in this paragraph, see FRD to CDD, 30 May 1945, FRD to CDD, 3 June 1945, FRD to CDD, 29 June [?] 1945.

[133] FRD to CDD, 24 May 1945.

[134] For the quote, see FRD to CDD, 26 July 1945. For Frank and movies, see also FRD to CDD, 8 June (I think) [1945]; FRD to CDD, 13 August 1945; FRD to CDD, 2 December 1945; FRD to CDD, 12 December 1945; FRD to CDD, 17 December 1945.

[135] For the quote, see FRD-CDD, 12 September 1945. For his educational pursuits, see also FRD-CDD, 17 August 1945; FRD-CDD, 19 August 1945. For baseball, see FRD-CDD, 17 November 1945; FRD-CDD, 23 November 1945.

[136] FRD to CDD, 2 September 1945.

[137] For Frank getting drunk, see FRD to CDD, 20 June 1945; FRD to CDD, 24 September 1945; FRD to CDD, 13 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 19 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 31 October 1945.

hum-drum boredom of Army life."[138] On base, he socialized at the Enlisted Men's Club (EMC).[139] Retracting his original intent not "to patronize it very regularly," he soon pronounced the EMC, which opened in October 1945, "my favorite spot."[140] In addition, with the cooperation of an officer friend, on at least two occasions Frank donned an officer's shirt (complete with bar and wings) and enjoyed an illicit evening in the Officers Club.[141]

Frank also used his letters to comment on political developments, though less often than one might expect. Paradoxically, he endorsed the Allies' Potsdam demand for unconditional surrender, but after the atomic bombing of Nagasaki and the subsequent Japanese surrender—conditioned on their right to retain their emperor system—he favored accepting that condition in order to end the war.[142]

Regarding the Philippines, he preferred statehood but recognized that the United States had little political option but to honor the demand for independence long enunciated by Filipino political parties. Endorsing the French policy of extending citizenship to colonial subjects, he declared: "I only wish we would do the same thing for the Philippines, Hawaiian Islands and Alaska. Such trends toward world unification must inevitably lead to a lesser likelihood of war."[143]

Frank and Christine approved efforts to publicize Nazi atrocities. They commended U.S. occupation authorities in Europe who required ordinary Germans to visit extermination camps to observe the evidence of Nazi genocide and to dig graves for the victims. They also approved the broadcast of news films in Germany and the United States that provided a documentary record of Nazism's monstrous crimes. "Like you, I'm glad those sights are thrust upon us," Christine wrote Frank. "We need to open our

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[138] FRD to CDD, 31 October 1945.

[139] For Frank and the EMC, see FRD to CDD, 5 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 6 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 13 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 19 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 23 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 31 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 17 December 1945.

[140] FRD to CDD, 23 October 1945. For his earlier reservations, see FRD to CDD, 5 October 1945.

[141] FRD to CDD, 29 October 1945; FRD to CDD, 12 December 1945.

[142] FRD to CDD, 31 July 1945; FRD to CDD, 11 August 1945; FRD to CDD, 17 September 1945; FRD to CDD, 4 October 1945. Frank thought that the Japanese should eventually abolish the institution of the emperor, but through "the democratic process together with a sound liberal education." See FRD to CDD, 4 October 1945.

[143] For the quote, see FRD to CDD, 16 June 1945. See also FRD to CDD, 17 September 1945.

eyes—or have them opened."[144] Presumably, it gave Frank satisfaction to read that these atrocity films were shown to imprisoned Nazi leaders, including Julius Streicher, whom he had heard address an audience at the University of Munich during his 1935 trip to Germany.[145]

In an expression of his antiwar and antimilitarist (though not pacifist) sentiments, Frank denounced the peacetime conscription bill then before Congress. Asserting that "the Army discourages initiative and leadership by teaching blind obedience," he advocated a volunteer military. He dismissed the notion that draftees could learn a valuable "trade or skill" in the army during one year of conscription.[146] When the general in charge of demobilization requested a peacetime army of 2.5 million to support "an international poker game where only power counts," Frank declared that the general and other like-minded military chiefs were "only interested in maintaining their lucrative commands and have no regard for the general or international order." "Society has a right to fear men of this type," he warned.[147]

Frank understood that World War II was a transformative event and that the world was moving politically leftward. A liberal, Frank advocated a progressive New Deal program at home and abroad. Predicting a "new alignment of world powers," he wanted America to join the progressive bloc represented by emergent Left governments in Europe.[148] For instance, while he admired Winston Churchill's heroic wartime leadership, Frank welcomed his defeat by the Labour Party in the British elections of July 1945.[149] From Arkansas, Christine also greeted "a socialist England" and other "drastic changes" to transform the world. "All I know is that I want a world of peace and freedom for Sally Lou," she proclaimed.[150] Concurring, Frank praised her sentiments and contemplated their generation's responsibility to fashion a world of peace, justice, and cooperation. "We need Plato's Philosopher Kings as we never needed them before," he declared.[151]

Finally, Frank commented on the Yamashita war crimes trial. In January 1946, General MacArthur, the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers in To-

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[144] CDD to FRD, 6 August 1945.
[145] Ibid; FRD to CDD, 26 July 1945; FRD to CDD, 25 August 1945.
[146] For the quotes in this and the preceding sentence, see FRD to CDD, 20 July 1945.
[147] For the quotes in this and the preceding sentence, see FRD to CDD, 17 Sep. 1945.
[148] FRD to CDD, 29? June 1945.
[149] FRD to CDD, 27 July 1945.
[150] CDD to FRD, 26 July 1945.
[151] FRD to CDD, 9 August 1945.

kyo, acting under a Potsdam Conference mandate, established the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. Between 1946 and 1948, the tribunal tried twenty-eight Japanese military and civilian leaders, including General Yamashita, whom it charged with responsibility for war crimes committed during the Battle of Manila. More specifically, Yamashita was charged with failing to control troops under his command, even though the atrocities were committed against his orders, without his knowledge, and by naval troops outside his effective control who ignored his order to evacuate Manila in an orderly manner. In late November 1945, Frank attended a session of Yamashita's trial in Manila. Conducted in the high commissioner's residence (home to the American governor-general of the Philippines), the temporary courtroom accommodated three hundred spectators and representatives of the media. Frank thought that, unlike Nazis charged with war crimes, Yamashita had presented a powerful defense and was "guilty more from negligence than from systematic planning and scheming of atrocities."[152] Judging otherwise, the tribunal sentenced Yamashita to death on December 7, 1945, the fourth anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack. After MacArthur and the U.S. Supreme Court refused his appeal, Yamashita was hanged in February 1946.[153]

After V-J Day, Frank remained in the Philippines for five months awaiting demobilization.[154] As demobilization was based on a complex and shifting point system (which calculated length of service, overseas assignments, dependent children, campaign stars, and combat decorations), "points" became a focus of GI discussion. "Getting home is practically the only topic of conversation over here," Frank observed. "It's got almost to the point where one is greeted with 'How many points ya got?'"[155] GIs also disagreed over the policy of bonus points. A friend of Frank's, Ed Dobroski, in a complaint expressed by many single GIs, opposed awarding married men extra points for dependent children, since "single men are making just as much a sacrifice by not being able to

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[152] FRD to CDD, 7 December 1945.

[153] Ibid; FRD-CDD, 28 November 1945. For the Yamashita trial, see Reel (1971); Paschall (1999: 782); Astor (1996: 446-448).

[154] AAF demobilization began before Japan's surrender. In March 1944, AAF military personnel peaked with 2,411,294 men and officers, and steadily declined to a postwar low of 303,614 in May 1947. In August 1945, the month that Japan surrendered, the AAF military personnel totaled 2,253,182; in November 1945, 1,200,247; in December 1945, the month that Frank shipped home from Manila, 888,769; and, in January 1946, the month of his discharge, 733,786. See chart in Craven; Cate (1958, 7: 566).

[155] FRD to CDD, (Pay Day) September 1945.

get home to get married and start a family."[156] In September 1945, demobilization from the Philippines required sixty points, though the number fluctuated according to shifting policy. The rumor mill exacerbated GI uncertainty, with "Latrine #1, seat 4" serving as one rumor conduit.[157] With fifty-nine points—one point short—Frank resigned himself to an April 1946 discharge.

Barracks humor and GI pranks inadvertently hastened Frank's reunion with Christine and Sally Lou. On several occasions, GIs had tried to dupe Frank into believing that he had accumulated sixty points. One night after dinner a ringleader "added up" Frank's points, with the intention of padding the total with a fictitious point. To the surprise of all, the prankster tabulated sixty (not fifty-nine) authentic points. Confirming the higher total, officers told Frank that sixty-point men were expected to leave the following week. "I have been the topic of discussion for the whole squadron today," Frank reported. "The fluke in my record was discovered in such an odd manner and at such a critical time that it can scarcely be considered less than miraculous."[158]

In December 1945, after eight months in the Philippines, Frank boarded a Dutch freighter and returned to San Francisco. From California, he took a train to Fort Chaffee, Arkansas, where the Army granted him an honorable discharge on January 24, 1946. From there, he continued to Altheimer, Arkansas. Christine and Sally Lou, who had the flu, were unable to meet him at the station. Frank, who had received a new flu vaccine before being discharged, was protected during their reunion.[159]

Several days later, they all took a train to Pittsburgh to visit Frank's dad. In Pittsburgh, his dad gave him a letter from Friedrich Metz, his former German pen pal, who was now a prisoner of war. Writing from a POW camp in Paris, Metz explained that he could not contact his parents, since military officials prohibited the shipment of mail across occupation zones. He asked Frank to inform his parents, who lived in the Soviet occupation zone, that he was safe.

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[156] FRD to CDD, 20 August 1945.

[157] FRD to CDD, 20 August 1945.

[158] For the quote, see FRD to CDD, 12 November 1945. For Frank and points, see also FRD to CDD, 10 September 1945; FRD to CDD, (Pay Day) September 1945; FRD to CDD, 20 August 1945; and FRD-CDD, 28 October 1945. Frank reported that in September 1945 GIs in the Philippines needed sixty points for demobilization; Kennett states that GIs required eighty points in September 1945, which dropped to sixty points in October 1945 and to fifty points at the end of December 1945. For demobilization and the point system, see Kennett (1987: 222-224).

[159] Frank A. Dietrich, Honorable Discharge (Army of the United States), 24 January 1946, FRD/CDD Papers; FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.

Frank wrote immediately; the Metzes received his letter and were relieved to learn that their son had survived. After several weeks in Pittsburgh, Frank, Christine, and Sally Lou drove to Roswell, New Mexico, where he rejoined the New Mexico Department of Welfare as a child welfare worker.[160]

Pacifist CO: Albert G. Dietrich, Civilian Public Service, and Opposition to World War II

Unlike Frank, Albert repudiated World War II and refused to participate in military service. Instead, he served in Civilian Public Service (CPS). The Selective Service System, in concert with the historic peace churches, created CPS to provide alternative "work of national importance under civilian direction" for COs who rejected noncombatant military service. In October 1940, to coordinate the administration of CPS, the peace churches established the National Service Board for Religious Objectors (NSBRO). Under their agreement, the federal government contributed equipment and facilities (usually former Civilian Conservation Corps camps), while mainly the historic peace churches maintained the camps and covered the thirty-five-dollar monthly expenses for COs unable to pay for their own upkeep. The peace churches raised more than $7 million to support CPS; the Mennonites, who raised the most, contributed more than $3 million. Between 1941 and 1947, nearly 12,000 men served in 151 CPS camps nationwide.[161]

The pact between the government and the peace churches combined political pragmatism with the recognition of the right of conscientious objection. Mindful that public opinion was hostile toward COs, the government did not want to be viewed as being too lenient toward objectors. At the same time, the government had learned from its experience during World War I, when 450 absolutist COs had refused military service, had been court-martialed, and, in prison, had waged individual and collective protests, including work and hunger strikes, at Fort Leavenworth and other military prisons. In 1940, the government offered COs better treatment,

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[160] FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002. For Metz, see also (in Frank's typescript edition of the Dietrich Correspondence) Friedrich Metz to FRD, 30 September 1945 (translation from German), and accompanying typescript note by Frank: "Re: Letter from Friedrich Metz, dated 9-30-45, from a P.O.W. Camp in France."

[161] For a list of the 151 CPS camps that includes the camp location, the group that operated each camp, and the dates each camp opened and closed, see Keim (1990: 106-110). For financial support of CPS by Mennonites and other peace churches, see Sibley and Jacob (1952: 326); Bush (1998: 79-80).

both to respect individual conscience and to avoid the administrative burden of handling principled and often difficult objectors. Most religious pacifists, particularly members of the historic peace churches, embraced CPS as a huge improvement over their plight during the First World War.

Although the peace churches assumed financial and administrative responsibility for CPS, military Selective Service officials, not church-appointed civilian camp directors who were pacifists or sympathetic to pacifists, retained policy control. Military control of CPS, which angered radical COs, was symbolized by the July 1941 appointment of General Lewis B. Hershey, who replaced Clarence Dykstra, the former president of the University of Wisconsin, to head Selective Service.[162]

In general, COs adopted a "service," "resistance," or "absolutist" position toward CPS. Service COs, who accepted CPS as a good-faith attempt by the government to honor pacifist conscience, welcomed the opportunity to apply religious ideals and serve humanity through hospital work, fire-fighting, relief activities, public health and conservation projects, and other meaningful humanitarian assignments. Resistant COs, usually radical political and religious COs who championed social reform, civil rights, and civil liberties, led protests in CPS to advance these goals. Finally, a small number of absolutists, who repudiated any compromise with conscription or the war effort, accepted prison. Absolutists refused to register for the draft, submit to a military physical examination, or report to CPS. Some COs initially chose CPS before the experience of camp life led them to embrace resistance or absolutism and to wage hunger strikes and walkouts to express opposition to a "slave system" that supported the mass murder of war. Notably, in prison, radical pacifist COs used nonviolent Gandhian methods, including work strikes, hunger strikes, and other forms of noncooperation to challenge Jim Crow, censorship, lousy food, and dehumanizing regulations.

Besides the twelve thousand COs in CPS, six thousand COs served prison terms, and another twenty-five thousand COs entered the military, where they performed noncombatant work, usually as medics. Imprisoned COs included political and humanitarian COs who did not meet the law's religious test, absolutists who refused to cooperate with Selective Service or CPS, and radicalized COs who initially entered CPS but, disillusioned by the experience, resisted camp rules or walked out, the equivalent of AWOL. In addi-

[162] For CPS and its origins in this and the two preceding paragraphs, see Sibley and Jacob (1952: 45-52, 110-123, 471-475); Frazer and O'Sullivan (1996: xiii-xxv); Keim (1990: 7-33, 106-110); Wittner (1984: 70-72); Bennett (2003a: 72-82). For Hershey, see Flynn (1985).

tion, the Selective Service System could be capricious. The 6,500 local draft boards, which were dominated by veterans, often differed in deciding who qualified as a "genuine" conscientious objector. Indeed, Albert's local (Sioux City, Iowa) draft board denied his claim for CO status; and, had this ruling not been reversed on appeal, Albert, who rejected noncombatant military service, would have opted for jail rather than induction into the armed forces.

Like most religious pacifists—in particular those associated with the peace churches—Albert accepted CPS as a positive effort by the government to respect individual conscience. Although most COs welcomed and cooperated with CPS, a small group of resistant COs denounced and challenged it. Resistant COs—usually political objectors, religious pacifists outside the peace churches, or atheists—were often members of the War Resisters League or the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Many resistant COs registered for the draft, received CO status, and entered CPS only to find themselves disillusioned and radicalized by the experience: the absence of payment for work performed, trivial work assignments, arbitrary camp management (under the control of military officers), and the role of the peace churches in administering the camps against the will of the secular pacifists. To protest CPS's shortcomings, resistant COs resorted to work strikes, work slowdowns, hunger strikes, walkouts, individual appeals, mass petitions, and a barrage of critical letters to the Selective Service, NSBRO, WRL, and FOR. Albert recognized that CPS entailed problems and injustices, but he never joined the radicals' revolt. Although he did not subscribe to the quietistic nonresistance philosophy of the Mennonites who administered (and comprised most of the men in) the three camps in which he served, Albert's attitude toward CPS was undoubtedly influenced by the Mennonite theology and stance on alternative service.[163]

The Mennonites' two-kingdom theology, their nonresistance and service philosophy, and their World War I experience, explain the absence of protest in Mennonite camps. The two-kingdom theology made a sharp distinction between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world, between church and state, and between heaven and earth. Although adherence to the divine king-

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[163] For an introduction to World War II COs and to radical pacifist CO complaints against—and social activism and resistance in—CPS and prison discussed in this and the preceding two paragraphs, see Sibley and Jacob (1952); Wittner (1984); Tracy (1996); Kohn (1986); Bennett (2003a, 2003b); Eller (1991). For conscription and local draft boards, see also Kennett (1987: 4-23); Flynn (1993); Peck (1958); Naeve and Wieck (1950); Dellinger (1993); D'Emilio (2003); Anderson (1997); Levine (1999); and Gara and Gara, Eds. (1999). For the literature on World War II (and other) COs, see Brock (2000).

dom took precedence, Mennonites willingly obeyed the state in all matters that did not contradict their religious convictions. Mennonites have traditionally refused—or at least have been reluctant—to assume political office, to vote, and to engage in political protest. In an effort to serve the divine kingdom and not compromise their religious convictions, Mennonites sought isolation from government, since no secular government could fully adhere to Christian principles. This theology led Mennonites to remain nonpolitical, to adopt a subservient stance toward governments, and to acquiesce in government policies. Besides remaining apart from the political state, Christian nonresistance renounced all—even nonviolent—force and coercion. It also led Mennonites to remain politically passive and to keep their distance from radical COs who used nonviolent direct action to challenge the government and redress social injustice. Finally, Mennonite leaders invoked World War I, when the government often treated COs harshly, to emphasize the privileges and opportunities that CPS offered. In short, most Mennonites were politically acquiescent, uninvolved with social protest, and grateful toward the government for CPS.

For Mennonites, CPS and nonmilitary alternative service provided an opportunity for service and religious witness. Despite their opposition to government service and political protest, Mennonites were concerned with social needs, injustice, and alleviating suffering. But instead of relying on government action and political activism, they developed their own social programs to serve people and advance social justice in accord with scriptural requirements to relieve suffering. Mennonites participated in various CPS programs to serve people and to demonstrate that pacifists, though rejecting military service, could make positive social contributions. One such program, in which Albert participated at CPS camps in Denison, Iowa, and Mulberry, Florida, was training COs for humanitarian work overseas.

The Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) sponsored schools in CPS to train COs for wartime and postwar relief and reconstruction assignments overseas. The program prepared COs to work in refugee settlements, in Displaced Persons programs, and in reconstruction projects. In April 1943, Selective Service approved a plan, drafted by historic peace church-affiliated colleges already offering such programs, to establish a CPS overseas relief and rehabilitation training program. To administer the program, in May 1943, Selective Service established CPS camp #101, located in Philadelphia, with "side camps" at Quaker, Brethren, and Mennonite colleges. Meanwhile, led by Mennonite Robert Kreider, an advance team for a CPS relief unit sailed for China. Congress torpedoed these initiatives, however. In June 1943, Congress adopted the Starnes Amendment (to the 1944 War De-

partment appropriation bill), which prohibited COs from participating in overseas relief programs. The Selective Service closed CPS #101 and the CPS team, which never reached China, returned. Though disappointed by Congress's action, the MCC and other peace churches, looking ahead to postwar needs and opportunities, continued to operate informal relief training schools in CPS. At Dension and Mulberry, Albert taught in this program. The MCC also participated in a postwar program to replenish livestock in Europe; COs in CPS volunteered to work as "seagoing cowboys" on cattle boats that transported cattle and livestock to Europe.[164]

Despite living in Mennonite-dominated CPS communities that encouraged acquiescence to government policies in general and to CPS in particular, Albert occasionally expressed dissatisfaction with CPS. With his Methodist religion, youthful flirtation with socialism, and social worker background, he might have joined the radicals had he been assigned to Quaker-administered camps, where most resistant COs served. Undoubtedly, these politically active, radical pacifist, resistant COs would have nurtured and encouraged—not dampened—his dissatisfaction. Interestingly, shortly before and after completing his alternative service, Albert wrote several damning indictments of CPS, though he partially recanted his criticism soon afterward.[165] Significantly, Rick Lowenberg—a friend of Albert and a CO veteran of Hill City, Byberry, and Mancos, whose own defiance in CPS landed him in Leavenworth—contended that a liberal, non-Mennonite camp environment might have encouraged Albert to adopt a radical stance toward CPS: "If only we could have drug you away from the Mennonite opiate—they didn't deserve such good material. Theirs was for the strong backs not the freed spirits. In Byberry or Mancos [a government CPS camp in Colorado that housed radical COs] you might have walked out and cut the fetid fetters..."[166]

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[164] For Mennonite theology and World War II service programs, including the foreign relief and cattle boat programs discussed in this and the preceding two paragraphs, see Bush (1998: 56-128); Toews (1996: 129-183, 208); Gingerich (1949), 189 for "seagoing cowboys"; Hershberger (1951); Sibley and Jacob (1952: 187-189, 305). For the cattle boat program, see also note 210.

[165] Al [Dietrich] to Bob [Robert Drew], 3 July 1946; Al [Dietrich] to Rick [Lowenberg], 19 August 1946; Al [Dietrich] to Rick [Lowenberg], 10 September 1946, all in AGD Papers.

[166] Rick [Lowenberg] to Al [Dietrich], 12 August 1946; see also Al [Dietrich] to Bob [Robert Drew], 3 July 1946, both in AGD Papers. The government, beginning in 1943 in response to secular objectors who did not want to work in church camps, opened and operated four CPS camps: Mancos; Lapine, California; Germfask, Michigan; and Minersville, California.

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Albert's prolonged legal-administrative battle to obtain CO status began in February 1942 and continued until September 1943. Like many pacifist draftees, Albert had a difficult time convincing the government to grant him CO status.[167] In addition, his father initially opposed his CO stand. Rather than enter the military and compromise his pacifist ideals, Albert expressed his willingness to go to prison—or even to be shot.[168]

On February 12, 1942, Albert completed his Selective Service questionnaire, registered as a conscientious objector, and requested Form 47 (used by applicants for CO status to submit evidence to support their claim) from the Sioux City draft board. Nearly four months later, on 2 June, his draft board finally sent him the form; amazingly, in a letter that accompanied the form, it notified him that he had been classified I-A (available for military service), a decision made before he had even received Form 47.[169]

In response to this classification, on 19 June Albert appealed to the Iowa Selective Service Board of Appeal. His letter challenged the ruling by the Sioux City draft board and explained his position:

> I am appealing to the Board of Appeal from the determination of my Local Board in classifying me as I-A instead of IV-E [conscientious objector]. The statement below specifies the respects in which I believe my Local Board erred in classifying me as I-A.
>
> Since by reason of my religious training and belief I am conscientiously opposed to war and cannot participate in any war effort, either directly or indirectly, I have filled out my Selective Service questionnaire indicating my conscientious objection. However, my Local Board has not given due consideration to my conscientious objection to military service and has failed

[167] On the hurdles of obtaining CO status, see Sibley and Jacob (1952: 53-85, 388-398); Bennett (2003b: 420-421, 430).

[168] For his father's position, see Albert G. Dietrich to Sterling F. Mutz, 31 January 1943, AGD to NSBRO File. For Albert's willingness to risk prison or death, see ARD to FGD, 12 November 1942.

[169] Albert G. Dietrich to Woodbury County Local Board No. 2 [sic], 12 February 1942; Albert G. Dietrich to Woodbury County Local Board No. 3, 1 June 1942; Woodbury County Local Board No. #3 to Albert G. Dietrich, 2 June 1942; untitled, undated document that begins "June 4th 1943: Order referring Registrant to Another Local Board for Physical examination received (Form D.D.S. 203)," all in AGD-NSBRO File. Following a medical exam on 6 June 1942, "tentative" was removed from Albert's I-A classification on 15 June 1943.

to understand the sincerity and strength of conviction with which I hold to my belief. This is evidenced first of all by the fact that my Local Board placed me in class 'tentative I-A subject to medical examination' before I was given the opportunity to fill out and return form 47 substantiating my claim to be conscientiously opposed to participation in war. My tentative classification was issued June 2, 1942, one day earlier than my form 47, which was issued to me June 3rd. Although I realized that the earlier classification was only a tentative one, I wish to call attention to the fact that it was tentative pending medical examination, and not tentative pending further substantiation of my claim to be a conscientious objector to war. It would seem, therefore, that my classification was established before I was given an opportunity to file form 47 and my claim to conscientious objection to war could not have been given full consideration.

My stand in opposing force and violence is definite and unalterable. I believe I am motivated by the highest ideals of patriotism and humanitarianism as well as by deep religious convictions. I hold that the interests of humanity and the interests of my own country can be best promoted and served by refusing to sanction force with violence and by promoting, in its stead, love, tolerance and mutual understanding among all peoples. I firmly believe that genuine love based upon understanding is more powerful than any force and that when it is used in international affairs, war, which is destructive and futile, will become unnecessary. I further believe that the power of love can be demonstrated only by individuals living according to the law of love and that it is my duty to my conscience, to my God, and to my fellow men to follow to the best of my ability this law of love in my daily living.

I hold that the greatest value in life is the individual personality. From it emanates the spiritual, in it dwells God. To kill a person, or to aid indirectly in the killing of a person is the greatest of all wrongs. I accept the commandment of God, "Thou shalt not kill." without reservations as to time or place or circumstances and I cannot accept any order to the contrary from any man.

I have dedicated my life to social work and hope that I shall have an opportunity to contribute much to human welfare and social betterment before my work is done. But I cannot reconcile war with social work. They are the antithesis of one another and to accept one means to totally reject the other. I accept social work and its principles and purposes. I reject war, its methods, purposes and results. To me, to kill a man is murder; to burn and destroy his property is arson; to capture and hold another human being forcibly is kidnaping; to take another's possessions is larceny and theft; to willfully and purposefully make false statements about another, is slander or libel. These practices are crimes; yet they are the very instruments by means of which war is carried on. They are the antitheses of social work. They are the destroyers of social organization; the creaters [sic] of human unhappiness and misery, the wreckers of spiritual values and the destroyers of the soul in men.

> I have written you in detail regarding my beliefs and convictions with respect to participation in war. I hope that you will understand the sincerity of my convictions and I surely appreciate your giving my appeal your thoughtful consideration.[170]

Despite such statements, the Sioux City draft board and Iowa board of appeal concluded that Albert was a secular and philosophical objector—not a genuine religious pacifist—and rejected his application for CO status. Why? First, they noted that he had enrolled in ROTC in college. Second, his twin brother, also a social worker, had joined the Army, thus social work must not be antithetical to military service. Third, the FBI report, a part of his file, observed that some of Albert's Pittsburgh neighbors were unaware that he was a pacifist, which raised questions about his sincerity and commitment. Fourth, Albert's six-month membership in the Young People's Socialist League in 1933 tagged him as a secular objector.[171] In summary, Albert was not the typical religious pacifist affiliated with a historic peace church. Moreover, his case illustrated the difficulties of determining "religious training and belief" under the 1940 selective service law; it also demonstrated a key shortcoming of that law: the failure to recognize secular conscientious objection.[172]

On January 28, 1943, Albert traveled to Lincoln, Nebraska, and presented his appeal at a hearing before Hearing Officer Sterling F. Mutz of the Justice Department. (Albert had registered with Selective Service in Sioux City, Iowa, but had since moved to Beatrice, Nebraska.) In addition, at Mutz's request, several days later he submitted a written reply to four questions posed by the hearing officer. In the event of an invasion, Albert wrote, he would rely on "nonviolent resistance" and seek "not to break the will of the invader, but to

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[170] Albert G. Dietrich to Board of Appeal, Iowa Selective Service, 19 June 1942, AGD-NSBRO File (this letter differs slightly from Albert G. Dietrich to Board of Appeal, Iowa Selective Service, 22 June 1942, Dietrich Correspondence); Albert G. Dietrich to Local Board [No.] 3, Sioux City, Iowa, 22 June 1942, Dietrich Correspondence.

[171] The Socialist Party had a strong pacifist current between the world wars. See Bennett (2000a: ch. 3).

[172] For this paragraph, see Robert W. Root to Huldah W. Randell, 26 May 1943, AGD-NSBRO File. See also M. Guy West (Albert G. Dietrich) Appeal Summary, 14 June 1943; Albert G. Dietrich, "Statement of Rebuttal," [June 1943], AGD-NSBRO File. Even though he attended Mennonite services in Beatrice, Albert declined to change his affiliation from Methodist to Mennonite because he thought that officials would view such a move as insincere; in fact, membership in a historic peace church would have virtually guaranteed him CO status.

win his soul for truth through love." Besides, he asserted, "to combat aggression with aggression is futile and hopeless." He also professed his patriotism, humanitarianism, and belief in democratic ideals but denied that "we can save democracy with the use of military force and the destruction of life and property in war." To support his claim to religious objection, he affirmed his belief in Jesus, and to support his contention that Christ's central message was love, he quoted Biblical verse: Matthew 5:44: ("Love your enemies") and Matthew 5:9: ("Blessed are the peacemakers"). He also linked his occupation to his religious convictions. "To me," he explained, "the application of the principles of social work ... is the application of the principles of Christianity."[173]

Albert acknowledged that his commitment to pacifism was "relatively recent" but insisted that it was sincere and based on religious principles. Even though he had not learned about—or joined—the FOR until September 1941, he observed that his opposition to war went back ten years. Not until he moved to Sioux City in 1938 did he begin "to crystalize" his thinking. In part, he attributed the late development of his ideas to his "dependence" on Frank, who was "somewhat my intellectual superior." Over time and with increased independence, his initial objection to war on "political and economic grounds" had shifted to an opposition based on "moral and religious" considerations. "Under no circumstances will I ever murder my fellow man, nor will I indirectly assist others to do the killing by being a non-combatant," he vowed, "for in so doing I carry the full weight of guilt as though I had done the actual murdering myself." Proclaiming his willingness to die to uphold his convictions, Albert declared: "There are perhaps many causes worth dying for, but to me, certainly, there are none worth killing for."[174]

Regarding his participation in ROTC, Albert explained that he had been "young and impressionable" and attracted to the "glamour" and "pomp" of military uniforms and pageantry. Furthermore, Louis, his older brother, had enrolled in ROTC, and he and his parents had advised Albert to take ROTC to avoid front-line duty in the event of war. He also confessed that the University of Pittsburgh had allowed students to choose between ROTC and physical education. Since in high school he "was too backward, self-conscious and dependent upon my twin brother to adjust to organized

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[173] For this paragraph, including all quotes, see Albert G. Dietrich to Sterling F. Mutz, 31 January 1943, AGD-NSBRO File. See also AGD to FRD, 10 February 1943.

[174] For this paragraph, including all quotes, see Albert G. Dietrich to Sterling F. Mutz, 31 January 1943, AGD-NSBRO File.

games," he had joined ROTC to "escape" physical education. After a year he began to "abhor" ROTC—and quit after his second year.[175]

On May 24, 1943, the appeal board unanimously upheld the local board's ruling. Brigadier General Charles H. Grahl, the Iowa Selective Service director, refused to submit Albert's case for presidential review; "the line had to be drawn somewhere," he declared.[176] In late May, Albert, on advice from NSBRO's regional advisor Robert Root, wrote General Hershey (who handled these requests for Roosevelt) requesting a presidential appeal to change his 1-A classification to 4-E. He also asked—and Hershey agreed—to stay his June 21, 1943 induction during the appeal process.[177] In addition, Albert had friends and family write Hershey attesting to his religious objection to war. Urging Hershey to grant him a presidential appeal, Albert's supporters emphasized his patriotism, love of America, and commitment to democratic ideals; his sincere religious beliefs and pacifist convictions, which he had articulated at church services, as Chair of the Beatrice FOR chapter, and elsewhere; and, finally, his personal courage.[178]

On June 1, Albert and Rev. Robert E. Drew, another NSBRO regional advisor who counseled him, traveled to Sioux City to visit Albert's local board and examine his file, as permitted by law. In Sioux City, they were informed that the file had been sent to state headquarters in Des Moines. Tele-

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[175] For this paragraph, including all quotes, see Albert G. Dietrich to Sterling F. Mutz, 31 January 1943, AGD-NSBRO File.

[176] Robert W. Root to Huldah W. Randell, 26 May 1943; Albert G. Dietrich to Paul Comly French, 26 May 1943, both in AGD-NSBRO File.

[177] Albert G. Dietrich to General Lewis B. Hershey, 27 May 1943; Albert G. Dietrich to Paul Comly French, 26 May 1943; Albert G. Dietrich to M. Guy West [May-June 1943]; Lt. Colonel Simon P. Dunkle to National Service Board for Religious Objectors, 18 June 1943, all in AGD-NSBRO File. After an 18 June 1943 conversation with Captain Jackson B. Chase (camp operations legal section), Arnold T. Olena (the NSBRO case officer assigned to Albert's case when Guy West left) reported that Chase, who appeared favorably inclined toward the case, seemed to discount Albert's ROTC background and Frank's membership in the armed forces. Arnold T. Olena, "Memo of Interview," [18 June 1943], AGD-NSBRO File.

[178] The following people (most of whom were not pacifists), wrote Hershey on Albert's behalf in letters dated May and June 1943: Mr. and Mrs. John Penner, Jr., Frank R. Dietrich, Edward Francel, Ferne Bruneau, Agnes S. Donaldson, Edgar C. Wiebe, Mary Helen Boyd, Dwight Dell, David R. Deener, Miriam Ingebretson, Emmylu Goertz, Frank Edwards, Ruth Ezell, Emerson W. Shideler, H.G. Penner, Reynold Weinbrenner, and Marian Scott Hahn; for the names of additional letter writers, see Albert G. Dietrich to Arnold T. Olena, 21 June 1943, all in AGD-NSBRO File.

phoning Des Moines and speaking with a Colonel Lancaster, Albert asked to examine his file. Lancaster initially said that the file was confidential, but once Albert cited the law (Section 605.32,1), he backtracked and agreed that the nonconfidential parts of the file could be examined, a restriction that Albert claimed violated his legal rights. Later, NSBRO advised Albert that the FBI report would remain confidential.[179] In mid-June, Albert authorized Robert Root to review his file in Des Moines. Root informed him that his request for a 4-E classification had been rejected because his claim was based on "intellectual and philosophical rather than religious" grounds. After that conversation, Albert began to prepare himself psychologically for prison.[180] More optimistically, he also prepared a rebuttal.[181]

Finally, in September 1943, after an unwavering twenty-month campaign of appeals, hearings, and letters, General Hershey, in response to Albert's presidential appeal, granted him CO status. Apparently, Hershey did not offer Albert an explanation for his affirmative ruling, as none exists either in his letters to Frank or in his NSBRO file. However, the cogent testimonials submitted by his supporters and NSBRO's considerable efforts and expertise undoubtedly were responsible for the reversal. Moreover, had Albert not been well educated, articulate, and able to write well; had he not had a strong support network of similarly literate family and friends to support him psychologically and to write persuasively on his behalf; had he not had the endorsement of a historic peace church community, in his case Beatrice's Mennonites; and, had he not been a member of the FOR or some other pacifist organization, or if no such organization had existed, Albert likely would not have obtained CO status on appeal and would have gone to prison. Unlike objectors without

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[179] Albert G. Dietrich to M. Guy West, 3 June 1943; Robert E. Drew to M. Guy West, 3 June 1943; M. Guy West to Albert G. Dietrich, 7 June 1943, all in AGD-NSBRO File.

[180] For Root's review and Albert's willingness to go to jail, including the quote in the preceding sentence, see Al [Dietrich] to Frank and Chris [Dietrich], 10 April 1986, FRD/CDD Dietrich Papers. See also Albert G. Dietrich to Robert Root, 8 June 1943, AGD-NSBRO File; AGD to FRD/CDD, 11 June 1943.

[181] Albert G. Dietrich to W. Guy West, 10 June 1943; Albert G. Dietrich to W. Guy West, 15 June 1943; Albert G. Dietrich, "Statement of Rebuttal" [June 1943], all in AGD-NSBRO File. In addition to Robert Root, Emerson W. Shideler, the pastor of the South Beatrice Church of the Brethren, examined Albert's files and the Iowa Appeal Board's ruling in the presence of Sterling F. Mutz, the Hearing Officer, in Lincoln, Nebraska. According to Shideler, Mutz "insisted on a rigidly narrow and literalistic interpretation of religion" and dismissed Albert's explanations as "philosophic." Emerson W. Shideler to Major General Lewis B. Hershey, 17 June 1943, AGD-NSBRO File.

these advantages who compromised their convictions and went into the armed services or honored their pacifism and went to jail, Albert was fortunate. On September 30, 1943, the Selective Service ordered Albert to report for alternative civilian service at Hill City, South Dakota, by November 9.[182]

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During World War II, Albert served in three CPS camps administered by the Mennonite Central Committee. From November 1943 to October 1944, Albert worked at Hill City, South Dakota (CPS camp #57).[183] Under joint supervision by CPS and the Bureau of Reclamation, COs built Deerfield Dam—a "monument to peace"—to provide water for Rapid City and the valley below.[184] Bureau of Reclamation engineers had jurisdiction over the work site, while the camp director—a CPS official—had authority over the camp and other matters. Assigned to the dam project, Albert shoveled dirt, operated a hand-run compacting machine, and did other common labor. On occasion, he worked in the project office. Stanley Voth, a fellow CO and friend, recalls that Albert was satisfied with his work, which he considered socially important.[185]

At Hill City, Albert took advantage of the camp's cultural and recreational opportunities. He taught classes on the principles of pacifism and on psychology-sociology.[186] He signed up for courses on elementary radio, fundamentals of music, public speaking, Spanish, conversational German, and advanced first aid.[187] He joined the camp chorus and helped to organize a ten-day Music Institute, the first ever in a MCC camp; under the leadership of a visiting professor, the institute organized singing events and offered mu-

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[182] Local Board No. 3, Woodbury County, "Conscientious Objector Report" (Albert G. Dietrich), [17 September 1943]; Lewis B. Hershey to State Director [of Selective Service] of Nebraska, 30 September 1943, all in AGD-NSBRO File. Hershey granted CO status to over 90% of the more than 1,500 "presidential appeals" that he reviewed. See Bush (1998: 72).

[183] NSBRO, Report of Transfer (Albert G. Dietrich), [October 1944], AGD-NSBRO File.

[184] For "monument to peace," see Paul G. Tschetter, the camp director, quoted in *Rushmore Reflector*, September-October 1944. For Hill City, see also Gingerich (1949: 163-169).

[185] Stanley Voth interview with the author, 10 July 2002.

[186] *Rushmore Reflector*, February 1944; AGD to FRD/CDD, 6 June 1944.

[187] NSBRO, Individual Record of Campee (Albert G. Dietrich), 8 August 1946, AGD-NSBRO File.

sic and singing instruction.[188] Albert presented lectures on social work and syphilis to Fellowship Forum, a camp venue that permitted men to share their expertise and exchange views on social, political, and religious issues, including those related to COs.[189] He remained "very active & helpful" in the camp's religious activities.[190] In addition, Albert hiked in the Black Hills. One Christmas weekend, Albert and several men hiked to Harney Peak. Pitching camp at Sylvan Lake, they talked by campfire late into the night and awoke beneath three inches of snow.[191]

Albert also coedited and wrote for the camp newspaper, the *Rushmore Reflector*. He condensed "Massacre by Bombing"—an indictment of Allied obliteration bombing written by British pacifist Vera Brittain.[192] Reviewing Oswald Spengler's *The Decline of the West* and Pitirim Sorokin's *The Crisis of Our Age*, he offered an optimistic conclusion consistent with CO goals: "The crisis of our age is not the death agony of our society, but the birth pangs of a new form of culture that will rise with new values, a new vigor, and great creative force."[193] In an article on the importance of love in rearing happy, well-adjusted children, he drew on his social work cases.[194]

CPSers participated in camp decision-making through elected camp councils. Hill City had a camp council, dormitory captains, and committees on religious life, music, social activities, recreation, and the canteen. As a respected leader at Hill City, Albert won election to different positions, including chairman of the camp council, member of the social committee, and camp dormitory representative.[195] He also served as the acting educational

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[188] *Rushmore Reflector*, June-July 1944; AGD to FRD/CDD, 6 June 1944. Several copies of the music committee's concert programs are located in AGD Papers.
[189] *Rushmore Reflector*, January 1944, and March 1944.
[190] NSBRO, Individual Record of Campee (Albert G. Dietrich), 8 August 1946, AGD-NSBRO File.
[191] *Rushmore Reflector*, September-October 1944; Stanley Voth interview; Bryon Augsturger interview with the author, 20 June 2002; Rick Lowenberg interview with the author, 20 June 2002.
[192] *Rushmore Reflector*, May 1944. In the United States, Brittain's lengthy article first appeared in *Fellowship*, March 1944. For Albert's work as feature editor and production manager, see *Rushmore Reflector*, February 1944 and August 1944.
[193] *Rushmore Reflector*, June-July 1944.
[194] *Rushmore Reflector,* August 1944.
[195] *Rushmore* Reflector, January, 1944 and April 1944; Voth interview.

director.[196] Better educated and older than most campers, Albert provided leadership and intellectual companionship to a close-knit group of about eight like-minded campers. Rick Lowenberg, a member of this group, considered Albert a "role model."[197]

Despite a significant non-Mennonite minority, most COs at Hill City were Mennonites, and most were satisfied with the work assignments and camp conditions. Through the pacifist press, CPS camp publications, and word-of-mouth, Hill City COs remained aware of protests at other camps, in particular at government-administered camps. In countless bull sessions and more formal venues, Albert and his co-campers discussed CO issues and protests, as well as their own lives and religious and social views. Albert also explained social work and its significant role in the development of his pacifism.[198] According to Stanley Voth, Albert and most other campers thought that radical COs who waged nonviolent protests in other camps were unreasonable.[199] But Lowenberg recalls that a group of friends, which included Albert, Voth, himself, and others, had sympathy for these radicals. At Hill City, most Mennonites, in line with their two-kingdom theology, nonresistance philosophy, and enthusiastic support for alternative service, rejected social protest in—or against—CPS.[200]

Unfortunately, Mennonite theological disputes created nasty divisions at Hill City, where Mennonites were divided into a fundamentalist minority and liberal majority. The infusion of non-Mennonite COs exacerbated the conflict. A small group of vocal Mennonite fundamentalists opposed smoking, drinking, swearing, and card playing. Despite a ban on smoking, some men routinely smoked in a nearby cave and under a bridge. The two factions also clashed over the content of camp publications and religious programs. Charged with "liberalism," "modernism," and lax moral enforcement, Paul Tschetter, the camp director, was dismissed in September 1944.[201] In a petition to the MCC, seventy-one Hill City COs (about half the

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[196] NSBRO, Request for Transfer (Albert G. Dietrich), 8 September 1944, AGD-NSBRO File; AGD to FRD/CDD, 6 June 1944.

[197] For Albert's leadership role, including the quote, see Lowenberg interview. See also Augsturger interview, and Voth interview.

[198] Voth interview; Augsturger interview.

[199] Voth interview.

[200] Lowenberg interview; Voth interview.

[201] For the quotes, see AGD-FRD, 3 October 1944; see also AGD to FRD, 11 September 1944. See also Paul G. Tschetter, "An Important Announcement to the Men

camp), including Albert, protested this "great injustice."[202] In an individual letter, Albert protested the MCC's "inopportune, hasty and ill-advised" action, which he called "unjustifiable and most unchristian." The charges against Tschetter, he wrote, were levied by "a small, discontented ... group of self-righteous, ultra conservative men who have long been complainers and agitators, whose education, for the most part, is limited and whose vision, understanding and outlook is extremely narrow and prejudiced." Further, he defended Tschetter's administrative skills and praised his "spirit of democracy."[203] Even before this episode, Albert was a leader of a close-knit group of eight or so men—all theological liberals—who supported Tschetter and mainly ignored the fundamentalists.[204]

Some local residents also objected to the nonfundamentalist COs who socialized in nearby Hill City town. Hostile intolerance toward COs, who many Americans viewed as shirking their patriotic duty, led the Selective Service to isolate most CPSers in former rural Civilian Conservation Corps camps, a decision motivated by political considerations. Actually, at Hill City, relations between the camp and town were generally good, but there were exceptions. One Hill City banker complained to the FBI that many COs who frequented town "enjoy drinking beer, playing pool, and play[ing] music on the jut[e] box." Instead of frolicking in town, they "should be packing a gun, or stay confined to their camps." More ominously, he warned, "It appears that some of them will have to fight right here in Hill City [against angry citizens].... They are on the street so regularly, that it is not unusual to hear people say it is just about Dee-Day for them." Undoubtedly, such sentiments contributed to the MCC's decision to dismiss Tschetter.[205] Not long after Tschetter departed, Albert, too, left Hill City for Denison, Iowa.

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in Camp," [15 September 1944], in folder marked "Oct. 43-Oct. 44," series C, box 91, Center on Conscience and War Records.

[202] Mahlan E. Miller, et al [71 Hill City COs] to Mennonite Central Committee, 8 September 1944 (petition), in folder marked "Oct. 43-Oct. 44," series C, box 91, Center on Conscience and War Records.

[203] For the quotes, see Albert G. Dietrich to Mennonite Central Committee, 9 September 1944. For a similar letter, see W. Edmund Sinden to Mennonite Central Committee, 11 September 1944, both in folder marked "Oct. 43-Oct. 44," series C, box 91, Center on Conscience and War Records.

[204] Voth interview.

[205] For this paragraph, including all quotes, see A.J. Birdsell to FBI, 2 September 1944. See also attached A.S. Imirie to J.N. Weaver, 14 September,1944, both in fol-

From October 1944 to October 1945, Albert served at Denison, Iowa (CPS camp #18). Like Hill City, Denison had been a Civilian Conservation Corps camp before the COs arrived. The MCC, which established a Foreign Relief Training Unit at Denison, asked Albert to transfer there to train COs for overseas relief missions. He agreed.[206]

Mostly, however, Denison COs built soil conservation dams and provided emergency farm labor for regional farmers. Due to the wartime labor shortage, COs were assigned to work on local farms. This bothered Albert, since his cheap labor competed with and undercut that of local workers. COs also built soil conservation dams for local farmers—mostly wealthy ones, as they were the ones able to pay for the construction materials. Beginning in 1943, the MCC organized a program of home canning and drying to provide nutritious food for the CPS camps that it administered; Denison served as a depot for the collection and distribution of this food. In November 1944, Albert used a furlough to earn one dollar per hour—good wages—by working for the Popcorn Growers and Distributors Company in Wall Lake, Iowa, the self-proclaimed popcorn capital of the world. Unlike the Deerfield Dam project at Hill City, farm labor struck Albert as neither socially significant nor a "forceful demonstration" of pacifism. Writing Frank not long after the "dark days" of Denison, Albert confided that he should have rejected CPS and gone to prison in order to protest conscription.[207]

Albert was involved in Denison's social and cultural life. Writing on "Racial Prejudice" in the *Vanguard*, Denison's camp newspaper, Albert blamed white racism—and the subsequent disproportionate sickness, illiteracy, and poverty among blacks—on the prevailing social environment. To overcome racial discrimination and afford blacks (and other minorities) equal opportunity, he urged the "wider application of the Christian principles of human brotherhood." In the camp concert series, he spoke on "What is Music"

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der marked "Oct. 43-Oct. 44," series C, box 91, Center on Conscience and War Records. See also Gingerich (1949:164-165).

[206] For Albert's arrival date at Denison, see NSBRO, Report of Transfer (Albert G. Dietrich), [October 1944], AGD-NSBRO File. For the MCC request that Albert transfer to Denison to teach, see AGD-FRD/CDD, 6 June 1944, and NSBRO, Request For Transfer (Albert G. Dietrich), 8 September 1944, AGD-NSBRO File.

[207] For the quotes in this and the preceding sentence, see AGD to FRD, 1 December 1945; for this paragraph, see AGD to FRD, 25 November 1944, AGD to FRD/CDD, 6 June 1944, AGD to FRD/CDD, 25 January 1945; see also the *Vanguard*, 7 October 1941 and December 1944–January 1945; Gingerich (1949: 114-121).

and performed a Vivaldi violin concerto. On another occasion, he addressed fellow campers on peace.[208]

At Denison—as at Hill City and later at Mulberry—Albert and the other campers were aware of the debate over CPS that raged among COs. Camp newspapers published excerpts from the pacifist and peace press, and COs wrote articles addressing these issues. Assessing CPS in the *Vanguard*, Albert argued that its positive aspects would "far out-weigh" its negative features. He ably summarized the criticism of CPS levied by the more radical COs: conscription buttressed the war machine; CPS work was often trivial and insignificant; work assignments often did not match COs' training and abilities; work projects such as farm work and fencing advanced private profit rather than the common welfare; camps were regimented; the lack of dependency allotments was unfair and discriminatory; mandatory work without compensation under penalty of jail constituted slavery and involuntary servitude; and CPS was an "unholy alliance of government and the churches." He did not dispute this "overwhelming" catalogue of complaints. But, on the positive side, he maintained that CPS "broadened" COs, particularly the rural, parochial Mennonites who comprised most campers. It exposed them to new experiences, ideas, customs, and practices; encouraged understanding and tolerance; widened their "social, political and economic vistas"; and deepened their religious convictions. Finally, CPS would equip the campers to "contribute constructively" to their postwar communities.[209]

After Denison closed its Foreign Relief Training Unit, Albert sought either a job with the Displaced Persons program of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), as did Frank, or a transfer to a camp more in accord with his social work interests.[210] One such camp was

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[208] *Vanguard* (Brotherhood Issue), Feb. 1945; *Vanguard*, Oct. 1945; *Vanguard*, June 1945.

[209] For this paragraph, including all quotes, see the *Vanguard*, October 1945.

[210] In accord with the 1943 Starnes amendment to the 1944 War Department appropriation bill, an amendment that prohibited COs from overseas assignments, Albert needed to obtain from his draft board reclassification to an essential occupational group to qualify for a UNRRA job. Flooded with applications from Army personnel, the UNRRA decided not to consider COs. The NSBRO suggested that the UNRRA had an "apparent fear" of hiring COs, though in fact the UNRRA needed to get men to Europe by 1 July 1945, which made it "almost impossible" to obtain clearance for applicants from CPS. One year later, Albert again investigated the possibility of UNRRA work, only to learn that there was little likelihood that CPS would release men to the UNRRA (except to a cattle boat program that transported livestock to Europe—mainly Greece, Poland, and Yugoslavia—to rehabilitate herds devastated by the war).

Mulberry, Florida, a public health unit, where the MCC intended to use Albert as an instructor in the camp's relief training program.[211]

From November 1945 to August 1946, Albert was assigned to Mulberry, Florida (CPS camp #27).[212] Mulberry operated under the Polk County Health Department, though the MCC administered the camp. It was formed in August 1943 after Dr. Lawrence M. Zell, the county health officer, requested a CPS unit to improve local health conditions. Zell's major project was hookworm control, since hookworm was a common parasite among the area's poor workers who lacked adequate sanitary facilities. Other projects included controlling typhus, manufacturing portable housing units for tubercular patients, operating a training school for overseas relief work, and providing food for MCC's canning project.

Since hookworm prevention required improved sanitation, Mulberry built outdoor privies, 2,500 units by one estimate. The modern outhouses had concrete foundations and wooden (later metal) sides. Albert and the

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Stanley Voth, who served with Albert at Hill City and Mulberry, enlisted in the cattle boat program (a CPS assignment). Participating COs were organized into the "UNRRA Reserve Unit"; in the spring of 1946, Voth worked as a crew member—a "CPS cowboy" or "seagoing cowboy"—on two boats that transported horses and cattle to Poland. In 1945, Frank unsuccessfully applied to the UNRRA, which had received 30,000 applicants for 1,300 jobs. For Albert and the UNRRA, see Albert G. Dietrich to Don Smith, 12 May 1945; Claude C. Shotts to Albert G. Dietrich, 15 May 1945; Claude C. Shotts to Albert G. Dietrich, 4 June 1945; Claude C. Shotts to Albert G. Dietrich, 30 June 1945; Albert G. Dietrich to Claude C. Shotts, 1 April 1946; Branford P. Miller to Albert G. Dietrich, 5 April 1946, all in AGD-NSBRO File. For Voth, see Voth interview; and Stan [Voth] to Al [Dietrich], 6 May 1946, AGD Papers, which includes the "CPS cowboy" quote. For Frank, see FRD to CDD, 4 June 1945; FRD to AGD, 27 June 1945; and FRD to CDD, 25 September 1945.

[211] NSBRO, Request For Transfer (Albert G. Dietrich), 15 March 1945; J.N. Weaver to A.S. Imirie, 25 September 1945; Walter H. Dyck to National Service Board, 2 October 1945, all in AGD-NSBRO File. Albert expressed a preference to transfer to the Poughkeepsie Hospital Unit instead of Mulberry. See Robert Kreider to Joe Weaver, 29 June 1945, AGD-NSBRO File.

[212] Between leaving Denison and reporting to Mulberry on 1 November 1945, Albert had a fifteen-day furlough. NSBRO, Report of Transfer (Albert G. Dietrich), [October 1945]; NSBRO, Furlough Grant, (Albert G. Dietrich), 13 October 1945, both in AGD-NSBRO File.

other campers did a variety of work. They sawed boards from logs, performed carpentry work, poured concrete, and installed privies.[213]

Albert, who was troubled by class and race inequalities, considered the work at Mulberry important, in part, because it helped poor, mainly black, citizens of the region. "Our program here is directly improving the health and the living standard of the Southern Negro ... the most oppressed, most disease ridden, and most sub-marginal person in the United States," he argued in a report to the MCC. In addition, such work conformed to "Biblical teachings and Christian Service," he observed, as "Christ emphasized constructive service particularly as applied to underpriveledged, the downtrodden, the oppressed." In a handwritten insert to the report, Albert noted that the health project offered opportunities at the local level to spread the Christian message and take "the teachings of non-resistance and peace" into the established churches. In summary, he declared that Mulberry's health program "not only has immediate social significance to the local community, but it clearly has national importance and falls within the best meaning of the 1940 Selective Service and Training Act which defines the work for conscientious objectors as 'work of national importance.'"[214]

At Mulberry, Albert continued to participate in camp affairs, pursue cultural activities, and visit local sites. He edited *Box 96*, the camp newspaper; he was elected religious life chairman; and he taught courses in camp for college credit. In December 1945, he led "A Service of Worship for Peace." The following month, he spoke "On Human Frailty" and participated in a panel discussion entitled "CPS Men Look At CPS" at a Mennonite church in Sarasota.[215]

Albert was not a radical CO who opposed CPS, but he both advocated participatory camp management and acted to promote democratic principles in

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[213] For Mulberry's health projects and work assignments in this and the preceding paragraph, see Ernest C. Shank, William H. Yoder, and Albert G. Dietrich, "(Preliminary) Report of the Committee on Continuation of Civilian Public Service in Polk County, Florida," [1946], AGD Papers; Miller, "Reminiscences of the CPS Camp at Mulberry, Florida": 2-3, 7, copy in AGD Papers; Van Dyck (1990: 187-222); Gingerich (1949: 252-256); *Crestviews*, August 1943; Voth interview.

[214] For this paragraph, including all quotes, see Shank, Yoder, and Dietrich, "(Preliminary) Report of the Committee on Continuation of Civilian Public Service in Polk County, Florida." See also AGD to FRD, 1 December 1945; Voth interview. It should be noted that, even though the report was coauthored, its conclusions were unanimous.

[215] *Box 96*, January 1946 and February 1946. The MCC and Mennonite colleges arranged for CPSers to earn college credit for approved courses taught in camp by COs. See Hershberger (1951: 183).

Mulberry's decision-making. He, along with sixteen other discontented COs, signed a petition that requested a camp meeting to clarify and perhaps adjust camp policies on work hours, overtime, and the use of camp automobiles and the camp kitchen. The petition also called for a committee to study the issue and make recommendations based on "Christian democratic processes." The results of the petition remain unclear, but, like the petition that he signed in Hill City, it provides evidence of Albert's willingness to act on his convictions.[216]

Albert took numerous trips throughout central Florida. With other CPSers, he combined attendance at a Quaker service in St. Petersburg with a tour of the city, a swim in the Gulf of Mexico, and a covered dish dinner.[217] On another visit to Sarasota, he and other COs spent the night on the beach.[218] Most significantly, at least from the perspective of his increasing interest in civil rights, he and sixteen other CPSers visited Bethune-Cookman, a black college in Daytona Beach founded by black educator Mary Bethune. He addressed a college assembly on the "Principles of Peace," discussed pacifism and race relations with the faculty, and mingled with the college community—at dinner, in class visits, and in a sporting match. The next day, they attended Sunday school with the students and visited a Negro Methodist Church, whose members were "overjoyed" that the COs ignored Jim Crow practices. "We had a great experience in brotherhood" at Bethune-Cookman, Albert reported to Frank and Christine.[219]

The disregard for Jim Crow by Albert and other COs led to a strained relationship with the local Mulberry community. Local citizens, who supported both the war and Jim Crow laws, took a dim view of COs and openly called them "nigger lovers."[220] In town, the COs obeyed Jim Crow regulations, but they also invited black leaders to visit their camp. Moreover, local whites probably realized that most CO-built privies went to underprivileged black citizens. Writing in *Box 96*, Albert called racism "the white problem"—"America's number one problem."[221] Like Bayard

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[216] Leroy Garber, et al [17 COs], "Petition for Clarification of Policies," 2 April 1946, AGD Papers.

[217] *Box 96*, December 1945.

[218] *Box 96*, February 1946.

[219] For the Bethune-Cookman trip, including all quotes, see AD to FD/CD, 4 March 1946. See also Voth interview; Van Dyck (1990: 214-216); Gingerich (1949: 254).

[220] Voth interview.

[221] Albert Dietrich, "The White Problem," *Box 96*, February 1946. Paul French, NSBRO's executive director, wrote to Albert praising his article. Paul Comly French to Albert Dietrich, 20 March 1946, AGD-NSBRO File. After Mulberry, Albert con-

Rustin—whose article entitled "Non-Violence vs. Jim Crow" he had mailed Frank three years before—Albert advocated nonviolent action to challenge racial discrimination.[222] He particularly praised the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a civil rights group established by radical pacifists under FOR's sponsorship in 1942. (All six founders of CORE were FOR members; four were WRL members; and three were COs.) During the next several decades, CORE helped to popularize the philosophy and methods of Gandhian nonviolent direct action to challenge racial discrimination. Significantly, in his ongoing debate with Frank over pacifism's efficacy, Albert cited CORE's successful nonviolent projects as evidence that radical pacifism could be effective.[223]

In summary, Albert considered Mulberry a "vast improvement" over Denison. "We are treated like adults, given responsibility, and our unit is very democratically operated," he informed Frank. "This is what I've been hunting for!"[224] Blocked by Congress from performing relief work in Asia or Europe, Albert engaged in significant social reconstruction projects on the home front.

Paradoxically, while Frank returned from the Army and Philippines unscathed, Albert suffered serious injury in CPS. In November 1945, Albert broke his leg severely when he was thrown from a work truck that swerved to avoid collision with another car. He spent ten days in the hospital. Unfortunately, his leg was set poorly and healed improperly; doctors advised that without reconstructive surgery, he would have suffered permanent deformity. Albert and other COs suspected that the attending doctor, whom they believed disliked COs, had deliberately mis-set the leg. In addition, Albert criticized camp officials, who he thought moved too slowly to arrange corrective surgery, for their "remarkable lack of concern" and preoccupation with the "cost" involved.[225] Writing from New Mexico, Frank called his twin "a

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tinued to advocate racial equality. For instance, he commended the Atlanta police chief for arresting members of "Columbians, Inc," an anti-black group; he criticized a Maine newspaper for not capitalizing "Negro"; and, in a case that involved the shooting death of the nephew of the president of the Dominican Republic, he condemned police brutality. See Albert G. Dietrich to Chief M.A. Hornsby, 7 November 1946; Albert G. Dietrich to Editor of the *Bangor Daily Commercial*, 7 November 1946; [Albert Dietrich] to Sheriff Henry Wells, [1946?], all in AGD Papers.

[222] Albert enclosed the July 1942 *Fellowship* article in AGD to FDD, 11 February 1943.

[223] For race and Mulberry, see Voth interview; Van Dyck (1990: 213-214). Albert cited CORE in AD to FD/CD, [January 1946]. For CORE, see Houser (1949); and Meier and Rudwick (1973).

[224] AGD to FRD, 1 December 1945.

[225] Albert Dietrich, "Journal," 31 May, 1946, AGD Papers.

cripple, a war casualty in every sense of the term" and urged the MCC to provide immediate treatment.[226] In July 1946, Albert underwent reconstructive surgery in Philadelphia—but only after he threatened to sue Polk County to force them to pay for the operation.[227] Albert never returned to camp work. He spent his entire remaining time in Mulberry and CPS in the hospital, on sick status, or on sick and furlough leave.[228]

Shortly after his accident, Albert wrote Nebraska's Department of Assistance and Child Welfare seeking his old job. Since this required early discharge from CPS, he wrote General Hershey. Roman L. Gingerich, Mulberry's director, supported Albert's release from CPS so that he could return to Nebraska and resume his previous work. Selective Service rejected his request, however, and informed him that all discharges must occur under their demobilization plan. Several months later, he also applied to the American Friends Service Committee's foreign service program, which he preferred to the MCC's overseas relief program. Finally, with a job lined up in Maine, he was released from CPS on August 8, 1946.[229]

In a September 1946 letter to NSBRO, Albert thanked the agency for supporting him since 1942. "In those dark days when I was having so much

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[226] Frank R. Dietrich to Elmer Ediger, 17 June 1946, AGD Papers.

[227] The accident occurred when Albert and the four-man privy installation crew of which he was a part was returning to camp. The team was traveling in a flatbed truck without side rails. Two men traveled in the cab; the two in back sat on nail kegs. Albert fell from the truck when Stanley Voth, the driver, swerved to avoid an oncoming car, which was passing on a curve and had not returned to its own lane. Albert's leg was set in a Bartow, Florida, hospital by a Dr. Sawyer, who used an experimental procedure of pins and rods. The leg was set poorly and healed improperly. Reportedly, the X-Rays showed a gap between the bones. Albert, Voth, and other COs suspected that the doctor, who presumably disliked COs, deliberately misset the leg. For the accident and medical treatment, see Albert Dietrich, "To Whom It May Concern," [November 1945], AGD-NSBRO File; Voth interview; *Box 96*, December 1945. For doctor and medical reports, and other documents related to the case, see materials in AGD-NSBRO File and in AGD Papers, including his "Journal," 31 May-7 June, 1946.

[228] NSBRO, Individual Record of Campee (Albert G. Dietrich), 8 August 1946, AGD-NSBRO File.

[229] William W. McDermet to Albert G. Dietrich, 23 November 1945 (two letters, same date); Albert G. Dietrich to Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, 8 December 1945; Roman L. Gingerich to J.N. Weaver, 8 December 1945; Colonel Lewis F. Kosch to J.N. Weaver, 19 December 1945; NSBRO, Report of Discharge (Albert G. Dietrich), 8 August 1946, all in AGD-NSBRO File. For his AFSC application, see Albert G. Dietrich to AFSC Personnel Office, 31 March 1946, and other materials in AGD Papers.

difficulty with my draft case it was a source of real comfort to me to know that you were backing me and doing all you could do for me in Washington," he declared.[230] Writing to Hill City camper Rick Lowenberg from Grace Dietrich's Philadelphia home where he was convalescing, Albert offered a harsh assessment of CPS—and of his sister's culturally, intellectually, and spiritually "barren" (and racist) home. He declared that his CPS experience had been "the most frustrating of my life, the most unproductive and absolutely wasted.... C.P.S. to me has a thousand unpleasant memories to every pleasant one."[231] Anxiety over his leg and dissatisfaction over his sister's sterile bourgeois life no doubt contributed to this hostile assessment. In another letter penned several weeks later from Maine—where he had begun his new social work position—Albert offered a decidedly more upbeat judgment on CPS.[232] On balance, Albert's wartime letters and other writing demonstrate that, with several exceptions, he considered CPS—and his contribution to the program—to be important and significant.

Epilogue and Conclusion

In the postwar era, Frank and Albert resumed their social work careers. After working for a year as a child welfare worker in Roswell, New Mexico, Frank took a better-paying job as a psychiatric social worker with the Veterans' Administration in Pueblo, Colorado. In 1951, he transferred to the VA Hospital—a psychiatric institution—in Fort Lyon, Colorado. Christine, who resumed her career, taught music in the public schools and gave private piano lessons. Besides Sally Lou, Frank and Christine had two more children, Susan Christine and Lawrence Edwards. Frank retired in 1976. Today, he and Christine live in a Mennonite retirement community in La Junta, Colorado.[233]

In 1977, Frank and Christine traveled to Germany and Austria with the Pueblo Colorado Symphony Orchestra. While there, they visited Friedrich Metz, Frank's old pen pal, who showed them the sights. A German newspaper published an account of their long correspondence, their service in opposing armies, Metz's internment, and Frank's role in contacting his parents after the war. Interviewed for the story, Metz broke down and wept. Years later, two of Metz's children and their spouses visited Frank and Christine in Colorado.

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[230] Albert G. Dietrich to Geo[rge] W. Jarrett, 2 September 1946, AGD-NSBRO File.
[231] Albert Dietrich to Rick Lowenberg, 19 August 1946, AGD Papers.
[232] Albert Dietrich to Rick Lowenberg, 10 September 1946, AGD Papers.
[233] FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.

As Metz had never spoken to them about his wartime experiences, they listened intently to what Frank could tell them about their father.[234]

Albert devoted his postwar career to social work in Bangor, Maine. From 1947 to 1978, he served as the executive director of Family and Child Services. In 1947, Albert married Mary Miller, a medical student from Boston then doing her residency at Eastern Maine General Hospital. They settled in Orrington, a Bangor suburb, where Mary was a general practitioner for many years before becoming a campus doctor at the University of Maine. Albert and Mary had three children, Mary Louise (Mary Lou), David, and Mark. They built a summer camp in Harborside, Maine, where they docked their boat, the "Family Fling." Once their children were grown, they upgraded the camp and made it their permanent home. From his 1978 retirement until 1995, Albert had a private practice counseling DUIs (drunk drivers) referred by the courts. Albert died in June 2002.[235]

How do we explain Frank and Albert's divergent paths on war and peace? In the absence of complete biographies, their divergent paths are best explained by their different experiences in the half-decade before Pearl Harbor. Despite their close relationship and often parallel experiences through college, two events seem to have laid the basis for their divergent decisions on war and peace. In 1935, Frank visited Germany and witnessed the Nazi dictatorship firsthand. This experience led him to rethink his antiwar position and to endorse armed force to defeat Hitler. At the same time, Albert's relationship with the Penners, the pacifist Mennonite family with whom he boarded in Nebraska, and his active involvement there with the FOR, strengthened his pacifist convictions. In their letters, Frank and Albert made principled, reasonable, and thoughtful arguments in their debate on war and peace and the effectiveness of nonviolent opposition to armed aggression—a debate with continued relevance.

World War II GIs have been justly celebrated. According to Tom Brokaw, the citizen-soldiers comprising "the greatest generation" withstood the Great Depression, won the "Good War," and reformed postwar America. In the process, they preserved—and advanced—liberty, democracy, and progress at home and abroad.[236] Less well-known and uncelebrated, 18,000 COs re-

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[234] Ibid; German newspaper clipping (from *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*?], 31 August, 1977, FRD/CDD Papers.

[235] FRD/CDD to SHB, 15 June 2002.

[236] Brokaw (1998), especially xix-xx, xxx, 11-12. I have borrowed "citizen soldiers" from Ambrose (1997).

fused military service during World War II. Instead, they underwent prison terms or, like Albert, performed alternative civilian work in CPS. Unlike some radical pacifists, Albert did not engage in nonviolent direct action to protest the shortcomings of CPS, conscription, or racial discrimination. But, in CPS, he did participate in the MCC's foreign relief training program; he did volunteer for wartime and postwar overseas relief work with the MCC and UNRRA; and he did oppose Jim Crow and advocate nonviolent action to advance civil rights. In addition, by risking prison to honor conscience, Albert honored his own peaceful convictions, demonstrated personal integrity, and strengthened the civil liberties and human rights tradition in America.

No less than the citizen-soldiers celebrated by Tom Brokaw and Stephen Ambrose, COs fought for freedom, democracy, and social justice on the home front and overseas during and following the Second World War. They too are part of "the greatest generation." Unlike GIs, however, COs have been largely forgotten. Fifty years after World War II, Mulberry CPS COs organized a reunion. Because of cancer, Albert—one of these forgotten COs—could not attend. But in a written message to his fellow CPS veterans, he reflected on the significance of their collective pacifist stand:

> But what I do want to emphasize is my fervent belief that we C.P.S.'ers at the time of the Second World War made the right decision in becoming Conscientious Objectors. As time has gone on, the importance of that decision becomes more clear and more evident not only for each one of us, but as [an] example to society as a whole. The first and greatest challenge today is avoiding war and the other great challenges including eliminating famine, pollution, preventable diseases and population growth. We must build a sustainable future for all mankind. I think our decision many years ago to oppose war should be seen as a guide to a new world. I am encouraged by the number of people coming gradually to our point of view with a growing peace movement all around the world. So, I say to my C.P.S. colleagues, their spouses and friends, STAY FIRM, HOLD TIGHT TO YOUR BELIEFS, SPREAD PEACE AND HARMONY WHEREVER YOU GO."[237]

Both Frank R. Dietrich and Albert G. Dietrich—one through military service and the other through conscientious objection—promoted American, indeed global, ideals during World War II.

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[237] Al Dietrich to Stanley Voth, 13 September 1992, AGD Papers.

List of abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used when citing the Dietrich Correspondence, Frank and Christine Dietrich's communications with the author, and the author's interviews with other people.

AGD - Albert Giles Dietrich
AGD Papers - Albert G. Dietrich Papers
AGD-NSBRO File - Albert G. Dietrich NSBRO File
CDD - Christine Dickey Dietrich
Dietrich Correspondence - A. G. Dietrich & F. R. Dietrich Correspondence, 1939-46
FRD - Frank Ryall Dietrich
FRD/CDD - Frank R. Dietrich & Christine D. Dietrich Papers
NSBRO - National Service Board for Religious Objectors
SHB - Scott H. Bennett
SLD - Sally Louise Dietrich

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Sisterhood in a Time of War*

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Back home in Cambridge in early January 1969, I opened three weeks of mail—overdue bills, journal orders, movement newspapers, and fan mail. Some men's responses to our movement were encouraging. A GI based in Thailand wrote that he had read our journal in San Francisco and thought we were the only hope of saving the world, and wanted to know what he could do. I wrote and told him what I thought: he should desert the army and work for women's liberation.

Most of the letters were from women from all over the country, and Canada and Europe. One was from Margaret Randall, who described herself as an American poet and feminist living in Mexico. She sent several issues of *El Corno Emplumado/The Plumed Horn*, a bilingual literary quarterly she had started when she moved to Mexico in 1962. I had never heard of Margaret Randall at that time. She appeared enthusiastic about our journal and the women's liberation in general, but was preoccupied with her own precarious situation—following the student uprising of the previous October, all leftists were now targets of the Mexican government. Within a few months, she would have to escape into hiding and flee to Cuba where she remained for a decade, and where I would meet her in 1970.

Soon after my return, Cell 16 convened and we completed the second issue of our journal. I took it to the printer and it was ready a week later. Emblazoned in red on the off-white cover was its new name: *No More Fun And Games: A Journal of Female Liberation*. There were 128 pages with twenty-six items by ten authors listed in the table of contents, among them Mary Ann's piece on black women. Betsy's essay on man as an obsolete life form and one on radical men, Dana's on sisterhood and on male "oppression," and my sixteen-page essay, "Female Liberation as the Basis for Social Revolution." We had also published a nine-page group editorial titled "What Do You Women Want?" in response to the many questions we had received, in which we explained our organization rationale: "We all felt

* From *Outlaw Woman: A Memoir of the War Years, 1960-1975*, City Lights, 2001.

strongly that our movement must be grassroots, and emerge from the truth of our suffering. We wanted to set an example of what could be done."

Meanwhile, I grappled for a subject to present at the first southern women's conference, which would be held in Atlanta in early February. Anne Braden, a veteran white civil rights organizer and codirector with her husband, Carl, of the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF) had invited Abby, who asked me to go in her place. I finally wrote "Country Women," an autobiographical essay in which I revealed my own background in print for the first time. I felt I owed it to the women I might meet at the Atlanta conference, assuming that many of them would come from rural backgrounds of deprivation like my own

> In the farming community where I grew up, the distinction between male and female was absolute. But the women had none of the "privileges" of wealthy women. However, men had many of the privileges reserved for men only. For instances, women were expected to work in the fields doing heavy labor when needed, but men were never expected to do domestic work or care for the children. The care of the children was in the hands of women only. Women cared for one another while pregnant and in labor and helped each other with the care of the babies and children. In that way, children were raised "communally," but with women only sharing the labor.
>
> In some country families the women did dominate—perhaps more often than did the men. There was a division of labor based on sex, and totally separate spheres of responsibility. But since poor country men had no power outside the patriarchal family and there was no town government, there was no exteriorization of the patriarchal role. Many women ran farms, their husbands serving as sort of foremen. But in order to have such independence, the woman had to "have a man." "Old maids" and widows were powerless and considered tragic.
>
> In general, women talked as loudly and as much as men in mixed company, thought most activities were segregated. Any joke about women was met with a more biting joke about men, or the reverse. The women were not passive, nor were they expected to be "soft" and "maternal." They whipped their children, yelled at them, and demanded that they entertain themselves. But the men were now abstract figures; they were constantly present, in and out, living in crowded quarters with the family.
>
> The women basically treated the men as weaklings who needed to be kept in like to prevent them from deserting the family and from drinking. Generations of men moving off to the West leaving women in charge of farms and children made for very sturdy women but also for meandering men. I know my mother feared that my "cowboy" father would one day walk out or take to drinking. To the women, equality could only mean equal bondage. If they were to be tied to farm and work, the men should

be also. The men wanted the freedom to roam but they also wanted a family. They could not have both, and the women policed their behavior.

By the time I was born in 1938, many of these patterns were beginning to change, so that by the time I left home in 1955, the tenuous cultural patterns had been shattered…

In the late '40s and early '5os, many of the dirt farmers went to work in the cities at defense plants and moved off the land. My mother wanted to do that so she could have a refrigerator, a stove, running water, a bathroom, closets, things that all city people seemed to have even if they were very poor. My father refused to move to the city, but he did finally stop trying to make it farming and took a job driving a gas truck and other part-time jobs.

Then it was in the early fifties that movies and television invaded the culture, introducing new (urban, northern) patterns. The city people on the screen mystified the country folk, and they were humiliated in their ignorance and roughness. The women were embarrassed by the soft, white ladies in low-cut gowns with their jewels and high-heeled shoes when measured up against themselves—country women with their leathered, brown skin and muscles, drab work clothes, and heavy shoes. The men felt "more manly" toward to the soft-voiced, tender ladies on the screen than toward their own unsightly women.

The image of the male that Hollywood created was not very different from the country man, particularly the cowboy. The female image, however, was totally different from the country women's reality. They would have to change completely—physically and psychically. It didn't work. The sight of country women in rhinestones and platform heels and brief dresses over their muscular bodies was a pitiful one indeed And so the men left them (in fantasy) for Hollywood (the new West).

A smart country girl lies about her humble background when she goes to the city—that is, if she wants to catch a city man who will raise her status. So the poor country girl grows up in ignorance, destined to marry a poor farmer and live in relative poverty or to move into the post-wartime economy of urban employment, or she might get lucky and make it into a higher class through marriage (as I did). In any case, here identity will remain highly confused. Ashamed of her class status, she probably will not in her lifetime discover her caste status as a woman, though she is fully aware that she is subservient to the men of her class, who are just as poor. It took me many years to find out that I could never "make it" in this society, even if I excelled, because I was born female, not male.

The airplane took off from Boston for Atlanta after a two-hour delay due to snow. I wondered how I would recognize Anne Braden. When I asked her on the telephone, she'd said, "Don't worry. Movement people always recognize each other." I knew she did not mean the women's liberation

movement, but rather The Movement that had it source in the southern civil rights movement. I pondered the statement and wondered what characteristics in me would identify me as a movement person?

The plan landed, and I struggled with my bag containing not only 100 copies of my paper, but also 50 copies of the journal. I walked out at the end of the line of passengers and looked around. People waiting for arrivals paired off while other passengers walked toward the baggage claim. I searched the faces of people who passed by—masses going back and forth. No one stopped at my gate. Ten minutes passed. Dozens of passengers gathered at the gate to board the flight back to Boston. I didn't have a single phone number in Atlanta, and I didn't even know the location of the conference.

Then, out of the throng of people walking toward me from the main entrance, I picked one out: I knew it was Anne Braden. She walked directly to me.

"I was drinking coffee. Must have missed the announcement," she said.

I was amazed. How did she recognize me? How did I pick her out of the crowd? Anne was so ordinary looking—fiftyish, graying bobbed hair, wearing a plain gray wool skirt and sweater, comfortable shoes.

Anne chain-smoked while she drove. Her voice was soft, her accent deep southern, not the twang of the border South, like Oklahoma. She told me she was originally from the elite of Anniston, Alabama, near Birmingham, and she had joined the pre-civil rights movement during the forties when she was in college.

"That must have been hard for a young, white woman from the South during that time," I said.

"I can't say it was easy, but we had a lot more going for us in the South than we get credit for. There'd been a real big movement to free the Scottsboro boys a decade earlier."

I was embarrassed, but I asked: "Who were the Scottsboro boys?"

Anne didn't say what surely passed through her mind—you never heard of the Scottsboro case, and you're a histories?—but instead she explained.

"In 1931, in Scottsboro, Alabama—that's a mostly white town nearly to the Tennessee border—nine black teenage boys were accused of raping two white girls and were convicted by an all-white jury. Wasn't the first time—happened all the time. But a lot of depression-days organizing was going on back then, the sharecroppers union and all, so there was a big defense of the boys that got them free."

"What was the Sharecroppers Union?" I thought of my father, sharecropping during the depression, and wondered if he knew about that union.

"Black and white sharecroppers in the South joined together to fight for their rights to be treated fairly by the rich," she said.

"My father was a sharecropper in Oklahoma at that time. I guess that union didn't get there. His father had been a Wobbly, organizing sharecroppers when my father was young."

"Your daddy was a sharecropper and your grandpa a Wob? I'll be damned." I could tell that Anne thought she knew a lot about me from those facts, and that pleased me because not many leftists I met validated my sense of who I was.

Inside the church conference center, about a hundred women were clustered in pairs or small groups, all appearing to know each other. I noticed two age groups—Anne's generation of middle-aged women, and younger women in their twenties—representing the two waves of the civil rights movement in the South. Both age groups dressed conservatively in printed housedresses or fifties-style skirts and pullover sweaters. I was self-conscious in my army surplus garb and navy pea jacket.

I fingered the literature and found several papers on familiar subjects. There was a piece on the Grimke sisters—the daughters of a South Carolina slave owner who became militant feminists and abolitionists during the 1830s, and a paper on Mother Jones who, at the age of seventy, began organizing miners' wives and children in Appalachia, and was at the founding meeting of the Wobblies. When she was eighty-four, she joined the striking Wobbly miners in 1914 at Ludlow, Colorado, and was thrown in jail. There was another paper on the young white women who worked in southern textile mills, and one on Fannie Lou Hamer, the black Mississippi sharecropper who as a civil rights leader and founder of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party that had challenged LBJ and the Democratic Elite in 1964.

I sat down on one of the folding chairs that lined the wall. The woman next to me said, "Why, you must be Anne's friend from up North."

"I live in Boston but I'm from Oklahoma originally."

"Well, welcome home. I live in Louisville but I was raised up in the Tennessee coalfields. My daddy was a miner and a union man till he died last year—black lung. Half the women in the mining towns are black lung widows. Me and some others have started a campaign for health and safety." I told her that all my ancestors had come from Tenssee, and she remarker that we were probably cousins.

Anne walked up to us. "So you two met. I thought you'd get along, seeing as how you both come from union families. Did Roxanne tell you that her daddy

was a sharecropper and her granddaddy a Wobbly?" I felt guilty not mentioning how right wing and antiunion my father had become in his later years.

A tall, very thin, very young woman took Anne aside. They whispered and gestured, then they turned to me. Anne introduced Lyn Wells as "the best organizer in the history of the South, and still a teenager." Lyn shook my hand. She looked as if she had just stepped off a page of a 1950s issue of *Seventeen* magazine—she wore a long-sleeved, white cotton, high-necked Victorian Blouse, a wool tartan skirt below the knees, and penny loafers. Her Honey-colored hair was long but carefully waved.

"I turn twenty tomorrow, a sad day. And don't forget I'm a high school dropout. Hey, I've got to go to the airport to pick up Marilyn Webb. I'll be back by lunch. You're coming to lunch with us, Roxanne," Lyn said.

Anne told me that Lyn's father was from rural Virginia, a trade unionist who fell in love with a union secretary from Washington, D.C. Lyn was the only child of the couple—the mother college-educated, Jewish, the father an unschooled workingman. Lyn was a "red-diaper baby," raised in the movement. "Lyn's bound and determined to prove that the southern white working class can be organized and can become anti-racist."

Anne said that Lyn was one of the main officers of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) that had formed to support the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). SSOC was based in Nashville but Lyn travelled all over the south organizing white students and working-class youth.

I had met Marilyn Webb at the Sandy Springs women's liberation gathering that Dana and I crashed back in August when we stormed in and ranted about Valerie Solanas and the *S.C.U.M. Manifesto*. Given my performance there, I thought Marilyn might shun me, but she was friendly at our lunch meeting with Lyn. She had been invited to represent SDS women and to speak at the plenary session of the conference. She and Lyn talked about people and events with which I was unfamiliar, mentioning "Tom" and "Rennie," and the machinations of the Maoist Progressive Labor Party (PL), which was trying to take over the southern student organization as well as SDS. Women's liberation did not seem to be on either Lyn or Marilyn's mind.

Then Marilyn told a story about speaking at an antiwar rally in Washington, D.C., the month before.

"Men started yelling, 'Take her off the stage and fuck her.'"

"What did you do?

"I just kept talking."

I looked at Marilyn in her tiny leather miniskirt and high boots, her carefully made-up face and hair, and wondered why she continued to dress in a

way that seemed to invite that kind of response. But I censored the thought because I believed that ideally, women should be free from harassment no matter how we dressed.

I chose an afternoon workshop on strategies for a southern women's liberation movement. Several dozen women sat in a circle. They asked many questions about Cell 16 and the burgeoning women's liberation movement in the North. Some had read my paper on country women—Anne had put all the copies out on the information table—and many had bought copies of the journal. I feared that the southern women would be put off by my militancy but they were not. I read some passages from the *S.C.U.M. Manifesto* to laughter and applause. I felt good and comfortable with those women. I talked about women as a caste. One woman asked if I had read Casey Hayden and Mary King's internal SNCC document on women as a caste, which I hadn't, and I felt frustrated at the kind of movement elitism that keeps so much within its own ranks, making it unavailable to anyone outside the closed circle.

The evening feature *Salt of the Earth*, Herbert Biberman's film made during the height of the McCarthy witch-hunt era; the film had been banned, and Biberman blacklisted. It was based on the true story of a miners' strike in Silver City, New Mexico, in 1950. As the repression against the strikers intensified, the men and women had reversed their traditional roles. An injunction against male strikers moved the women to take over the picket line, leaving the men to domestic duties. The women were transformed from men's subordinates into their allies and equals.

The story was inspiring, but to me its message was clear—women could only be liberated in the process of workers' struggles, and apparently only as wives of workers, not workers themselves. In 1969, the job categories dominated by women—service, domestic, erotic, electronics assembly, and many others—were not even considered as potential territory for labor organizing, and women were barred from most skilled-labor jobs.

To end the evening program, a movement folk singer, Anne Romasc, sang familiar church hymns and the old folk songs I'd grown up with, but with different words, the ones written by Wobbly Joe Hill and the Dust Bowl troubadour, Woody Guthrie. I was thrilled with the working-class emphasis of the southern women, but I was also disturbed by their belief that racism and male chauvinism were only products of capitalism and the ruling-class false consciousness that would disappear with the triumph of the poor, black and white together. I felt they were not realistic about the roots of working-class white supremacy and patriarchy.

I disagreed even more with their interpretation of U.S. history; that a great democratic republic was founded with the American Revolution and that U.S. history was a process of struggle for incorporation into that original idea. Theft of the continent from its original inhabitants was not mentioned, nor was the slaughter of the Indians and the annexation of half of Mexico, nor was the fact that women had been suppressed long before capitalism. It seemed that, from their point of view, African slavery and the racial segregation that endured after slavery ended had been the only historical barrier on the road to inevitable socialism and women's liberation.

After the conference, Lyn Wells took me to the SSOC house to spend the night. I asked her about the SNCC document on women I'd heard about, and she readily found a copy for me to read. It was titled "Sex and Caste: A Kind of Memo from Casey Hayden and Mary King toa Number of Other Women in the Peace and Freedom Movements: November 18, 1965." My eyes fell to the second paragraph:

> Sex and caste: there seem to be many parallels that can be drawn between treatment of Negroes and treatment of women in our society as a whole. But in particular, women we've talked to who work in the movement seem to be caught up in a common-law caste system that operates, sometimes subtly, forcing them to work around or outside hierarchical structures of power which may exclude them. Women seem to be placed in the same position of assumed subordination in personal situations too. It is a caste system, which, at its worst, uses and exploits women.

Breathlessly, I read through the whole paper, but my heart sank when I reached the last paragraph: "Objectively, the chances seem nil that we could start a movement based on anything as distant to general American thought as a sex-caste system. Therefore, most of us will probably want to work full time on problems such as war, poverty, race."

The statement ended with a pitiful plea for better treatment of women within the movement.

"What happened with this?" I asked Lyn.

"Nothing. Oh, they read it in a meeting. That's when Stokely Carmichael supposedly made the infamous remark that the only position for women in the movement was prone," she said.

"Of course, I know about that. We quoted him in the first issue of the journal," I said.

"Stokely didn't say that at the meeting, but at a party afterward. He was joking. Mary King said Stokely was more supportive than most of the men, black or white," she said.

But I wondered what had prevented those two strong women from striking out and launching a women's movement four years earlier, and what effect it would have had on me and on the radical movement, had we had the opportunity to read their statement when it was written. I guessed that they hadn't insisted on women's liberation then for the same reason I had not—fear of losing the respect of their men and of being accused of self-indulgence and racism.

"Here's another paper that might interest you. Have you seen it?" Lyn handed me a copy of the SDS's *New Left Notes*, dated July 10, 1967. I hadn't seen it.

> The following analysis of women's role came out of the Women's Liberation workshop… We call for all programs which will free women from their traditional roles in order that we may participate with all of our resources and energies in meaningful and creative activity. The family unit perpetuates the traditional role of women and the autocratic and paternalistic role of men. Therefore, we must seek new forms that will allow children to develop in an environment which is democratic and where the relationships between people are those of equal human beings.

Written by SDS secretary Bernardine Dohrn, the article called for communal child care centers staffed equally by men and women. It called for dissemination of birth control information and devices, demanded legalized abortion, and demanded that SDS deal with their male chauvinism.

"Why are movement women so evasive or secretive about women's liberation when they are so conscious of it?" I asked. Bernardine Dohrn, who I thought of as flamboyantly sexy and male-identified, was now the head of SDS, and she had publicly denounced women's liberation as a bourgeois distraction.

"We're afraid of splitting the movement and playing into the hands of the enemy by exploiting the division between women and men. First, we're divided by black and white, now this PL factionalism. One more division and the movement will be dead," Lyn said.

"But women may be able to enliven and transform the movement. Why suppress women's liberation? You support Black Power," I said.

"That's where you women libbers and we movement women differ." Lyn's words stung me and made me again feel like an outsider, not accepted in the movement.

Lyn put on a record, and I heard the words, "Let him sing me back home a song I used to hear. Make my old memories come alive. Sing me away and turn back the year. Sing me home before I die."

"Who is that singing Merle Haggard's song?" I asked. Lyn said it was from a new record album by the Everly Brothers called *Roots*.

"The Everly Brothers!" I exclaimed in wonder. They were popular in my own teenage years in Oklahoma, with their wildly popular cute versions of "Bye, Bye, Love" and "Wake Up, Little Suzie." But the new album was something else. The brothers, who were my age, had discovered their roots. The family had, like so many rural, white Appalachians, migrated to Chicago's South Side when the boys were young. On the album were their own new songs telling that story, and covers of old favorites, like "T for Texas, T for Tennessee," and also covers of two Merle Haggard songs, "Sing Me Back Home" and "Mama Tried." It was hard to believe these were the same Everly Brothers and it was profoundly meaningful to me. Then Lyn put on a new Merle Haggard single, "Hungry Eyes."

> A canvas covered cabin in a crowded labor camp
> stand out in this memory I revived
> cause my daddy raised a family there
> with two hard working hands
> and tried to feed my mama's hungry eyes.
> He dreamed of something better there
> and my mama's faith was strong
> and us kids were just to young to realize
> that another class of people put us somewhere just below;
> One more reason for my mama's hungry eyes.
> Mama never had the luxuries she wanted
> But it wasn't cause my daddy didn't try
> She only wanted things she really needed;
> One more reason for my mama's hungry eyes.
> I can still recall my mama's hungry eyes.

"Merle Haggard's from a Dust Bowl Okie family, Bakersfield," Lyn said.

"I know, I feel like he's singing my life," I said. The record played through the night. I lay awake for a long time thinking about what Lyn had said, feeling hurt. There *would* be a women's liberation movement. Nothing could stop it. But I realized that without the social consciousness and organizing experience of movement radicals, the women's liberation movement would not be able to maintain an anti-imperialist, anti-racist, and anti-capitalist framework.

I decided to forge a closer relationship with the New Left, as it seemed to me necessary to transform the already existing movement, not to separate from it. In late February, soon after returning from Atlanta, I had the opportunity to meet Bernardine Dohrn. After my week in Atlanta, I had come to believe that Bernardine was the single most important movement leader to win over to the women's liberation movement.

Up to then, my relationship with the SDS had been sporadic, distant, and limited. Early on during my four years at UCLA, the predominant radical student group had been the DuBois Club, which was a creation of the Soviet-affiliated U.S. Communist Party. It was not that visible on campus, limited by their obvious ties to the CP and their unwillingness to recruit anyone with the slightest imagination. (They did, however, manage to recruit more than their of FBI informers and promote them to top positions.) By definition, the term "New Left" implied an "old Left," and that old left included a number of Left formations, but the CP had been the primary organization on the U.S. Left since its founding soon after the Russian revolution in 1917. Naturally, the CP/DuBois Club was hostile to SDS—the founding organizations of the "New Left"—at first, but as SDS gained credibility with active chapters, the CP assigned its DuBois Club members to SDS at UCLA, as well as on other campuses. But so did another communist party, the Progressive Labor Party (PL), which had been founded by dissident CP leaders at the time of the split between Mao's China and Khrushchev's USSR in the early sixties.

The Progressive Labor Party, being as mistrustful of independent thinking as their adversaries in the CP, also managed to recruit FBI informers, so that between the CP and PL, the FBI controlled SDS at UCLA, and it never grew there as it did on Midwestern and eastern campuses. In my own political work at UCLA, I had mostly ignored SDS and was involved in anti-apartheid and anti-racist work and labor organizing of graduate students. The year after I left UCLA, it became a real cauldron of political activity, but even then the thrust came not from SDS, but rather from African-American and Chicano students who were linking campus issues to their home communities in South Central and East L.A. I worked with more New Left thinkers and organizers in London during the summer of 1967 than in all my years at UCLA.

Once on the East Coast, I became well acquainted with the New Left and, of course, I met New Left women—Marilyn Webb, Rosalyn Baxandall, Carol Hanish, Judith Brown, Linda Gordon, Meredith Tax, Sue Munaker, and many others—in the women's liberation movement. Their complaints about male radicals matched my own experiences in London, but I had no

idea how pronounced male supremacy was in the New Left until those first few months of 1969, in Boston.

The national SDS office was in Chicago, but I met Bernardine at Abby's house in Cambridge while she was on a fund-raising mission. Abby had long funded SDS anti-war and anti-poverty organizing, but this was the first time she would be considering an SDS request for money since she had joined our women's liberation group. She had questions for Bernardine, and she invited me to be there to assist her in asking them and to possibly influence Bernardine to support the women's liberation movement.

I prepared a collection of our flyers, pamphlets, and the two issues of the journal to give to Bernardine. Recently, she had attacked the women's movement in an article, writing that it was bourgeois, unconcerned with working-class women, and racist. She accused women's liberation of focusing only on sexual exploitation and consumerism without analyzing the causes of oppression or accurately identifying the enemy—capitalism and imperialism. I thought Bernardine's criticism were true of some women's groups and individuals—some *were* middle-class and self-indulgent; but it seemed to me that most of the women who joined our group immediately adopted anti-imperialist and anti-racist perspectives if they didn't already have them. I knew that was largely due to my own perspective, and I felt more leaders of like thinking would have to form a critical mass in the growing women's movement. I regarded Bernardine as a potential ally in this struggle, though I was suspicious of her motivations for eschewing the women's liberation movement, thinking that perhaps she feared sacrificing her privilege of being "one of the boys," the sort of queen of a male fraternity, as the first and only female SDS national officer.

"How do you explain your comments on women's liberation as bourgeois bullshit?" Abby asked Bernardine.

"Everywhere I travel SDS chapters have shrunk, and most of the work have left and formerd women's groups," Bernardine said.

"Did it occur to you that women's liberation might be more revolutionary than SDS?" Abby asked. Berardine laughed, but Abby didn't mean her question as a joke and she glowered. Bernardine squirmed.

"Look, I have to drive to Chicago tonight and I'm exhausted. I don't want to debate the woman question," Bernardine said, serious now.

"No one in SDS does. Women's liberation is too real. SDS has become one big, dreary, male power play," Abby said. They argued and Abby read Bernardine passages from my essay, "Female Liberation as the Basis for Social Revolution."

I took over from Abby, explaining that patriarchy reproduced itself in every institution formed in the society, including SDS, and including every male-female sexual relationship. I said that there would not be a socialist revolution in the United States or anywhere until women were free, autonomous, and leading the movement. I angrily said, "It's not about self-indulgence, and if you're really a revolutionary, you'll pay attention. Female liberation is about revolution."

Bernadine left empty-handed, promising to read the materials and get back to us, but she never did.

There was a young man with Bernardine who was acting as her driver and bodyguard that night. Homer drove a cab for a living, so he wore a Yellow Cab cap. Standing in Abby's doorway for two hours, he looked altogether like a working stiff, dressed in dungarees, a wool plaid shirt neatly tucked in, a wide belt, and a bomber jacket. His hair was unfashionably short. I would soon discover that this was the SDS male style. The day after the meeting, he called to invite me to a dinner party.

Homer had been in the Boston area only since his return from Hanoi a few months earlier, and he had been sleeping on friends' couches, not certain he would stay. Before his mission to Hanoi to bring back U.S. POWs that the North Vietnamese would hand over only to SDS, he had worked in New Jersey in one of the SDS community organizing projects. Before that he had been a student at Swarthmore College and one of the authors, along with Tom Hayden, Al and Barbara Haber, and a handful of others, of SDS's 1962 Port Huron Statement, which separated the organization from its parent body that was headed by Michael Harrington. The young white men and women at Port Huron declared: "We regard men [sic] as infinitely precious and possessed of unfulfilled capacities for reason, freedom and love." No longer a student offshoot of a liberal, anti-communist, labor-based institution, SDS took off as a radical, decentralized movement of young, mostly white students who had been transformed by the black student movement in the South. By 1969, SDS could boast 100,000 members.

I wanted to know everything Homer knew about Vietnam from his visit there, especially about Nguyen Thi Binh, the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) woman who was now their negotiator in Paris. He said he had met her, that she headed the women's organization. Then he told me a story he had heard from her about thousands of Vietnamese girls forced into prostitution under French occupation. When Madame Binh set up the National Liberation Front's women's organization, she established a priority for caring for prostitutes. The way in which Madame Binh went about it was to develop a

program to take the women to the countryside. Cadre from the women's organization catered to the prostitutes. They cooked, washed, cleaned, bathed them, washed their hair and combed it, as if they were children. They even gave the prostitutes dolls to play with. Madame Binh's theory was that those women had been so mistreated and bore such scars that they were dead inside. They had to be born again, to go through the childhood they had never enjoyed. Then the women's organizations arranged for them to be trained as nurses, secretaries, soldiers, mechanics—whatever they chose to do—and found jobs and homes for them and their children.

Homer's entire adult life had been spent in the movement. After high school, he had jumped into the southern civil rights movement, SDS, and anti-Vietnam War activities. I envied his early and constant involvement in the movement. When he joined SDS in 1963, I had been married for five years and had a ten-month-old baby, and had just read *The Second Sex*. I told Homer of my envy and he challenged it.

"Well it's six of one and half dozen of the other. You have life experience and I have movement experience. I respect your kind of experience more than mine," he said.

But I knew better. I knew that I had missed that moment of the coming together of the "beloved community" of the civil rights movement, when white and black, men and women lived and worked under the threat of death and forged a bond of love and a vision of what a future society might be like. Even though it had proven short-lived, I longed to have had that experience.

Homer was the first person from inside the movement I'd gotten to know well so far, and he explained and demonstrated to me that the movement was haphazard, that much of what went on resulted from personal power plays, just like mainstream politics. I asked him how he and others were "chose" to travel to Hanoi and was shocked when he told me that Tom Hayden had selected him, he believed, because Tom was trying to make up for having stolen his girlfriend. I was determined to see to it that women's liberation would lead in a new and democratic direction that was not yet being realized. Homer was equally committed to that goal in his antiwar work.

Soon Homer moved into the extra room in our flat. He and Hannah were instant buddies. I joined Homer on the editorial collective of the *Ole Mole*, the local radical monthly. Together we studied the civil rights movement, the history of the U.S. Communist Party in the thirties, the Wobblies, and Rosa Luxemburg's critiques of authoritarianism. We studied Lenin and plowed into Marx's writings on the Paris Commune and Irish question, and then we took on the Third World revolutions, especially China. From our

conclusions, we wrote a long essay, "The Movement and the Working Class," that was published by the New England Free Press.

We spend many nights in the basement that contained the *Ole Mole* machinery, getting the paper out and hanging out in Noam Chomsky's MIT office, talking for hours. Noam was only forty years old then, but seemed a wise sage with vast knowledge beyond his academic field of linguistics, He provided concrete historical examples of how we might organize for a new society—the Spanish anarchist collectives of the1930s and the Jewish kibbutz movement in Palestine before the establishment of the state of Israel.

By that winter of the 1969, SDS was near its dissolution, which would effectively occur in June. The writing was on the wall in Cambridge, where the progressive Labor Party, under the banner of "Worker-Student Alliance," was close to dominating the Harvard SDS chapter. Beleaguered New Left radicals clustered around the *Ole Mole*, the Boston Draft Resistance Group, and other dynamic projects off campus, fighting to salvage SDS.

PL's call for students to ally themselves with workers had attracted much of the SDS membership, but now PL had taken to condemning the Vietnamese for selling out to imperialism because they were engaged in peace negotiations with eh United States. Yet Vietnam's demands were absolute—withdrawal of all U.S. personnel and reunification of Vietnam, demands from which they never wavered until they won them in 1975.

At the national SDS meeting in June, Dohrn would expel PL, but not all the anti-PLers went along with her Weatherman faction. Rather, they split into two factions—Revolutionary Movement I and II—with one faction following Bernadine and a smaller faction following former SDS president Mike Klonsky and Lyn Wells, who had recently dissolved SSOC to avoid a PL takeover.

By 1969, PL had become as ossified and authoritarian as the CP. I considered myself a Maoist in terms of viewing national liberation of the Third World from Europe and the United States as the primary task at hand, but I had little interest in the internal workings of Russia or China, or any other country except for the United States. I was simply interested in adapting whatever might be useful to make a revolution in the United States.

I was not prepared to take sides in the SDS dispute until I saw it for myself. I thought the worker-student alliance concept was important, but I had witnessed and experienced PL disruptive and rote behavior and couldn't take them seriously. For instance, PL women would disrupt women's liberation events, yelling "Is Jacqueline Onassis oppressed?" Between Abbie Hoffman's YIPPIE antics for media attention at one end of the scale and puritanical and rigid PL at the other end, the ground seemed to have disappeared, which led me to an even deeper

commitment to the women's liberation movement. Perhaps it was similar frustrations that led others to choose to go underground not long after.

For a moment it appeared that SDS at Harvard would emerge united, based on their actions that led to a campus takeover in early April. Both SDS factions joined the occupation and gained the sympathy of much of the student body and faculty. Homer and I volunteered to hide "expropriated" university documents that proved Harvard's complicity with corporations and the U.S. State Department and the Pentagon. But once the occupation ended, as well as the school year, the factions were at each other's throats again, and two months later at the SDS national meeting, SDS disintegrated in chaos.

In early April 1969, I was christened as a movement speaker. The occasion was the first antiwar rally organized by the Springfield chapter of the Movement from a Democratic Society, a new national organization made up of older, post-student SDS members. Homer had been invited to speak about his trip to Hanoi, but he insisted that I speak instead, on the need for women's liberation in order to eradicate militarism and imperialism.

The organizers had expected a turnout of hundreds but Mother Nature had intervened and brought torrential rain that was expected to turn to snow in the evening. We were preaching to a small choir. I stood on the flatbed of a truck with icy rain pounding on my back. I gazed at the men and women who mingled, ankle deep in mud. I couldn't see their faces or forms—they were all draped in hooded rain gear or huddled under umbrellas. Homer held an umbrella over my head.

David Dellinger, one of Homer's mentors, spoke about the Vietnam War. He was also one of the Chicago Seven defendants charged with criminal conspiracy stemming from the Chicago police riot at the Democratic Convention the summer before. He had been in jail hundreds of times for civil disobedience, but this was the most serious charge against him in his lifetime of pacifism. I had heard him speak at one of the UCLA Vietnam teach-ins three years before, and although I did not share the pacifist philosophy, I was in awe of Dellinger and found it hard to believe that I was now sharing the stage with him. I was the next speaker.

When we first arrived and I observed the small turnout, I assumed the rally would be canceled and we would all go someplace warm to talk. But that option seemed not to have occurred to anyone. When I suggested it—party having "cold feet" from more than the weather—Dave Dellinger said something I never forgot: "Never cancel a rally or a meeting. That's the golden rule of the movement. If even 1 person has troubled to come, carry on as if there are 1,000. Every individual counts and bearing witness counts.

As Dave spoke of his trip to Hanoi, I shook from the cold, but also in fear. I had never spoken about women's liberation in any other context other than women's liberation. Dave's voice carried through the bullhorn, but I feared that mine would not. No wonder the status of a Wobbly had depended on volume in the days before loudspeakers—Mother Jones, Emma Goldman, Big Bill Haywood, grandfather—all of them bellowed like opera singers. My turn came, I took the heavy megaphone and began to speak. The fear drained from my body.

> The Vietnam War is our generation's Indian war. There's an Indian war every generation to validate and confirm the twin original sins of this country—genocide against the Indians and African slavery. It's a pattern buttressed by entrenched patriarchy in which every white man can feel he is participant and a beneficiary. Patriotism is the public expression of patriarchy—the control of women, peasants, and nature. Women's Liberation is the most important, the most revolutionary social force to appear in the long history of resistance to oppression, exploitation, colonialism, racism, and imperialism. Always before, well-meaning, angry and dedicated males have risen up to slay the fathers, but always they have merely replaced. This time the chain of patriarchy will be broken. The Vietnamese resistance occurs within this new consciousness of the female principle of life. It is no accident. A Vietnamese victory against the temple of patriarchy, U.S. imperialism, will make of the empire a Humpty-Dumpty. Women's Liberation will determine the structures of the new society and the character of the new human being.

I hear applause. Dave shook my hand and Homer hugged me.

That day was the beginning of the work that would ultimately take me out of the confines of the women's liberation movement context. It was also the first occasion on which I attracted the attention of the FBI, or at least it's the first item contained in my bulky FBI file, with the notation: "Roxanne Dunbar: Dunbar represented the Female Liberation Movement (FLM) when she addressed a Rally for Peace on April 16, 1969 at Springfield, Massachusetts."

Then I met the Vietnamese. Ten miles south of Montreal was a former dairy farm that an American pacifist couple had converted to a conference center. It was only a few miles from the U.S. border at Vermont, and an easy drive from New York and Boston. There, representatives of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front and the North Vietnamese government, who were not allowed into the Unites States, could meet with U.S. antiwar activists. Similar meetings took place in Toronto and Vancouver.

The meeting was organized by women, not feminists—not yet anyways—but women peace activists. The Vietnamese guests were three National Liberation Front women representatives and their three male interpreters. The

one-day meeting was billed as a women-to-women dialogue about the war, but men were also welcomed. Of course, Homer had been invited. Inside what had once been a dairy barn was a makeshift theater. The Vietnamese were already on stage, ready to begin when we arrived. Homer ran up to them—one of the interpreters had been his interpreter in Hanoi.

I had never seen a Vietnamese in person, and I was overwhelmed with emotion. Here were representatives of the valiant people who were defeating the biggest war machine in human history, defying the magic of money and technology. It gave me hope and optimism to know that these people made sacrifices to fight for a noble cause, to know that David could still resist Goliath, that peasants in rice fields could bring down million-dollar fighter planes.

The Vietnamese women made long, formal presentations through the interpreters. They explained the current war situation in detail. They said that the Vietnamese people would fight on forever for freedom, that they had been fighting invaders for centuries, and that although American technology killed peasants and destroyed cities and ancient forests, it would never defeat the Vietnamese fight for independence and freedom. They did not mention women except in reference to rape.

During the discussion period, the Vietnamese women responded to questions about women by describing their work organizing for women for "patriotic and anti-imperialist" duties, about women's bravery and "contributions" in all aspects of the war effort, including being guerillas, about how important it was for us American women—as mothers, sisters, and wives of U.S. soldiers—to love our soldiers and to save their lives by ending war so they could return home. They emphasized that Vietnamese people harbored no hatred for the soldiers or the American people and that they depended on American mothers, especially, to stop the war.

When questions regarding sexuality or male chauvinism arose, the Vietnamese women were reticent, even shy, and did not respond. They discussed the widespread problem of prostitution left by the French colonialists and how the NLF women's section had set about to reform the women—the story Homer had told me. An American woman asked about lesbians and was met with hisses from the audience. The Vietnamese women appeared not to understand the question, and when it was presumably explained more explicitly, they giggled shyly and evaded the question.

Toward the end of the long day, an older woman asked how we might help and where to send money. The NLF women said they did not need American money. It seemed to me that the Vietnamese perceived that giv-

ing money was a means for people in the United States to absolve guilt, easier than mobilizing the population and changing U.S. government policy.

As we drove back to Boston, Homer related a story about Tran, his guide in Hanoi. As a teenager in the early 1950s, Tran had fought as a guerilla in Ho Chi Minh's forces against the French. After the French withdrew from the north in 1954, he was sent south to organize clandestinely in a provincial capital. Tran was from a middle-class Saigon family and had never lived in the provinces, so he had to figure out how to blend in. The town's main enterprise was the production of Western clothing for export so he worked as an apprentice to a tailor. For five years, Tran organized a trade union of tailors. After 1960, when the NLF was well established in the south, he began recruiting individuals from the town to join. By the time he left, after organizing alone for twelve years, all the tailors and their families were allied with the National Liberation Front. Tran claimed that was why the Americans would never defeat the NLF; because he was only one among thousands who organized in that manner.

That story, like many others I'd heard—the tunnels and underground factories, the booby traps—inspired me. I, too, wanted to dig deep roots in a community, but our enemy wasn't an invading foreign power, rather, it was our own government. Our task as revolutionaries in the United States seemed more urgent because our government, with the tacit support of U.S. citizens, was hurting so many people around the world. We had to stop it—it felt like there was no time for the long haul. The Vietnamese, the Third World, could not survive our wars against them and possible nuclear war in the meantime. So I didn't apply the lessons of Vietnam to my choices, but rather thought only in terms of how to stop the U.S. military machine. This kind of panicked thinking was shared by many of us then, and it led to the kind of disastrous short-term actions that began to characterize the antiwar movement.

Cell 16 met the day after I returned from Montreal. I was vibrant with excitement and started telling them about Vietnamese women.

"You know this meeting is about planning for the conference?" Dana asked. We were organizing a New England regional women's liberation conference for Mother's Day weekend.

"I took flyers to Montreal and gave them out to women from New England," I said.

"That's not the point. You've worked on the conference but your mind is somewhere else. You're drifting away from the group and from women's liberation, Roxanne," Abby said.

"You haven't been to Tae Kwan Do class for weeks," Jayne said. Jayne was nineteen, our youngest member, and was now our Tae Kwan Do teacher. She was right—I hadn't even been practicing.

"Is this about Homer? All of you have your private lives, too." I heard the defensive tone in my voice.

"But our private lives are private. Your private life with Homer is public." Dana said. It was true. I had been drifting away from the group, moving increasingly into Homer's world and work. I spent more time at the *Ole Mole* than in the Cell 16 office.

"I don't want to see women's liberation become a tool of the system to divert attention away from ending the war and the struggle against racism, and there are movement men like Homer who are our allies," I said.

"You sound like Bernardine. Don't you see that's the goal of all of us? But to do that, women's liberation must be woman-centered, with women's oppression the priority. It's your own analysis," Dana said.

The meeting ended without resolution. I felt rejected, unappreciated, defensive and threatened. When Homer returned from his shift driving the cab, I related the experience.

"They're right. From now on we'll focus on women's liberation, and discuss what we do together publicly with the whole group," I said. Homer agreed.

Poor Homer. He wanted to promote women's liberation and work with men to struggle against their male chauvinism but feminists resented him. On the other hand the moniker "pussy-whipped" hissed from some mouths of male radicals when they spoke of Homer's "New political direction." But he didn't flinch in his commitment to making women's liberation central to his work.

I got back to work with Cell 16, filling orders for the journal, planning public meetings, Tae Kwan Do practice, and street hawking. And then the perfect issue arose to help me refocus my energies.

A man named Antone Costa, whom the papers said "lived a hippy-style life," was charged with the murders of an untold number of women, a gruesome story that replaced the Vietnam War and antiwar protests on the front page of the *Boston Globe*. Dismembered bodies of a number of women had been discovered and dug up on Cape Cod as the snow melted. The headlines screamed: "More Slain Girls!" Arms, legs, heads, and "torsos slashed in the pelvic region," were found around the town of Truro. The body parts didn't add up to the complete bodies. The police reported that flesh had been chewed off the bones on the arms and legs and that the hearts had been cut out of the bodies and were missing entirely.

The newspaper reported that women were terrified to go outside their homes, and police advised them not to go out without a man. It was reported that Radcliffe "girls" had invited Harvard "men" over to spend the night and protect them; the men said they were delighted to do so. We were told that 2,000 to 3,000 females were missing across the United States, and the newspaper rehashed other mass and murders of women.

In Cell 16, we were enraged with the reportage as well as with the reality of these crimes against women. Surrounded by the newspaper accounts, and full of anger, Dana and I wrote a leaflet we titled "More Slain Girls," and our whole group fanned out over the Boston area, posting it and handing it out on the streets.

MORE SLAIN GIRLS

Antone Costa's is not an exceptional case. True, disembodied limbs and heads are not discovered daily, but they exist in nearly every man's fantasy. How could it be otherwise, given the objectification of women? Constantly we see parts of her—head, breasts, legs. She is the goddess-toy, play bunny to be manipulated—a cutout doll.

In fact, it is not just fantasy. Women are attacked, raped, cut-up, chewed upon, slashed in the "pelvic region," have their hearts removed (and eaten?), strangled, impaled in the vagina with brooms. And the newspapers make more money.

We hear a lot from men about how they have to protect women. From whom? Other women? And if women so much as suggest that they are going to begin defending themselves, the men accuse them of wanting to kill them, cut them up. It must be that they have a guilty conscience, recognizing in themselves the pervert they imagine to be after "their woman," and who often is, in fact.

We read in the papers that there are 2000-3000 missing females in the United States, and that there are probably more dismembered bodies planted around Truro.

All this sounds like the lynching of Blacks, though it is universally regarded as merely natural misfortune. The only lesson to be drawn from the "tragedy" is that women should not venture out unprotected—that is unescorted by a man. Which, in fact, was the rationale of the lynch mob or individual murder of Blacks—that any "nigger" without a master was free game.

The argument usually given in explanation for sex crimes is that the assailant was probably sexually repressed, had no access to a "normal" relationship with "his own woman." Women are so hungry for love in this sick society that it's not that hard to get "normal" women to go to bed with a man. Almost any man has access to "free" love and all men can get it for money.

> The sex criminals don't want a "normal" relationship with a woman. They want the brutality, the dismemberment, in reality, not just in fantasy.
>
> The guilt is not on women for denying normal outlets to men. The guild is on society for permitting the objectification of women and the cultivation in men of an attitude of brutality toward. It is "Manly" to "treat 'em rough." Pornographic movies and novels play up to men's sadistic fantasies.
>
> This whole mystique must be destroyed. We must learn to fight back. It must become as dangerous to attack a woman as to attack another man. We will not be raped! We will not be chewed upon! We will not be slashed! We will not be "treated rough" by any man, "brute" or pervert. We will not be leered at, smirked at, or or whistled at by men enjoying their private fantasies of rape and dismemberment.
>
> WATCH OUT—MAYBE YOU'LL FINALLY MEET
> A REAL CASTRATING FEMALE
> Female Liberation.

I also threw myself into organizing the New England Regional Female Liberation Conference, to be held of Mother's Day. Planning for the conference galvanized Cell 16 and strengthened our ties with other women in the Boston area, especially the New Left women and students in the many women's colleges. By that time, several dozen women had become aligned with Cell 16 at some level, and many more used our journal and other writing in forming new women's groups. Two of our new student members from Emmanuel College, a Catholic women's school in Boston, had arranged for the conference to be held on their campus.

In addition to Cell 16, women from the draft resistance movement, SDS, National Welfare Rights, and independent students were invited to help with the organizing and to propose workshops. Each workshop was to be autonomous, and there were no plenary meetings, except for the Tae Kwan Do participatory workshop that Abby and Jayne organized. The *Ole Mole* devoted the cover and nearly the whole of the May 9-22 issue to the conference. I wrote an article for it, "Organization and Leadership," in which I explained how the conference had been organized, criticizing the usual New Left style:

> The decision to hold a female liberation regional conference presupposes some sort of organization and leadership. Yet, such did not exist when the conference was decided upon. Many people seem to think that the female liberation movement has easily coalesced itself into a coherent form; that the movement is "spontaneous." Many people think that the cellular structure of the movement that has emerged uniformly throughout the country indicates that no leadership, no organization, and no conscious development of theory and use of propaganda are needed.

> A false dichotomy has developed: either the movement must be spontaneous, groovy, and unled ("unmanipulated") or there must be a monolithic national superstructure with an elite corps of leaders at the top, far removed from the chapters which are largely ignorant of the theory and dealings of the people at the top (caricature of the SDS model).
> Neither model seems desirable or necessary, and both are a danger to the movement. Both indicate a lack of consciousness and potential for effectiveness. Both cheat the newly awakened people (awakened by existent conditions, not by leaders).

I went on to explain in some detail the process we had used. The article also stated the principles of Cell 16:

> females from a lower caste in all existing social structures, and a powerless economic class in capitalistic America. They believe that the destruction of the family, private property, and the national state are essential for the liberation of females, and that a revolutionary program is required to destroy those institutions. They conceive of themselves as an education cadre to teach theory and self-defense, which will lead to the development of a revolutionary program.

The conference had not been much publicized outside New England, but women arrive from New York and Pennsylvania and Ohio. We had expected about 100 participants, but more than 500 women of all ages, from all occupations—mostly white, but with a fair sprinkling of Blacks and Puerto Ricans—flooded the hallways and classrooms.

The press was barred from covering the conference, and there were to be no "stars," no plenary speakers. Everyone was equal in participating, learning, sharing, and teaching from two electrifying days.

I chaired two workshops—one on "Strategy and Tactics of a Female Liberation Movement" and one on "Female Liberation and Communism." Hannah ran a workshop on "The History and Practice of Witchcraft" and a demonstration of Tarot card reading. There were workshops on child care, working women, the family as the basic unit of female oppression, and interracial marriages. Even Sue Katz, the first movement woman I'd met in Boston when I proposed a course on women's history at the draft resistance school, had become a convert to women's liberation; she organized the session on community child care. Homer recruited movement men to provide on-site child care and shuttle service.

After the conference the office telephone rang constantly with calls from women wanting to join our group, wanting us to help them start their own groups, or wanting one of us to speak to their group. We were overjoyed but also overwhelmed by the unexpected deluge of interest.

Basking in the afterglow of the successful conference, were stunned to find a contemptuous parody of the event in *New York* magazine, a feature story by a registered participant, Julie Baumgold. After scorning the sessions, which she described as being about "Maoism and Amazons," most of the article mocked Abby and her Tae Kwan Do. I was with Abby in her kitchen when a call came from her mother that reduced her to tears. We were all angry and crushed by the article, but only Abby faced attacks from her family—any public act by a Rockefeller was newsworthy in New York.

A second blow came soon thereafter: the leftist weekly *Guardian* reported on our conference. Margie Stamberg, another conference participant, wrote the piece as a personal essay relating her emotional reactions. Her touchy-feely, depoliticized account offended us more than the mainstream *New York* article had. Stamberg also focused on Tae Kwan Do: "We kept running to the gym… From time to time, a woman walked to a corner of the room a broke a board with her first, with her foot." She designated Abby and me the "stars" of the conference and did not describe any of the workshops. Stamberg created the illusion of a violence-driven cult. Abby and I wrote a long, angry response, which the Guardian published. In it, we noted that the most popular, overflowing workshops were those on the "Family as the Basic Unit of Female Oppression" and "Strategy and Tactics for a Female Liberation Movement," each with 200 participants, many times larger than the martial arts workshops.

Despite the sour note of feeling misunderstood by people who should have been allies, I was happy with my situation, particularly in having a trusting, committed relationship with Homer. I was exhausted from the months of teaching three days a week and organizing the conference, but free of those obligations, I began to travel all over New England, talking to women's groups about female liberation.

One evening in June, I was in Tae Kwan Do class—I never missed a class anymore—with twenty other women. We moved in unison, punching the air, practicing the basic forms. Suddenly a woman in street clothes stood directly in front of me and raised a shiny object.

"This is my assassin," I said to myself. I was certain that the object she held was a handgun or perhaps a knife. The bright flash nearly made me faint in terror. Blinded momentarily, I awaited the explosion in my head. I opened my eyes and she was gone. A photographer. The class didn't miss a beat.

The following day a reporter from the *London Times Magazine* appeared at my door with a copy of the photograph and wanted an interview. In the black-and-white photo I looked exactly as I'd felt—terror in my eyes, my extended fist askew.

"We'll publish a story anyway, so you might as well talk to me," the reporter said.

I invited her in and called each of the core members of Cell 16. The consensus was that I should give the interview and try to communicate what we were really about. The reporter informed me that the photographer was the well-known Diane Arbus.

"How did she know what I looked out and where to find me?" I asked.

"Diane has her ways. That's why she's a first-class photo-journalist and why we commissioned her. I thought: No wonder the people in her photographs all look like freaks and victims.

After the *London Times Magazine* published the photograph and article, I was deluged with requests for interviews, television appearances, and photographs. I refused them all. David Frost called personally and kept me on the phone for an hour. Another reporter, Sara Davidson, showed up unannounced at the Tae Kwan Do class. We allowed her to watch, as she expressed interest in joining the class and claimed to be "into women's liberation." She sat on the bench taking notes. At the end of the class, she asked for an interview with me.

"I think not. We've had some pretty bad publicity, and we don't want to promote stars in the women's movement," I said.

She persisted. "It's for *Life* magazine and will be read by 8 million ordinary people, most of them women."

"No, no," I said, and walked away.

Despite my refusals, the attention I was drawing created friction between me and the other members of Cell 16, and there was continuing disapproval of my antiwar work with Homer. Organizers of the GI Coffee House movement—social centers located near military bases that brought antiwar information to active GIs—were hosting an August speaking tour for Homer. Originally, they were going to fly him to the sites, but he and I decided to drive and to include in the trip visits to the women's liberation and other movement groups. So he was busy coordinating his speaking engagements and I was working on setting up meetings within that schedule. Increasingly, we traveled and spoke together.

To un-celebrate the Fourth of July, Homer and I organized an event in Cambridge in which we would speak for the first time on the same platform in the Boston area, with Cell 16's approval.

Homer presented twenty slides. One of them showed him and his Vietnamese interpreter standing by the twisted hulk of a B-52 bomber; another showed them talking to women peasants in a rice field; the last picture was of the scowling American pilots he'd repatriated. Homer told a story with each of

the slides. He showed the metal ring the Vietnamese had given him, made from a downed American warplane, and his rubber thongs made from the airplane tires. He was a good and very personal speaker; his voice cracked with emotion. The audience was quiet and clearly moved. Homer concluded by outlining the structure of male aggression and its translation into military aggression.

"The two are inseparable. What I saw in Vietnam was rape on a mass scale, paralleled here at home by violence against women. Without that underlying structure of patriarchy, no American male would be motivated to participating in the war."

Then it was my turn to speak; I shocked the audience to attention by reading a section of the *S.C.U.M. Manifesto* on war—"the man getting his big gun off." There was appreciative laughter and a woman yelled out, "Right on."

I concluded by saying, "Certainly it is imperative that we dedicate ourselves to ending this genocidal war. But at the same time, we must get to the root cause and transform the consciousness of the whole society. If not, within a decade or two, history will repeat itself with the same kind of war, or worse, nuclear war."

Not long after, Bernardine Dohrn came to town, having just returned from Cuba. I was anxious to hear about her experience. We entered a crowded, small office near Central Square where a dozen local activists had already gathered. It was a private and hastily assembled meeting. The Scene was bizarre. Bernadine sat in front of the window, her booted legs crossed. She wore a see-through tank top that barely covered her ass—no skirt, no underwear. A half dozen young men surrounded her. They appeared to be kneeling but they were actually counched on their haunches, to be below Bernardin'es eye level it seemed. She smiled and swung her hair, then laughed, throwing her head back, all the time gazing down on the men. Then she flipped her wrist and they scattered. Several more men surrounded her. It occurred to me that she was parodying Scarlet O'Hara in the barbecue scene.

"I hope you're not going to grovel like that," I said to Homer.

"God it's embarrassing," he said. Just then, Bernardine caught sight of Homer and beckoned to him. He raised his hand, palm toward her, and shook his head. She shrugged and faked a pout.

Bernadine spoke. She and seven other SDS Weathermen had traveled to Cuba to meet with Vietnamese representatives.

"And that was far fucking out as usual, meeting the Vietnamese, but the real fucking trip was being in Cuba. Man let me tell you." I hardly recognized that woman as the same person I'd met in Abby's kitchen a few months before.

"First the message from the Vietnamese to comrades here: The Vietnamese say that the American war machine will never escape from the sea of fire of peoples' war. And that we American revolutionaries have the responsibility to build an invicible movement to pressure the Americans to withdraw."

After hearty applause and fists in the air, Bernardine said, "Do you know what that means? It means that the collapse of the United States government is upon us. The duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution. We're gonna kick ass, motherfuckers."

Bernardine talked about the revolutionary beauty of the Cuban people and described how the SDS group had set up a mechanism for activists from the United States to travel to Cuba to cut sugar cane, a project to be called "Venceremos Brigade" which would begin in early 1970.

When the meeting ended, Bernardine walked directly to Homer and hugged him. She ignored me.

"Do you remember Roxanne from Abby's?" Homer asked. She glanced briefly at me without a sign of recognition or word of greeting and sauntered off to talk to another man.

It was July 19, 1969, and everyone was excited about the news that astronauts Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin were walking on the Moon. To me, the idea of U.S. military men on the moon was scary rather than exciting, given what they were doing on planet Earth, and that the Moon trip was a military project. Another news item interested me more. While everyone gazed at the Moon on TV, Senator Edward Kennedy had been in a car wreck on Chappaquiddick Island. A woman in the car had drowned. Homer and I agreed that it was probably another CIA assassination plot.

In early August a few days before Homer and I were to leave on the coffeehouse tour, Dana and I met for lunch near Harvard Square to discuss the next issue of the journal. We walked back along Massachusetts Avenue to Central Square.

"Look," she said. Dana pointed to the screaming headline of the afternoon edition of the newspaper: "SATANIST MASSACRE IN HOLLYWOOD." We bought the newspaper and read the gruesome story about Charles Manson and his cult of mostly women followers.

"Somehow it seems like a signal of some bad times to come, maybe a tip of the iceberg of the craziness the war has engendered. This war is driving people crazy. We have a lot of work to do," I said.

"You'd better be careful in California," Dana said.

That afternoon, Cell 16 met at my place. The mood was tense, Abby said she wanted to withdraw from day-to-day involvement, and she wanted us to

find a new office for which she would pay the rent. But she also said she was angry with me and felt that I was no longer centered on women's liberation. She said she disliked Homer's "omnipresence." She criticized my "pushy style."

"You never stop working. You push us all. I feel guilty if I take time to eat a good meal in a restaurant or go to a concert, that you're thinking I'm a bourgeois pig. Somehow your very *existence* makes me feel diminished as a human being," she said. Everyone was silent, uncomfortable.

"I accept your criticism of my style of work and I apologize for being so pushy. But what can I say to my very existence being offensive? I said.

Abby glared at me as if I was a stranger or an enemy.

"I think Roxanne's absence for a month will be good for us all, and good for Roxanne. We've been going full steam. Roxanne can do some thinking, and we can too. We must keep in mind that our core project is the journal, and we all work well together around that," Dana said.

Friday the 13th, August 1969. I suppressed superstition as Homer and I packed the VW bug with 100 copies of each of the two issues of the journal and stacks of New England Free Press pamphlets. We planned to finance our month-long, cross-country trip by selling literature. The GI Coffee Houses Project, the brainchild of antiwar activists and first-generation SDS organizers, sponsored Homer's speaking tour. Coffeehouses had been established in towns near key military bases, and Homer was scheduled to speak at three of them: Fort Bragg, North Carolina; Columbia, South Carolina (near Fort Jackson); and Killeen, Texas (near Fort Hood).

The Fort Bragg coffeehouse occupied a converted storefront—cavernous, dim humid, and smoky. And it was packed with off-duty, mostly white soldiers who were in Special Forces training. A certain expectant tension filled the air. The fifty or so young men gathered had already begun to question the war, or they wouldn't have been there. Now they were trying to decide whether to desert, try for conscientious objector status, or go to the stockade. None of these were easy choices for teenage boys.

Homer was introduced, and the men settled down and listened intently. Perched on a bar stool at the counter drinking coffee, I could see the whole room. I watched the men's faces as homer described the Vietnamese struggle, the nature of war, and told personal stories.

The first question was: "What the hell are we supposed to get out of it?"

"I can't tell *you* what you should do, but if I were drafter I'd refuse to go. I would either go to Canada or to prison, probably prison. I know you are all in a different position. You are already in the military. You can refuse to go—like Captain Howard Levy—and face court-martial, or you can de-

sert and go to Canada. Either one is better than dying, being maimed, or murdering peasants in an unjust war," Homer said.

"Are you opposed to all wars or just this one?" another man asked.

"I support the Vietnamese fighting against invasion. I think there are situations where there's no other choice, not as long as aggression exists," Homer said.

"So you're not one of them peaceniks?"

"I respect conscientious objectors. Actually, I probably am one of them peaceniks." Everyone laughed.

The Columbia, South Carolina coffeehouse served the GIs at nearby Fort Jackson. The first think I noticed was that at least half the men were black and Latino, unlike Fort Bragg, where they all appeared to be white. The other speaker was Captain Howard Levy, an army doctor who was under court-martial, his sentence pending. Two years earlier Levy had refused to provide medical instruction to Green Berets, saying they were murdered killing old people and children, raping women—all poor peasants. Levy was a small, intense, bespectacled man in his early thirties. Although there were hundreds of draft resisters and deserters, Levy was the first active serviceman publicly to refuse orders to go to Vietnam.

Levy exuded determination and commitment. I was impressed by his good humor and apparent lack of fear, his calmness and humility. He was being attacked not only for being a "traitor," but also for being Jewish.

After Homer and Howard finished speaking, a young soldier yelled out, "Hey, do we get free pussy if we desert?" He pointed to a poster on the wall that read "Girls Say Yes to Boys Who Say No," the popular draft resistance slogan. Laughter rippled through the room. Neither Levy nor Homer smiled. I sat in the front row of seat, my neck on fire. I wondered what the young movement women who worked in the coffeehouse were thinking.

Suddenly Homer said, "There's someone here to address that question," and he beckoned me forward. He whispered to Levy, who nodded enthusiastically.

"This is my comrade, Roxanne Dunbar. She is a leader of the new women's liberation movement in this country." To my surprise, there were more cheers than jeers, but the cheerers may have had a different interpretation of the word "liberation."

I rose from my chair and faced the men. I said to them that underlying support for war was institutionalized patriarchy, wherein men were told that they must fight to prove their manhood and that if they didn't change their consciousness about their attitudes toward women, they were sup-

porting the war just as if they were fighting. I told them that women wanted to be free and equal and not just mothers or sex objects, angels or whores.

The room fell silent as I spoke in my barely audible voice. When I finished, the GIs applauded.

Homer then described how men oppressed women, and the best discussion on sexism I'd yet heard transpired. In fact, I had never before heard a group of men seriously discussing male supremacy. I was struck by the irony that these young men—black, white, Latino—from poor, rural, and blue-collar backgrounds were more open to women's liberation than the middle- and upper-class men in the antiwar movement. Homer and Howard were surprised and pleased by the reaction. Homer went to the car and brought in copies of our literature.

"No one knows better than soldier the connection between male supremacy and war. If they refuse to be aggressive, they are labeled pussies or queers. They are raised for war. No wonder they hate and abuse women, and each other," I said.

Killeen was in the dead center of Texas, a hole-in-the-wall kind of town not much bigger than the one I grew up in. We drove into town at 8 A.M., so we had the whole day free, as Homer was to speak at the coffeehouse in the evening. The temperature crept toward a hundred degrees. Killeen was the nearest town to Fort Hood, the main training base for grunts sent directly to Vietnam. The main street sported a dozen businesses in dilapidated storefronts. One of them had been converted to the GI coffeehouse, surely by some braver people than I could aspire to be. On the window of the coffeehouse was a nicely made poster advertising the talk with a blown-up photograph of Homer surrounded by Vietnamese peasants. In that town, it looked like a "Wanted, Dead or Alive" poster.

The coffeehouse didn't open till 4 P.M. so there were no customers in the morning, only a university student volunteer from Austin. He called the director at home. Homer knew Jay Lockard from the civil rights movement. He described her as one of the bravest and hardest-working individuals he'd met in the movement. Homer had written Jay informing her that I would be with him and had sent her copies of the journal.

When Jay arrived, she eyed me critically, not in that way that women often competitively check each other out, but suspiciously, objectively. Homer introduced us and we shook hands. Jay did not smile. She pointed down the main street and told us she would join us at the town café for breakfast.

Tall, middle-aged cowboys who looked as if they'd already done a day's work—they were obviously local ranchers—occupied the café booths. Any

one of them could have been my father or his brothers, which made me more aware of the gap between Homer and me—I was certain that he had never met those kind of people. We sat at the counter.

"Jay is not going to like the idea of me talking about women's liberation," I said.

"You're probably right. We'll have to convince her." Homer said.

"Jay strode in and straddled the stool next to Homer and began talking to him in a whisper I couldn't hear. I sensed nervous tension in Homer.

"Jay, Roxanne and I gave a presentation together in Columbia, and it worked really well," Homer said, his voice raised.

"Nobody is going to talk to my boys about women's lib," she said. Jay spoke plainly. I liked that about her. I was often confused and frustrated by movement organizers who behaved like public relations experts or diplomats, taking hours to say no. But I disliked Jay's proprietary attitude—I couldn't imagine saying "my women" in reference to the women's liberation movement.

We returned to the GI coffeehouse and began hours and hours of fruitless negotiations. Jay didn't budge an inch, and homer didn't either. So we left. A year later Jay Lockard would be a full-time women's liberation organizer in the South.

Beyond our GI Coffee House gigs, Homer and I had set up meetings with antiwar, women's liberation, and other movement groups and friends in Washington D.C., Pennsylvania, Louisville, Chapel Hill, New Orleans, Albuquerque, Los Angeles, Berkeley, Seattle, Chicago, and Cleveland.

Marilyn and Lee Webb had set up speaking engagements for us in the D.C. area, and arranged for us to speak in Baltimore at a forum sponsored by the Baltimore Defense Committee, a group organized to defend political prisoners. Lee Webb had been a national SDS officer like Homer and now represented the *Guardian* newspaper; both he and Marilyn worked at the Institute for Policy Studies. Marilyn and I talked into the night. She was a member of the coordinating committee of D.C. Women's Liberation. She told me about the proliferation of women's groups and projects in Washington D.C. I was relieved to find that Marilyn had changed her views during the past months and now considered women's liberation central. No movement woman had tried harder to persuade radical men to incorporate women's liberation, and she had been shunned and even threatened for her efforts. We agreed that there were two major challenges within women's liberation—how to incorporate new recruits and how to work collectively.

"I've been singled out by the media as a leader so I get all the calls to speak and the women accuse me of trying to speak for the whole group, of being a star," she said.

"I have exactly the same problem. I think Cell 16 is about ready to kick me out. At first, I thought it was a class problem, of women being programmed to be jealous of each other. But I think it has more to do with women reacting to male domination. They didn't come to women's liberation to experience the same thing from women. I feel helpless in the face of their accusations, but I don't know what I would do in their place," I said.

Finding out that my situation was part of a larger problem that others were having allowed me to take it less personally and to being to view it in a larger context. Actually, this "anti-leaderism" would ultimately reduce the effectiveness of many highly motivated women in the movement, and it unfortunately became a sort of Achilles' heel.

We also visited one of the leading theorists of the women's liberation movement, Beverly Jones, who had recently moved from Florida to Hershey, Pennsylvania, that strange company town where the streetlights were shaped like Hershey "kisses," and the cooking chocolate perfumed the air. In early 1968, Beverly and Judith Brown had written and circulated the first theoretical women's liberation paper, "Toward a Female Liberation Movement," which I had read for the first time when I met Judith at the Sandy Springs conference.

Beverly was married to a former Florida professor who had recently moved from Gainesville to the university in Hershey. She was a small, middle-aged woman who exuded self-confidence. An affluent housewife and mother of teenagers, she looked the role. I found it difficult to associate the woman before me with the militant feminist of her writings. Beverly and Judith had vehemently insisted, unlike Cell 16, that "men, all men, are the enemy of women, not just a system of male supremacy." They had urged women to live in all-female communes, to learn self-defense, and to practice celibacy for long periods. Yet both Judith and Beverly were happily married and lived traditional lifestyles. I had been fascinated that two women in Florida had been creating a set of idea almost identical with two women in Boston—Dana and me—at exactly the same time. Now I was astonished.

Beverly and I talked late into the night and rose early to continue our conversation. She was delightful, intelligent, and funny. I was encouraged that a middle class housewife could think so radically, yet I was also profoundly unsettled by the gap between her rhetoric and her reality. I thought that perhaps Beverly and other armchair radical feminists perceived me and other action-oriented women as dispensable shock troops—outlaws—on the feminist frontier.

As Homer and I drove through Appalachia, I said: "Bev's talk about innate biological difference between women and men bothers me; I mean she thinks biology is unchangeable and determines behavior."

"It's certainly an easy way out for men to believe that; then they don't have to change," Homer said.

I detested all theories of biological determinism in terms of human behavior. What I feared was that this aspect of thought in women's liberation could become a vehicle to affirm a lot of socially constructed debilitating female behavior, rather than freeing women to become strong and empowered to change and transform the world.

We drove a long time in silence, passing through the blight of Appalachian rural poverty. News of Woodstock played on the radio: for a hundred miles in every direction, traffic blocked the roads in upstate New York—a half million young people were on their way to Woodstock to sing and dance. A state of emergency was declared but not one incident of violence had yet occurred.

"Maybe we should have gone north instead of south," I said. We had discussed going to Woodstock but I'd had my share of human be-ins in California. Yet Woodstock sounded different, important.

"Ugh, how decadent in the middle of war and chaos," Homer said. Homer didn't like rock music; he was loyal to folk and blues.

"People have to find ways to keep from going nuts. It's not so easy to find the movement, you know." I always reminded Homer of the cliquishness of the movement and how difficult it was for me to feel accepted within it.

"Woodstock just sounds like self-indulgence to me," he said.

"You sound like an old fuddy-duddy at twenty seven," I said.

Anne Braden had arranged for us to speak to the SCEF staff in Louisville, Kentucky. Anne and Carl Braden, as part of the 1950s southern civil rights movement, had founded SCEF It was unusual in its emphasis on the working class and bringing black and white workers together to fight racism and strengthen labor power. The SCEF newspaper, the *Southern Patriot*, had long been a singular organizing tool in the South.

The Braden home was on the West Side in a working-class district of boxy frame houses and clipped lawns. Anne and Carl had been instrumental in integrating the neighborhood back in the 1950s when they bought and resold a house to a black couple. Carl was sentenced to fifteen years prison for the deed, and Anne had faced similar charges. They fought the rap and won.

"Come on in and make yourselves at home." Anne cradled a telephone receiver under her chin, and held a cigarette in one hand, a pencil in the other. The living room was tiny, every sitting space piled with papers and books. A

movement house. We went upstairs where the SCEF and the *Southern Patriot* office operated in a crowded attic room. A large white-haired man was typing. Homer introduced me to Carl Braden, Anne's husband.

The meeting that evening was held in the home of another married couple, Joe and Karen, who were SCEF staffers. Karen worked with coal miners and their families on a "black lung disease" (emphysema caused by inhaling coal dust) project. Joe had resisted the draft and faced a prison sentence, now on appeal. Thirty or so activists—most of them locals from working-class backgrounds, both black and white—came to the meeting.

Homer started off by describing the purpose of his trip to Hanoi and his experiences in Vietnam. As he spoke, I scanned the faces of each person there, wondering how they would respond to what I had to say. I very much wanted their respect and love, but I intended to say exactly what I thought.

I began by reading parts of the Casey Hayden and Mary King 1965 internal SNCC memo on women as a caste. I was certain they all admired those two brave white women who had worked so hard and long in dangerous circumstance in the South. Then I elaborated on the caste and class thesis I had helped developed. "I think all movement organizations should give women's liberation a priority on their agendas, and not simply as a means to recruit women to the peace and civil rights movement, but also to encourage them to form or join women's liberation groups. I don't think it's sufficient for women to simply get involved, or to join the workforce. That's happened in every revolution and movement of the twentieth century, yet women are little more liberated now than they were a century ago, and the world is on the brink of annihilation. Patriarchy has never before been challenged. That's what women's liberation is about."

My statement provoked an extended discussion. They all worried that they might alienate working-class people, black and white, by questioning the institution of the family and by organizing women first or separately. And because several of them worked with coal miners, they were wary of offending workingmen. Mother Jones's name was invoked.

Homer chimed in, saying "I agree with Roxanne. Until I met her, even though I'd always promoted women's leadership in SDS and civil rights projects, and even though I hated male chauvinism, I didn't understand the significance of the structures of patriarchy and their relationship with war and racism, or even how to make a successful social revolution."

The discussion continued until midnight. Later, lying beside Homer in Joe and Karen's guest room, I felt like the luckiest person in the world. I was a part of history in the making. I felt that the liberation of women was

the key to revolutionary change, and if people like the SCEF organizers would take it on, the first true revolution could be launched and won.

In New Orleans, we met the local SCEF staff. Anne had arranged for us to stay with Ed and Lou, a young couple who distributed the *Southern Patriot* in the Gulf region. Ed was a British writer who had come to the United States to report on the Mississippi Freedom Riders in 1961 and had never left. Lou was from an old New Orleans family and had rejected the role of southern belle. They lived on the ground floor of a sprawling three-story colonial-style frame house. They said the house had once been elegant, but like others on the edge of the well-kept Garden District, it now had peeling paint and rotting porches. The district was called the Irish Channel, but mostly Central Americans and Cubans now populated it. Behind the house was a tangled garden. The whole place felt more Caribbean than North American.

Although we'd been driving all day and it was late when we arrived, Lou and Ed showed us around the house and then whisked us off to the party. We danced, drank, at shrimp and oysters, walked, and talked in the French Quarter all night long. It seemed that no one slept in New Orleans—it was Wednesday night and the streets were filled with people laughing, talking, and partying. We ended the spree at dawn with chicory coffee and sizzling, square doughnuts called *beignets* in the Café du Monde on the riverfront.

I woke up at 9 A.M.—it was much too hot to sleep—and stumbled out of the bedroom to find both Ed and Lou typing.

"Do you ever sleep?" I asked.

Homer joined us. After Ed prepared strong chicory coffee and an English breakfast, they put us to work licking envelopes, answering the telephone, and typing, as if we had been there forever.

Forty-eight hours later, Homer and I decided we wanted to move to New Orleans to do our movement work. I suspected that Anne had had that in mind when she sent us there, because Lou and Ed immediately embraced our idea and had plans for us. The flat on the second floor of the house was going to be available in December and they would secure it for us. I told them my dream of establishing a women's liberation office somewhere in the South or Southwest. It all seemed too good to be true.

We left New Orleans and drove west through the bayous of Cajun country, studying what would soon be our new home.

"This trip is a miracle. I feel as if I've been in one of those National Liberation Front Tunnels, yet moving through the underground of the United States where angels live, building a new society that will rise up one day and be the whole society," I said.

"It's true. You can now go to any place in the United States and always find at least two or three activists. You'll always have a place to stay and work all over the country. That's what this beloved community is all about. It didn't exist only during the Mississippi Summer, it's a permanent reality," Homer said.

Homer had arranged to meet Elizabeth Sutherland Martinez in Albuquerque to recruit her for a delegation to Hanoi. "Betita," as her friends call her, had been a writer and mainstream New York editor when she joined SNCC to coordinate the New York office. She had published two book—*Letters from Mississippi*, about Mississippi Summer, and *The Youngest Revolution*, about Cuba. Betita and Maria Varela, who were the only Latinas in SNCC, had moved to northern New Mexico to support the Hispanic land grant movement that erupted in 1967. Betita lived two hours north of Albuquerque in Espanola, where she published a Chicano movement newspaper, *El Grito del Norte [The Cry of the North]*. She was going to be in Albuquerque to cover the trial of some Chicano activists.

I had studied the history of the Southwest and had followed the news accounts of the 1967 armed conflict in northern New Mexico, the famous "Courthouse Raid" led by Reies Tijerina. A dozen northern New Mexico farmers had seized the county courthouse in the tiny mountain town of Tierra Amarilla, northwest of Santa Fe. They were protesting trespass charged that had been brought against fellow farmers. The feds responded with Huey helicopter gunships and the 82nd Airborne, which galvanized mass Hispanic protests. I had been thrilled to hear about this farmers' direct action movement. It reminded me of my grandfather's Wobbly days.

The scene at the Albuquerque courthouse was chaotic. An equal number of shouting demonstrators and riot-equipped police crowded the steps and sidewalks. Inside, the halls were clogged with more demonstrators and police. Homer spotted Betita and pushed through the crowd to her. At first, she struck me as a film director at work, trying to create an order out of chaos. She exuded an air of authority. After giving Homer a brief hug and shaking my hand, Betita zipped in and out of the crowd and finally disappeared into the bowels of the court building.

We milled around the courthouse with demonstrators, waiting. I was impressed with the size and energy of the largely young and Hispanic crowd, sprinkled with Hispanic farmers in overalls. "Basta" and "Viva Tijerina" and "Lucha por la tierra" adorned picket signs. Finally, at 4 P.M., the proceedings in the courtroom ended, and Betita joined us for a few minutes to give us directions to her home in Espanola.

I had never been in the heartland of the ancient Pueblo Indian and Hispanic rural culture of northern New Mexico, so the drive north through Santa Fe and on to Espanola was exciting and interesting—there were irrigated plots, clusters of dark adobe houses around picture-postcard adobe churches, with the scenes framed by looming glacier-capped peaks on the western, northern, and eastern horizons. It felt like Mexico. Betita's house at the northern edge of Espanola was an old rambling adobe surrounded by an adobe wall.

As in all movement houses, it was impossible to carry on a conversation for more than a few minutes, as people constantly came and went, many with problems Betita discussed with them and got on the telephone to resolve. The telephone rang constantly. We talked more with Betita's companion that with her. Rees was a former steel worker from East Chicago, Indiana. He had left assembly-line work to try to make it as a writer. He got a job as a reporter on the *Albuquerque Journal* around the time the "courthouse raid" broke into a major national news story. Then he met Betita, and she recruited him to work on *El Grito*.

Late at night, when the phone rang less and no one came to visit, we finally talked with Betita. To my surprise, she was enthusiastic about women's liberation and had even been writing on the subject. She about Cell 16 and had read the journal.

"Have you seen this yet?" Betita handed me the new issue of SDS's *New Left Notes*, with a picture of nine women, including Bernardine, captioned: "The Motor City 9." I read it and flinched.

Last week nine women—now the Motor City Nine—walked into a classroom at McComb Community College and barricaded the doors. Inside they interrupted the students writing final exams to talk about the most important things going on in the world today—things that teachers at McComb College never mention or only lie about. They happed about the war in Vietnam and about how the Vietnamese women carry on armed struggle together with Vietnamese men against U.S. imperialism… When they began to talk about how women are kept down in this country, two men got up to leave the room. It is reported that the Motor City Nine responded to such an exhibition of male chauvinism and general pig behavior by attacking the men with harate and prevented them from leaving the room. They continued to discuss how women are used as slave labor in the household, exploited on the labor market, and turned into sexual objects… The Moto City Nine are part of the Women's Liberation Movement. They understand that the road to women's liberation is not through personal discussions about the oppression of women; nor is it through an appeal to the

public conscience through demonstrations or guerrilla thater about the issue of female liberation. It will only come when women act, not only around the issues of women's liberation, but when they act on other issues such as the war and racism. Women's liberation will come when women exercise real power—as is done Vietnam and in the McComb classroom.

"Why do they say they are part of the women's liberation movement when they don't approve of our existence?" I said.

"Sounds like a male idea of what women's liberation should be," Betita said. Then she said, "Roxanne, I understand you're from Oklahoma and you're part Indian."

"I didn't grow up in an Indian community. I grew up in a poor white farming community. My mother may have been part Indian, I don't know."

"Do you know much about Indians?" Rees asked.

"Where I grew up there were Indians all around and I know the history of how their land was expropriated. I actually know more about Indians in Mexico than the United States."

"The Pueblo Indians here are more like those in Mexico because they were conquered by the Spanish and they're hostile to the Hispanic land grant struggle. We really want their support, but except for a few individuals who have no official standing, they refuse to even discuss it with us," Betita said.

"Do the Hispanics support the Pueblo Indians' struggles?" I asked.

"The Pueblos are not receptive to Hispanic support," Rees said.

"Why don't you all move here and work with us? Roxanne, you could get to know the Pueblos and help build unity," she said.

I was flattered and tempted to take Betita up on the offer. I knew that she—and New Mexico—could teach me a great deal.

My South African friend David was still living in Berkeley, now in a an anarchist commune. When we drove up, Al Kooper's music was blasting from the house. David's rust-colored hair had grown to a huge reddish Afro, which accentuated how thin he'd become. As he gave us a tour of the neighborhood, he told us the story of Peoples Park from the point of view of a "street fighter," as the young men who threw rocks at police called themselves.

Earlier that year, a group of street people, students, and radicals had occupied a square block of university property, claiming it as "liberated territory," and renaming it "Peoples Park." They camped there and began to plant gardens and set up children's play area. In mid-May the Berkeley police and the and the California Highway Patrol—on orders from Governor Reagan, who deployed them as storm troopers—had beaten the park residents as they planted grass and flowers. Violent conflict between demon-

strators and police continued for nearly three weeks. One hundred and fifty demonstrators had been wounded by police bullets and one bystander was killed. The police pulled back when 30,000 people marched in protests.

Now, two months later, the resistance hadn't died. The smell of tear gas hung in the air from the day before when police had thrown canisters into rowdy crowds, David among them. His eyes were still swollen and red, and he had a terrible cough. He said that tear gas had become a normal part of life on Telegraph Avenue and the surrounding area. It looked like a war zone—broken, boarded up shop windows, debris in the streets, heavily armed and flak-jacketed police everywhere.

The only plate-glass window on the avenue that had been spared belonged to Cody's Bookstore. A group of anti-Shah Iranians sat on a carpet outside the store, serving tea from a samovar, their leader speaking of revolution. There were hordes of outrageously attired young people who had come from all over the country, even from other countries, to join the revolution. Young Black Panthers hawked their newspapers on street corners. Chanting Hare Krishnas with shaved heads, wearing lon pink gowns, snaked through the crowds. The police had surrounded Peoples Park to prevent another rumored takeover. Young masked street fighters hurled insults and rocks. They were crash helmets and taunted the police. The atmosphere was electric and scary.

Homer called Tom Hayden, and soon we were cruising around in his convertible with the top down, David and I in the backseat. Anne Weills sat in the front, between homer and Tom. Anne had started the first women's group in the Bay area the year before. She had been married to Robert Scheer, one of the founders of the monthly radical magazine, *Ramparts*, but they had divorced and now Tom was living with her and her young son. Anne had been on the delegation with Homer to Vietnam, and she had gone on to visit Korea and also China at the height of the Cultural Revolution; very few foreigners had been to China in recent years, and I was excited to hear about it from her.

Tom was awaiting trial with other movement leaders for conspiracy charges stemming from the Chicago police riot at the Democratic Convention. After the car tour, we went to lunch in the second-floor café from which we had a bird's eye view of Telegraph Avenue, and we watched anarchy and repression in motion.

Tom had looked different from the image I had of him from television and newspapers wherein he appeared to be a clean-cut politician. Now his hair was below his ears and he wore surplus army garb. He was excited about Peoples Park and anxious to tell Homer his war stories in detail. Then he talked about his trial, which was to start in Chicago in two weeks.

"You're not working on the trial?" Tom asked Homer.

"I've been organizing around the trip to Hanoi," Homer said, shifting his gaze to Anne, who had said little. Anne was a tall, willowy, blue-eyed blond. She wore sloppy jeans, a sweatshirt, no makeup, and still looked like a beauty queen. She and Homer discussed what they'd been doing since returning—she had done little else than work on Tom's trial—and she told us about China and Korea.

Later, in Anne's home a few blocks from the street scene, she told me that she knew about Cell 16. She said she and the other women in her group were studying martial arts, too. I gave her copies of the journal—she hadn't seen it.

A very young woman knocked and came in. Tom introduced us to Joey. She and Tom discussed some papers she had brought him. Joey was running a project Tom had started, the "Berkeley Liberation School." We would stay in her small apartment near campus and learn about the "liberated territory" of Berkeley.

Joey had transferred to Berkeley the year before from San Diego State in her junior year, but had not registered for her last year so she could work on the Liberation School full time and go with the second Venceremos Brigade to Cuba in February.

I detected the trace of a southern accent in Joey's speech and asked her where she was from.

"I grew up in San Diego. My father was in the navy, but my parents are both from Oklahoma City, and all my relations still live there," she said.

"What do you know? A Sister Okie. I'm from Oklahoma, too," I said.

"Do you ever think about going back to organize?" she asked.

"I have, but it would be hard with all the bigotry and fundamentalism. Homer and I are moving to New Orleans at the end of the year, so I'm getting closer," I said.

"I don't know if I could live in Oklahoma, but I think it's important we get out of these movement ghettos and into the heart of the country. With the Liberation School, we're trying to develop a cadre of trained organizers to do just that," she said.

"How did you meet Tom" Homer asked.

"Behind a barricade dodging pig bullets in May," she laughed. "I've learned so much from him. I'm only twenty-one, and Peoples Park was a real baptism for me."

Joey took us to a political education class, then to a poster workshop and karate class. I was impressed with their Liberation School and with Joey.

"Maybe you can come down to New Orleans and help us set up a Liberation School there," I said.

"We'll see. I know I want to travel around the country," she said.

"Are you involved in women's liberation?" I asked.

"Well, I don't want to offend you, and I don't really know your work, but I don't think it's for me," she dais. I gave her a copy of the second journal.

The next morning Tom met Homer and me for breakfast.

"Sorry to be so busy with the trial and life. I share child care and love it. I hope Joey got things right. She's ok for a groupie."

A *groupie!* Later that day, I wrote an angry essay that would become an article for the next issue of the journal and named it "'Sexual Liberation'—More of the Same Thing," about pornography and about "groupies."

What do these girls want? What are they after? Actually, most (at least in the beginning) want to learn, want to be independent, want to be revolutionaries. No matter what they learn, they are still groupies unless they win the favor of a single man; then they are so-and-so's woman. These males express utter contempt for the single women who relate to them… A young man, relating to a male leader, is considered a disciple, "a real revolutionary when he gets his shit together," Females who try to have this same relationship with male leaders are put down as groupies. The groupie ends up teaching the man more than he teaches her, but she receives no credit for it.

Returning east on the northern route, we stayed three days in Chicago, my first time there. I called Naomi Weisstein, a veteran SDS activist who had started one of the first women's liberation groups, and she got members of the group together for a meeting at ther house.

I was awed by the two dozen women gathered around me in Naomi's living room, women whose writings on women's liberation I'd read—not only Naomi but also Jo Freeman, a civil rights activist and historian, and Heather Booth, a Mississippi Summer veteran and early SDS member. There was an overwhelming aura of power and camaraderie in the room. They wanted to hear about me, about Cell 16, Velerie Solanas, our journal, the conference we'd organized. And they told me about their actions and work.

They had galvanized around protesting the firing of Marlene Dixon, who had been a professor of sociology at the University of Chicago. She had since taken a university position in Montreal. The women were nearly all academics developing women's history and women's studies courses. I felt that what they were doing was going to be crucial for the future of the women's movement.

Homer had set up meetings with his many movement friends. Uptown Chicago, a poor white ghetto of Appalachian migrants, had been the location of one of the SDS poverty projects. Some of the young Appalachian men had started a Black Panther clone group they called the "Young Patri-

ots." We wanted to meet them. It was a week before the Chicago Seven conspiracy trial, and all the movement people were gearing up for demonstrations at the federal courthouse.

Uptown Chicago was run-down. Gerry, an old friend of Homer's, walked us through the streets. She knew everyone.

"Unemployment here is 50 percent; everyone else is on welfare. The cops detest these people they call hillbillies. And the older people have no hope. They just want to go back home, but they were starving there."

Gerry took us into a pool hall filled with young white men who wore their hair in ducktails and pompadours. They all knew her.

"They're great kids, but there's no work for them. They've all dropped out of school," Gerry said."

"Are they in the Patriots?" Homer asked.

"They're getting organized. Their leader is Preacherman. I wish you could meet him, but he's out of town. The kids patrol in groups to keep an eye on the cops. And they really look up to the Black Panthers, especially Fred Hampton. He loves these poor white kids." Fred Hampton was a twenty-one-year-old local black man who had worked on the assembly line at International Harvester, where he was a union shop steward. He quit his job and set up the Black Panther chapter in Chicago.

"Can we meet Fred Hampton?" I asked.

"He's so busy with Bobby Seale's conspiracy case, I doubt he'd take time off. Come back when things aren't so crazy." We would not have another chance to meet Fred Hampton. Three months later, the Chicago police invaded his home in the middle of the night and murdered him while he slept in his bed with his wife, his children in the next room.

That fall of 1969 back in Cambridge, I found that Cell 16 had flourished in my absence. The third issue of the journal was well underway. The theme was "The Dialectics of Sexism." Hannah had already designed the cover. Dana, Betsy, and several of the newer members, including Lisa, a high school student, had written good pieces—there were nineteen authors in all.

Soon we rented an office, and that gave all of us a sense of our group's identity and seriousness—our first real office, not my flat or Abby's basement, but an office in blue-collar Sommerville, the next township over from Cambridge. Abby paid the rent and had done much of the work fixing it up. Once a corner grocery store, it had big glass double doors. Inside, the space retained no hints of past occupants. The wood floors smelled of fresh varnish, and fluorescent lights hung from the high ceilings. Two ornate, silver-painted radiators provided heat.

I established a routine, going to the office every morning and working late into the evening, typing and laying out articles. Student volunteers came after their classes to help with the journal and mail orders, which were overwhelming. I had been away for a month, and returned to find that Cell 16 and the journal were "hot." Copies of our journal and the long worktables for packing and mailing them occupied most of the space in our new office.

Dozens of high school and college students worked on mailing the journal and distributing leaflets. The most interesting volunteer was Jennifer, a graduate student at Brandeis, originally from Mobile, Alabama. Jennifer worked in the office most afternoons, and she worked hard. Her long, naturally wavy auburn hair was obviously her crowning glory, and she wore heavy makeup. I teased her, saying we have an anti-beauty code. She responded good-naturedly and laughed easily. Soon we agreed that Jennifer would join us in New Orleans to help in the new office while she completed her dissertation, "Crime and the Sociopathic Personality."

The media blitz centering on me appeared to have died down, and I felt comfortable with the group and the new recruits. When I told them about my plan to set up a branch of Cell 16 in New Orleans they were supportive, and Abby agreed to finance the project. I saw my move to New Orleans as branching out, rather than as a break with Cell 16.

Homer worked on the *Ole Mole* newspaper nearly all the time he wasn't driving the cab. I helped with the all-night layout sessions every two weeks. Homer and I had been nearly inseparable during the seven months we'd been together, but I was beginning to hunger for the independence I'd enjoyed before meeting him. After a number of discussions, I insisted that Homer and I occupy separate rooms, and my tiny room off the kitchen with its elevated bed and desk became my retreat. I had no desire for intimacy, not with Homer, not with anyone. I explained to him how I felt and that I wanted us to change the nature of our relationship from lovers who worked together to comrades who worked together, to take sex out of the equation. He accepted me decision.

I wasn't certain how Homer really felt about the changed I initiated, but naturally it was harder for him to be on the receiving end of a forced decision. I was ecstatic and felt freer than I had ever felt in my life. The New England autumn was magical. When the journal went to press in early October, I travelled around New England, sometimes with Homer, sometimes alone or with other women from our group, speaking and meeting with groups, and quite often at the University of New Hampshire, where I helped establish a women's group.

Dr. Patricia Robinson visited, along with several young Africa Americans from the housing project where Pat lived and worked. We had been corre-

sponding for a year but we hadn't yet met. The new issue of the journal contained her long article, "A Historical and Critical Essay for Black Women of the Cities." Pat was African American and a psychiatrist from a family of longtime civil rights activists—Dr. W.E.B. DuBois had been a close friend of her parents. She lived in New Rochelle, New York, and worked with poor black women and their children in a housing project.

During the second week of October, 1969, Weatherman began their "Four Days of Rage" to protest the Chicago 7 trial. Homer returned from working on the *Old Mole* to tell me that he'd talked to friends in Chicago who said that only 200 people—they had expected a thousand—had responded to Weatherman's call. First, they blew up the police memorial in Haymarket Square in Chicago. Then they showed up in gas masks, goggles, and helmets, carrying sticks, chains, blackjacks, lead pipes, and Mace. The women, led by Bernardine Dohrn, were in the vanguard. They ran through the streets of the affluent Chicago Gold Coast chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh," dare to struggle, dare to win. Bring the war home. Off the pigs." They threw bricks through windows of cars and buildings, shoving people off sidewalks. Police in riot gear faced off with them and demonstrators plowed into a police line. All but a few of them made it through and continued rampaging. A thousand uniform police and others in plainclothes came after them, pummeling the ones they caught and anyone else who happened to be around. The police used live ammunition but no one was shot.

The following days brought more news of Weatherman actions in Chicago. Over 2,000 National Guardsmen were called in and were issued live ammunition. But Weatherman went on another rampage downtown, breaking windows and pushing Saturday shoppers. More than half of them were arrested. For the first time, SDS became a household word.

"This will be the new measuring stick for radicalism," I told Homer. I was concerned about the fate of women's liberation if I was right.

Soon after the Chicago demonstrations and the murder of Chicago Black Panther leader, Fred Hampton, one of Homer's old SDS friends from Swarthmore called and wanted to talk with him alone. Homer insisted that I be present. We knew his friend was with Weatherman. She arrived, obviously nervous.

"I must talk to you alone," she said to Homer. She appeared distraught, trembling.

"Roxanne and I work together. We share everything."

She launched into a thinly veiled code language trying to convince Homer, and then me as well, to come to their "National War Council," to be held before Christmas. She wanted Homer to help build the under-

ground. We said no, that we did not agree with the idea and did not agree with Weatherman's views of women's liberation. Homer cried when she left, saying it was because he worried about his friends, but I thought he also regretted not going with them. We both shared Homer's friend's desperation over the war, and soon the nature of that war would become obvious to a larger public than ever before.

On November 13, 1969, journalist Seymour Hersh broke the My Lai massacre story, nearly two years after the event. Lt. William L. "Rusty" Calley had been quietly charged in September 1969 with 109 murders of "Oriental Human Beings." Soon, others were charged. But the magnitude and significance of the massacre had been camouflaged. I'd heard about the massacre during the summer of 1968—the army photographer who'd witnessed the massacre was already talking then. I hadn't been surprised because I'd been hearing about such massacres from GIs who participated in them since 1965. The My Lai trails made it seem like a unique event, rather than what it was: the very nature of the Vietnam War.

Hersh quoted one of the soldiers in the company: "They simply shot up this village and Calley was the leader of it. When one guy refused to do it, Calley took the rifle away and did the shooting himself."

Another soldier told Hersh: "They just marched through shooting everybody… they had them in a group standing in front of a ditch, just like a Nazi-type thing. One officer ordered a kid to machine-gun everybody down. But the kid just couldn't do it. He threw the machine gun down and the officer picked it up… I don't remember seeing many men in the ditch, mostly women and kids."

Once Hersh's story broke the silence, the broadcast television news joined the cause. On the evening news, Walter Cronkite showed the army photographs I'd heard about—piles of bodies, bleeding children, the faces of women seconds before they were murdered. Mike Wallace interviewed one of the soldiers who told of lining up villages and shooting them. Wallace asked why he did it.

"Why did I do it? Because I felt I was ordered to do it, and it seemed like that at the time. I felt like I was doing the right thing, because I'd lost buddies," the soldier said.

"How do you shoot babies?" Wallace asked.

"I don't know. It's just one them things," the soldier said.

Wallace asked what the Vietnamese villagers said or did during the massacre. "They were beginning and saying, No. No. And mothers were hug-

ging their children, but they kept on firing. Well, we kept on firing. They were waving their arms and begging."

The soldier's mother was interviewed and said, "He wasn't raised up like that. I raised him up to be a good boy and I did everything I could. They come along and took him to the service. He fought for his country and look what they done to him—made a murderer out of him, to start with."

"Normal boys," the newspapers kept characterizing the soldiers at My Lai. "Something went wrong."

Double veterans: That was the term the GIs used for raping a Vietnamese girl or woman and then murdering her. I combined the newspapers and found that rape was routine during the massacre, and simple rape—sodomy rape, mutilation, vaginas ripped open with bayonets. A soldier killed one woman by ramming his riffle barrel up her vagina and firing. Ten- and twelve-year-old girls had been raped and mutilated. And not just by simple shooting or stabbing, but also by multiple stabs after the victim was dead, limbs severed, heads cut off, scalped, tongues cut out. There were reports of GIs' wives, mothers, and girlfriends receiving some of those ghoulish souvenirs through the mail from their beloved boys.

Madness. It had to be stopped, by any means necessary.

Yet I was happy organizing locally and regionally, and looked forward to doing the same in the South. But then, in November, the publicity machine started up again, and once again I found myself singled out as a "Leader." In the November 21, 1969, issue of *Time* magazine, an article appeared, "The New Feminists: Revolt Against 'Sexism'." The Diane Arbus photo of me practicing Tae Kwan Do was reprinted and captioned: "Cell 16's Roxanne Dunbar: Collision with realities. Declares Boston's Roxanne Dunbar, one of the movement's few acknowledged leaders: 'Sex is just a commodity.'"

The day after the *Time* story came out, I received an invitation from the organizers of the First Congress to Unite Women to be a plenary speaker. It was to be held in New York. Being added at the last minute reflected the power of the media to determine who was considered a "leader." After talking it over with the group, I accepted, but we had an idea about what we would do with my allotted time.

Hannah, Judy, Dana, Jennifer, Jeanne, and I went to the Congress. After we checked into one large, filthy room in the Chelsea Hotel—where Valerie Solanas had lived for time—we discussed what we would do, seeking a shocking idea that would also raise consciousness. We knew that ABC News would be taping the entire evening for a feature broadcast and we wanted to do something dramatic.

"The most shocking thing would be to challenge the cool chick image. Long hair is the crux of that image. It revolves around hair," Dana said.

"I think you're right. When I cut my hair this summer I felt liberated from male definitions of who I am or should be," Hannah said.

"How about cutting my hair, and Jennifer's?" I said. Only the two of us still had long hair. Mine had grown out since I'd cut it in the spring of 1968. Jennifer had long, sleek hair and agreed to have it cut. We selected Jeanne, our ginger-haired, six-foot-tall anarchist, to play barber.

When our turn came, the six of us marched onto the stage. Our only props were a chair and the Woolworth's scissors we'd bought. We each spoke, giving testimony about how we had once catered to movement and counterculture men's demands that we have long hair and wear miniskirts. As we talked, the thousand or so all-female audience fell silent. Dana explained what we were going to do and why. I went first. Gasps alternated with silence as Jeanne chopped off my hair. Then Jennifer's turn came. Jean cut a hunk off Jenifer's beautiful hair and a woman shouted, "Stop, don't do it," and others shouted, "No, no."

"Men tell us to wear long hair, and we buy," Dana yelled into the microphone.

"men like my breasts, too. Do you want to cut them off?" a woman shouted.

Jeanne finished her work. We filed off stage to equal volleys of shouts and applause. The negative reaction by many of the women amazed us. We'd done it to raise consciousness and to amuse but had not idea our action would be met with such anger. Many women gathered around us to thank us, but other women told us that they felt we had trivialized women's liberation and reduced it to a matter of style.

"Women are socialized to be good girls and ladies, to never make fools of ourselves. Women are defined by style and we must subvert male and society's definition," I said.

Others seemed to consider long hair as a body part. One woman hugged Jennifer and stroked her shorn hair.

"It's only hair. It'll grow out again," Jennifer said.

A woman from the ABC crew announced over the microphone that their film was missing. We were told that one of the organizers (later identified as Rita Mae Brown), apparently with the approval of the others, had snatched the film and run three blocks to the Hudson River to throw it in. Women's liberation, it was thought, would have an "image" problem if the hair-cutting exercise appeared on national television.

It seemed we were scandalous to what was becoming mainstream women's liberation; we were an outlaw faction, trapped somewhere between the mainstream and the embarrassing Weatherwomen.

On the heels of the *Time* feature, the December 12, 1969, issue of *Life* magazine published an article: "An 'Oppressed Majority' Demands Its Rights," by Sara Davidson, the writer I had refused to talk to in June:

Female Liberation is a tight-knit fiercely committed and clannish group which includes Abby Rockefeller, daughter of David Rockefeller, chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, and Roxanne Dunbar, who grew up on a poor white farm in the South and has been writing and lecturing on women's liberation for more than six years.

I worried about the direction of women's liberation with the mainstream media selecting leaders, especially when, in the midst of news of the My Lai massacre, *Time* magazine published a photograph of Gloria Steinem with Henry Kissinger, captioned:

Occasionally, he turns up with Gloria Steinem, the smashing-looking Gucci liberal who writes for *New York Magazine*. "He's terribly intelligent and funny," says Gloria. "He really understood Bobby Kennedy, and that made me know he was not Dr. Strangelove.

Kissinger! I was furious—Kissinger, who had published a book on nuclear war that claimed "With proper tactics, nuclear war need not be as destructive as it appears." Kissinger, whose Vietnam strategy for "bringing the American boys home" was to bomb Vietnam back to the Stone Age. Kissinger, whose hands dripped blood.

Gloria Steinem was being promoted by the New York liberal media establishment as the model for the women's liberation movement. Later, in 1972, Clay Felker, who had founded *New York* magazine and bought the *Village Voice*, would set Steinem up with the "official" magazine of the women's liberation movement, *Ms.* Magazine.

The lines were drawn. If that was feminism, I preferred being an outlaw. But I strongly believed that those of us with the class-based, anti-imperialist and anti-racist strategy for the women's liberation movement would prevail.

Nonkilling History is Political

President Eisenhower and Dr. King on Peace and Human Nature

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A half-century ago, U.S. political culture experienced a profound juxtaposition, though it went unnoticed at the time. In January, 1957, President Dwight D. Eisenhower began his second term, swept back into office by a resounding electoral triumph over Adlai Stevenson. Eisenhower was a powerful symbol of the twin goals of U.S. foreign policy: achieving world peace and waging unremitting cold war. Precisely because he seemed to embody both sides of this paradox, his policies left little room for meaningful dissent. As Godfrey Hodgson later wrote, in the mid-1950s "consensus was settling like snow over U.S. politics." (1976: 74)

But the consensus and the media, like the snow, were mostly white. In January, 1957, African-Americans were focusing on the threat to democracy coming not from the Kremlin but from the white racism of their own communities. And many had their eyes on Montgomery, Alabama, where they were still celebrating their first great triumph over racism. A month earlier, they had finally won the right to sit alongside whites on the city's buses. They were also watching the rise of a charismatic new leader whose public career had been launched by the Montgomery bus boycott: the young pastor of the Dexter Avenue Bapist Church, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. By January, 1957, Dr. King was joining with other black leaders to launch a new organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

In early 1957, no one yet saw a significant connection between Eisenhower's triumphant ascendancy and the obscure beginning of King's political career. As all eyes focused on the re-elected president, few could have imagined how the plans being made in Montgomery would transform the life, not only of Dr. King, but of the entire nation. Fifty years later, we are still faced with a fateful choice between two paths—in our politics, our society, and ultimately in our most basic vision of what American life is all about—symbolized by these two great icons of the 20th century, the presi-

dent and the preacher. Both men wanted, quite sincerely, to lead America toward a path of peace. Yet they viewed the world through profoundly different value systems, based on profoundly different understandings of human nature. So their paths to peace were miles apart. When Dr. King was catapulted to fame, he created a crack in the American consensus about peace, a challenge that we are still struggling with today. The end of that struggle is yet far off. The ultimate outcome is yet far from certain.

Eisenhower on Human Nature

Dwight Eisenhower was not nearly as unintelligent as his common public image might suggest.[1] He had some clearly defined ideas about human nature, and they led quite logically to his thoughts about the best way to world peace. The first clear evidence of his view of human nature came in the opening days of World War II. As a top-level logistical planner in the War Department, he was frustrated because, as he saw it, "most advice is, of course, colored by individuals who subconsciously think of their own power or opportunities for advancement." In war, he wrote to his wife, "all the pettiness, jealousy, ambition, greed and selfishness begin to leak out the seams of the average character. … Everyone pursues their own selfish or political concerns."[2]

In the years after the war, Eisenhower had the leisure to expand on his views of what he called "the facts of human nature." "All people are made up of combinations of characteristics," he wrote to an old friend, "that divide themselves fairly well into two categories between which there is constant war." The "noble" category included selflessness, cooperation, balance, consideration, and cheerfulness. The "ignoble" was "the exact opposites, or at least the lack" of these, including fear, hysteria, and selfishness. People who seek only their own private gain are "responding to one of the recognized factors in human nature," he wrote to his brother. To be human means to have a "full share of ignoble and self-centered qualities"—"the villain who, in one degree or another, lurks within each of us"— as well as "at least some of the ennobling virtues." But "men respond far more easily to a selfish impulse than to a noble one." [3]

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[1] The following discussion is based on my studies of Eisenhower: Chernus (2002a, 2002b, 2008). For overviews (now only slightly dated) of changing scholarly views of Eisenhower see Rabe (1995) and Greene (1993).

[2] Diary, 6/29/42, in Ferrell, Ed. (1981: 67); Eisenhower (1978: 74).

[3] Eisenhower to John Wells, 1/18/50, in *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower* (1978, 11:934; *The Papers* are cited here as PDDE, by volume and page number); Ei-

As president, Eisenhower lamented to Winston Churchill that it was "remarkable how little concern men seem to have for logic, statistics, and even indeed survival. We seem to live by emotion, prejudice, and pride." "We try to talk so much about the moral purposes we believe in," he complained to his speechwriter, Emmet Hughes. "But it is discouraging when everyone wants to receive so much and give so little." Although he singled out selfish farmers who wanted more federal funds, he added: "Christ, everyone else is just as bad. I don't know…I don't know."[4]

Eisenhower assumed that people are born with no preexisting ties to others: "Society itself is composed of nothing more than vast numbers of individuals." Since all these individuals are pursuing self-interest, they are bound to come into conflict. Unchecked, it would lead inevitably to chaos and anarchy. Therefore, he wrote to a friend, "all men recognize the need for some control over their own impulsive actions." [5] The crucial question, in his mind, was how that control would be attained and maintained: Would it be self-imposed or imposed by others?

"None of us," Eisenhower told one audience, "can escape his responsibility for understanding that within him is a certain amount of greed, a certain amount of selfishness, a certain amount of prejudice. Those things are not going to be eradicated from our breasts within our time, but we can find ways to control them, to turn them to practical use, so we can get along together." In fact, his beliefs dictated that the quest for self-restraint and social harmony must be never-ending. Selflessness is a quality "so difficult to instill permanently in human nature that constant effort is required…through every medium"—including Hollywood films, he told producer Samuel Goldwyn. And "the facts of human nature" dictate that moral failure is inevitable. So when people get together to solve common problems, the result is usually "exceedingly disappointing." Even the few selfless people (among whom Eisenhower numbered himself) could not expect any results "too brilliant." [6]

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senhower to Ruth Hagy, 3/18/52, PDDE 13:1082; Eisenhower to Edgar Eisenhower, 12/6/51, PDDE 12:755; Eisenhower to Swede Hazlett, 9/4/51, PDDE 12:514.

[4] Eisenhower to Churchill, 6/19/53, PDDE, 14:315; diary, 10/19/53, Emmet John Hughes Diary, Emmet John Hughes Papers, Box 1, Seeley G. Mudd Library, Princeton University.

[5] Eisenhower to George Sloan, 1/29/52, PDDE 13:929; Eisenhower to William Robinson, 2/12/52, PDDE 13:985-991.

[6] Speech to Inter-American Defense Board, 4/15/46, Pre-Presidential Papers, Principal Series, Box 192, "Speeches November 1945-April 1946 (1)" (unless otherwise noted, all unpublished documents cited here are found in the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, KS.); Eisenhower to Samuel Goldwyn, 10/4/51, PDDE 12:612; Ei-

Nevertheless, Eisenhower always thought that voluntary self-control, civilization's highest goal, was still worth striving for. As president, he based his own policies on that ideal, as Robert Divine has noted: "The essence of Eisenhower's strength, and the basis for any claim to presidential greatness, lies in his admirable self-restraint. Emmet Hughes had this quality in mind when he wrote: 'The man—and the President—was never more decisive than when he held to a steely resolve not to do something.'" In performing any public duty or assessing any public situation, he asked first about potential dangers to be avoided. When he talked about developing new national strategies, he meant new ways to assess present and future threats and new plans to defend against them. Strategy meant fending off harm, preventing bad things from happening (Hughes apud Divine, 1981: 154; Joes, 1987: 294).

He took this as his primary responsibility, because he saw restraint as the primary role of government and society. Unable to trust themselves, individuals band together to establish communal agencies that would compel them to control themselves. "The basic purpose of all organization is to produce orderliness, which means restriction upon irresponsible human action," he wrote. In the context of Eisenhower's discourse, "irresponsible" was a synonym for "excessively selfish." Man knows that "for certain of his basic needs he must depend upon concerted action of a group....Thus have arisen organisms of collective political enterprise which have, so far, found their highest manifestation in what we call the nation." Nations were created to impose "rules and laws to control relationships among individuals."[7]

However, there is always a danger that the governing agencies will exercise too little control, allowing some individuals to amass excessive power and risking anarchy. In response, the governing agencies (especially the state) might begin to exercise too much control, giving themselves excessive power. During World War II, he made the same point to his wife: "Just as the [First] World War brought in an era of almost hysterical change and restlessness, so will this one bring about revolutions in our customs, laws and economic processes. If we could hope for a greater mass discipline—self-imposed—there would be cause for rejoicing; the danger is that special economic, industrial or social groups will apply pressures that will either be disruptive or might force, for a

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senhower to George Whitney, 9/22/51, PDDE 12:561 and 3/26/52, PDDE 13:1125; Eisenhower to Ruth Hagy, 3/18/52, PDDE 13:1083.

[7] Eisenhower to William Robinson, 2/12/52, PDDE 13:985-991; Eisenhower (1948: 190-191).

time at least, the adoption of some form of dictatorship in our democracies. Either outcome would be tragic." (Eisenhower, 1978: 42-43)

After the war, Eisenhower worried most about the threat of dictatorship. Eventually, disruptive selfish impulses might have to be restrained by some external compulsory force. And that force, typically the rulers of the state, would inevitably abuse power, because "politics excites all that is selfish and ambitious in man." The eternal "task of the progressive" is to break down all such concentrations of power, for they all restrict the individual's freedom and "opportunities for self-development and advancement," the very opportunities that society is established to advance.[8]

The Cold War

Eisenhower saw the dangers of excessive selfishness on both sides of the Iron Curtain, a view that was fundamental to his understanding of the cold war. Although he has often been seen as one who came late to anticommunism, in fact he expressed pronounced anticommunist views even during the closing years of World War II. (See Chernus, 2002a, ch. 3.) To the end of his life, he viewed totalitarian communism as the greatest threat to freedom. Communism's collectivism, its statism, and its atheism all stemmed from the same root, he believed: denying the individual the right to practice the virtue of voluntary self-restraint.

However, he saw profound dangers in "free world" capitalism, too. He believed in individual freedom as humanity's deepest desire. He affirmed capitalism as necessary for freedom, because the freedom to earn and preserve private property is essential to all other freedoms. Yet he defined the true meaning of freedom (in a State of the Union address) as "the opportunity for self-discipline." Here was the rub. Given "man's natural laziness and habits of self-indulgence," people are not likely to discipline themselves. They need the lure of wealth as a motivation to work: "None of us likes to face up to the fact that he himself must sweat and slave if he is to realize an ambition. It is a comfortable human failing to pass disagreeable responsibility to an indefinite, indefinable whole."[9]

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[8] Eisenhower to Sid Richardson, 6/20/51, PDDE 12:367; Eisenhower to William Robinson, 2/12/52, PDDE 13:985-991.

[9] Eisenhower to Geoffrey Keynes, 3/5/47, PDDE 8:1564; Eisenhower to John Wells, 1/18/50, PDDE 11:934; State of the Union Address, 1/10/57, *Public Papers of the Presidents: Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1957*, 21.

Only a system of differential incentives, with no limit on the potential rewards, could coax hard work out of self-indulgent, lazy humanity; only a capitalist system could achieve maximum productivity: "Human nature usually seeks avidly that which is difficult to get, whether it is money, position, or reputation." "Unless each member [of society] has a real incentive to produce, the result will finally be a society that has nothing with which to reward." Unless capitalism is universally and rigorously enforced, people will indulge their selfish laziness and happily let the state take care of their needs. That was one good reason for waging unrelenting cold war against communism.[10]

Yet this left Eisenhower with a fundamental paradox, which he fully recognized. Since capitalism unleashes and relies upon the same selfish impulses that lead to communist dictatorship, capitalism also encourages people to abandon self-control. "The principal contradiction in the whole system," he confided in his diary, "comes about because of the inability of men to forego immediate gain for a long time good." The economic competition spawned by capitalism might tear society apart because "we do not yet have a sufficient number of people who are ready to make the immediate sacrifice in favor of a long-term investment." And that threat might ultimately require the government to impose controls on every individual, even in a capitalist society.[11]

Eisenhower hoped to preserve freedom against the communist threat by calling the nation back to a higher value than self: "Love of country must inspire us to serve our own national interests by perfecting teamwork within [the nation]....Patriotism is the expression of the will to sacrifice." He wanted every American to "truly dedicate himself to the good of the whole and not merely to the satisfaction of personal ambition," he wrote to one correspondent. "Indeed, I think of personal ambition as something like the tempering of steel. If there is too little, the steel softens and becomes useless; if too much, it becomes brittle and breaks." The key to preventing "the Kremlin's control of the entire earth" was the average American's willingness to sacrifice personal desires for the good of all.[12]

Ultimately, Eisenhower saw both the problem and the solution as matters of religious faith. Little progress has been made against "sin, the devil and hu-

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[10] Eisenhower to James Forrestal, 2/7/48, PDDE 9:2251; Eisenhower to George Sloan, 1/29/52, PDDE 13:929.

[11] Diary, 7/2/53, PDDE, 14: 358-60.

[12] Eisenhower (1948: 120); Eisenhower to Frances Bolton, 12/14/60, AWF, DDE Diaries Series, Box 55, "DDE Dictation December 1960"; Eisenhower to E. L. Hering, 5/29/59, AWF, DDE Diaries Series, Box 41, "DDE Dictation May 1959."

man misconduct," he wrote to his brother Edgar, because most people "want to shift responsibility, both for their own individual problems and public activities, to the shoulders of someone else." John McCloy once sent him a copy of a letter written in 1823, which read in part: "I am worn down and worn out with crusading and defending Europe, and protecting mankind. The world is bursting with sin and sorrow." Eisenhower replied that he was "sad to realize the world hasn't changed a bit since 1823. Nor apparently have its inhabitants." "All these trials and tribulations," he told his wife during the war, "must come upon the world because of some great wickedness." It was, in fact, Eisenhower's version of what his sectarian Christian ancestors called original sin: humanity's persistent unwillingness to voluntarily restrain its innate selfishness. Man's intelligence and "spiritual perceptions," should find a way to put an end to it.[13]

On many occasions, Eisenhower did call on religion for the solution. In his diary, he wrote: "Even if the free government were not originally based upon some form of deeply felt religious faith, then men should attempt to devise a religion that stresses the qualities of unselfishness, cooperation, and equality of men." He wrote to his close boyhood friend, Swede Hazlett: "I believe fanatically in the American form of democracy—a system that recognizes and protects the rights of the individual and that ascribes to the individual a dignity accruing to him because of his being created in the image of a supreme being and which rests upon the conviction that only through a system of free enterprise can this type of democracy by preserved." Similarly, in his private diary he wrote of the need for "complete devotion to democracy, which means a faith in men as men (essentially religious concept) and practice of free enterprise."[14]

Both before and after he was elected president, he often turned his public addresses into sermons on the virtues of faith: "Religion has always been the most effective process of developing human character strong enough to forget the motivation of selfishness and to act on the larger concept of duty." Accepting the "Churchman Award," he argued that democracy required "some conviction of the value of this thing that we call the soul.…If there is not a soul that is related in some way to a religious Being, no matter what the faith, then I can see no reason why each of us should not exploit to the full any talent he may have vis-à-vis his fellow, vis-à-vis his neighbor, and take ad-

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[13] Eisenhower to Edgar Eisenhower, 10/5/60, AWF, DDE Diaries Series, Box 53, "DDE Dictation October 1960"; Eisenhower to John J. McCloy, 5/29/53, PDDE, 14: 262; Eisenhower (1978: 172).

[14] Diary, 7/2/53, PDDE, 14: 362; Eisenhower to Swede Hazlett, 7/19/47, PDDE 8:1837; diary, 5/26/46 (Ferrell, Ed., 1981: 137).

vantage if he possibly can." Moreover, if human beings did not have divine souls, why shouldn't the state treat people like mules, as the Marxists did, all "harnessed to the plough, whipped and goaded to work"? The freedom to practice voluntary self-restraint and the commitment to defeat freedom's enemies were the essence of religion, in Eisenhower's view.[15]

Eisenhower on Peace

This was the ideology that shaped Eisenhower's approach to issues of peace and war. He was careful not to reduce peace merely to the absence of war. His definition of pacifism was: "Every practical decent and proper step that will prevent the outbreak of war." Peace meant an absence of war achieved by following "decent and proper" values. To attain peace meant "to substitute the council table for the battlefield," "to substitute mutual confidence for mutual suspicion and rule by law for rule by the sword," to make the "transition from war to peace, from destructive chaos toward orderly procedures." "We live by the axiom that arbitration is a more effective means of settling disputes than is war." The international machinery of peace would "remove from nations any reason for, or any desire to, attack." At the council table, where rules prevailed, life was orderly precisely because people were willing to restrain their impulses. For Eisenhower, only "orderly, legal procedures," not state force, could "give civilization a firm foundation." A "firm foundation" meant a civilization with enduring mechanisms to institutionalize the practice of self-restraint. A world at peace would be a world where everyone voluntarily controlled their innate selfishness. [16]

On public occasions, Eisenhower sometimes proclaimed this ideal peace, "the millennium when arbitration and reason will entirely replace force," as a realistic goal. At Gettysburg, he said that the eternal flame of the town's battlefield, which "symbolizes permanent accord among ourselves, can be the prototype of another light symbolizing universal peace.…What has been won for the peoples of this continent, you can preserve here and help win for all the world!" He told one audience that the U.S. and its allies must "marshal our forces into one mighty effort…toward the goal of permanent peace…this glorious, universal crusade." He called on another to

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[15] Eisenhower (1948: 144, 168); Eisenhower (1961: 15).

[16] Press conference, 9/25/46, Pre-Presidential Papers, Principal Series, Box 156, "Press Statements and Release, 1944-1946 (1)"; Eisenhower (1948: 244, 117, 113, 86, 68); speech to U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1/20/47, Pre-Presidential Papers, Principal Series, Box 192, "Speeches January 1947 - October 1947 (3)."

join a "great crusade" marching "toward peace and, finally, total and universal disarmament." This would bring "the world's salvation," "the peace that man has hoped for through the centuries, the peace that has no end."[17]

However, Eisenhower's ideology offered little reason to believe in such a millennial hope for peace. He traced war, along with all other human problems, back to innate selfishness. The causes of war were "evils entrenched in the structure of human relations." "When you come down to it, the seeds of war are in the breast of each of us." People have been talking about peace "for many, many years," he wrote to a friend, but "human nature being what it is, these ideas have never gotten very far." "Prejudice and hatred" are always far more powerful than "fact and logic," and prejudice fueled the "rising tide of militant nationalism" that kept nations in conflict. Proclaiming a "National Day of Penance and Prayer," he endorsed Lincoln's view that war comes from forgetting God, and confessing the nation's sin is the way to peace.[18]

The struggle of peace against war will go on forever, he told a group of chaplains: "Your struggle is an endless one. The inner peace of a well integrated life is something that must be continually achieved; the outer peace of a world in which nations live together in a spirit of brotherhood is something that must be continually earned." The best to hope for is not to eliminate, but merely to contain, the threat of war. To the National Board of Fire Underwriters he proposed a parallel between war and fire. Both are dangers that humans will always have to face but could learn to control ever more proficiently. So he called for "individual, community, and national attitudes that will remove war from the category of the inevitable into its proper position as an evil subject to prevention, or at least control.…War may happen—but it will cease to be an institution, a characteristic of human society." (Eisenhower, 1948: 144, 217, 219)

In private, Eisenhower was even more pessimistic. He explained to George Kennan his plans to create an Institute of War and Peace Studies while he was president of Columbia University: "War and conflict are so

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[17] Eisenhower (1948: 153, 103, 71); speech to Cleveland Aviation Club, 4/11/46, Pre-Presidential Papers, Principal Series, Box 192, "Speeches November 1945-April 1946 (1)"; D-Day Address, Kansas City, 6/6/47, Pre-Presidential Papers, Principal Series, Box 192, "Speeches January 1947-October 1947 (2)"; notes for speech to Poor Richard Club, Philadelphia, 1/17/48, Pre-Presidential Papers, Principal Series, Box 195 "Poor Richard Club".

[18] Eisenhower (1948: 186); speech to Inter-American Defense Board, 4/15/46, Pre-Presidential Papers, Principal Series, Box 192, "Speeches November 1945 - April 1946 (1)"; Eisenhower to Ellis Slater, 7/13/53, PDDE, 14: 382; Eisenhower to Emmet Hughes, 3/11/53, PDDE, 14: 219-20.

deeply imbedded in human nature" that no study would ever teach the world how to end war. But one could well study "the *conduct* of war. Obviously, if the military and economic strength of a nation are important in preserving peace—or at least in winning a war," then it would be valuable to learn how to "achieve victory expeditiously, surely and economically." Victory in war would be a crucial way to preserve peace.[19]

By the time he became president, however, Eisenhower recognized that the threat posed by war was of apocalyptic magnitude. The advent of nuclear weaponry merely confirmed the apocalyptic quality of war. Ultimately, communism was to blame. Eisenhower was sure that only the communists would start a war and that they would intend to destroy the entire "free world." In the process of defending the "free world," he was prepared to use force that would destroy the whole communist bloc and much of the "free world" too. But he believed that the communists were only one in an endless procession of groups and movements threatening freedom. All the fronts in the cold war were "part and parcel of the same great struggle—the struggle of free men…to prevent their system from collapsing under them…that has been going on for some three thousand years." [20]

For Eisenhower, the cold war, like every war, was essentially a test of individual moral purity. The true battle front lay within the soul of every individual. "What this world needs more than anything else is moral regeneration," he told a Christian audience. And he spoke to a Jewish group of "the moral regeneration needed to banish from the world these evils that have darkened the way to peace among men." The general offered such sentiments to secular audiences as well. "The solution of problems deep-rooted in human nature… [would be] necessary to build a world co-operating for peace," he told a group of newspaper advertising executive. Even when he spoke of the apocalyptic implications of the atomic bomb, he prescribed strenuous spiritual exertion as the only remedy: "The only hope for the world as we know it will be complete spiritual regeneration, a strengthening of moral fiber that will place upon all men a self-imposed determination to respect the rights of others." [21]

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[19] Eisenhower to George Kennan, 11/3/50, PDDE 11:1403.

[20] Eisenhower to Swede Hazlett, 11/14/51, in Robert Griffith, ed., *Ike's Letters to a Friend, 1941-1958* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1984), 95.

[21] Eisenhower (1948: 168, 176, 85); Address to American Legion, 11/20/45, Pre-Presidential Papers, Principal Series, Box 192, "Speeches November 1945-April 1946 (2)."

Apocalypse Management

The "moral fiber" Eisenhower pinned his hopes on was precisely the voluntary self-restraint that he always preached. Yet he had little hope or expectation that it would be practiced very widely. That was why the struggle had been going on for "some three thousand years." That was why he expected it to go on indefinitely. Freedom will always have enemies, he assumed. The forces of freedom could never abolish the threat once and for all. Eisenhower expected to be fighting the current manifestation of the enemy—communism—for as far as any practical planner could see. For all practical purposes, he treated the cold war as a permanent fact of life. The best to hope for was to contain the communist threat and avert its peril every day. As long as he could manage to do that, he would consider the world to be at peace, as several historians have noted. Campbell Craig wrote: "Others could try to perfect society; he would work to make sure it survived for another day." Stanley Hoffman wrote that the Eisenhower era "turned containment into routine." According to Robert Divine, he made the cold war "a problem to be managed, not an all-consuming crusade against the forces of evil." (Craig, 1998: 117; Hoffman, 1978: 6; Divine, 1981: 11)

Eisenhower launched no apocalyptic crusade because he could envision no apocalyptic solution to the nation's problem. He could have no realistic hope of eliminating the threat to freedom, since he assumed that it is inherent in human nature. Thus he had no realistic hope of realizing his ideal of a universal millennial peace. But the apocalyptic problem remained: preserving the very existence of the United States, the "free world," and civilization itself. The only route to preservation lay through constantly managing the enemy and its apocalyptic danger. The real goal of his policies, for all practical purposes, can best be called apocalypse management: managing every global problem, containing the enemy everywhere, and thus staving off apocalyptic disaster. If he could accomplish that feat from day to day, he believed, he would prevent war and thus keep the world at peace. In Eisenhower's ideological framework, the practical meaning of peace was reduced to the universal restraint achieved by apocalypse management.

Seen through the lens of apocalypse management, the world appeared to be an arena of endless conflict and threat. Therefore, Eisenhower could not help fearing that any significant change in the world situation might threaten freedom. Any uncontrolled development might spark apocalyptic change. He did not see threatening change and then respond with fear. He assumed that there was threatening change, feared it, and then went out

and found it. The fear came first because it was not, ultimately, fear of the Soviet Union or communism, but fear of the change inevitably initiated by human desire. In particular, he feared changes that might dissolve the boundary line dividing friend from foe. There had to be an enemy to fear and oppose. His view of the world made no sense unless there were an enemy fomenting dangerous change that had to be contained, portending an apocalypse that had to be managed. That enemy had to be a permanent fact of life, requiring all Americans to be permanently vigilant in warding off the ever-looming danger. Under Eisenhower, the U.S. became what H. W. Brands has rightly called a "national insecurity state." (Brands, 1989)

The practice of apocalypse management made peace, freedom, and faith equivalent to preserving the status quo. In the national insecurity state, peace could not mean a mutual, reciprocal, give-and-take relationship with the communist "other." That would be too risky, too dynamic, too liable to get out of control. Fifty years ago, when Eisenhower went to the summit at Geneva and offered the "Open Skies" plan, he had no intention of developing a genuine rapport with the Soviets or making any compromises. He wanted only to make public gestures of peace, to keep U.S. allies firmly cemented in the "free world's" wall of containment, to prevent any significant change at all.[22]

Of course, the status quo Eisenhower was trying to preserve was a state of war, albeit cold war. As long as it went on, the world would be permanently divided between the warring superpowers. Yet as long as the dividing line was kept immobile and impermeable, that permanent division would be, in Eisenhower's view, the source and proof of the world being at peace. War, as long as it stayed cold, was peace. And peace required endless cold war. This was quite logical in Eisenhower's ideological framework. Peace was ultimately restraint of human nature, a voluntary self-control that would prevent selfish desire from causing chaos and prevent others, especially communists, from imposing involuntary control. Since the war between desire and restraint would always rage within every human being, the war would go on forever. Peace meant merely that the war's most destructive effects were being effectively managed and contained, because an ever-fearful America was constantly on its guard.

Apocalypse management was the prevailing idea of peace in the United States throughout the cold war era. This was Eisenhower's most enduring legacy. By the 1990s, the cold war was over. But the national insecurity state remained. Our public discourse about world affairs is still shaped by the as-

[22] The same was true of Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" plan; see Chernus, (2002b).

sumption that it is America's mission to prevent dangerous change by containing threats to freedom. As a candidate for president in 2000, George W. Bush remarked that the cold war years were comforting, because "it was us vs. them, and it was clear who them was. Today, we are not so sure who the they are, but we know they're there." "We're certain," he told another campaign audience, "that even though the 'evil empire' may have passed, evil still remains. We're certain there are people that can't stand what America stands for. ... We're certain there are madmen in this world, and there's terror." [23]

On September 11, 2001, Bush and America found out who the "madmen" were, the "evildoers" and "enemies of freedom" who must be resisted at all cost. The boundary between freedom and its enemies, which had been enshrined in the cold war years, is still alive and well. So is the perception of a threat of apocalyptic magnitude, perpetuating an insistent demand for apocalypse management in the national insecurity state. The fear that comes with it is alive and well, too.

King on Human Nature

Eisenhower lived as a relatively obscure army officer until he was appointed to head allied forces in Europe during World War II, at the age of 52. Martin Luther King, Jr., was quite different. He began his ascent to fame and historical importance when he was exactly half that age and just out of school. On the way to his Ph.D. in theology at Boston University, King studied the most influential theological doctrines of his day concerning human nature. This marked another difference between him and the president, who (judging from the 18 volumes of his personal papers) had studied the work of no serious thinker other than Clausewitz. King was much more at home in the world of intellectual pursuits.

Whether King was himself a true intellectual or an original thinker probably depends on how those terms are defined. His thought was much like a patchwork quilt, taking large blocks of ideas from the thinkers he studied and stitching them together in ad hoc ways. He drew on a few thinkers in some detail: Edgar Brightman, Paul Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr, Mahatma Gandhi. He drew on others, like Anders Nygren and Martin Buber, in more cursory simplistic ways.

When he encountered opposing views on any subject, King would rarely take sides. He was much more likely to draw something from each view and

[23] Speech at Iowa Western Community College, Jan 21, 2000; speech at Albuquerque, N.M., May 30, 2000.

put together his own synthesis. That was the way he approached the issue of human nature. The result had a profound effect on his view of peace and, in turn, on the history of the idea of peace as nonviolence. Ultimately, he produced the most influential alternative yet devised to the prevailing view of peace as apocalypse management—not because he was a profound thinker, but because he put old ideas together in new ways to suit new historical developments and promoted his ideas with memorable eloquence and charisma. But it was only through a fortuitous combination of the man and the times that King's words could become an enduring new path to peace.

At Boston University, most of King's teachers espoused the theological doctrine known as personalism. He soon came to espouse it too. From personalism, he learned to see human nature in terms of potentiality and actualization. Every person has a unique set of potentials, the personalists taught. The meaning of a life lies in the unfolding of those potentials and the way they are realized. For a religious personalist like King, each person is a "soul of infinite metaphysical value." [24] Each of us has a sacred value and dignity because each was created by God and in His image. Whether on religious or secular grounds, personalists contend that each one of us, simply by virtue of being human, has an inherent right to actualize our fullest potentials and realize the fullest possible range of values in our lives.

To achieve our fullest potential, we must have the fullest possible freedom. Personalism taught that "the essence of man is found in freedom." Every human being is innately free. But what is freedom? As King saw it, freedom is far more than Eisenhower's opportunity for voluntary self-control. Freedom is "the opportunity to fulfill my total capacity untrammeled by any artificial barrier." When an artificial barrier is erected, someone else will be making choices for us. In that case, we lose our humanity and are "reduced to an animal." (King, 1986: 120, 121) Eisenhower and King agreed that external control reduces us to an animal state and therefore must be avoided. But for Eisenhower, the animal is inhuman because it cannot freely choose to curb its desire. King saw no such need to protect ourselves against desire. Rather, he saw the animal as inhuman because it cannot freely choose the best way to fulfill its desire.

King recognized that life and the conditions of reality set some limit to our freedom, and they must be respected: "Always freedom is within a predestined structure," as he put it, using the words of Paul Tillich. Within that

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[24] King (1986: 626). For a fuller elaboration of all aspects of King's thought discussed here, set in a different context, see Chernus (2004: 11).

structure, though, every person deserves maximum freedom. Yet freedom is not license to do whatever we please, not just the ability to act randomly. Indeed, according to King, freedom is more than just actions of any kind. It is a condition of being. Freedom means having a clear sense of who one is, what one is determined to be, and why. It means (again, following Tillich) that a person's acts come from choices made by "the centered totality of his being." (That is why "freedom is one thing—you have it all, or you are not free.") The desires we must be free to fulfill are only our most genuine desires, those that come from the center of our being (King, 1986: 120, 104).

We need freedom to maximize our potentials completely. We also need other people: "Creation is so designed that my personality can be fulfilled only in the context of community." Although King grounded his social philosophy, like everything else, in his Christian beliefs, he also offered a secular argument that invokes no religious commitments. Each of us can fulfill ourselves only with the help of others who can give us what we need for our fulfillment. "The self cannot be a self without other selves. I cannot reach fulfillment without thou." (King, 1986: 122) Here, as always, King used Buber's language of "I and Thou" in a very loose sense, torn out of Buber's own theological context and indeed torn out of the whole context of Buber's I-Thou philosophy. He meant simply that I cannot develop my full potentials all alone. I must live in a society that offers me the help of other people.

(King never addressed the complex issues that Buber explored so deeply, such as time and history, free will and determinism, and the like. Perhaps he had not studied Buber in depth. Or perhaps he understood the complexities but avoided them because he was shaping his own words to meet pragmatic political challenges. In the moment of I-Thou relationship as Buber understands it, political intentionality and efforts to shape the future must be abandoned. King did agree with Buber that people should always be treated as ends, never as means. This was the basis of his critique of capitalism: it "encourages a cutthroat competition and selfish ambition that inspire men to be more I-centered than thou-centered." (King, 1986: 629) But King surely would have embraced this Kantian principle even had he never read Buber, and there is no evidence that he was influenced by Buber's distinctive development of it.)

To be truly free, I need help from the "thous" of my life. However, King's secular argument continues, others can give me what I need only when they are getting what they need. No one can achieve their full potential unless the society they live in is affording full and equal opportunity for fulfillment to all: "We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. This is the

interrelated structure of all reality. You can never be what you ought to be until I become what I ought to be"—and vice versa (King, 1986: 210). We must live in whatever kind of community we create. The happier and healthier the community, the happier and healthier our own lives. All humans are one family because of this simple sociological and psychological fact. Therefore all deserve to be treated as equals, with full respect and equal justice.

King took this argument to its logical conclusions. Since I am only free when fulfilling my own potential, and I need others to be free to achieve my own freedom, I am only free when I am helping others to be free to fulfill their potential. "Their destiny is tied up with our destiny and their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom." So the problem that plagued Eisenhower—the conflict between freedom and responsibility to others—is an unreal problem, created only by a wrong understanding of human life. In truth, King concluded, I can fulfill my freedom only by serving the needs of others, especially when their freedom is abridged. The objective fact of our interconnectedness creates a pattern in history that works inexorably (though most often very slowly) to bring all humanity closer to perfect equality, justice, and fulfillment: the "moral arc of the universe is long but it bends toward justice." (King, 1986: 218, 88)

The ultimate goal of the moral arc is what King called "the beloved community": a society of perfect freedom, justice, and harmony, where everyone follows the moral order embedded in the universe. In the beloved community, everyone recognizes the truth that we all are, always have been, and always will be interdependent. And everyone acts upon that truth, maximizing their own freedom and fulfillment by maximizing the free fulfillment of all others. The ideal is active interdependence and mutual service, not individual self-reliance and competition. Therefore, there are no hierarchies and no oppression. The beloved community is one of unity but not strict uniformity. Diversity is fully valued, because the distinctive qualities and potentials of every individual are fully valued. The unity comes from each one appreciating and enhancing the qualities that make every other one different and unique. When people exercise their freedom responsibly, acting together for the good of all, their ultimate goal is to create the beloved community.

Reconciling Essence and Existence

Eisenhower knew nothing of the views being espoused by King. Had heard about them, he might have smiled knowingly. He would have recognized their roots in biblical eschatology and the Christian belief in the coming of the Kingdom of God. But his smile would have been a bit conde-

scending. He would surely have written off King's hopes for the world as unrealistic, given the innate selfishness of human nature. Had the ideals of freedom, justice, and peace in the beloved community been the sum total of King's thinking, the president might have been right.

However, King had considered the selfishness of human nature more systematically and theologically than Eisenhower. As a student, King was strongly influenced by the writings of Niebuhr, the theologian who gave the most sophisticated intellectual arguments for the conclusions that Eisenhower had reached intuitively. Niebuhr found the roots of all selfishness in the fundamental structures of human life. The starting point of his argument was the universal (he claimed) awareness of human finitude: "Self-consciousness means the recognition of finiteness within infinity. The mind recognizes the ego as an insignificant point amidst the immensities of the world." This humbling realization is disturbing, perhaps even unendurable, Niebuhr assumed. Therefore, "in all vital self-consciousness there is a note of protest against this finiteness." Recognizing our finitude, we inevitably want to be more; we want to aggrandize ourselves. Some do it by seeking more power or money or prestige. Some do it more benignly by seeking love or endless life through offspring (Niebuhr, 1960 [1932]: 41).

In all these ways, we rely on finite values to gives our lives an aura of infinite meaning. We take our finite values and treat them as if they were infinite. Thus we pretend to be self-sufficient, as if we had no need of God. In other words, we try to become God. To sustain this fiction, we must constantly be trying to gain more (whether it be more power, wealth, prestige, love, or whatever). Of course everyone else is trying to do the same. So we want more of whatever values we rely on, in order to protect ourselves against others. "Man's lusts are fed by his imagination," Niebuhr claimed, so lust is limitless. It grows even stronger when people gather, as they must, in groups: "The selfishness of human communities must be regarded as an inevitability.…Thus society is in a perpetual state of war." Private life may be guided by the highest moral principles, Niebuhr argued. But when people act in groups morality become largely irrelevant. Indeed, the Christian tradition that says the devil rules the world "is a very realistic interpretation of the realities of social life." (Niebuhr, 1960 [1932]: 44, 272, 19, 70)

The resulting conflicts among groups bound to make us feel less secure. The more value a group amasses, the more it has to lose, so the less secure its members feel. Then the group seeks even more, to shore itself up against the prospect of greater loss. This only engenders more conflict with other groups. Conflict requires authorities to control it. But the authorities inevita-

bly use their power to aggrandize themselves, creating more conflict. The vicious cycle just goes on. It is the essence of human history, especially the history of nations, the groups who act out the cycle most clearly and most fatefully. It will not end until history ends in the eschatological consummation.[25]

King was impressed by Niebuhr's analysis. He never gave up the idea that human selfishness and the evil it causes are objective facts that must be acknowledged. But he took a slightly different approach than Niebuhr. Beneath all acts of self-aggrandizement King saw a drive for self-respect. He recognized how commonly self-respect depends on receiving respect from others. We all want the affirmation and recognition and distinction that we feel we deserve. We all want to stand out and be noticed, to be a somebody rather than a nobody. King called this (in one of his best know sermons) "the drum major instinct." Naturally, we resent it if someone else is playing the drum major role. Since everyone wants to be the drum major, conflict is unavoidable. "The great issue of life is to harness the drum major instinct." (King, 1986: 262) Eisenhower would surely have endorsed this basic belief.

However, King parted ways with Eisenhower because, as a theologian, he was not fully convinced by Niebuhr. He felt that Niebuhr had gone too far in the direction of so-called "realism" and accepted too much selfishness and coercion as inevitable facts of life. King saw, in addition to the roots of evil in human nature, a much greater potential for good than Niebuhr would allow. Although sin is inevitable in every one of us, we can nevertheless love others and work together in community to enrich the lives of all. Even in the worst person there is always a chance to choose the good. As King put it (using his preferred Christian language), "the image of God is never totally gone." King's view of human nature was therefore ambivalent: "Man is neither innately good nor is he innately bad; he has potentialities for both." (King, 1986: 48) There is an absolute difference in principle between good and evil, but the two are always mixed together in every person. To explain why that mixture is inevitable and how it works, King drew upon the other great mid-twentieth century theologian working in the U.S.: Paul Tillich.

Tillich's view of human nature rested on a larger metaphysical view about reality itself.[26] In every dimension, he asserted, there is a difference between

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[25] For a fuller discussion of Niebuhr's thought see Chernus (2004: ch. 11).

[26] Tillich's views were developed most fully in his *Systematic Theology*, 3 vols. (1951-63). King asked for these books to read in his cell the first time he was jailed for civil disobedience (Branch, 1988: 363). For the aspects of Tillich's thought that appear most often in King's writings, the most succinct source is Tillich (1954).

essence (the ideal structure of reality, how things are in principle or are meant to be) and existence (how things really are now, in fact). In its essence, reality is a unified whole, with all parts interwoven harmoniously. In actual existence, there is separation, which allows for tension and conflict. In fact, conflict is inevitable. Every aspect of reality is marked by this estrangement of essence from existence. Unlike Niebuhr, though, Tillich would not say that estrangement, separation, tension, and conflict are the last words about human history. The foundation of Christianity, according to Tillich, is faith in an infinitely loving God who is always working to reconcile all that has been separated and return reality, and humanity with it, to its essential goodness. Divine love is a cosmic process that overcomes all alienation and estrangement.

Tillich applied the same framework to understanding human nature. Our essential human nature is ultimately good, or at least fully capable of choosing the good. But our existential nature, the way we live from day to day, is estranged from our essence. Because we are free and finite creatures[27], our free choices never measure up fully to the ideal of our essential goodness. Inevitably, we make some wrong choices. Inevitably we transgress on the freedom and dignity of others and fail to respond fully to their needs. To use the language of Tillich, Niebuhr, and King (all of them Protestant ministers): inevitably we sin. Niebuhr spoke of sin most often as an evil act. For Tillich, sin is not merely an evil act caused by our separation from our essential nature. Sin is that state of separation. It is not that we become separated from each other because we do bad things that drive us apart. On the contrary, we do bad things because we are already separated from each other. But precisely because reality is the endless process of overcoming separation, sin can never be the final word even about the present, much less the future. We need not wait until the end of history to see ultimate goodness manifest. At every moment in history, good is overcoming evil; separation is being reconciled; existence is coming closer to essence.

King agreed with Tillich. Sometimes, he made the point in very secular terms. He claimed that even those who do not believe in God must believe in "some creative force that works for togetherness, a creative force in this universe that works to bring the disconnected aspects of reality into a harmonious whole." (King, 1986: 40) That creative force is most obviously recognized in human communities. Social relationships are the way in which we express both

[27] King sometimes quoted Tillich as his authority for the idea that freedom is the essence of human nature (Branch, 1988: 695). Tillich also stressed the idea that free acts must come from the centered totality of one's being.

our sin and the overcoming of sin. Society is driven by individualism and competition because we are estranged from our essence. Competitive individualism leads to hierarchical social structures. Those above dominate those below, and the result is a society riddled with conflicts, separations, and injustice.

However, there are constantly forces at work overcoming political, economic, and social conflicts, creating freedom and justice to return us to our communal essence. No religious faith is needed to recognize that we need others to fulfill ourselves. And we can get great ego satisfaction from helping others and improving our community. We can satisfy the drum major instinct by being drum majors for justice and peace. For all these reasons, we can help others and simultaneously be serving ourselves: "We are in the fortunate position of having our deepest sense of morality coalesce with our self-interest." (King, 1986: 626)

With these words, King indicated again that the dichotomy Eisenhower and Niebuhr saw as most basic—the split between self-interest and concern for others—is not a tragic moral dilemma. It is a mistaken perception of reality. The interwoven structure of society dictates that we need not decide between self and other. Once the illusion of self versus other or friend versus foe is dispelled, win-win options almost always appear. People of good will and accurate understanding can help each other fulfill their most genuine desires, simply by making choices that benefit both self and others. This is how they can overcome the separations in the world. In other words, they can cease doing violence and embrace nonviolence.

King on Peace and Nonviolence

From his study of Gandhi, King learned that nonviolence is far more than merely refraining from physical violence. Nonviolence is, and must be, a form of active resistance to oppression and injustice. King agreed with Niebuhr that resistance requires some degree of coercive force. Nonviolence cannot ignore the existential facts: "We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed" (King, 1986: 492) The only way to move society toward justice is by inflicting so much physical, economic, or psychological pain on the unjust that they change their ways, due to their selfish desire to avoid the pain.

King's greatest achievement in the theory of nonviolence was to reconcile Niebuhr's insistence on political coercion with Gandhi's insistence that the essence of nonviolence is refusing to coerce others. He achieved this feat more or less accidentally. In his public words, at least, he never identi-

fied the problem as an intellectual issue to be resolved. In his usual way, he simply took patches of thought from his favorite thinkers and stitched them together to meet the exigencies of the political moment, overlooking the theoretical conflicts among them.

In this case, King assumed that Niebuhr was describing only our existential nature, while nonviolence embodies human nature in its eternal essence: just, loving, and good. This distinction was the key to King's arguments in favor of strict nonviolence. From Tillich, he learned that every act of oppression or injustice both manifests and exacerbates the separation in the world, especially the separation between people. Violence does the same. A violent act is one that seeks one's own benefit at the expense of another. It treats the other as an "It" rather than as "Thou." That is bound to increase conflict and separation, to "intensify the cleavage in a broken community." In the end, it "leaves society in monologue rather than dialogue." (King, 1986: 20, 482) It simply will not work, King argued, to pursue the goal of community by means that drive people apart. Even when violence is used to promote a just cause, it destroys the very community it seeks to create. So violence can never unify. It can never produce a social order that matches the moral order, the true nature of reality.

Nonviolence "is the only way to reestablish the broken community." (King, 1986: 103) Only nonviolence conforms to the fact that "we are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny," that our individual freedom and fulfillment depends on the freedom and fulfillment of others. All resistance to oppression and injustice, too, ultimately aims at reconciliation of that which has been separated. Resistance itself must be an act of reconciliation. Therefore, all acts of resistance must be nonviolent. As long as coercion is applied in the service of ultimate reconciliation, with the aim of enhancing everyone's freedom and fulfillment, it helps move the world toward the beloved community. Therefore it is, by King's definition, nonviolent (though other nonviolence thinkers, including Gandhi, would disagree).

To be sure, this is a purely formal definition. It does not provide any criteria to determine which specific acts serve the goal of reconciliation and which do not. That is always a subjective judgment made in a concrete historical situation. King would have agreed with Gandhi that "we always have to act as judges for ourselves.…There is nothing wrong in every man following Truth according to his lights. Indeed it is his duty to do so" (Gandhi, 1993: 233; 1996: 53)—as long as he does it without violence. But once we start attacking enemies in the name of absolute truth, we become more concerned about winning the contest than discovering and advancing the reconciling truth. And we

lose the opportunity to learn new truth from the enemy. To promote reconciliation, King said, it was important always "to see the enemy's point of view, to hear his questions, to know his assessment of ourselves." (King, 1986: 237) Listening to the other side is a constant reminder that every determination of what counts as reconciliation—and thus every legitimation of coercion—is ultimately subjective and therefore a risk. Yet the risk must be taken, King agreed with Niebuhr, in order to move society in the direction of justice.

From King's perspective, only nonviolent acts in the service of justice can move society toward its ultimate destination, the beloved community, in which our existence will fully embody our essence. "We adopt the means of nonviolence because our end is a community at peace with itself." (King, 1986: 485) The beloved community was King's ideal vision of a world at peace. This is not what King called "negative peace," a mere absence of tension. It does not reflect Eisenhower's ideal of a status quo immune to fundamental change. Rather, it is the "positive peace" of people actively grappling with and overcoming tensions to produce freedom and justice for all. Because it accepts desire, it embraces the inevitability of change and the conflicts that change will bring. When conflicts arise, however, all parties realize that there is no winner unless everyone is a winner. Each seeks the good of all. So every conflict is resolved harmoniously. Because each helps all others fulfill themselves freely in community—because there is genuine justice—there is genuine peace.

However, King's understanding of nonviolence implies that the peace of the beloved community is not just a distant eschatological goal. Every nonviolent act makes the peace of the beloved community a present reality. For those who practice nonviolent resistance, peace is an ongoing process. In this process of peace, the reconciliation of self and other—even the most unjust other—is already occurring; the separations between self and other and between existence and essence are already being overcome. For King, peace must be both the end state, the beloved community, and the process of achieving it. There can be no gap between end and means: when the means mirror the end, the end is already present in the means. King's nonviolence offers a way to realize the eschatological goal in every present moment of history.

President Eisenhower and Dr. King: Two Paths

Eisenhower and King offered two fundamentally paths to peace because they held two fundamentally different views of human life. Eisenhower saw people as essentially isolated individual monads who must find ways to relate to each other. The desire inherent in each of us poses an endless chal-

lenge: how to reconcile our conflicting desires so that we relate harmoniously and live together in community. In King's beloved community, on the other hand, positive relations among individuals do not have to be created by acts of self-restraint. Those relations are recognized by all as always already existing. Those relations are naturally respected by all as the crucial foundation for the good of each individual.

King was confident that reality is so constructed that all will benefit when each is fully free to act upon their deepest desires—which is the only genuine kind of freedom. There is no danger to avert, as long as each one's desires comes from the centered totality of their being, reflects the true fulfillment of their highest potential, and respects the preexisting structures of reality. In the beloved community, with each seeking the good of all, all desires meet these qualifications. There is no reason to act on false or distorted or unrealistic desire. So there is no need for self-restraint. Every act will gratify an individual's desire and at the same time benefit the whole community.[28]

This basic difference about desire led to an equally basic difference about historical change. Without voluntary self-control, Eisenhower was sure, the world would sooner or later be destroyed. He applied the apocalyptic scenario of the Bible quite literally (albeit largely unconsciously) to his own day. He sincerely believed that, if the U.S. were unwilling to risk a nuclear war that could destroy the whole world, communist aggression would surely destroy the "free world." Therefore he saw all historical change as potential threat, and he felt compelled to practice apocalypse management constantly in order to prevent change and avert that threat.

King did not fear change. On the contrary, he had to embrace it. The beloved community is a dynamic place, with each person constantly growing in their own unique way and helping others to do the same. King could see nothing preventing us from making free choices every day that create the beloved community in the present moment. Every day, we can initiate radical changes that transform all the sites of human injustice and bondage into opportunities for justice, freedom, and opportunity. This is the way that existence is brought closer to essence. It is the process of peace.

Thus, for King, peace requires what Eisenhower feared most: uncontrollable, unpredictable, mutual, reciprocal, give-and-take relationships. To live at peace is merely to accept the truth that our world that is uncontrol-

[28] Although King never spoke about environmental issues, his view of peace could be said to apply a deep ecological perspective to human life, creating a vision of society as a harmoniously balanced natural ecosystem.

lable and thus uncertain. Yet King was certain that the world is moving toward its ultimate consummation in the beloved community. There is no need for one apocalyptic moment. The ultimate fulfillment that the Bible promises can be manifest in any and every moment of history, whenever people act nonviolently to promote freedom and justice.

Those moments are moments of fulfillment precisely because human desire, coming from the center of someone's being, is not being restrained. It is being fulfilled in ways that benefit each because they benefit all. It is the expression and realization of desire, not its restriction, that produces a community at peace with others and with itself. So there is no need to protect the world against an apocalyptic moment. Indeed, as King understood, policies of apocalypse management offer no real protection or security. They only make the nation more insecure. They only perpetuate the illusion of person against person and friend against foe, engendering a fear that suffuses the nation's life.

Fifty years ago, when American society embraced an ardent cold warrior as its greatest man of peace, it embraced the national insecurity state as a way of life. 9/11 locked us deeper into fear, making the state of national insecurity seem inescapable for the foreseeable future. Yet the vision of human nature and peace that Dr. King began to preach a half-century ago offers an alternative that is realistic and fully available to us. These two men, who became larger-than-life iconic symbols, represent two paths that still lie open to the American people. Perhaps, in the next half-century, we will set our national life on the new path that Martin Luther King, Jr., charted for us. Perhaps not. The only thing certain is our freedom to choose.

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From Imperial to Universal Peace

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> The work that the British Empire is called upon to do is to preserve the peace of the world (Zimmern, 1926: 66).
>
> The experience of the British Empire has gone far to prove that peace is a by-product of normal and healthy international co-operation (Hall, 1920: 331).

When talk falls on empires or imperialism two very different views of their role in relation to peace and war can be found. One, probably the prevalent one at the moment, is that imperialism is a force of war and violence, and designating a country an empire is thus intended derogatively to suggest an immoral country unjustifiably expanding its territory or control of politics and resources through violent and exploitive means. The other view, common throughout the ages when empire or empires were in vogue, considers the empire a force for peace, as its very cause of existence is its ability to propagate peace and justice within its borders. Both views bear a grain of truth.

The creation of an empire usually takes place through violence—conquest and subjection of foreign territories and peoples, coerced emigration from the mother country or city to new settler colonies, often combined with displacement of original inhabitants, systematic abuses of natives considered of lower human value, and institutional violence meant to maintain order on the outskirts of empire. All of these traits of empire formation militate against considering empires nonkilling or nonviolence zones.

However, the alternate view of empire is also valid. Could the Roman Empire have lasted as long as it did without *Pax Romana* as a motivator for the newly conquered peoples to accept Roman rule? I doubt it. The protection granted by the words "I am a Roman citizen" was probably often a much stronger tie to Rome, than the garrisons spread across the Empire, not least because Roman citizenship was rather freely bestowed on the upper echelons and after 212 on almost the entire populations of the conquered territories. The Empire might have come in arms, but once you

were in, it granted you protection in a much greater zone than you had before. Without *Pax Romana* one is stretched to imagine why the concept of the Holy Roman Empire would have had such a great hold on the European mind throughout the second millennium AD. For what else did the idea of the Roman Empire have to offer except peace, prosperity and justice? It is no coincidence that best argued pro-imperial work from the Middle Ages is called *Defensor Pacis*, "The Defender of the Peace" (Marsilius of Padua, 1324).

The one point that seems clear, however, is the strict limitations of an empire's ability to bring peace: peace is an entirely intra-imperial affair. Where the last soldier stands watch, there ends the imperial peace. Thus even if an empire can provide a nonkilling zone, it is, it appears, per definition a limited one, that can have no wider, much less universal, impact without the further spread of the empire.

By contrast, international or inter-imperial peace is supposed to transcend the borders of the nations or empires, each of which strives for a broader, even universal, peace, while maintaining it within its own borders.

Such a peace can be agreed upon bilaterally, but a bilateral agreement is obviously very limited in scope. Rather than bi- or trilateral agreements, what is needed for universal peace is multilateral agreements that spread only peacefully, or, in other words, major international organizations that aim to keep peace internally, promote peace externally, and only expand through peaceful means. One obvious example would be the United Nations, which is nearly universal, but in practice unable to meet its goal of upholding internal peace. Another would be the European Union, which may be local rather than universal, but actually does manage to keep peace internally, does try to promote peace universally, and so far has expanded and in a foreseeable future will expand only peacefully, while it has shown no intention to force any member to remain in the union against its will, though the last has not been tested as no member has ever declared an interest in seceding.

The contrast, as described, would seem to imply that imperial peace and international peace are two different things, and that international organizations rather than empires have the structure needed to expand international nonkilling zones universally.

The difference between empire and international organization, however, need not be as cut in stone as most people nowadays would have it. During the last years of World War One and in the Interwar Period a range of scholars and politicians from the British Empire argued that the Empire was in fact a well-functioning international organization that both maintained peace inside the Empire—the *Pax Britannica*—and promoted peace internationally by its

example and practical peacekeeping functions, such as keeping the seas safe (Zimmern, 1926: 52-53). The argument shows the Empire in a transitional phase where old symbols of Empire were kept, but the ideals and structural organization was becoming that of an international organization.

Accepting this premise meant that the British Empire was not only an international organization, but in fact the biggest, most influential and most successful international organization in the world at the time, and it was therefore presented as a natural model for the creation of the new League of Nations—intended to be the world's first universal nonkilling zone.

In spite of the fact that all the main arguments against empires being nonkilling zones were valid also for the British Empire the British proposals for the League of Nations were based on the administrative dynamics of the Empire, and many of the considerations made about the further development of the Empire were based on a concept of the Empire as a peaceful international organization, and hence many of those considerations are applicable to modern international organizations such as the UN and the EU.

All in all, the concept of the Empire as a model for the League of Nations is an interesting paradigm of a nonkilling history that came as close as any such ideal to becoming realized, i.e. a history in which an empire peacefully tries to expand its Imperial Peace to a Universal Peace without further conquest.

This article will focus particularly on the ideas and proposals laid out by the Australian academic H. Duncan Hall (1920), particularly in his *The British Commonwealth of Nations*, but will support the claim that these ideas were shared by a wider group of intellectuals by analyzing some of the work of such noted academics and League of Nations supporters as Alfred Zimmern and Gilbert Murray, plus the prominent Empire and League of Nations politician Jan Smuts. This chapter will not try to contest the consensus that their ideas failed, but rather it will demonstrate that their considerations on how to create and maintain universal peace remain relevant nevertheless because of the *way* in which they failed.

The British Empire as an International Organization

Why would anyone consider the British Empire of the latter part of World War One and the Interwar Period an International Organization?

Are empires and international organizations not two entirely different kind of entities—the empire one big governmental structure with a "Mother Country"—or at least a cultural, economic and, not least, political center—and a periphery of colonies and conquered territories, while an in-

ternational organization is a voluntary association of nations, who have agreed to cooperate in a certain set of affairs, political, cultural and economical. In short, are empires not the opposite of international organizations, even though they may form part of such international organizations?

While the obvious answer would appear to be yes, the notion of the British Empire as an international organization was fairly common in the intellectual-political circles of the British Empire from about 1916-17 and onwards, and it is in this respect scarcely surprising that the end of the British Empire came in the form of the British Commonwealth, that is, the end came not simply as a dissolution, but as a transformation of an empire into an international organization.

The British Empire that entered World War One was a complex structure, composed of colonies, protectorates, Crown territories, The United Kingdom and Ireland (in itself a complicated organization), the self-governing but not entirely independent Dominion of Canada, the newly conquered and organized Union of South Africa, the somewhat self-governing but not very independent new Commonwealth of Australia and even less independent-minded New Zealand, miniscule Newfoundland that insisted on remaining a nonselfgoverning colony, and the jewel in the imperial crown: India. The dominantly white colonies, each had a different appellation (Dominion, Union, Commonwealth), but they were commonly known as Dominions. In actual British law, however, there was no distinction between those colonies that were considered Dominions and all those that were just colonies. Though Canada made a show out of declaring war in its own right in 1914, Australia and New Zealand simply concluded that they were at war ipso facto the moment the British Government had declared war, and as such there was nothing to suggest that the British Empire was anything else than just that, an empire, one super unit with one central government deciding for all.

The Empire that concluded the war, however, was clearly a changed one. During the War, the Dominion Prime Ministers were included in the Imperial War Cabinet in London and had their share in deciding the Imperial running of the War. By Armistice they had enough self-confidence and influence to claim and obtain separate representation at the Paris Peace negotiations. Exactly their representation there tells a lot about how the Empire was now navigating in new unchartered waters. In fact the Empire was represented both by an Empire delegation and by representatives of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Each Dominion was allowed to sign the Peace Treaty individually, while at the same time acting in concert through the Empire delegation.

So what was the Empire now, an Empire with several governments, an Empire with one Government and an impressive capacity to claim extra votes and influence by asking signatory power for its main colonies; or in reality an international organization composed of the British Empire (meaning the Empire minus the Dominions), Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa? The answer to this question was by no means clear, neither to the leaders of the Empire nor to the world around it, but understanding it became the center point in reformulating the Empire and intra-imperial relations in the Interwar Period, and in deciding on the role of the British Empire in international relations such as the League of Nations.

For a strictly legal evaluation of Dominion status, the leading authority of the day was Professor Arthur Berriedale Keith. He wrote 21 books on Dominions status before, during and after World War One. His approach, however, was entirely theoretical, and not always appreciated by the administrators of the Empire, as is shown by comments from the Governor-General of Australia Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson, later Lord Novar, who in 1916 in letters both to Keith and others suggested that Keith should come and visit the Dominions before writing anymore books.[1]

Others who publicly grappled with the answer were Jan Smuts, Sir Robert Borden, Alfred Zimmern and, humbly, H. Duncan Hall. While Smuts and Borden were leading politicians of South Africa and Canada respectively, as well as significant voices in Imperial politics, Zimmern and Hall were academics primarily, though in various ways also involved actively in Imperial and international politics.

Common to these men was that they all believed that the British Empire that had emerged from the War was no longer an empire but an international organization. Smuts, who spent most of the last years of the War in London as part of the Imperial War Cabinet, used much of his spare time to reformulate the structure and purpose of the Empire and to plan the Covenant for a League of Nations, coming as an Afrikaner to tell the British why the British Empire should really be called the British Commonwealth, and

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[1] Novar Papers, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 696/5094: Letter, Munro-Ferguson to Moore, 18 June 1916, and 696/5099: Letter, Munro-Ferguson to Keith, 24 July 1916. For a full treatment of Keith read Shinn (1990). A brief recent evaluation of Keith appears in McIntyre (2009). A sample of Keith's works on Dominion Status is *Responsible Government in the Dominions* (1909), *Imperial Unity and the Dominions* (1916), *The Sovereignty of the British Dominions* (1929), and *The Constitutional Law of the British Dominions* (1933).

why this Commonwealth was a historically unique institution for peace and the improvement of mankind. Borden, with his Canadian background, was perhaps a bit less idealistic in his wording, but supported basically identical notions of what the Empire really was and should be in the present world and how it would fit into the League of Nations. Zimmern and Hall, meanwhile, were presenting the new British Empire/Commonwealth to the academic public on both sides of the Atlantic and across the Empire.[2]

Alfred Zimmern, a classicist by training, author of the draft of the British proposal for the League of Nations, and the world's first professor of international relations, has been identified as the first author to use the name, The British Commonwealth of Nations, to designate the British Empire, in an article from December 1914 (Zimmern, 1914: 348-384).[3]

In a series of lectures delivered at Columbia University in January 1925, and published in several later editions under the title *The Third British Empire* Zimmern (1926) proposed a division into three stages of the British Empire. His first stage ended with the American Independence, while his third stage, which started with the assumption of state power and responsibilities by the Dominions, was still a work in progress. "Can you tell me whether the British Empire is a single state or a group of states?" a Central European Dean of Law asked him, and he answered that while he could not define what it was, he could explain how it had reached its present stage (1926: 3-4). Thus he presented the conundrum of the Empire that had so many different types of rule within it that it could not clearly be defined at belonging to any specific category. However, in his discussion of the Empire and the League of Nations, Zimmern does take a stand, at least in so far as the relationship between Britain (with its colonial empire) and the Dominions goes: "The British Empire of 1914 has become a British Entente, a group of states, each independent and with full control over its policy, but bound together by cordial feelings and by arrangements for mutual consultation at more or less regular intervals." (1926: 42-43) An *entente*, an international agreement between independent states, which, he goes on to explain, live in an entente much looser that the Central European entente of

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[2] Unsurprisingly, scholarly reviews of the works of Hall and Zimmern on the Empire/Commonwealth tended to be rather more glowing in Britain than in the United States. British reviews would tend to hail their work as brilliant and important, while American reviewers would more often consider it interesting but naïve.

[3] Hall (1971: 189) identifies Zimmern's article as the first use of term, and his evaluation has since been generally accepted, see McIntyre (2009).

his time, and which have insufficient material interests to stay together, but irrespectively continue to stay united because of a sense of common group. This should suffice to show that his was the international organization approach, and the same point is forcefully brought out by his affirmation that "the membership of the British Entente is not fixed but capable of infinite expansion […] evidently we are confronted with an entirely unprecedented form of political association," (1926: 44) with the clear understanding that any expansion of membership would be on a voluntary basis, the newcomers being independent countries. The new members were expected to be drawn primarily from the colonial possessions of the British Empire as they one by one matured to self-government and political independence, but the entry of non-Empire countries was not excluded if common interests feeling might make it relevant. Indeed, many imperialists dreamed that the United States might be interested in joining on the basis of equality a league of English speaking peoples, and occasionally even advocated a general North Atlantic approach, airing the idea that the Scandinavian countries might want to join the Commonwealth. Throughout his lectures, Zimmern also embraced Borden's formulation of the Empire as "a League of Nations" (not, of course, to be confused with "The League of Nations"), and refers to the Empire as "a multinational association" and "an enduring partnership", all of which unequivocally shows that his new third Empire or Commonwealth should be understood as an international organization (1926: 4, 67, 145).

Duncan Hall, a young Australian academic, followed much the same division of the phases of the Empire and the same general line of argument both in his thesis, *The British Commonwealth of Nations* from 1920, and in his pamphlet of the same name from 1927, where he specifically refers to Zimmern's *Third British Empire* (Lowell and Hall, 1927).[4] While Hall was at the very onset of his career and not an established academic and political player like Zimmern, his 1920 thesis drew significant attention and recognition, not least from Smuts, for whom the book would be welcome, as Smuts repeatedly was used as Hall's great authority.[5] Hall centered the entire work

[4] Searching for Hall's thesis (1920), one should be aware that he used the same title for a string of minor articles written alone or co-authored during the 1920s, and that he wrote another great tome, late in his career called *Commonwealth: A History* (1971), none of which are identical to his original work.

[5] Hall referred directly to Smuts on no less than one tenth of the pages in the book, making him the dominant authority for Hall's work. Borden, meanwhile, was also

on the intra-imperial relations, the machinery of cooperation and the relationship of the Empire/Commonwealth with the League of Nations, and what the Empire and the League could do for each other (Hall, 1920: vii-ix).

Like Zimmern would later do in his lecture series, Hall argued that the British Empire was no longer an Empire in the traditional sense, which was for Hall a main reason to rename it the British Commonwealth of Nations.[6] Specifically, he favoured a division into the British Empire—referring to the United Kingdom and its dependent colonial possessions, that is, the part that was still a traditional Empire—and the British Commonwealth of Nations, which should thus be understood as a sort of international organization composed of the new diminished British Empire and the self-governing Dominions. The expected progression would be one in which more and more colonies would attain the ability and rights of self-government, after which they would move from being parts of the British Empire to being independent members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, until at a possible final stage—about whose attainability Hall was not quite certain— all colonies would have become sufficiently civilized to be self-governing, and there would be no Empire any more, only the Commonwealth composed of the United Kingdom and all the many independent states that had previously composed the Empire (Hall, 1920: x).

Hall thus envisaged an organic development from Empire to Commonwealth, in other words, from empire to international organization, in which the empire is gradually dissolved while the international organization becomes stronger and stronger. In this way he clearly supports the notion that empires and international organizations are not two mutually incompatible entities since an empire may be the seed of an international organization. In Hall's view in 1920 there was no doubt that empires still had their place, not for the sake of exploiting the colonies—hardly a position that anyone could defend in good conscience—but to educate the uncivilized peoples of the world, until they too, could grow up as nations and fill their own place at the international table (1920: 336-338). No doubt his view was paternalistic, and like many idealists of his time he retained some doubts about whether really all the peoples of the world would ever be ready for self-government, but he had better hopes than many as to its feasibility.

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very respectably represented, being referred to in one twelfth of the same work, often in combination with Smuts.

[6] Hall apart from Empire and Commonwealth varyingly used the names of "Group of States," "Society of States," "Society of Nations" and others, all of which reflect the notion of the Empire as an international organization.

Hall also argued that membership of the Commonwealth should be voluntary on entry and that members should retain the right to withdraw from it at a later stage if so desired. Like Zimmern, this presented him with the very real problem of what benefits the Commonwealth would offer its members, why they would wish to stay in it, and which were the ties that would make a greater congregation of independent states willing to cooperate with each other, when, unavoidably, there would be moments where there local interests divided. Most of all, how could complete independence be squared with concerted group action? These are questions that remain as relevant for our international organizations today, as they were for Hall and the British Empire in 1920, and which will be developed later in this article.

No Enchanted Palace by Mazower (2009) shares the view advocated here that from the British side the League of Nations was in part seen as a way to secure the future of the Empire, but it understands that aim differently, as it argues that it included a wish to secure colonialism for the future. As the main focus of the book is really the United Nations its treatment of the League is fairly brief, but it does have two chapters dedicated to Smuts and Zimmern respectively. While the argument about permanent colonization probably holds with Smuts, who rather clearly desired permanent white domination of Africa, it patently does not hold with Zimmern, who, in *The Third British Empire,* specifically argued:

> [The aim of responsible government for India] marks the definite repudiation of the idea that there can be, under the British flag, one form of constitutional evolution for the West and another for the East, or one for the white races and another for the non-white. It marks the Imperial Government's realization of the fact that the principle of nationality, with which the British people, from the days of Byron onwards, have been in sympathy in its European manifestations, is valid also for India, and, if for India, for the other non-white British peoples also (Zimmern, 1926: 13-14).

The quote clearly shows that in Zimmern's opinion race is *not* a relevant criterion for withholding political rights, and this point is further developed in a four-page analysis stressing the arguments for not discriminating politically based on race or nationality (1926: 84-87). Quite broadly the theory of permanent colonization does not hold with the idealists like Zimmern, Murray and Hall, who saw the development of self-government for all the peoples of the Empire as the aim of the transition from Empire to Commonwealth.

The British Empire as a Model for the League of Nations

As the British Empire had been construed as an international organization, it was inevitable that it would be seen as the international organization *par excellence* as it was clearly both the biggest and the most powerful of its kind. Also, as its identification as organization rather than empire came from loyal imperialists, it was clearly seen as a *good* model, with all the moral implications of the word good included.

If size or power had been the only virtues of the Empire, it would not have served well as a model for the League of Nations, but far from being the only ones, these were considered minor virtues compared to those that made the real moral and practical difference: the capability of envisioning a common aim of moral and physical improvement of humanity and the ability to make a group of separate peoples divided by land and sea cooperate to reach that aim.

Certain basic concepts are essential to their arguments. First, as already established, their contention that certain parts of the Empire, that is, the Dominions, were now independent states, members of the British Commonwealth of Nations that freely chose to cooperate with the Empire and each other under the Commonwealth. This position was certainly not uncontroversial; both within the Empire/Commonwealth and outside it, for example in the United States, plenty of influential voices objected that the Dominions were not independent and that any arguments made on that basis were flawed in their basic assumption.[7] The second basic assumption was that Britain and the Dominions were efficiently cooperating (and that they would continue to do so) in spite of the supposed lack of a single authoritative power in the Commonwealth, which meant that they were a good model for the cooperation of equal independent countries on a noncoercive model. The final assumption was that efficient cooperation was contingent on peace between the participant members and that the Empire/Commonwealth was indeed working in such a peaceful environment.

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[7] The controversy about the independence or lack of same of the Dominions was of crucial importance to deciding their standing in international relations. The Empire insistence on separate signatory power of the Dominions in the peace treaty caused much consternation internationally, and their independent representation in the Assembly of the League of Nations was used as a powerful argument in the United States for *not* joining, as it was argued that the Dominions were no more independent than the individual American states were, so Dominion representation (with the power of voting) was only fair if the United States also got State representation in the League.

It should be clear, that denying the first assumption makes the rest irrelevant in so far as the "empire as a model for the League of Nations" goes. The second assumption derived from the first, and was at least as questionable: In plain legal terms the Dominions were *not* equal to Britain as their laws were subject to the consent of the British government and their authority in international affairs was, at least in theory, highly limited. However, arguing organic, rather than constitutional, development the imperialist internationalists would maintain that in actual performance the Dominions were equal to Britain, irrespectively of outdated legislation. As to the final assumption, few objections were made, though the assumption of harmony obviously overlooked interior tensions—tensions that the imperialist-imperialists themselves occasionally conceded. Gilbert Murray, the classicist, used the treatment of the aboriginal population in Australia as an argument against white dominance of natives (Murray, 1900).

Hall based his argument for the British Empire as a model for the League of Nations on three main issues: that the Empire was a historical precedent for the League, that the Empire and the League shared the same ideological and practical purpose, and finally that the organizational structure of the Empire could be used as a practical model for the League.

Hall presented basically two different arguments as to why the British Empire can be seen as a historical precedent for the League of Nations. The first, and most articulated, argument revolved around the development of an organizational system that transformed the Empire from "once a single state; it was now almost a league of nations" (1920: 110). The other main argument is based on the intellectual development in the Empire, especially in the Dominions, that allowed them to become independent nationalities and, to some degree, nations within the Empire while at the same time developing a growing sense of international unity and responsibility.

To support his argument on the organizational development of the Empire, Hall (1920: 100) analyzed the rise of co-operation between governments that arose from the development of the Conference system within the British Empire from the Colonial Conferences of the late 19th century to the Imperial Conferences of the early 20th. In his analysis, Hall made their relevance to both Empire and League clear. Speaking of the first Conference in 1887 in connection with Queen Victoria's Jubilee, Hall noted: "As we can see now the Conference was the beginning of a unique experiment in international government, an experiment which has been full of suggestions for those who in the last years have been seeking a solution of the wider problem of a League of Nations." (1920: 94)

Following the parallel rise of the system of co-operation and fall of the idea of Imperial Federation, Hall showed the Dominions as the *primus motor* for the change of the organizational structure in favour of cooperation and thus the dynamics of an international organization. The idea of Federation, which would maintain some central control, he considered rejected as a real possibility as early as the 1887 Conference (1920: 100-110).

Scope was another area where Hall saw a historical precedent for the League in the Empire. Rather than a narrow alliance of peace and war the League should act widely in areas of infrastructure and the standardization of relevant international legislation, such as copyright to become, like the Empire, "a great organ of peaceful international co-operation" (1920: 121). Hall made clear, especially in chapters X and XI, that the great value of the "machinery of co-operation" was its all-inclusive approach that far better secured the peaceful and prosperous development of mankind.

Quoting Smuts, Hall (1920: 197) seconded the idea that he had set out in a speech, given May 15th 1917, one that glamorized the Empire while connecting it to the concept of '*a* League of Nations'[8]:

> You talk about an Imperial mission. It seems to me this British Empire has only one mission, and that is a mission for greater liberty and freedom and self-development. Yours is the only system that has ever worked in history where a large number of nations have been living in unity. Talk about a League of Nations—you are the only league of nations that has ever existed; and if the line that I am sketching here is correct you are going to be an even greater league of nations in the future; and if you are true to your old traditions of self-government and freedom, and to this vision of your future and your mission, who knows that you may not exercise far greater and more beneficent influence on the history of mankind than you have ever done before.

By adopting this back-and-forth connection of Empire to League and League to Empire, Hall stressed intrinsic link between the two, where the future of the Empire was as a "League of Nations," while its history was that of a model for the League of Nations.

Regarding the ideological and practical purpose of Empire and League, Hall really was an internationalist, and he did believe that international co-operation, whether in the Commonwealth or in the League of Nations, was

[8] The italic is mine to underscore the point that he is speaking about the concept, 'a League of Nations' not the organization the League of Nations, which, of course, was not yet created when he gave his speech in 1917.

the way for humanity to develop to its fullest and most peaceful capacity, while still upholding the idea of independent states. Though he didn't put it in those terms, Hall probably saw the relationship between the individual state and the international community as a parallel to the relationship between the individual citizen and the state. Just as the state imposes certain limitations on the individual citizen to provide security for all, so the international community, where properly organized, imposed certain restrictions on the independent states, to protect the world community against war. Thus the limitations to the freedom of the individual states set up by the League of Nations were small compared to the benefits that arrived from accepting these limitations and setting up an international community under the rule of law.

The final issue was the suitability of the Empire/Commonwealth as a practical model for the League. Hall (1920: 283) specifically rejected the notion that the British Empire, and the League of Nations, should be only about the so-called "high policy," the policy of peace or war, and derided this as pure selfishness. Rather, he repeatedly extolled the virtues of inter-imperial co-operation in all areas, stressing the importance of various research councils, and concluding (1920: 295-296):

> It is difficult to overestimate the significance of these remarkable developments. Though in themselves they may seem of no great importance, they are the beginning of a complex organisation which will be of utmost value, not only to the British Empire, but also to the League of Nations. It is obvious that they are the forerunners of a vast network of similar bodies which will make possible inter-Imperial co-operation on gigantic scale for the development of the political, social and economic life of the peoples of the British Empire. Their significance for the League of Nations lies in the fact that the British Empire is already becoming a pioneer of internationalism –a vast laboratory of international government.

As may be noticed from this rather general statement of importance, what Hall foresaw was the building up of intra-imperial, and later full scale international bodies for research of various topics, which would bring together the knowledge of the entire world on any given topic, and make it available to researchers worldwide, who would in the future be able to avoid wasting time on "making discoveries" of things that had already been discovered elsewhere in the world. The scope of his perspective is shown (1) by the fact that various bodies he mentioned included such specialized ones as "the Imperial Bureau of Mycology" [fungi], "the Imperial Bureau of Entomology" [insects] and "the Imperial Forestry Bureau," among the many

more standard government boards (1920: 328), as well as (2) by his tribute to the inter-imperial voluntary organizations, to which apart from space in the main text he also dedicated an entire seven-page appendix, in which he aimed to list the main organizations (in fact more than thirty distinct groups of all sorts mentioned) with a few details about each (1920: 372-378).

Broadly speaking the Empire had built up a 'machinery of co-operation' that Hall argued should be largely copied by the League. However, Hall also acknowledged that the League, new as it was, had something to offer the new Commonwealth, namely the idea of the League Assembly, which inside the Commonwealth could be applied as an Imperial Assembly in which the parliaments of the various governments could be represented (1920: 306-314). Thus the Empire should be considered the original model for the League of Nations, but for the future the League and the Commonwealth should continue in cooperation and as models for each other.

Throughout Hall's arguments ran the assumption that the British Empire and British ideas represented something unique in mankind, a special heightened sensibility to the responsibilities of civilization which made the Empire—co-operating, if possible, with the United States—quite exceptionally suited to the task of leading the world at the ideological level, by setting the golden standard to which the League of Nations, in spite of all its non-British members, must strive to attain (1920: 359). Hall's internationalism thus came on entirely British conditions, a Britishness based on the innovativeness of the new, young parts of the Empire, the Dominions, along with that slightly elder brother, the United States, which fully represented the best of Britishness by being firmly based in a tested liberal tradition of constant, gradual, and democratic development, as opposed to the old, stagnant, tyrannical Roman Imperial tradition of the Continent, where civil liberties are repressed, innovation is discouraged, and international solidarity is a matter of political convenience rather than of principled conviction.

In *The Third British Empire* Zimmern (1926: 77-80) followed a line of argument very close to Hall's (who, however, is never mentioned in the book), arguing that many of the actions of the second British Empire had been a precedent for the actions to be taken by the League, referring to issues such as peaceful settlement of internal disputes, international policing, and treating colonies in a manner conducive to their developing both materially and maturing politically, but he did not in the same detail analyze the imperial model of cooperation.

The British Empire as a Nonkilling Zone

There is no need to repeat the arguments against considering the British Empire a nonkilling zone, they are largely obvious, and were stated early on. However, no matter how flawed the execution was in the internal details, it is as relevant today as then to look at the arguments in favor.

The sense in which the Empire could be described as a nonkilling zone was clearly not in its local management, but in its superstructure: Britain did not fight Australia, Australia did not fight New Zealand, none of them fought Kenya, and Kenya was at war with no other British colony.[9] As limited as that definition of nonkilling may be, one may easily imagine the enormous sense of accomplishment that would follow if the present day United Nations were to achieve something similar between its members. Additionally, the use of the Royal Navy as a sort of international police meant that the Empire had a peacekeeping role that went beyond its own territorial borders, if not beyond its maritime borders (Zimmern, 1926: 78-79).

Accepting the argument that the Empire within these defined limits was a nonkilling zone, the question relevant to the present is how this peace was obtained. If it was obtained by imperial suppression of internal disagreements between the constituent parts, it would clearly have few if any relevant lessons for modern politics. However, not only would the imperialists analyzed clearly object to that interpretation, but in several cases the peace has survived even when the Empire is gone and the Commonwealth of today has very little power, politically or militarily, to boast of—Australia and New Zealand have still not been to war against each other, and in spite of the continuing violent conflict in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom remain at state level at peace.

Two answers from Hall (1920: 320-322) and Zimmern (1926: 51-52) combined attempts to explain why peace was upheld: one being peaceful settlement of disputes via consultation, especially in the conference forum, and the other being a hard to define sense of communality, or brotherhood, between the constituent states.

The first has since been tried in various versions, both in the League of Nations and its successor, the United Nations, but also in a range of smaller

[9] The ongoing struggle for Ireland has here conveniently been ignored, as some British politicians and academics would consider it a struggle internal to the United Kingdom. In reality most of the imperialist liberalists were entirely aware of the moral as well as political problems in the Irish conflict, and Hall considered it the issue that could potentially destroy the Empire (Hall, 1920: 323-325).

international organizations. There are probably no clear organizational lessons to be learnt, to help explain why, for a short period, it was successful in the British Empire/Commonwealth, but over short period failed in the League of Nations and the United Nations.

The latter point, however, is far more telling: Peace –and intergovernmental cooperation- succeeded in the Commonwealth because the members felt they had something in common, something important enough to occasionally set aside minor local interests in favour of securing the stability of the whole. In reality what they had in common was being dominantly white and British or Irish, sharing a fairly uniform cultural background. In short, common ground was easy to find, and it was not difficult to convince many people that they were better off securing the continuation of an organization that would secure a certain prominence on the world stage of the culture and language that they shared. Once that common ground started to shrink, at least in importance, the interest in actively supporting the organizational framework dissolved very quickly.

When the Empire failed to protect Australia in WWII, Curtin (1995 [1941]: 195) made the famous speech about how "Australia looks to America, free of any pangs as to our traditional links or kinship with the United Kingdom"[10] and indeed Australia gradually became less and less interested in maintaining close bonds to Britain. Noticeably, the power to which they turned was not, of course, simply the closest and greatest power, is was also a fellow English speaking country and former colony of Britain, so the common ground and bonds of kinship were once again easy to find.

When we consider the lessons of the Empire/Commonwealth to the international organizations today it thus appears clear that securing a general feeling of common ground is essential. This may in part explain the problems of the United Nations—as of the League of Nations before it—that fellow humanity is simply not common ground enough. As the most important benefit of the international organizations is their extension of the non-killing zones in which we can move about, significantly more common ground appears to be needed, before we—humans at large—will trust such organizations with our security, and very few failures are needed, before we are willing to declare them failed.

The European Union of the present shares many traits with the Commonwealth, narrowly understood as Britain and the Dominions, of the Interwar Period, not least structurally. Both represent attempts to combine the autonomy of the members with concerted group action for common

[10] New year's message by Curtin, published in the *Melbourne Herald*, December 27.

benefit. Hall's debate about Imperial Federation versus the Conference System and Commonwealth is in very many ways mirrored in the present debates about the future of the Union: should the Union gradually move toward a federation of the member states with a central federal government, or should the absolute autonomy of the members be maintained and coordinated efforts remain the result of cooperation through consultation?

If the European Union were to move toward federation—as for the moment it does not appear to be doing—then it might arguably be said to leave the category of international organization and would instead join the rank of the super-states of the world, a new "empire" of size, if not of violent expansion, and the *Pax Europea* established might then be considered no more than yet another internal peace, great for those who enjoy it, but with relatively little new to tell the world outside. Should the Union move that way, it is probably not the Commonwealth but rather the United States that might have lessons in government to share.

However, if the EU continues along the principle of cooperation, then the lessons of the Commonwealth should not be ignored. The sense of common ground is difficult to nail down; in the Commonwealth the shared Britishness was certainly a dominant factor, but not a sufficient factor in the end. If, as Zimmern argued, the second British Empire ended during the First World War, it should perhaps be questioned whether the third British Empire ever came into real existence, or if what Zimmern, Hall and others took to be the third Empire was really just a period of gradual dissolution from empire to international organization, where, importantly, the organization called the Commonwealth quickly showed itself too impotent to be the main international organization for the members, who therefore joined a host of other international organizations to secure the peace.

Surely these issues are of main importance for the European Union. Though it has had little of the organic development of the process from Empire to Commonwealth and has instead, in good Continental tradition, effected its gradual change according to clearly established regulations, recommendations, and treaties, it is equally clear that the more it has expanded geographically, the harder it has been to convince the member populations that they share the common ground that makes membership interesting. As long as it was mainly a Western European organization common ground was reasonably easy to establish, though plenty of north-south conflicts of interests abounded, but as the Union has expanded to the east, it has become increasingly difficult to maintain internal cohesion, and dissent to the European project has grown significantly. It is no secret that the long proposed

Turkish membership is a very touchy issue across the European Union for many reasons, most of which at a popular level boils down to the basic "They aren't like us," pointing to religion, traditions, and physical looks.

As the Empire was dissolving into the Commonwealth many leading constitutionalist such as Arthur Berriedale Keith, and popular politicians, such as Smuts and the British Leo Amery, pointed to the Crown as the legal bond that held the Empire/Commonwealth together, but that argument was expressly rejected by Hall and Zimmern, who found the Crown a useful symbol, but certainly not an institution of sufficient power to keep the Empire together against the will of the constituent parts. Only common interest could do that.

Likewise, the European Union has not even that, an equivalent of the Crown, to keep it together if the feeling of common interest is lost, and while the European countries have plenty of common history—much of which was spent at war, of course—they do not have as much culture in common as Britain and the Dominions had, in spite of being geographically so much closer. If a sense of common ground—common interest—is not found, one that can override differences of language, religion and history between the member states, it is all too easy to imagine that the Union may go the way of the Commonwealth, remaining, perhaps, in name, but growing more and more insignificant the more it expands because the members invest less and less interest in it.

In 1963, in connection with the publication of Hall's article on the Balfour Declaration of 1926—in which the autonomy and equality of the Dominions was officially formulated for the first time—Hall wrote a friend, Lord Casey, an Australian politician who had been politically active both in Australia and Britain. A poignant issue is raised, that is serves as a warning to the European Union:

> You and I should have liked to see the base of 1926 or perhaps the base of 1921 projected on for at least our lifetime. Probably that was the expectation of those who took part in the 1926 settlement, but the Commonwealth has changed often very greatly in each decade of its history, so that any such expectation was unrealistic.[11]

The basis was, as has been previously described, that of autonomous states cooperating through consultation. For the Commonwealth, part of the problem was the loss of common ground and another part was the wish for complete independence on the part of the former colonies of the Em-

[11] Hall Papers, NLA, Canberra, 5047, Box 23: '"Genesis of the Balfour Declaration:" Reprints lists, correspondence etc.': Letter from Hall to Casey, 23 April 1963.

pire. For the European Union the same issues are likely to develop as the loss of common ground will make the call for complete independence and a curtailing of its power more dominant.

In short, until the issue of common ground is solved, no international organization can expect to be successful over time.

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Nonkilling History is Cultural

Ethics of Nonkilling in Buddhist Cultural Practice

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One of the principle moral doctrines in Buddhist ethics is that of nonkilling (*pāṇatipātā*). The paraphrased term for nonkilling in Buddhist ethical teaching is the "refraining from killing all sentient beings," which is often negatively interpreted as abstaining from taking the life of any living being. Though it attributes to the views of negativism, it produces positive outcomes, which are nonviolent, noninjury, love, and compassion. In their inspiring article, contributed to the volume of "Socially Engaged Buddhism," Virginia Parkum and Anthony Stultz said that, "Anger and killing remains central themes in Buddhist ethical texts up to the most recent writings today." (Parkum and Stultz, 2000: 349) Adding to their remark, I would consider that nonkilling (ethical) and killing (nonethical) are the two central concepts in early Buddhist thought, which have been received less attention by scholars of Buddhism.

In Buddhist fundamental ethics every living creature in the cosmic world has a form of life. As they believe the nature of life in each and every living being, the devote Buddhists refrain from killing not only human being, animals but also living plants. In this regard, the Buddhist ethical doctrine suggests us that Buddhist ethic of nonkilling is associated with the nonkilling to biological life of human beings, animals, but also botanical life of plants and trees.

Moreover Buddhism, unlike major religions of the world, at least in theory, maintains principally the high place of peace and nonviolent in both environments—peace within individuals and between social communities. As nonkilling is virtually associated with nonviolence, noninjury (*ahiṃsa*), peace, and communal harmony, it is regarded in Buddhism as a synonym for peace and happiness. In the canonical literatures of *Theravāda* Buddhism, the Buddha is often regarded as the founder or the father of peace. His soteriological teaching is named as the path of peace and hence the path of nonkilling.

In the context of nonharming to others as well as to oneself, as pointed out by Keown (1995: 170), Buddhist socio-political thought advocates its

disapproval of killing and causing injury to all sentient beings (D: iii. 84). Though Buddhist countries have not absolutely been exempt from wars, violence, and killing, the moral teaching of Buddhism, however, is globally praised for nonviolence, noninjury, and compassion to all living things. Sally King, a scholar who is popularly known in the field of socially engaged Buddhism finds that because of nonviolence nature in Buddhist path, most Buddhist social and peace activists such as Thich Nhat Hanh (Vietnamese), venerable Maha Ghosananda (Cambodian), Sulak Sivaraksa (Thai), A. T. Ariyaratne (Sri Lankan) and many others have been nominated for Noble Peace Prize, and received Right Livelihood, and other Peace Awards; while his Holiness Dalai Lama and Aung Sun Su Key awarded the Noble Peace Award for their effort to build a peaceful society and global peace (King, 2005: 1-12).

Inspired by their compassionate works, peaceful action, and nonharming attitudes toward all beings, in this chapter, I attempt to examine the preliminary analysis of the specific precept of the Buddhist ethics known as the precept of nonkilling (*pāṇatipātā*). Unlike highly scholarly papers that hunt for objectivity and critical distance, this chapter seeks for appreciative as well as reflective interpretation of nonkilling in Buddhism from the ethical perspective. Therefore, this study is necessarily confined in the scope of contemplative interpretation of nonkilling rather political history of violence and killing.

In the universal concept of nonkilling in respect to all sentient beings, in the following discussions, I propose to explore the three ethical aspects of nonkilling related to the human's life, nonhuman (=animals), and the plant's life. In so doing, I hope and expect that when we think of killing or non killing we should not selfishly think of our human life but all forms of life, including ecological life. Whether we like them or not, we all need peace, love, and compassion. As a strong believer and promoter of nonkilling and peace, for the ultimate good of humanity, I will discuss the concept of nonkilling from the doctrinal history of Buddhism with its textual, cultural, and practical annotation. Among other things, the following contemplative questions: What is meant nonkilling in history of Buddhism? How does Buddhist moral doctrine interpret, the theory of nonkilling? Can the theoretical framework of nonkilling, in this case precept of nonkilling, be stopped killing and violent?

In an effort to address these questions, I examine the ethical precept of nonkilling in early Buddhism. It should be made clear that the paper is not politically motivated exploring the history of nonkilling in Buddhism rather is a contemplative and reflective understanding of nonkilling in Buddhism. So the question of how does an ordinary Buddhist consider for killing and violent as Buddhist nations fight themselves is ignored.

Killing in the Buddhist Political History

It is true that, as history evidenced, killing and its opposites—nonkilling are intertwined and can never be separated. Wherever and whenever the nonkilling is occurred in history, killing is also occurred or vice versa. Like in other histories of religions, in Buddhist history the two key concepts of killing and nonkilling are frequently mentioned, though later is highly emphasized. Therefore, when we interpret the theoretical concept of nonkilling in Buddhist doctrinal thought, we are also bond to bring the concept of killing. Though, morally and ethically, the principle of nonkilling is greatly accentuated in the Buddhist ethical history, there is no doubt that in the Buddhist worlds the human life has been deliberately and consciously destroyed by the kings and armies in the battle, ethnic violence, and civil wars in Buddhist countries.

Compared to the Christian Crusadic periods and Islamic history, the violent, wars, and killings are not much occurred in the Buddhist history. However, the early Buddhist scriptures as well as the contemporary Buddhist histories provide numerous informative references to violent, wars, and killings in Buddhism and they have been reviewed by many scholars of Buddhism, particularly by Lambert Schmithausen (1999), Peter Harvey (2000), and Tissa Bartholomeusz (2000). All Buddhist countries have had their own armies and often made wars each others. Sarkisyanz (1965: 7) finds that Burmese kings often made several attempts to conquer neighboring countries, involving killings thousands of people. Brian Victoria's works (2006, 2003) on Zen at War challengingly contributes to the understanding of massive killings by Japanese Zen Buddhists during the Second World War; while Xue Yu's studies (2005) documentarily show how the Chinese monks and nuns participated in wars and openly supported the Buddhist doctrines of killing in order to protect their fellow nation. Apparently it is a contextually different story, a similar form of monastic militancy, aggression, political agenda, patriotism, and nationalistic movements by monks are mentioned in Southeast Asian Buddhist history. In Sri Lanka even monks were often killed in the name of politics (Abeserkara, 2002:163).

If the notion of killing is never justified nor expressively advocated in the Buddhist political philosophy, then, why killing is occurred in the Buddhist history? There are two kinds of ethics mentioned in the Buddhist social philosophy: ethics for laity and ethics for monasticism. As for the monastic, which will be discussed later, killing is strongly prohibited. If a monk or nun is found of guilty of killing, beside kammic consequences, he or she receives the highest punishment from his/her monastic order. In contrast to ideal of

monastic ethics, a lay Buddhist, particular leader of a country finds difficulties to follow the precept of nonkilling as he has to protect his kingdom. Regarding nonstrictness of the ethic of nonkilling, one of the late Presidents of Sri Lanka, J.R. Jayewardene, for instance, said, "I can not follow that [the precept of abstaining from killing any being] because is my duty is laid down in the constitution." (Horst, 1995: 26)

President Jayewardene's political statement plainly proves a Buddhist may engage in killing, particularly when he has to deal with ethnic conflict and wars. In fact, in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism of East Asia developed a theory of compassionate killing, which means with an immense compassion and skillful mean a bodhisattva can kill any living beings (Harvey, 2000: 140-145). Based on the *sūtra* (discourse) known as the *Sūtra of Humane King Who Protect Nation*, Chinese Buddhism believed and developed the idea of violating the discipline of nonkilling. Chinese Monks like Cai Shu argued that killing in order to stop the war did not fall into the category of killing at all and "they claimed that the Buddha, if he was alive, would teach Buddhists, especially monks and nuns, how to answer the war of invasion with justifiable violence." (Xue Yu, 2005: 99) The idea of justifiable violence and killing is no doubt is the Buddhist verbal defensive statement and counter argument with regard to the wars and invasion.

Five Ethics and Its Relation to Nonkilling

Nonkilling is organically connected to other core socio-political philosophies of Buddhism such as noninjury or nonviolent and they are exclusively based on the five moral ethics. It would be impracticable to discuss in details of the five ethics and its relation to the doctrinal theory of nonkilling and psycho-political impact on the Buddhists in Asia. A brief outline of the five ethical precepts, however, would be pertinent to have some basic ideas about the Buddhist socio-ethical codes and moral concerns. There are four major canonical formulations of moral precepts mentioned in the *Pāli* Buddhist scriptures (Keown, 1992: 25-56). Among them, the principle of the five moral precepts known as the *pañca-sīla* in *Pāli* (Saddhatissa, 1997: 59), the language of the *Theravāda* Buddhist canon, is considered as the standard version of Buddhist ethics for laity. They are: nonkilling, nonstealing, nonsexual misconduct, nonlying, and nondrinking alcohol. It must be made clear that these precepts are not commandments of the Buddha that every Buddhist has to follow and abide by, but they are natural laws.

As these ethical precepts are not only related to immediate social concern but also ultimately they are spiritual concern, they are universally regarded as the socio-spiritual ethics in Buddhism. They are two kinds of ethic described in *Theravāda* Buddhism: ethics for the laity and for the monasticism as noted above. Though seemingly the two exclusively distinctive ethics, they are mutually inclusive and inter-related. Both categories fall into two groups: the natural precepts or morality (*pakati-sīla*) and formulated precepts (*paññati-sīla*). The first five precepts are essentially obligatory for every one (laity as well as monks and nuns) as they fall under the first category, the natural morality. The latter is completely allocated to the monasticism. As our concern, at least in this paper, is organically related to ethic of nonkilling, we must inevitably limit our contemplative reflection on the ethic of nonkilling only.

In one of the discourses recorded in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, one of the early collections of the Buddha's teaching, the five precepts are evaluated from two moral standpoints, namely that of individuals and that of social groups (AN: III.204 f.). On account of the corrosive outcome of the nonobservances of these ethics, they are metaphorically called the five-fold dreads (*pañca-bhayāni*) in canonical scriptures. Violation of any of the five precepts, as stated earlier, by an individual is pictured as bringing social disharmony, neurosis, and fear upon the rest of the community in the society. An individual's action, whether motivated by pure or impure thought, does impact the rest of the communal life in the society.

Generally Buddhists also look at these ethical precepts from both angles a socio-ethical angle and ecosystem-angle as one assemble of life, which I call "unity of life of everything," in the sense that we are interconnected and thus we are interbeing. As a reproductive being in the bio-diversity-world, people are interrelated and interconnected to one another. It is in this respect of unity of diverse life and its interpenetration, we should respect and value to each other. One discourse reveals that if one is not respecting and not paying attention to the socially indispensible commands of the five ethics, he or she becomes inimical person in the society. And those who do not follow the injunctions of the five precepts are called the five-fold enmities (*pañca-verāni* /AN: III. 2005).

In this regard, the five ethics in Buddhism are equated with civil law; in fact the Buddhist modern civil laws are based on the five precepts. The one difference between the Buddha's law and modern civil law is the Buddha never used violent to give capital punishment for those who violate the five precepts. Nowhere in the texts, particularly in the *Pāli* texts, is found a statement that reveals the Buddha's punishment to others. Each precept in-

cludes positivism and negativism. In the case of the nonkilling precept, for instance, positivism is developing and cultivating nonviolence, love, and compassion; and negativism is desisting killing and violence. Accordingly, the Buddhist notion of nonkilling could be leveled to the moral implications of living life, absence of inflicting suffering on living creatures, and developing a nonviolent attitude to the nature environment.

Though seemingly each ethic contributes to difference aspects of moral concern, they are, however, radically interrelated to one another. Putting this way, the four ethics (nonstealing, nonsexual misconduct, nonlying, and nonalcoholism) are closely related to the ethic of nonkilling. For instance, by a liar or laying statement kill any being, (e.g., US invasion of Iraq: we now know Iraq was not developing weapon of mass destruction), similarly a drunker can, intentionally or unintentionally, kill anything. In the case of ethic of nonsexual misconduct, the relationship becomes not only miserable but also (out of extreme angry), ends up with killing his or her own partner, e.g., R rated violence. A burglar is often reported to have accidently killed by people on the street. Viewing this way, one should practice the moral ethics for his or her own good as well as for the good of others, particularly nonkilling precept.

The spirit of the ethic of nonkilling repeatedly occurred in the Buddhist history. One of the late Sri Lankan Presidents, Premadasa, once boldly warned and publicly urged to pull out Indian peace keeping arm forces that were employed in Sri Lanka. In a public address, about India's refusal to pull out its army, Premadasa warned Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, "Keeping armed force in a country without its consent (is) a violation of Panchasila [the precepts of Buddhism]." (Abesekare, 2002: 162)

Justification, Reverence, and the Value of Life

The substance of violence and killing are physical manifestations of our bad action. On other hand, the concept of killing and violence are the two most destructive psychological weapons of humankind. When we think of them, we generally perceive that they fundamentally related to wars and ethnic violence. Justifying from the wars' and ethnic violence's context, perhaps except ecologists, many people conclude that nonkilling should be discussed in conjunction of the value of human and animal life. With respect to the value of life and its relation to the concept of nonkilling, the Buddhist's understanding of life goes beyond such interpretation.

In order to understand the constitution of life in Buddhist thought, pedagogic and philological interpretations should be employed. Specific refer-

ence to the concept of life, the terms *jīva*, *satta*, (Sanskrit *sattva*), *bhūta*, and *pāṇā* are employed in the Buddhist discourses (Waldau, 2000: 89). All these terms are directly or indirectly connected to the Buddhist concept of life. Etymological meaning of the *Pāli* word *pāṇā* (Sanskrit *prana*) is whatever being breathes has the essence of life "breath." It also extends to the wider meaning of the "life vitality," and "living force," and it is in the second implication the life of terrestrial and extra-terrestrial beings and plants is included. According to *Theravāda* Buddhism, without a breath a being is biologically considered a death being. In stating Buddhist notion of life from nonkilling perspective, venerable Saddhatissa writes, "In the conventional sense, however, *pāṇā*, or in the Sanskrit, *prāṇā*, is a 'sentient being' but in the highest and ultimate sense, it is only psychic life or vital force." Preventing the existence of a sentient being is taking away life or killing (Saddhatissa, 1997: 59).

What constitutes a 'life' in the Buddhist thought? How does Buddhism view about life? Life is viewed in Buddhism as the continuity of breath and survival of consciousness. There are two kinds of life mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures: moving and static life. The first is the life of human and animal as it wonders from place to place, and thus it is named moving life. The plant life is the static life as it can not move by itself, although it grows by itself? In the Buddhist view of life, a Buddhist believes in not only the physical meaning of life but also inner meaning of life. Understanding of both meanings is heavily emphasized in the Theravāda Buddhist society.

In earlier we noted that the notion of life in Buddhism is not narrowly confined to human life, rather it is extended to other eco-forms of life such as the life of animals, plants and invisible spirits. Application of the ethic nonkilling is summarized by Padmasiri de Silva (1998: 58), which runs:

> As the first precept in Buddhist ethics [nonkilling], this concept is rooted in a whole orientation to oneself, others and the natural world. In a minimalistic sense, the precept refers to the destruction of life, that is, human and animal life, but in a deeper sense the Buddha is referring to a whole perspective that negatively rejects violence and positively recommends the cultivation of love (*mettā*) and compassion (*karunā*). This perspective has an implicit reference to nature, plants and trees.

Viewing this way, a Buddhist respects and gives value to all forms of life, not just human and animal life. Stating the precept of nonkilling from the perspective of the value of life, in his another paper, Silva writes, "The Buddhist premise concerning abstention from killing living creatures focuses attention on the ethical premise concerning the value of life. This applies to

both human beings and animals. The Buddha condemned the infliction of pain and suffering on living creatures." (Silva, 1991: 179) Accordingly, a Buddhist understands that the things which breathe have the life vitality and refraining from killing all forms of life is repeatedly emphasized. In speaking of the unity of life as one unity of conscious-living beings in this ecosystem and bio-diversity world, I would suggest that we should feel each other cries and emotional pains. If one is an integral part of the others and others are parts of the one, one should feel the pains and agonies of other.

It is undeniable fact that all constituted life, be it human, an animal, or a plant, has a wish for safeguard, a long for happiness and comfort. With the understanding of all sentient beings desire happiness, peace, and prosperity, the ethics of nonkilling in Buddhism is known as *akaraniya dhamma*, things that should not be done. Precisely stated, the nonkilling precept constitutes not only an assertion of the basic right of all lives. Individually or collectively, Buddhists in the South and Southeast Asia remind themselves in morning and evening the ethic of nonkilling for his or her own inner peace and prosperity as well as for collective peace and prosperity.

In order to refrain oneself from killing, a pious Buddhist takes oneself nonkilling precept by reciting this way: *Pāṇatipātā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi*, which means I undertake this training precept of nonkilling to refrain from destroying or killing living beings. By taking the precept of nonkilling a Buddhist highlights the point of nonkilling in Buddhism. In fact, every Buddhist ritual and ceremony in South and Southeast Asia begins with the recitation of this reflective verse of ethical precept. Some Buddhists even believe that thinking of killing is not only the violation of the universal law (*dhamma*, Sanskrit dharma) but also it is a humiliation of our own law.

Pedagogic Interpretation of Nonkilling Ethic

Theoretically and culturally a Buddhist might take this precept everyday for his or her own inner peace and compassion for all beings. However, not all Buddhists apply it in their daily life. That is why, the history of Buddhism many killings and violence are recorded. Even recent time, we see political violence including killings in Thai Buddhist politics. In an interview to Aljazeera, one Buddhist said that how he feels sad to see a Buddhist is killing a Buddhist.

How does a Buddhist interpret the theory of nonkilling in her or his own perspective? To describe effectively the ethical principle of nonkilling, we have to approach with various methodologies such as philological, linguistic, and pedagogical methods. Accordingly, nonkilling precept can be textually

interpreted in two ways: *pāṇātipātā veremaṇi* and *pāṇatiātā pativirato* both refer to the meaning of 'refraining from taking life,' including the life of oneself. Both injunctions (*pāṇātipātā veremaṇi / pāṇatiātā pativirato*) apply to all conscious beings, irrespective social status as kings, monks, and laity. Strictly speaking, these injunctions/rules are not religious rules but the socially accepted ethical norms or laws in Buddhist nonkilling history.

Linguistically without prefix *pāṇā*, the word *ātipāta* means destruction. The destruction is a fair translation of the term, although other alternative translations could be used. In the context of this paper, I would render as *killing*. Despite a strong call for literary meaning of the term *pāṇātipāta*, I would address as the killing of life. According to Sallie King, ethic of nonkilling in Buddhist rationalism has two aspects: negativism and positivism. In stating positivism, King (2005: 53) says:

> The first precept not only avoids taking life, not only avoids harming life, but also positively develops *mettā*, loving kindness. Loving kindness, of course, comes in many kinds of degrees, the lowest of which is avoiding killing, the highest of which is exemplified in the life of the Buddha, who is understood to have manifested compassion in all of his actions following his enlightenment.

As the ethic of nonkilling is intrinsically connected to the three dimensional aspects of life: the life of human beings, of animals, and of plants, in the following paragraphs I will precisely discuss each aspect of nonkilling.

Nonkilling of Human Life

Regarding nonkilling of human life, there are kinds of moral injunctions are discussed in the Buddhist texts: of that of laity and monasticism. There are four *akaraniya dhammas* or four monastic rules that should never be committed mentioned for the monasticism. The first rule is nonkilling, which means a monk or nun must refrain from killing (*manussa viggaha*) (Thanissaro, 1995: 85-91). According to this prescribed rule for monks and nuns, killing of a human being is the gravest offence and a failure to keep this monastic rule intact, an offender automatically loses his or her status of monk and nunhood. If a monk or a nun transgresses this offence (*āpatti*) he should be expelled from community (*saṅgha*). And such a person is no longer considered a part in the monastic community; because he is excommunicated (Florida, 2000: 137). Intentionally causing to death of a human being, even it is

in fetus/ abortion is strictly prohibited in the Theravāda Buddhism. Damien Keom summarizes the ethics of nonkilling by monasticism this way:

> An ordained monk should be not intentionally deprive a living thing of life even it is only an ant. A monk who deliberately deprives a human life, even to the extent of causing an abortion, is no longer a follower of the Buddha. As a flat stone broken asunder cannot be put back together again, a monk who deliberately deprives a human being of life is no longer a follower of the Buddha (1995: 93).

In connection to nondestruction of all forms life, nonviolence, and nonkilling, a Buddhist monk is constantly advised to be mindful on the following five things: 1) keeping aside stick; 2) keeping aside sword; 3) feeling of shame; 4) having full of mercy; and 5) having compassion and kind toward all living beings.

Though the *Pāli* Buddhist discourses record some dramatic stories of the act of self-killing and suicide, the self-killing is strongly reprimanded. In contemporary *Theravāda* Buddhism in South and Southeast Asia, it is still a subject of debate (Ratanakul, 2000: 173) because it is unprofitable and unworthy (Rahula, 1978: 97-100). In Harvey's conclusive argument (2000: 299), "It [euthanasia/mercy-killing] is clear, then, that on Buddhist principles, euthanasia is unethical and inadvisable." The act of self killing is, however, often practiced in *Mahāyāna* Buddhist countries such as China, Vietnam, and Korea.[1] For instance, on 11 June 1963, 73 years old monk burned himself alive which made amazement in the world news (Keown, 2005: 100).

Nonkilling of Animals

Killing animals comes under the first ethic of nonkilling; killing or animal sacrifice, whether they are small or big, long or tall, is emphatically prohibited in Buddhism (Harvey, 2000: 156-157). Unlike other religious traditions in the 5th century B.C.E in India, Buddhism strongly rejects animal sacrifices. The most compelling support for protection of animals and animal rights (Waldau, 2000: 81-112), besides Jainism, undoubtedly comes from the Buddha's opposition to animal sacrifice. Believing in bad kammic consequences in sacrificing animals, Buddhists abstain from killing animals sacrifice.

The Buddhist views of right livelihood prohibit harmful businesses such as human traffic, weapons, and arms. In speaking of right livelihood in Bud-

[1] See the movie *Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter and… Spring*, directed by Kim Ki-duk (2003): <http://www.sonyclassics.com/spring/shell.html>.

dhism, Padmaisiri de Silva writes, "Right Livelihood in the Buddhist Context refers in a specific way to keeping out of certain professions which are morally harmful. The prohibited professors are trade in lethal weapons, and arms, and in intoxicating drinks, to which we may add the sale of certain types of drugs today (like heroin) and killing animals." (Silva, 1998: 58)

There have been some ethical problems in the Buddhist countries as to whether what insects and animals should be permissible to kill. Though certain pets such as rats, mice, dogs snakes, and mosquitoes are authorized to be killed by the Government some reasons in Buddhist countries, general people were against such eliminations of pets (Harvey, 2000: 166-168). In the certain Buddhist countries finishing is banned by the state law, for instance, Sri Lanka. Regarding nonkilling of fish in Sri Lanka, the Minister of Fisheries expresses the spirit of the five ethical precepts this way, "Our tradition [Buddhists] is following the Five precepts. The first precept says not to kill. We can't even kill fish. The President follows the tradition very strictly. Somewhere in the 6th century there was a King who forbade the fishing in the tanks and gangas (rivers). That is Buddhism, the Buddhist way of life." (Horst, 1995: 27)

In this way, the Buddhist ethical doctrine of nonkilling extends from refraining from taking life, abandoning severe punishment, to the boundless extension of friendliness, love, and compassion to all living beings. In the *Jātaka*'s tales, the Buddha and some of his prominent disciples were reported to have born in many forms of animal life (Chapple, 1997).

Nonkilling of Plant-Life

Though it is not explicitly stated in the early Buddhist sources as whether the nature of plant life and vegetation are or not the part of other sentient beings, the Buddhist tradition believes that trees and plants certainly contain life. In the Buddhist analysis of the constitutions of life and nonkilling, however, clearly states that there is a botanical life in plants. In one discourse, the Buddha is proclaimed to have refrained from causing injury to seeds or plants and requested the monks too act accordingly (D. I. 5). In this ecological concern, the Buddhist notion of living beings extends from human life to the minutest creatures, which includes trees, grasses, and plants. Moreover, the Buddhist monks and nuns are constantly expected to be vigilant of even unintentional harming even plants. According to Silva, "The Buddhist may use vegetables for food, plants and herbs for medicine, tress for shade and shelter, aesthetically enjoy the beauty of nature, while aggressive attitudes and acts of vandalism violet the Buddhist perspective of nature." (Silva, 1998: 117)

The monasticism is implied to develop a caring and nonviolent attitude toward the environment. The *Pātimokkha*, a monastic manual, strongly forbids monks and nuns to cut down tress and damage the vegetation considering it as form of life (Vin: iii.155). The Buddhist texts provide the wilderness and ecological conservation as they contain aesthetic references. In one discourse, a merit is promised to those who promote, plant, and grow trees (S.I.33). Perhaps based on this inspiring sermon, in contemporary Thai Buddhism, the monastic communities are playing major roles to restore and promote the green society of Thailand (Tucker and Williams, Eds., 1997: 45-68). Whether it is an immediate or postponed, the Buddhist goal is eventually all "sentient beings," will attain enlightenment, which means that the trees and plants are capable of attaining enlightenment (Lafeur, 2000).

Contemplative Reflection of Nonkilling Ethic

In a profound ethical sense as well as respect for all forms of life, the Buddhist conception of nonkilling includes all living beings (*sabbabhūta*). In this context, a pious Buddhist reflects on the contemplative verse everyday: "As a mother who protects her own child as her own life so should one develop thoughts and protect all living beings" (Sn: 149). Other contemplative verses of nonkilling in Buddhist contemplative practice are found in the Dhammapada, the path of righteous practice:

> All tremble at the punishment. All fear death.
> Comparing to the fears of others, one should neither harm and cause to harm.
> All tremble at the punishment. Life is dear to all.
> Comparing others with oneself, one should neither
> try to harm nor try to cause to harm (Dh: 129-130).

In the Buddhist spiritual contemplation of nondestruction of human, animal and the life of the minutest creature is found in a discourse called the *Metta-Sutta*, the discourse of universal compassion and the cultivation of loving kindness, which is poetically expressed in this way:

> Whatever breathing beings there may be,
> No matter whether they are frail or firm
> With none excepted, be they long or big
> Or middle-sized, or be they short or small
> Or thick, as well as seen or unseen,
> Or whether they are dwelling far or near,
> Existing or yet seeking to exist,
> May beings all be of a blissful heart (Sn: V. 143-52)

Concluding Remark

In Buddhist ethical thought our own psychological neurosis such as greed, anger, and ignorance are the root causes of killing. Therefore, anger should be transmuted into nonanger/love, greed should be transformed into nongreed/generosity, and ignorance should be developed into wisdom and understanding. It is the wisdomic or enlightening aspect of the ethic of nonkilling. As we all love our life dearly, we should cultivate the following contemplative verses of the enlightening aspect of nonkilling:

> Killing will never be ceased by escalation of killing
> But, by the virtue of nonkilling killing can be ended.
> By extending love and compassion to others
> We receive love and compassion from others.

Despite wars and aggressions among the Buddhist history, particularly Thai and Burmese Buddhist histories, interpersonal behavior of nonaggression is practiced. In stating nonaggression and characteristics of interpersonal loving attitudes to each other, a Buddhist sociologist Trevor Ling observes, "the avoidance of aggression in interpersonal behaviour in Thai and Burmese society can be regarded as having its roots partly in the canonical doctrines of Theravada regarding ahimsa, the evil nature and consequence of dosa [anger], and the importance if adosa [nonanger] or metta [loving kindness] in acquiring good karma." (Ling, 1979: 146)

In the moral philosophy of kamma/karma an involvement in killing, a killer receives two inevitable consequences: a bad kammic retribution in next life and physical punishment by judicial criminal law in current life. Besides the anxious of the perilous kammic effect, a Buddhist also believes that all forms of life is organically connected to the concept of interbeing. Regarding the nature of interbeing and its relation to the ethic of nonkilling, King (2005: 52) reflectively writes:

> If I were to kill or harm another, I would earn a painful karmic consequence in this or a future, life time. To protect myself from negative consequences in the present life and in future lives, I need to observe the precept. In this light, these precepts seem to be concerned with responsibility to and for oneself. Because of the interdependent nature of the world, however, this responsibility to and for oneself can only be exercised through a practice of responsibility to others. That is, I can look after my own welfare by observing the first precept and no harming you. If I fail to observe the first precept and harm you, I harm myself.

In order to stop killing both individually and collectively, we need to have reflective awareness of nonviolent and the ethic of nonkilling. By practicing nonviolent or the action of nonkilling we can stop killing and violence. In this respect, the ethic of nonkilling virtually has the potentiality of ending killing.

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Nonkilling and Indian Religions

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Introduction

Vedic-Sanatana [currently known as Hinduism], Jain, Buddhist and Sikh are the four major religions, which have been established or developed in India. The followers of these four religions cover approximately eighty-four percent of total population of the country.[1] *Ahimsa*, nonviolence, as the supreme human value, occupies highest place in teachings of all Indian religions. Moreover, *Ahimsa* plays the vital role in carrying out day-to-day practices of followers these religions. Hence, the concept pertaining to nonkilling in Indian religions can be defined or analyzed only connecting it with *Ahimsa*, in other words, on the basis of nonviolence.

Moreover, nonviolence itself is the proclamation of nonkilling. *Ahimsa* or nonviolence includes not to inflict or impose one's own thought, word and action on others by one's own thought, word and deed, and simultaneously, not to spoil the life of an individual. This condition of not spoiling the life is not confined to human beings. All living beings are included in its scope. It has clearly appeared in the *Shandilyopanishad*,[2] "*Ahimsa* [nonviolence] is…abstinence from causing *dukha* [suffering] always, to all beings, by thought, word and deed." (Kumar, 2002: 2)

It doesn't matter if nonviolence is viewed in context of suffering here, and *dukha* seems to be the acid test of violence and nonviolence, but in reality an act of killing itself causes great suffering to the one who is killed. That is why; nonkilling is necessarily connected to nonviolence. Moreover, as has been said already, not only human beings, but all living beings are

[1] As per the available data pertaining to the 2001 census, in the total population of India [1, 028, 610, 310] the share of followers of the four major religions (Hindu, Sikh, Jain and Boddh) remained 80.5, 1.9, 0.8 and 0.4 percent respectively. *Census of India: Census Data 2001: India at a glance*, "Religious Composition." (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India)

[2] One of the ancient sacred texts of Vedic-Hinduism.

within the scope of nonviolence and also the concept of nonkilling. Besides this, it also includes non infliction of violence to the tiniest living creature and not causing superfluous diversion of nature. It is mentioned in one of the Jain *Sutras*,[3] "The *Arhatas* and *Bhagvats* of the past and present and future, all say thus, speak thus, declare thus, explain thus: all breathing, existing, living sentient creatures should not be slain, nor treated with himsa, nor tormented, nor driven away." (Kumar, 2003: 14)

Hence, from the above brief discussion it is evident that ideas pertaining to nonkilling and nonviolence both are interrelated in Indian religions. They seem complementary to each other from the concept and purpose viewpoint, and thus, they cannot be separated from one-another. Moreover, none of them can be well viewed and analyzed by applying two different or separate approaches. Therefore, in our further discussion and analysis of the subject on the basis of concepts of all the four main religions of India, *Vedic*-Hindu, Jain, Buddhist and Sikh, we will take the both, nonkilling and nonviolence together necessarily.

Vedic-Hindu Religion, Ahimsa and Nonkilling

Vedic-Hinduism is one of the ancient religions of the world. It is also known as the *Sanatana Dharma*. It has been directed by the *Vedic*treatises and particularly the *Vedas*.[4] The one of the main conclusion of the concept of the *Vedic* nonviolence is that *"the negation of all violence to any sentient being* [*prana*]" (Kumar, 2002: 5) including nonkilling, is *Ahimsa*.[5] Manu, the father of the *Vedic* Law and the *Manusmriti* itself clarify that motiveless and selfish intent injuring and killing is *himsa*.[6]

In the *Upanishads Ahimsa* has been proclaimed as the highest duty. Moreover it has been declared as an essential part of human behaviour. We have mentioned about the *Shandilyopanishad* where *Ahimsa* has been discussed in context of causing suffering or *dukha*. Similarly, we can talk about

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[3] Sacred text of Jainism.

[4] Four in number [*Rigveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Samveda* and *Atharvaveda*].

[5] But, one condition persists here in which improper and illegal injury including killing is himsa [violence], while a state opposite to it is Ahimsa [nonviolence].

[6] But here also one condition persists. The *Manusmriti* establishes that not only nonkilling and non-injury but also killing, and injury sanctioned by the Vedas is nonviolence. ["*Ya Vedavihita himsa niyatasmimshcharachare ahimsameva tam vidyadvedaddharmo hi nirvabhav*", *Manusmriti*: 5/44].

Chadogyopnishad, which along with other virtue, declares *Ahimsa* [desiring not to harm and killing others] the yardstick of humanity.[7]

Not only this, in other *Vedic*-Hindu texts *Ahimsa* has been accepted as a sign of knowledge, highest truth and an essential condition of human existence. Particularly, I repeat, nonkilling is indivisibly and necessarily connected with it. Until a person does not acknowledge nonkilling in theory and practice both, and particularly does not make *Ahimsa* an essential part of his routines, he cannot claim to be an *Ahimsak*, or a follower of nonviolence.

Ahimsa, Nonkilling and Buddhism

Like Hinduism, *Ahimsa* in Buddhism is also connected with nonkilling. Furthermore nonviolence in Buddhism occupies highest place. Particularly, if there is a desire to study nonviolence of Buddhism by having nonkilling in the centre, or if there is a wish to know the importance of nonviolence in this perspective, the following verses of the *Dhammapada* [*Danda Vaggo*: 129-130] should be studied:

> Sabbe Tasanti Dandassa Sabbe Bhayanti Machchuno/
> Attanam Upamam Katva Na Haneyya Na Ghataye//
> Sabbe Tasanti Dandassa Sabbesam Jivitam Piyam/
> Attanam Upamam Katva Na Haneyya Na Ghataye//

Meaning thereby, "All quicker at punishment, all shudder death; so, considering all equal [to him], a man should not kill [anyone], nor should he has a desire to do so. All are afraid of punishment, and all love life; so, considering all equal [to him], a man should not take life of anyone, nor should he has a desire to do so." (Kumar, 2007: 89)

Along with this, the following verses from the *Dhammapada* [*Kodha Vaggo*: 225 and *Dhammattha Vaggo*: 270 respectively] are also worth mentioning:

> Ahimsaka Ye Munayo Nichcham Kayen Samvuta/
> Te Yanti Achchutam Thanam Yattha Gantva Na Sochare//

And,

> Na Tain Ariyo Hoti Yen Panani Himsati/
> Ahimsa Sabbapananam Ariyo'ti Pavuchchati//

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[7] *Chadogyopnishad*, 3:17:4 ["*Ath Yat Tapo Danam Arjavam Ahimsa, Satyavachanam Iti, Ta Asya Dakshina.*"]

It means, "Who practice nonviolence and control [their] body, they attain the unchangeable place [Nirvana]; and they have no reason to suffer thereafter." (Kumar, 2002: 146) And, "A man is not [an Aryan], noble because he injures living beings; but he is [an Aryan] noble because he is [completely] nonviolent and he has pity on all that live." (Kumar, 2002: 168)

Thus, after having analyzed the above-mentioned few examples nothing more is required to know, or clarify about nonviolence of Buddhism and its connection with nonkilling. Moreover, one foremost and extraordinary characteristic of Buddhist nonviolence, which especially having Gautama Buddha himself in the centre can be mentioned, is that Shakyamuni, laying great stress on *Karuna*-compassion-[union of pity and friendliness] accorded a new dimension to the concept of *Ahimsa* in prevailing conditions of his time. Making *Karuna* the basis of day-to-day practices, he called on people to love and protect all living beings. He also declared acceptability of everyone's right to live the acid test of humanity.

Jainism

Jain religion, and its philosophy, as known to all of us, is the only one which in every respect revolves around nonviolence. *Ahimsa* is considered *Brahman* (The Absolute) in Jainism. Hence, it is in support of complete nonkilling. Jainism negates killing of the smallest living being in toto and even opposes unjust and unnecessary strike at nature. For, Jainism time and again calls its followers to be watchful and reminds them, "Nonviolence very dear to all beings is pacifying, is Brahman." (Kumar, 2003: 14)

Furthermore, having the concept of nonkilling in the centre, nonviolence of Jainism can be understood more clearly from the following Sutra of the Jinavangamaya (Ibid):

> Savvesi Jiviyam Piyam, Panin Cha Piya Daya/
> Atmavat Sarvabhuteshu, Parasparopagriha Jivanam//

It means, "Everyone loves life. All the living beings do not like loss of life; they love pity. Therefore, always keeping in mind aho atman [realizing the fact that all souls experience one and the same feeling of distress or comfort], to go forward to good will and mutual cooperation." (Kumar, 2002: 35-37)

In context of the Jain concept of nonkilling another proclamation of the *Sutrakritanga* [1: 1: 3] is worth mentioning. It says, "If a man kills living beings or causes other men to kill them, or consents to their killing them, his iniquity will go on increasing." (Kumar, 2003: 15)

Thus, it is clear that Jainism along with killing weather circumstantial or noncircumstantial declares any kind of violence to be inhuman. In Jainism it is an act not only against the law of morality and ethics, but also against the right to live. Hence, it has been desired that a man should not only ascertain his own existence, but also of other fellow beings. It is his foremost duty, *dharma* and acid test of his claim to become a true human being.

Sikhism

Sikhism is to a large extent the supporter of the *Vedic*-Hindu religion and philosophy. It is supplementary to Hinduism. It was founded by Guru Nanak Dev in the Punjab province of India during the Fifteenth-Sixteenth century A. D. Sikhism stresses on developing *Ahimsa* in the form of harmony. Despite making valour its chief value, Sikhism calls for mutual acceptance and approval in carrying out day-to-day human practices, and that too on the basis of fraternity, love and unity. Hence, in its philosophy Sikhism also accords *Ahimsa* its due place. Not only this, Sikhism calls its followers, the Sikhs, to be ready to defend the weak, helpless and women and for it to sacrifice even their lives. Hence, like *Vedic*-Hindu, Sikhism also prohibits illicit killing in any form.

Thus, all the four major Indian religions accept the supremacy of nonviolence in theory and practice both. They also accept it as the highest human value, and prohibit not only the killing of human beings, but also oppose the killing of any of the living beings.

Practical Aspect

Jainism, as has been mentioned, does not recognize killing of any of the living being in any form and in any circumstance. To a larger extent it takes the killing, made knowingly or unknowingly, as an evil. In comparison to others, in Jainism *Ahimsa* is a subject of hard-pressed practice; for, it is not possible for common men to practice it accordingly. Although in comparison to Jainism there is no such appeal in Buddhism, but killing of a living being is a great sin in Buddhism. Simultaneously, the purpose behind connecting nonviolence with self-control and discipline is to develop in man the spirit of discarding violence on the one hand and his unresponsiveness to the act of killing on the other.

Despite accepting nonviolence as a supreme human value, Hinduism does not prohibit killing as and when it is necessary for the establishment of justice and freedom. But, such act must be in accordance with the *Shastric* order. It clearly means to maintain law and order in society, for the general welfare of the people, and for peace an act of committing vio-

lence, including killing, is permitted. Although, it is a fact that under the cover of this permission many times inhuman acts have been done, violence and killings have been made; moreover, social discriminations at large scale have emerged, but reality is that in principle without appropriate reason killing is completely prohibited. Not only this, without proper ground, violence is also not permitted. Same was the base of struggles and fighting of wars by the Sikh Gurus, and more or less the same principle is found in newly established Indian religion of Sikhism.

Conclusion

In brief it can be said that Indian religions convey the message of not to inflict other's thought, word and action by one's own thought, word and deed. They call for not to destroy the life of any of the living beings without appropriate reason. Moreover, they inspire their followers to carry out their day-to-day practice on the basis of *Ahimsa*. Hence, the concepts pertaining to nonviolence and nonkilling in Indian religions are interrelated. Moreover, any issue relating to them can be well understood, studied and analyzed having the both together in the centre.

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Nonkilling History is Global

Dodging Dystopia

The Role of Nuclear Narratives in Averting Global Thermonuclear War

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In 1945 the United States dropped two atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. 220,000 people were killed in these attacks, and hundreds of thousands more would die in the coming years. For many people the mass slaughter of these bombings and the initial use of the weapons on civilian targets were indicators of the direction and the threats that the future held. Many people felt that this initial use of these new and terrifying weapons were only a precursor of the slaughter to come.

In the autumn of 1949 the Soviet Union became the second nation to develop nuclear weapons. The possession of nuclear weapons by two nations that saw each other as enemies lead to an arms race and a massive stockpiling of nuclear weapons by both countries. Each nation raced to develop more powerful weapons and more sophisticated means of delivering those weapons. Earlier fission bombs gave way to fusion bombs increasing the destructive power of individual weapons by a scale of thousands. Bombs designed to be dropped from airplanes over enemy territory were soon augmented with technology that placed nuclear warheads on the nose cones of missiles which could be fired from land, sea and from planes. The two nuclear rivals also developed multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles (MIRV) which engineered the placement of up to eight separately targetable nuclear weapons in the nose cone of a single missile.

A simple way to understand this increase in destructive capacity is to look at the fallout impact of the 1954 test of the first deliverable thermonuclear weapon the Bravo test.[1] The fallout cloud resulting from the Bravo test extended over an area of several thousand square kilometers of the Pacific Ocean. Inhabitants of islands 100 km away were contaminated with ra-

[1] The Bravo test of the Castle Series was conducted at Bikini Atoll on March 1, 1954 by the United States.

dioactive fallout and had to be evacuated to further islands which would then become their permanent homes. A Japanese fishing trawler was blanketed with heavy fallout at a distance of about 150 km, well outside of the exclusionary zone established by the US military for the test. In 1955 the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) released a map of the fallout cloud from the Bravo test. When that map was placed over a map of the American eastern seaboard it revealed that if the very same weapon had been dropped on Washington DC, and the winds blown the very same way (of course there would be variations dependent on local conditions), a weapon equivalent to the Bravo bomb would have created enough fallout to kill everybody in Washington DC, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York City, and half of the people in Boston, if they did not evacuate immediately. This was the fallout cloud resultant from one fusion weapon. Within a few decades eight weapons of this scale could be placed in the nose cone of one missile, and twenty of these missiles could be placed on one nuclear submarine. This one submarine was therefore capable of unleashing dozens of times the entire firepower of all the ordinance of World War II, including the two atomic bombs, in about 15 minutes. Thus could one nuclear submarine wipeout almost all human life on a given continent in a matter of hours.

By the end of the 1970s each of the two Cold War adversaries had stockpiled tens of thousands of thermonuclear weapons. Global thermonuclear war could potentially have involved 40-50,000 nuclear weapons being launched in the period of a day or less. The potential casualties of such a war are incalculable. Many of the survivors would be doomed to die slowly from radiation sickness. It could be easily imagined that human civilization itself would not survive such an onslaught. American nuclear strategists bandied about nuclear war scenarios in which American or Soviet casualties were counted in the tens of millions. On nuclear strategist Herman Kahn's (1965: 194-195) escalation ladder the final rung was referred to as "spasm" or "insensate" war.

Had global thermonuclear war erupted between the United States and the former Soviet Union global casualties would likely be counted in the billions. For several decades the arsenals of both countries remained on alert, and the current arsenals of both the US and Russia remain on alert to this day. The US and Russia are allies now. Though both countries have stockpiles that number in the thousands, it appears that we have avoided the likelihood of a global thermonuclear war. As long as these stockpiles remain and especially as long as they remain on alert status, this threat does remain. The de-escalation of tensions between the two nuclear superpowers seems to have spared the lives of billions of innocent civilians. How did this happen?

The Nonuse of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945

Since 1945 and the use of atomic weapons by the United States on Japan, no additional nuclear weapons have ever been used in wartime. This fact is both promising and puzzling. Why haven't nuclear weapons been used again? How can we account for this nonuse?

There are a number of attempts to explain this turn of events. Invariably these explanations focus on deterrence theory. In the late 1940s even before the Soviet Union developed nuclear weapons, American strategist Bernard Brodie (1946) was already theorizing that the greatest power of possessing nuclear weapons was their ability to deter other nations from launching a nuclear attacking on the United States.[2] This is the core of deterrence theory, that possessing nuclear weapons is the most effective strategy to keep from being attacked by nuclear weapons. Their value is in the threat of one's willingness to use them. The nonuse of nuclear weapons during the Cold War is cited as proof of the wisdom of deterrence theory.

American nuclear strategist and Nobel Prize winning economist Thomas Schelling told the audience at his Nobel speech in 2005 that, "The most spectacular event of the past half-century is one that did not occur. We have enjoyed 60 years without nuclear weapons exploded in anger." Schelling described consecutive American administrations as grappling with a "nuclear taboo," in which it became increasingly difficult over the passage of time to treat nuclear weapons as just another weapon system. Nuclear weapons became seen as distinct from conventional weapons and therefore by definition, unconventional. This implied that their use was not legitimized in conventional war. Schelling supported the logic of deterrence theory declaring that the nonuse by the Cold War adversaries was because "the prospect of nuclear retaliation made any initiation appear unwise except in the worst imaginable military emergency." What was harder to explain, according to Schelling, was the nonuse by nuclear weapon holders against nonnuclear adversaries in active war, for example the United States in Korea, and the former Soviet Union in Afghanistan. In these situations it was not the deterrent fear of retaliation which inhibited the actions of nuclear power states but a "nuclear taboo." Schelling (2005) describes how President Eisenhower's Secretary of State John Foster Dulles decried the existence of this nuclear taboo in the

[2] For a good analysis of the psychological dysfunctions at the heart of weapons strategy see, Mirokowski (2002: 153-231).

1950s and sought the use of nuclear weapons in some combat situation which would establish them as a conventional rather than a taboo weapon.

Nina Tannenwald explores the history of this so-called nuclear taboo thorough an examination of both nuclear use and nonuse during World War II, Cold War and after. Tannenwald argues that deterrence theory alone does not explain the nonuse of nuclear weapons since the bombings in Japan. She rightly claims that, "The question of why nuclear weapons were not used during the Cold War is a difficult one, because the causes of 'nonevents' are notoriously difficult to pin down," a perspective also shared by writers of nonkilling history. "Despite cases where nuclear weapons were perceived to have military utility, US leaders have ruled out their use for political and normative reasons.... States are not free to resort to nuclear weapons without incurring moral opprobrium or political costs," Tannenwald (2007: 361-363) reasons, "If there had been no normative opprobrium, that is, if the 'rules' had been different, we probably would've seen resort to such weapons at some point since the start of the Cold War." However, Tannenwald relies on analysis of policy makers, doctrine and strategy to account for this nuclear taboo: "The taboo begin to emerge only gradually.... in a set of policy precedents established in the immediate postwar period, both domestically in the US and internationally at the United Nations, which marked out nuclear weapons as different from conventional weapons."

Tannenwald considers but discounts the importance of public opinion. She examines the postwar construction of arguments by US political and military leaders which legitimized the use of nuclear weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but claims that, "On the whole, however, the public was either supportive or quiescent about nuclear matters during much of the first decade after Nagasaki." Tannenwald (2007: 89-91) claims that, "Hiroshima and Nagasaki produced protests only from pacifists, a segment of the atomic scientists, and some religious leaders." However, protests against the specific use of the bomb in Japan are not the only place to discover discourse in the opening days of the atomic age which may have contributed to the nuclear taboo. This taboo had as much or more to do with beliefs and fears about future uses of nuclear weapons than about the use of the weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

While the initial months of the atomic age were clearly filled with discourse more in support of the nuclear bombings of Japan than in opposition, rhetoric surrounding the nature of nuclear weapons and the possibility of a large-scale nuclear war in the future were almost universally dystopian. The contributions that such dystopian discourse made toward nuclear nonuse since 1945 is a matter of speculation, however, I believe it is fundamen-

tal to examine the initial narratives articulated about nuclear weapons in the immediate aftermath of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to explain the emergence and nature of this nuclear taboo.

Dystopian Discourse about Nuclear War from American Social Leaders in 1945-1946

Nuclear weapons were first introduced to the world with explicitly magical narrative markers. Harry Truman spoke of these weapons as using the "basic power of the universe" and having been given to the United States "by God." The apparent cause—effect linkage of the bombings to the surrender of the Japanese and the end of World War II, reinforced this magical, omnipotent rhetoric. Banner headlines across the United States heralded the use of these atomic weapons as dealing a "knockout blow" to Japan, or of being a "super weapon" capable of undreamed of destruction and compelling an entrenched Japan to surrender. After the end of World War II public and media fascination in the United States with the new atomic weapons displayed a broad range of magical rhetoric, engaging in both a celebratory and a dystopian discourse. The magical new weapons were thought to give America unparalleled power and strength to define the postwar world. Alternately, the scale of death and destruction the weapons enabled led to visions of inevitable global nuclear war (commonly referred to as World War III) and the possibility that nuclear weapons were harbingers of the "end of the world."

I have argued elsewhere that the first and primary nuclear narrative to emerge from the use of nuclear weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the subsequent rhetoric regarding nuclear weapons common during the first year or two of the atomic age posited nuclear weapons as signifiers of impending social transformation (Jacobs, 2010b). Ubiquitous early repetition of the trope that nuclear weapons would lead to either a future without war and with abundant energy or to the end of the world presuppose that the world after the arrival of nuclear weapons would not resemble the world before nuclear weapons: if the future was not one in which the practice of war was transcended then there would be no future. In the face of this primary narrative the only imaginable way to avoid global nuclear destruction, and the end of the world, was through a taboo on the use of nuclear weapons. The nuclear taboo would therefore seem to be dependent on a wide spread public belief that the additional use of nuclear weapons after the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki would likely lead to the end of the world. Whether this mecha-

nism was fully envisioned or understood in the context of global realpolitiks was secondary to the visceral belief in its fundamental truthfulness.

An examination of the discourse describing the new weapons presented to an information hungry public shows a powerful dystopian thread about future uses of nuclear weapons expressed from a broad range of American social leaders in the days, weeks and months immediately after the atomic bombings. The following quotes are presented in chronological rather than thematic order to offer a glimpse of the vividness and immediacy of dystopian discourse surrounding the bomb, and the diversity of voices presenting them.

Renowned CBS war correspondent William Shirer was among those on the air reporting on the use of the bomb after the official announcement about Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. Shaken by the description of the power of the new weapon, and cognizant of the devastations of warfare, Shirer asked his nationwide radio audience, in a world with nuclear weapons: "Is there any hope for mankind?" (Smith, 1945: 8)

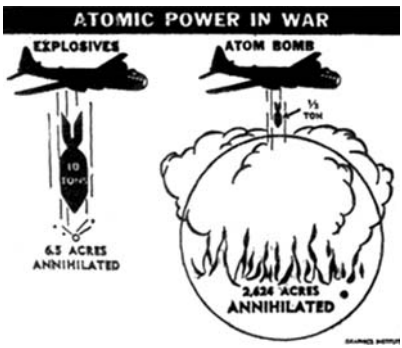
Writing just hours after the announcement of the detonation of the Hiroshima bomb, Norman Cousins, the thirty-three year old editor of the *Saturday Evening Post* declared that, "modern man is obsolete." Cousins warned that society was at a crossroads where global destruction was a very real possibility: "On August 6, 1945, a new age was born. When on that day a parachute containing a small object floated to earth over Japan, it marked the violent death of one stage in man's history, and the beginning of another." This act of destruction cast a "blanket of obsolescence not only over the methods and products of man but over man himself." (Cousins, 1945: 7-8)

Cousins' thesis expressed the essence of the first nuclear narrative: the bomb would either destroy the world or transform it. Human technological abilities seemed to have far outpaced human social abilities, and if society didn't change quickly, atomic weapons would certainly bring a war to end civilization. Human society was at a fork in the road: one path led to atomic holocaust; the other led to a future of peace and plenty. This was the nuclear dilemma, navigating past the danger and accomplishing the transformation.

Physicist and science fiction writer John W. Campbell, was another American who, like Cousins, knew upon hearing the news from Hiroshima that it was a changed world. Writing in *PM* magazine on August 7, 1945, Campbell (1945: 3) imagined the future, "Frankly, I am scared. I'm scared because I fear people won't fully realize that, from this day on, war is impractical. This isn't a new bomb. It's something that never was before. It's the power to reach the stars and the power to kill the human race. It depends on us to decide which power we use."

The Pulitzer Prize winning military editor of the *New York Times*, Hanson Baldwin imagined the flip side to the triumphalist rhetoric which filled the daily newspapers on first days of the atomic age. Baldwin saw how the use of this weapon by the United States impeded the moral high ground the US claimed for itself in world affairs, and set the stage for an even greater devastation ahead. "Certainly with God-like power under man's imperfect control we face a frightful responsibility," wrote Baldwin on August 7, 1945, "Atomic energy may well lead to a bright new world in which man shares a common brotherhood, or we shall become—beneath the bombs and rockets—a world of troglodytes." Here Baldwin (1945) articulates the primary nuclear narrative that the bomb has created an unavoidable choice between utopia and dystopia. In the following day's New York Times, it's Pulitzer Prize winning foreign correspondent Anne O'Hare McCormick (1945) repeated this primary narrative employing magical rhetoric to claim that "every man knows in his heart that the bomb that harnesses the fire of the sun and the sleeping forces of the earth itself to the business of war is an ultimatum to the human race. Make peace, it says, or perish."

Fig. 1. This illustration suggests a planetary impact for atomic destruction in the *New York Times* on August 12, 1945



On August 10th, WNEW radio station in New York City ran a special program titled, "The Atomic Bomb—The End or Rebirth of Civilization?" with the "end of civilization" meme in its title. In the presentation, sociologist Harvey Zorbaugh made a powerful and insightful plea to the listeners:

> The problem we face is this: During the years we must wait for science to harvest atomic energy in the interests of civilization, can we prevent atomic energy from destroying civilization?...Faced with a future that might at any

> moment disintegrate in a series of atomic explosions, how long would men cling to the long-range values and goals around which, surely if haltingly, we have built our civilization? Living with so drastically uncertain a future must profoundly change man's psychological and social outlook—cause man to live for the present rather than the future, for himself rather than the community.... With nations viewing each other over rocket-trajectories, like frontiersmen with their hands on the grips of their six-shooters, knowing that at the first sign of trouble, survival depends upon beating their opponents to the draw, how long would what is left of international morality stand up?

Envisioning the impending arms race frighteningly well, Zarbaugh (Geddes, Ed., 1945: 174-175) asked historically pertinent questions about the impact these weapons would have on people's psychology even beyond their actual destructive power.

On August 12th, an editorial in the *New York Times* stated clearly that even with World War Two coming to a close, the biggest challenge to human society lay ahead:

> Even the inevitable end of a great war cannot wholly lift from men's hearts the burden that was laid upon them last Sunday by the dropping of an atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. By their own cruelty and treachery our enemies have invited the worst we can do to them. Even so, no one can fail to realize that by this invention and this act humanity has been brought face to face with the most awful crisis in its recorded history. *Here the long pilgrimage of man on earth turns towards darkness or towards light.* [3]

On that same day, Robert Maynard Hutchins, the President of the University of Chicago held a *Chicago Roundtable* discussion at the university titled, "Atomic Force—Its Meaning for Mankind," which was broadcast on NBC radio. The guests included William Fielding Ogburn, the sociologist, R. G. Gustavson, a scientist and former President of Colorado University, and Hutchins. Gustavson began the discussion by recounting a discussion he had with Arthur Compton the Nobel Prize winning head of the Manhattan Project's lab at the University of Chicago on the day the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima.[4] "This is a very sad day for us," intoned Compton, the son of a minister, "Let us hope we have not placed dynamite in the hands of children." Gustavson went on to call atomic energy "the most important discovery that has been made since the discovery of fire."

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[3] "One Victory Not Yet Won," *New York Times,* August, 12 1945, 4: 8. Italics added.

[4] Compton won the Nobel Prize for physics in 1927.

But it was Hutchins whose final words were widely quoted. "Remember that a French philosopher referred to the 'good news of damnation'—doubtless on the theory that none of us would be Christians if we weren't afraid of perpetual hellfire. It may be that the atomic bomb is the 'good news of damnation,' that it may frighten us into that Christian character and those righteous actions and those positive political steps necessary to the creation of a world society—not a thousand years hence, but now." (Geddes, Ed., 1945: 206-221) President Hutchins, a leading American intellectual and educational theorist here posits that nuclear weapons offer civilization the equivalent of a choice between heaven and hell.

Raymond Swing of the American Broadcasting Company was one of the most vocal media figures about atomic issues in the first years of the atomic age. It was Swing who interviewed Albert Einstein, and wrote the articles based on those interviews that comprised the majority of Einstein's public statements on the bomb. On August 13th, 1945, Swing told his nationwide radio audience that, "the choice before men is simple, they can either live fabulously well, or they can commit suicide as a race." (Geddes, Ed., 1945: 41)

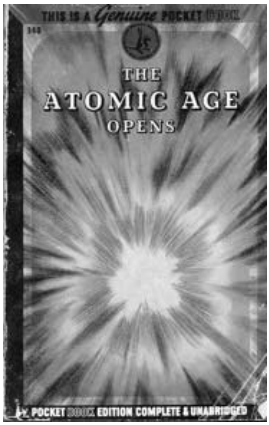
American religious leaders were among the most vociferous to articulate the new dystopian discourse. An editorial published in *Christian Century* on August 15, 1945, got right to the point:

> This is the ultimate in violence. What consequences will flow from this discovery nobody can guess. Of one thing however we can be certain. It will not in itself insure the end of war. It may lead to the extermination of man. Each new technological development in the art of killing has been hailed as a gain for peace only to reveal itself as a further extension of the misery of war. Now, at a time when man's spiritual development has again proved itself unequal to the mastery of the energies he could already command, atomic power is released. Nothing can save the race from new horrors unless we realize that we are tragically unprepared to control in the interests of humanity this incredible new dimension of force. The pride which marked the carefully prepared announcements of the atomic bomb attack reveals clearly the absence of this realization. Instead of congratulating ourselves on winning a race and achieving the impossible, we should now be standing in penitence before the Creator of the power which the atom has hitherto kept inviolate, using what may be our last opportunity to learn the lost secret of peace on earth.[5]

[5] "Atomic Bomb Loosed Against Japan," *Christian Century* (August 15, 1945), 923.

A week later, on the 22nd, the *Christian Century* continued to explore dystopian themes, editorializing that the atomic bomb has "cast a spell of dark foreboding over the spirit of humanity. The penetration into what is perhaps the ultimate source of nature's energy, the discovery of methods to release it and its final harnessing in the atomic bomb, have all but terrified the world. Has science gone too far? Is man worthy of such knowledge? Has he not violated the sanctities of nature's own secret and brought upon himself vast reprisals, perhaps the destruction of civilization and his own annihilation?"[6]

Fig. 2. Pocket Books released the paperback *The Atomic Age Opens* in August 1945



"The next big war may very well blow us out of the solar system," stressed an editorial in *The New Republic* on the 20th, "in a short week man learned that he had at last found how to blow himself up. I do not mean to strike any pose of gloom, but what is there in the past history to encourage a cosmic insurance company to take out a policy on the earth?"[7] In that same issue, editor Bruce Bliven (1945a) would write that "At last it seems literally true that humanity as a whole must either learn to live at peace or face destruction on a grotesquely vast scale," and a week later Bliven (1945b) would warn that, "in the future a more highly developed embodiment of the same awful agency may be used against ourselves, or perhaps to destroy the entire human race."

Democratic Senator Warren Magnuson of Washington was speaking of World War Three already in 1945. "Either we must persuade all other

[6] "Man and the Atom," *Christian Century* (August 22, 1945), p. 951.
[7] "Atomic Anxieties," *The New Republic* (August 20, 1945), p. 222.

powers...to institute true and universal democratic rights," Magnuson told a *Newsweek* reporter, foreshadowing the Cold War with the Soviet Union on August 20th, "or we must at once begin the race to win the Third World War—the war that would destroy every building above the surface of the earth and put us all into caves."[8]

"Mankind stands at the crossroads of destiny," claimed military analyst Major George Fielding Eliot (Geddes, Ed., 1945: 166) in the *New York Herald Tribune* in August of 1945, "The decisions which now confront the mind of man are the most important in his history. Upon these decisions hangs his continued existence on this planet." In this, Eliot would give voice to the same planetary depictions of the atomic dilemma common among post-Hiroshima editorial cartoonists. (See Jacobs, 2010a.)

In September of 1945, publishing house McGraw-Hill inserted an editorial into all of its distributed publications. The insert read in part, "At one giant stride our scientific and technological development has so far outdistanced our social engineering, that we have no choice but to turn our full powers of creative imagination to control the forces we have unleashed to bend them to man's use rather than to his destruction." (Walker, Ed., 1946: 15)

Reverand Wilbur Smith (1945: 20) of the Moody Bible Institute told a nationwide radio audience on the September 15th broadcast of his show *Chats from a Minister's Library*, that the final fire of judgement day could be interpreted as the fire resultant from a nuclear war in that both would affect "the dissolving of the elements."

A petition drawn up the Writer's Board in 1946, was signed by Pearl Buck among others, and then sent to Congress. The petition, reprinted in *Parent's Magazine*, advocated a world government, concluding dramatically with the statement, "In the solemn belief that unless these immediate steps are taken, the earth will within a few years inevitably be the scene of atomic wars that will destroy civilization and most of mankind with it."[9] Here we see another Nobel Prize winner, this time in literature, warning of the end of the world to an audience of new parents at the beginning of the Baby Boom. This shows how deeply and how quickly such narratives penetrated into mainstream culture.

Bernard Baruch, representing the United States to the first session of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission in June of 1946, began his speech with the now famous phrase, "We are here to make a choice be-

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[8] Sen. Warren G. Magnuson quoted in, "Epoch: Terrible Force of the Atomic Bomb Rewrites the Future in a Flash," *Newsweek* (Aug. 20, 1945), p. 34.

[9] "A Petition for World Government," *Parent's Magazine*, 21:6 (June 1946): 50.

tween the quick and the dead. That is our business." Baruch (1946) elaborated: "Behind the black portent of the new atomic age lies a hope which, seized upon with faith, can work our salvation. If we fail, then we have damned every man to be the slave of fear. Let us not deceive ourselves: We must elect world peace or world destruction." This formal, governmental pronouncement at the opening of the new instrument of international law, the United Nations, shows how the very mission of this nascent institution was initially focused on the confrontation of destinies embodied by the presence of nuclear weapons in the world.

One of the most prominent and articulate voices of the need for social transformation to avoid world destruction was Albert Einstein. Widely associated with the atomic bomb in press stories in the immediate aftermath of Hiroshima, Einstein used his notoriety to advocate for social transformation.[10] "Many people have inquired concerning a recent message of mine that 'a new type of thinking is essential if mankind is to survive and move toward higher levels,'" Einstein told Michael Amrine in an interview published in the *New York Times Magazine* in June of 1946, "Often in evolutionary processes a species must adapt to new conditions in order to survive....While we distrust Russia's secrecy and she distrusts ours we walk together to certain doom."[11] Einstein was to join with many of the atomic scientists to argue in favor of a world government. Their highly publicized book and film, shown across the country, was titled *One World or None* (Masters and Way, Eds., 1946).

Such discourse was so ubiquitous during the first year of the atomic age that one of the many books reprinting newspaper articles, speeches and radio transcripts on the subject, *The Atomic Bomb*, published in 1946, would claim in its introduction that, "Statesmen, world leaders and others of public note have stated or implied that in default of a wise control of this tremendous force the world might face a possible destruction of civilization itself." (Johnsen, 1946: 3)

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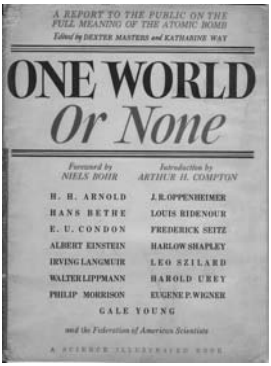
[10] Einstein was described in the initial press stories about the atomic bomb as the physicist whose scientific work on the equivalence of energy and mass laid the ground-work for the development of the atomic bomb, and then in the "Smythe Report," the official Army history of the Manhattan Project, published on 16 Aug. 1945, as the one who wrote the letter to FDR informing him of the possibility of making an atomic bomb in 1939 (the letter was actually written by Leo Szilard and signed by Einstein) (Smythe, 1945: 47).

[11] "The Real Problem Is In the Hearts of Men," Albert Einstein interviewed by Michael Amrine, *New York Times Magazine* (June 23, 1946), 7.

Fig. 3. The cover of the booklet *One World or None* (1946)



In 1947, the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* began to place its "doomsday clock" on the cover of each issue. According to the journal's editors: "The Clock evokes both the imagery of apocalypse (midnight) and the contemporary idiom of nuclear explosion (countdown to zero)."[12] This clock depicted how many "minutes to midnight" the current state of world affairs gave humankind before nuclear war. Although there was a full clock face depicted there were only 15 minutes shown, the implication that after midnight would be the end of time and therefore the end of the world was implicit.

It is another issue to ask how deeply this discourse penetrated into the thoughts and fears of the general public. Such considerations are speculation at best, but for this we can turn to public opinion polling of the time. It is sometimes claimed that widespread public support for the use of the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in American public opinion polling in 1945 and 1946 translates to a lack of fear and distress about nuclear weapons. This logic is misleading. When asked about their fears for the future, Americans were much more willing to reveal their fear of nuclear weapons than when asked about usage of the bomb by American wartime leaders to, seemingly, end World War II.

Several immediate postwar polls found that up to half of respondents considered it likely that there would be another world war, or "big war" within twenty-five years. Two-thirds of those queried responded "yes" to the question "Do you think there is a real danger that atomic bombs will ever be used against the United States?" with only one quarter expressing that they thought atomic bombs would never be used against the US. Half of those

[12] See <http://www.thebulletin.org/content/about-us/purpose>.

who answered that they believed nuclear weapons would be used against the United States asserted that they thought members of their own families could possibly die in such an attack (Cottrell Jr. and Eberhart, 1948: 22-25).

One thing missing in an examination of early discussions of the nature of nuclear war are voices claiming that the world after nuclear war would not be dystopian. A variety of steps can be found as illustrative of how to avoid nuclear war (political, psychological, sociological, religious) but the pronouncement of the postnuclear world as cataclysmic for human civilization is virtually universal. Claims that the future would be utopian were predicated on the belief that humankind could eliminate the practice of war in the future. In the aftermath of two world wars in four decades this belief seemed to require more faith than the belief that nuclear weapons would be used in the future and that it would be catastrophic.

Reinforcing of Dystopian Narratives During the Atmospheric Testing Era

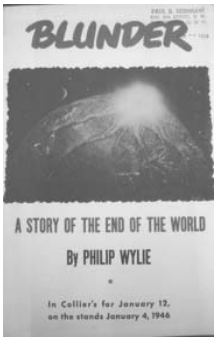
The intensity of atmospheric nuclear testing during the early Cold War led to the contamination of much of the Earth's surface with radioactive fallout. Studies by the atomic energy commission about the extent and effects of this contamination were particularly important in stoking public fears of nuclear weapon detonations separate from fears of actual nuclear war. In the 1953 Rand Corporation (1953) study titled *Project Sunshine* it was determined that radiation from atmospheric testing had led to the presence of fallout originating radiation in the teeth and bones of all human beings everywhere around the globe.[13] The ubiquitous nature of this radiation, being able to reach every human being no matter how remote from the sites of nuclear testing, and to penetrate into the interiors of their bodies—their teeth, their bones—without their awareness, reinforced ideas of the magical nature of radiation as well as the inescapability of our collective nuclear destiny.

The public relations campaigns of the Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy (SANE) during the early 1960s brought this message into the homes of Americans. A 1962 ad claimed, "Your children's teeth contains Strontium-90," accompanied by a picture of happy, innocent, smiling, toothy children. An earlier ad showed a bottle of milk with a skull and crossbones indicating that the milk is poisoned. This referred to studies which showed the presence of fallout radiation in the milk of all mammals. Another ad showed a

[13] The secret report was first publicly discussed in 1956, and was released to the public in 1958. See Lapp (1959).

pregnant woman with the quote, "1 1/4 Million unborn children will be born dead or have some gross defect because of Nuclear Bomb testing." These ads, depicting children, milk, and pregnant women all play on dystopian images of the future resulting from nuclear weapon testing.[14] The implication is clear that if nuclear weapon testing can lead to such a disastrous future, actual nuclear war and the detonation of nuclear weapons on cities would almost certainly lead to there being no future at all. The fact that nuclear weapons testing—just preparations for nuclear war—could have such a deleterious affect on future generations produced a generalized fear of contamination of the present world and the improbability of a future world.

Fig. 4. Collier's featured a dystopian short story by Philip Wylie in January 1946



American popular culture of the atmospheric testing period reveals many dystopian depictions of nuclear iconography. Science fiction novels and films of the 1950s were full of dystopian narratives of both nuclear war and the effects of radioactive fallout. Nuclear weapon tests were routinely considered responsible for releasing primordial monsters from under the ocean or ice caps, for example in *Godzilla* (1954) and *The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms (1953)*, and for resulting in the mutations typically found in the "giant bug" movies such as *Them!* (1954).These movies amplified and reinforced dystopian fears about the impact of nuclear weapons testing common during the atmospheric testing period, 1951-63. Additionally, films about actual nuclear war portrayed the causes of nuclear war as human error or insane leaders, and in films such as *On the Beach* (1959) or *Dr. Strangelove* (1964) the post-nuclear war world is depicted as incapable of supporting human life.

[14] Ads reprinted in Katz (1986).

Incidents such as the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 suggested that the possibility of global thermonuclear war was very real. The collective sense of a lack of control over world events and the possibility of nuclear war looming beyond real-world deadlines of a week or a day gave credence to the dystopian fears that were commonly expressed in both popular culture and anti-nuclear weapon testing political propaganda during the previous decade. The fact that the Cuban missile crisis did not lead to actual nuclear war and that an atmospheric testing ban was signed between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1963, it gave succor to the notion that political leaders were capable of acting to protect society, but it reinforced the dystopian fears of what would happen had there been a nuclear war. The seriousness with which Kennedy and Khrushchev took the threshold they approached in the Cuban missile crisis suggested that they too knew that beyond that threshold lay a wasteland.

Conclusions: Discourse, Imaginations and Actions

There is no quantifiable way to determine what effect these beliefs and fears had on the nonuse of nuclear weapons by political leaders in both the United States and the former Soviet Union, but it is hard to imagine that they alone were unaffected by the fears which were ubiquitous in the populations of the countries they led. Knowing that to engage in nuclear war was not just a strategic decision affecting the political fortunes of their nation, but invoked the deeply held fears and anxieties of their own people that such a step would lead to the destruction of their country and of the whole world, these leaders were almost certainly restrained by the anxieties of their own citizens. Crossing the threshold into behaviors deemed globally suicidal, no political leader could imagine themselves being held in the esteem of their populace after taking such actions. These leaders were, at least in part, restrained by the fears of there being no future for the children of the people who put them in power. Additionally, these leaders were surely aware of the contingency plans for their own safety during a nuclear attack, plans which would shuffle them quickly into deep underground bunkers designed to survive a direct nuclear detonation. Whatever anxieties they had about their own survival could only compound their expectations of what those they left behind would face.

The citizens of the world feared, not just for themselves, but for their children. As a species which is capable of altruism, especially regarding their own children, the conception of there being no future for the next, or any generation, evokes a terror beyond the simple fear of one's own death. The

imperative to avoid such a course of action was felt powerfully by individuals, and even more powerfully as a collective, a society.

Human individuals, even when they were leaders of society, felt the terror that nuclear weapons pose to the possibility of a human future. James Byrnes, Harry Truman's secretary of state and one of the first cold warriors, said in 1945 that humankind had better learn how to avoid war if it was to survive the invention of nuclear weapons telling his audience at a *New York Herald-Tribune* Forum on November 1, 1945, "Today the world must take its choice. There must be one world for all of us or there will be no world for any of us." (Walker, 1946: 47) Byrnes would later advise Truman to stockpile atomic bombs to counter the power of the Soviet Union in the postwar world, but in the fall of 1945, in the immediate and magical rush of power which accompanied Truman's use of the bomb in Japan, his chief foreign advisor was swept up in the common sense of that time and warned against the dystopian future that the atomic bomb heralded.

Global thermonuclear war has been avoided. Even now, imaginings of a nuclear war tend to envision the exchange of a small number of weapons in a regional conflict, for example in South Asia. While this would be horrendous, it would not be killing and destruction on this scale of the averted thermonuclear war between the United States and the former Soviet Union. Had that war occurred, had tens of thousands of thermonuclear weapons been launched over the poles and across the seas, billions of people would likely have died. These weapons were on a hair trigger for decades (and the remaining stockpile of both the United States and Russia remain on a hair trigger), fleets of bombers were in the air 24 hours a day, and dozens of nuclear submarines at sea at all times, and yet the war they were rehearsing never happened. There is no doubt that the implications of deterrence theory played a role in maintaining the nonuse of nuclear weapons during this period, but as Tannenwald points out—deterrence theory alone cannot explain this fact.

Human beings learned what to think about nuclear weapons from the statements of public leaders beginning in 1945. These leaders, from a broad range of society, seemed to grasp almost as a whole that a nuclear war in humankind's future would cause global destruction on a scale from which civilization might never recover. This horror, the terror felt deeply inside each individual human being, including social leaders, also played a fundamental role in avoiding this outcome.

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Nonkilling in Medieval and Contemporary History

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History as a scientific discipline and as a succession of events is, from a traditional perspective, largely the history of war and conflicts, whether from a political, social, economic, intellectual or even a historiographical standpoint. The history of the world is the history of war or, as Clausewitz put it, war is the continuation of politics by other means (Keegan, 1995). We are told that the great statesmen in history have been warriors and many intellectual and industrial advances have been made to improve weapons of war. To a great extent, the modernisation of States and economic advancement has been closely associated to the history of war, to genocide, and mass slaughter.

Likewise, the main collective actors of history—peoples, nations and States—supposedly conceived war as an end in itself (Bobbitt, 2002). The close relationship between historians, history and war since ancient times up to the present that could lead us to conclude that peace is a negative concept in history. We live in a violent society; we express ourselves through violent language, used even by those allegedly aiming at social justice such as Frantz Fanon, Malcom X, Stokely Carmichael, C. V. Hamilton or J. P. Sartre. For this reason, rather than seeking the utopia of a distant, teleological peace, it makes sense to resort to straightforward ideas such as Gandhian nonviolence or Paige's vision of a "nonkilling society," that leads to the construction and achievement of a clear and wholly practical objective: a world without killing

The quest for peace, the history of peace, is not something new and many have been working academically on this approach for some time now[1]. One of the most significant contributions of peace research has been the study of conflicts and the characterisation of violence.

[1] E.g., the Manchester peace study programme has been under way for 60 years now. (See Katz, 1989; Evans Pim, 2010.) The epistemological approach to peace has been taken to scientific and research domains such as Universities, specialised insti-

Where does Nonkilling Fit?

There are two approaches as far as the theory of peace is concerned. "Negative peace" is merely the absence of war wile "positive peace" is also the absence of war, but amidst harmony and co-operation to achieve security and justice in human matters. "Negative peace" has, in turn, been divided into different fields: the proponents of peace through force, through social justice or those advocating a community perspective. For some writers, this community thesis arises from a moral understanding of the world and with a lasting peace to create a great level of integration based on international collective security, national self-determination, economic interdependence and a respect for cultural values. Community proponents believe in four essential elements: common interest, norms, laws and sanctions, seeking to restructure peace with the democratic values of security, freedom, justice and community so that they may be implemented in the new scenario of the "New World Order" governed by a multipolar, community and global system (Tehranian, 1992).

The theories of "negative peace" subscribe to different school: the "hegemony theory" school, the "theory of balance of powers" and the "collective security" school. The first one is a Marxist theory that posits that since the 16th century the capitalist system has increased its dominance mainly from the U.S. and Western Europe into the peripheries mainly through imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The picture is then completed by a third group of countries that would be the semiperiphery which transmit surplus value to the First World (based mainly on Wallerstein, 1979). This thesis is precarious and based on the notion that hegemonic powers accompanied by military and economic supremacy impose peace as in the case of the "*Pax Britannica*" or the "*Pax Americana*" on the rest of the world. It is what President Bush did when he proclaimed his "New World Order" where the less developed countries had to accept their role as cheap labour force and strategic locations for the great powers. The second theory speaks of a balance of power and claims that peace may be achieved through force and persuasion, seeking the "national interest" of each country. It does not intend to alter the "status quo" and for this reason it fully endorses interventionist policies such as those of the Gulf War or the World Wars (Morgenthau, 1978). Lastly, the third theory, the "collective

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tutes and, generally speaking, to the scientific community as a whole (Wallerstein, 1988). The Center for Global Nonkilling brings a new perspective to this scenario.

security" one is based on the creation of international institutions that assure the security of everyone, such as the UN.

As to the "positive theories" of peace, they advocate the use of justice and only some of them admit the use of violence under specific circumstances. We may speak of three schools: the theory of "international law," that of "international integration" and the theory of "nonviolent resistance." While the first one relies on the problems of international disputes (Falk, Kratochwil and Mendlovitz, 1985), the second theory is that of "international integration" or "the spider web theory" (Burton, 1984), which contends that although international law has delegitimized the use of force, it has not ruled out its use. This international school believes in an interdependency between nation states that have maximised the costs and minimised the benefits of the use of force and for this reason it is also known as the neorealist or the interdependency theory (Keohane and Nye, Jr., 1989). Finally, the nonviolent theory is based on the premises of Gandhi (See Gandhi, 1984; Unnithan, 1987), which is where the nonkilling approach arises from.

Nonkilling Methodologically Integrated in the History of Peace

Historiography has paid more attention to conflict, contributing to the legitimisation of militarism, violence and destructive power as unavoidable forms of progress. Within this approach, war is seen as the driving force of history and as a teleological element to which and by which humankind advances. Within this set of principles, the notion of peace arises from that of war, even if peace is also associated to altruism, cooperation, solidarity and love.

The construction of a history of peace from a nonkilling standpoint is something complex. Peace Research frames the history for peace and its methodological assumptions along with new analytic categories and study instruments within a great interdisciplinary effort. The history of peace balances the historiographical dysfunction between: (a) the value and the extent that has been given to war with respect to peace on the one hand, and (b) the crisis situations solved violently in comparison to many experiences of peaceful resolution of conflicts on the other. It also contributes to understanding the present and planning the future through the knowledge of the past to take us to the great challenges of our time: the peaceful coexistence of the billions of inhabitants of the planet (Muñoz and López Martínez, Eds, 2000: 1-10).

Historians have a great responsibility in the construction of imaginaries, of cultural and social landmarks, of political parameters and their education is essential for the construction of peaceful futures where science (i.e. his-

tory) and ethics are connected; this is, to a great extent, the axis on which this chapter hinges, as the demands for nonkilling, nonviolence and peace arise from the commitment and from the victims themselves.[2]

Peace research has gradually made itself a niche within the discipline of history. And this niche is not only confined to the proposals and beliefs of pacifist social movements, nonviolence, the importance of alternative groups and the historical construction of peace. It is also concerned with the way the very historical problems are approached: the vision of conflicts, the actors, the methodology, the contradictions that may surface between the anthropological model used and the results or the excessive importance of some actors (such as the U.S.) to the detriment of others.

Humans must face the fact that conflict is part of the process of social interaction but that once it arises it can also be solved. Social relations and socialization create inequalities between individuals and societies. Humans are not violent or pacifists but may solve their problems peacefully or violently, although it should be noted that violence is part of the Western, Eurocentric historical conception. History is full of conflict but pacific regularisation has also had much influence. In all kinds of experiences and places there has been conflict resolution and negotiation resulting in a peaceful resolution: the signing of peace treaties, solidarity, co-operation, etc.

What this chapter addresses is the development of nonkilling in historiography and history, for which purpose it must be associated to two notions in which it collaborates very closely. They are, on the one hand, the notion of a "positive peace," that is to say, a peace constructed as history happens and accumulates in relation to a set of beliefs based on justice, equality and conflict resolution. On the other hand, there is the idea of "structural violence" which is any violence within society, in the very community of historians and in all power relations.

With these ideas a renouncement is made of the notion of an "absolute peace," a utopian and teleological idea very often used in a manner that favours violence. The goal is rather the regulation, transformation and resolution of conflicts by humans both collectively as individually as they appear.

In another sense, it is also necessary to take into account that the notion of war has always been presented as an "absolute" notion. When historiography speaks of the "Hundred Years' War," of the "Thirty Years' War" we are taking for granted that during all those years there was confrontation,

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[2] I am grateful to Joám Evans Pim for "lending" me this idea.

which is untrue. The same is true for the First or Second World War or the Cold War, where the whole of the world population was not involved.

Following Paige's (2009) nonkilling approach, history and historiography need to collaborate toward the creation of a global society where nonkilling is feasible. In this regard, it is necessary to point out that people can kill but most people have not done it, and that the exercise of power requires "masters" but also "slaves" and without the latter the former are nothing, so that the coercion exerted by power may be perfectly deactivated if society has different mechanisms of operation.

The Construction of a Teleological Peace in the Middle Ages

In Europe of the Early Middle Ages (8th-9th centuries), the idea of peace was used to seek a political balance, a social harmony and the opposition to plundering and violence and was even fundamental for spiritual rearmament. It was this that prompted the so-called "Peace of the King," which was a legal notion of Germanic origin that appeared in the Early Middle Ages and which initially referred to the legal protection of the person of the sovereign. It spread then to the places that the king inhabited and the roads he travelled down. Later, it was used to protect markets, fairs, persons and places. This kingly peace led to the notion of territorial peace.

The Church also spearheaded important movements in favour of peace as it had frequent clashes with feudal lords, reflected in constant episodes of rebellion, disobedience and war. These appeared mostly in times of crisis and did not fundamentally challenge the sources of established power.

Within this context different notions of peace can be recovered. The Peace of God (*Pax Dei*), is one such notion that entailed limiting violent actions against ecclesiastics and their estate as well as against the poor (later it spread to the whole of the population). This protection consisted in applying for a sort of safe-conduct for all noncombatants and their properties. In Germany, some sort of public peace was achieved while in Southern France the authority of kings was in marked competence with the power of feudal lords, which explains why the *Pax Dei* was successful there. This was all reflected in the deliberations and terms of the debates on *pactum pacis*, *constitution pacis*, *retauratio pacis et justiciae*, *pax reformanda*, etc. of the councils of Charroux-en-Poitou (989), Puy-en-Velay (990), Limoges (997) and Poiters (1000). Robert II the Pious proclaimed it in France in 1010-1011 and different sanctions were envisaged for those who should violate it.

Also important was the Truce of God that limited the time for conducting violent actions, thus preventing Christians from fighting certain days of the week or on certain dates. These propositions were first found in Provence but they spread to other places in France (Aquitaine, Burgundy, Normandy, Besançon, etc.). Finally, these events had their repercussion in the whole of public powers, notably kings and princes, as it went from a personal, temporary peace to a territorial peace in which public law proclaimed its victory over private law. This movement was not confined to ecclesiastic authorities but political authorities and different social movements (brotherhoods, municipalities) also participated. This evidences the permeability of these ideas and their possible interaction in decision-making. A practical manifestation of the all these issues is found in groups of heretics: Cathars, Hussites, Waldensians (Baschet, 2006: 300-310), which take the interpretation of the truce and peace of God to its logical conclusion as they opposed any form of war, killing fellow men and preached nonviolence and love as the central axis of political co-existence. In a similar vein is the creation of knights of peace and the creation of militias of peace, which originated in the opposition against feudal lords and against the powerful.

In all these manifestations, peace is portrayed as a spiritual value associated with equity and justice. On the other hand, it does not challenge the forms of violence, whether institutionalised or not, as well as wars (they defend the term "just war"), economic, social inequality, etc.

Peace was also found in the different treaties and the different designs of peace plans such as that found in the work of Pierre Dubois (*De Recuperatione Terre Sancte*, 1306), Dante Aligheri (*De Monarchia*, 1310), Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun (*Defensor Pacis*, 1324), etc.

In spite of this, the 13th-15th centuries are dominated by a diversity of wars in Western Europe. To a certain extent, war was the cause and consequence of the demographic, agricultural and social crisis; of the differences between feudal lords in spreading their power and the reticence by both peasants and urban workers as well as of the will to eradicate all heresies by resorting to resistance and force. The outbreak of the Plague in Europe in the 14th century also contributed to this (Biraben, 1976). Of this situation as a whole the conclusion was reached that war was beneficial for their participants as it can be seen in different late Middle Ages chroniclers (Honoré Bouvet, Christine de Pisan or Geoffroi de Charny) (Fernández, 1999).

The turn of the first millennia CE has prompted great historiographical debates about whether its significance was that of a great change (Duby) or one of continuity (Barthélemy), a controversy that is associated with a se-

ries of fears regarding the end of the world and the second coming of Christ, that would bring eternal peace.[3] Although a consensus had not been reached, some writers favoured the notion that the year 1000 was an intense moment, of great violence amidst agitation that resulted in the feudal mutation; others contended that it is merely a time of social tension exacerbated by the instauration of a new feudal order. Other interpretations claimed that there were neither feudal nor escatological changes. In any case, Cluniac monk Raoul Glaber speaks of a new world full of optimism.

The Antichrist and its associated cataclysms and other calamities have a fundamental importance in medieval thinking. Early Christians fixed his coming in the year 500, although it was later "postponed" to 800, 970, 981, 992, 1065 and 1250. Abbot Odon of Cluny was convinced of the coming of the Antichrist in the 12th century; the first Crusades took place under the threat of an imminent end of the world. The concern for the Antichrist does not disappear during the 13th century. Different movements of penitents and flagellants appeared in Italy in 1260. The Plague of 1348 revived the anxiety and prompted a new movement of flagellants. Also, during the great schism that divided the Church between 1378 and 1417, the Pope was branded by some as the Antichrist. Reinhart Koselleck has interpreted these movements as a strategy to integrate escatology in present times as an element of the stability of the Church and its dominance.

Many apocalyptic movements—heretic and millenarian—were greatly influenced by the Apocalypse of Saint John, which had a great repercussion on medieval culture both in theology and art. The Apocalypse does not only concern the end of the world but the past, present and future of the Church and several movements. Its millenarianism interpretations that predict a future associated to the final phase of universal history—although far from heralding the end of time and the destruction of the world—promise the establishment of the kingdom of Christ on earth, establishing a heavenly order of peace and justice for all of mankind. Although a great debate on the issue has erupted, some following Augustine, and the *De Civitate Dei* associate the millennium to that historical moment while other, more literal interpretations of the sacred texts underscored the notion of a Future yet to come. Augustine believed that peace is an asset and that there is nothing more valuable and useful. His idea was "fight for the truth without violence" and, for heretics, "fight with discussion and prevail with reason."

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[3] On the terrors of the year 1000, see Duby (1980); Barthélemy (1997); Gouguenheim (1999) and Moore (2001).

Another key author for the notion of millenarianism was Joachim of Fiore, the abbot of a Cistercian monastery in Calabria who spoke of the making of a spiritual church. His ideas were very popular among Franciscans and Dominicans. However, the peak of medieval millenarianism because of its popular support and the use of force was the Hussite insurrection, a movement led by Jan Hus. Millenarianism allowed for the manifestation of radical social transformations (Cohn, 1983; Carozzi, 1999).

Both theories have a great teleological component as they seek peace as an end and as an external organiser of the very historical and historiography events. War and peace in the middle Ages have a strong component of force and abuse. Violence entails exerting a moral or psychological force to impose, restrict, force or impose and the Church used it for its purposes by resorting to theoretical constructions with a deep social impact such as millennialism, Apocalypticism, or the notion of the end of the world.

Contemporary History as an Excuse for Historical Determinism

The end of the Cold War brought about an interest in underscoring the victory of capitalism against socialism in a strategy to integrate it in a finalist and teleological perspective. Within these parameters the thinking of Fukuyama's "end of history," Huntington's "clash of civilisations" and Kagan's "trans-Atlantic breach" can be easily associated. Different interpretations have been put forward to explain the new situation that arose at that time:

a) *A single world of euphoria and harmony*. An explanation accepted both by politicians and intellectuals who hoped that the UN had a renewed importance within a framework of global peace.[4] However, this thesis was a mirage and ethnic conflicts multiplied, far-right and far-left groups cropped up and religious fundamentalism intensified. In 1989-91, the U.S., having "won" the Cold War, unmasked itself and declared a "New World Order" where with the acquiescence of the UN a new military age begun and was baptized in the Gulf War. Fukuyama's "end of History" presented a world of peace between the great western democracies, although not perhaps within them—what he called post-history—but could be, and indeed was, a world of war for the Third World (Iraq was

[4] Huntington tells by way of anecdote that the president of the most important university in the world vetoed the appointment of a professor on security studies because it was no longer necessary. (See Huntington, 1996: 35.)

an early example). The new situation could be defined as a "hot peace" (Buarque, 1993: 152), with the threat of terrorism, poverty, political repression and tragic, focalised wars, external debt, chaos, excess of power, government and State inefficiency, political and monetary instability and ecological problems.

b) *Two worlds*: us and them, mapped onto the world in a bipolar fashion between "zone of peace" and "zone of conflicts." The West and the rest; rich and poor countries; center and periphery. Among the writers that advocated this oversimplistic interpretation were Max Singer and Aaron Wildavsky (1993) and Robert O. Keohane (1996) or Kishore Mahbubani.

c) *184 States*, i.e., a world based on the "realist" theory of international relations, where States would be the main actors in world matters and would seek to maximise their power to ensure their survival and security. When a State feels threatened, it allies or reinforces its power to defend itself (see Waltz, 1993; Mearsheimer, 1990).

d) *Chaos*. This explanation underscores the collapse of government authority, the disintegration of States, the intensification of tribal, ethnic and religious conflicts, the emergence of criminal mafias, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the spread of terrorism, etc. Among its proponents were Brzezinski (1993), Moynihan (1993) and Kaplan (1993).

e) The theory of the "clash of civilisations" advocated by Huntington essentially held that states associate in accordance with their common or similar culture and that conflicts among states occur as a result of their cultural differences. Huntington believed that his explanation included all four of the above, as in his mind this argumentat was compatible with all others while incorporating elements from each of them. The problem lies within the concept of "civilisation" itself. This thesis led Robert Kagan to propose his "trans-Atlantic breach," which forecasts a clash within the West (U.S. vs. Europe).

These five interpretations were grouped into four schools. Firstly, the school of "the end of history" explains the world in terms of peace, boredom and inertia where U.S. values prevailed. Secondly, the school of "continuity and change" glimpsed the beginning of a less threatening world, insisting that with the decline of the great superpowers nuclear and military threats would disappear (euphoria thesis). The third preferred to look back to the past to find commonalities and innovations in history (Thompson, 1992); and the last one forecasts a scenario of conflict (the clash of civilisations).

A Hobbesian Democratic Peace

As to what has been discussed so far, there are different theories to explain peace in the international scenario:

a) Economic liberalism[5] which considers that the requirements for peace are not based on military precepts but on economic ones: a desire for prosperity, the interdependence of States and international cooperation. The problem posed by this theory is apparent. The international system is anarchical and does not respond exclusively to economic stimulus but also others such as social and economical inputs.
b) A thesis that holds that "traditional" wars are a thing of the past (something self-evidently wrong if we take look around us).
c) The contention based on a presumption toward peace as characteristic of democracies, also known as the "democratic peace" thesis which is held by, among others, Michael Doyle (1983, 1986, 1996), and which writers such as Fukuyama built upon. This thesis shows how the Kantian essay *Perpetual Peace* could be used as a coherent explanation of two important irregularities in world history: the tendency by liberal states towards peaceful relations between them and their belligerent tendency in their relations with nonliberal States.

Doyle makes an interpretation of Kant's essay *Perpetual Peace* (*Zum ewigen Frieden*). This work put forward the creation of democratic governments, the instauration of a federation of Free States, and the creation of cosmopolitan law.[6] For many scholars, despite the change in the historical framework and the necessary reformulation required, the basic concepts of Kant's essay remain valid (see Habermas, 1997). But what were those principles? The Kantian project incorporated numerous elements from earlier doctrines—albeit re-elaborated—which can be traced back to the Reformist wake of Jean Bodin, Hugo Grocio and Emerich de Vattel advocating for a new International Law created by States and binding for them. Against this idea was the Hobbesian notion based on the defence of the Nation-State which had been established as an exclusive actor in international relations. In this regard, Kant also believed in the importance of the State but oriented toward

[5] In such writers as Richard N. Cooper, Enrst B. Haas, Joseph S. Nye, Robert O. Keohane , David Mitrany among others.
[6] Kant introduced along with state law and international law, cosmopolitan law. For a critical review, see Velasco Arroyo (1997) and Evans Pim (2006).

peace both internally and externally. Kant proposed the union of different States in a Federation with the purpose of ensuring the freedom of its members. He was thus the first to attribute legal reality to the notion of a federal State at a world level, where each of the confederate members would organise internally in a democratic fashion, although Kant himself would water down his claims due to the suspicion it caused in order to achieve so great and perfect levels of peaceful coexistence (Hermosa Andujar, 1989).

The thesis of "democratic peace" gained relevance after the end of the Cold War, recovering three of its axes: a) historically, liberal democracies never or almost never have made war on one another; b) liberal democracies are not more prone to war than non-democratic States but there are not less prone either; c) although liberal democracies do not make war on one another they have had armed conflicts with nonliberal States.

This thesis is intimately related to liberal ideology. The search for a theory that explains why democracies do not go to war with each other may turn into a theory that explains why liberal States have been so successful in organising force. Liberal States have gone to war everywhere and have been responsible of a great level of militarization of the world while contributing to conflicts between nondemocratic States (Latham, 1993). Another key problem of this thesis is how it meshes with the Third World and the precariousness and imposition of some of their democracies. On the other hand, it is evident that this theory suited the needs of some U.S. conservatives to tally their geopolitical visions, not to mention that there has been some exceptions to this thesis throughout history (like the clash between the U.S. and the U.K during the crisis of Venezuela in1895, etc.). To this it should be added that there have been few democracies in the last two hundred years and we should not lose sight of the existence of so-called "state terrorism," where many democracies have acted against elected governments in developing countries. Lastly, the thesis has a great number of different constraints originating in its notion of (representative) democracy. We are, therefore, before a union between peace and democracy that considers liberalism, and not democracy, the hinge for peace between democracies, which is in turn inserted in a globalisation based on the "Washington consensus."

There are other conceptions of democratic peace, such as that of Russet, who insists more on the term democratic culture or the constructivist school that holds that conflicts between States are not the consequence of power distribution in the international system but are socially constructed and are the consequence of the learning acquired through interaction.

This thesis of "democratic peace" was to a certain extent defended by authors such as Kagan or Fukuyama, who built on Hegel, and who, in turn, denied Kant's proposal of a universal peace. Fukuyama holds the notion of "state of nature," that is, a Hobbesian and Hegelian one, where States do as suits their interests.

Altermundism as a Potential Framework for Nonkilling

In 1999, with the demonstrations against the WTO in Seattle, the antiglobalisation movement came into being allowing the social lefts to give shape to a transnational civil society based on these movements and on the notion that "another world is possible." This gave the other globalisation—that of poverty, of the 80% of population and where 33% are starving—a say (Valenti, 2002). On the other hand, globalisation has eroded national governments and has generated superimposed regionalisation processes.

These movements certified the end of the idea that there are no alternatives, checkmating the existing model of globalisation. Altermundist ideas support and encourage the implementation of specific campaigns on limited objectives, proposing a nonteleological strategy. Individual persons and society are thus defended, along with their fundamental rights such as a participative democracy (Houtart and Polet, 2001: 54-55), a reorganisation of international institutions through the creation of a world parliament and, ultimately, the establishment of a killing-free society prone to nonkilling values.

The Development of Nonkilling in a Nonteleological Historical Account

As this chapter has shown, history—from a traditional perspective—has a teleological structure oriented toward specific matrix whether from an individual (development of individual objectives) or a collective level (utopian societies either liberal or socialist), based on cultural, economic, political and social paradigms that set an specific notion of progress and with several "organisers" that are always fixed from the beginning.

Teleological conceptions are largely a reflection of social crisis and manifest themselves in expressions such as "the end of the world," "millenarianism" or "the end of History." They tend to be a justification of an existing society and of the development reached in some areas as the most complete and rational. All that teleological constructs achieve is privileging a particular history. The theory and practice are intimately related and there is a feedback between both. Therefore, historical evolution is open to a never ending process.

What has become clear is that history is made up of different and disparate processes which are neither coherent nor directional. They are governed by a notion of progress or regress that is the consequence of the individual and collective work of human beings and which respond to some changing, mobile organisers on the basis of specific objectives rather than greater goals. It is within this theoretical and methodological framework where nonkilling can operate perfectly as a conception based on practical goal (not killing) and not on a vague utopia such as "universal peace."

A new nonkilling history should take the following aspects into account:

a) *Abandonment of linearity.* There is no such a thing as a single final order of things or a pre-established one. Let us not forget that the notion of dominant class has always been the mirror thanks to which the image of an order has been constructed. Renouncing to linearity entails moving away from eurocentrism and determinism, which are associated to capitalism. It also helps to understand the existence of different pasts, presents and (possible) futures.

b) *A new notion of progress,* one that is more synthetic, less dogmatic, with a wider perspective and a strong moral and ethic stamp. A new, nonteleological notion of process with continuities and breaks-point and that places the human being at the center of history. It is a notion of progress with several avenues, devoid of determinism and with different options (Barros, 1995: 101).

c) *The driving forces of history should be plural and adapted to each time:* the common political action, social movements, human beings, nations, States. Just as there are no permanent driving forces in History, there is no historical determinist but a historical probabilism where risk is something unavoidable. This makes it possible to move from an amoral science to an ethically responsible science, from a human-dominating technology to one at the service of mankind, and from a legal-formal democracy to a killing-free living democracy that guarantees freedom and justice (Kung, 1991).

d) *The possibility of new, alternative modernity(ies)*, constructed upon the basis of pluriversal, decolonial and noneurocentric interchange and methodological blending. This is essential to shed all teleological explanations and simultaneously embrace several contingent ideas in a dialogical and complex manner.

e) Nonkilling is both a tactic and a social and political strategy that leads to peaceful societies. It originates in the assumptions of the

history of peace and of the experiences of peaceful regulation throughout history to turn them into philosophy and theory of the practical action committed with social change. It intends to be a system and a useful and efficient instrument to achieve a nonkilling peace. It entails resorting to nonlethal means to solve conflicts peacefully, looking for meeting points with others but without harming, damaging or ruining adversaries. It is a creative and constructive way of doing history. The history of nonkilling feeds upon the history of peace. Nonkilling is found in philosophical, religious and ethical currents where human beings deserve the uttermost respect and persuasion is used consistently before coercion.

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Nonkilling History is Pedagogical

No More Air Raids

Efforts for Peace at the Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage

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November 21, 1783: the first balloon rose in Paris for the first time for the purpose of military use (Tanaka, 2008: 12). A physician and an army officer got into the balloon, which implies that the military was interested in the roles of balloons in war. It is supposed that the first air raid in war history was made between the Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1849 (the so-called first Italian War of Independence). A total of 200 small balloon bombs were used on Venice, but it was not very effective (Tanaka, 2008: 13). It is generally said that the Wright brothers, Orville and Wilbur Wright, flew the first airplane in North Carolina in 1903. This is historic because the use of airplanes greatly changed how wars are fought. However, it is encouraging to know that the First Hague Peace Conference of 1899 was convened on the initiative of the Czar of Russia, Nicholas II, "with the object of seeking the most effective means of ensuring to all peoples the benefits of a real and lasting peace, and, above all, of limiting the progressive development of existing armaments" (Russian note of 30 December 1898/11 January 1899) (International Committee of the Red Cross). Although it failed to achieve its primary objective of the limitation on armaments, three declarations were accepted—"one prohibiting the use of asphyxiating gases, another prohibiting the use of expanding bullets (dumdums), and another prohibiting the discharges of projectiles or explosives from balloons" (The Peace Palace Library). It should be noted that the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes was adopted and the Permanent Court of Arbitration was created. This is important in the sense that the use of force was denied and peaceful means of solving problems were recommended.

In spite of such efforts for peaceful settlement of international disputes, air raids have been made since 1911 when the Kingdom of Italy air-raided the Ottoman Empire over the Ottoman Province of Tripolitania, which is now Libya (Tanaka, 2008: 20). There have been so many air raids in the

world that it is almost impossible to point out all of them. However, it is possible to say that air raids have been made in World War I, World War II, Korean War, Vietnam War, Gulf War, War on Iraq and Afghanistan and so forth. As for Japan, it should be noted that Japan started the first air raid on Jinzhou, an important city in military and traffic in China in 1931. Nanjing, the capital at that time, was air-raided in 1937 and Chongqing became the next capital because Nanjing fell to Japan. Then the new capital began to be air-raided in 1938 and the air raids continued until 1943 (Arai, 2008: 59).

Japan also attacked Pearl Harbor by bomber planes on December 7, 1941, which resulted in the United States' entry into World War II. The total American casualties were 2,395 deaths including fifty-four civilians (History Learning Site). As a result, the United States began to air-raid Japanese cities such as Tokyo, Nagoya and Kobe on April 18, 1942 (Anzai, 2008: 3). After it became possible for the U.S. to use B-29s from islands such as Guam in 1944, Japan began to be air-raided from Hokkaido in the north to Okinawa in the south. There were two reasons of the U.S. air raids of Japan. One reason was to destroy munitions factories and the other one was indiscriminate bombing to shatter Japanese people's fighting spirit (Anzai, 2008: 14). As a result of the U.S. air raids, about 300,000 people were killed. Since men were sent to battlefields, most victims were women and children. If victims of the atomic bombing are included, the total death toll of air raids was about 700,000 (Anzai, 2008: 15).

The Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings changed the history of war, and peace movements began in order to abolish nuclear weapons. Anti-nuclear movement started and there are also efforts for peace recording U.S. air raids on cities in Japan and abroad and conveying the horror of war and preciousness of peace to the next generation in Japan. Such activities have been promoted at peace museums, history museums and art museums for peace. There are about sixty museums for peace and about forty history museums and art museums for peace in Japan according to Yamane and Yamabe (2010: 53). U.S. air raids are exhibited in such museums, though it should be pointed out that Japan's air raids of China and Pearl Harbor are not exhibited much at public peace museums. Museums for peace where Japan's aggression is exhibited were researched by the author and the result of the research was published in *Grassroots Museums for Peace in Japan: Unknown Efforts for Peace and Reconciliation* in English in 2009 in Germany. It is rare to see exhibitions on Japan's aggression such as Japan's air raids on Chinese cities at public peace museums according to the author's research. On the other hand, there are some private peace museums where Japan's aggression is honestly exhibited. The only exceptional public

peace museum is the Osaka International Peace Center and it was found that citizens supported an exhibition on Japan's aggression in spite of nationalists' criticism. Although there are many museums for peace where U.S. air raids are exhibited, the emphasis is put on the Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage in Tokyo in this chapter. This is because the scale of the U.S. air raids is extraordinary because over 100,000 people were killed on March 10, 1945.

The Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage was founded in 2002 in order to promote peace education so that air raids will never happen again in the future. Tokyo was air-raided by U.S. B-29 bombers on March 10, 1945 and over 100,000 people were killed in only one day. Such history is not known as much as atomic bombing on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. First, the history of the center and activities for peace education will be made clear. Then efforts for researching air-raided cities will be made clear. The number of survivors of air raids is decreasing and it is getting more and more important to convey results of air raids to future generations so that air raids will never be made in the future. Guernica Peace Museum in the Basque Country, Spain, and the Herbert Art Gallery and Museum in Coventry, England also play important roles in peace education and reconciliation with former conflicting countries. It is not enough to learn historical facts on air raids only from the side of bombing. It is more important to educate results of air raids as well as efforts for peace and reconciliation such as making sister cities and promoting exchanges of ideas and visits in order to promote a culture of peace. Lastly, visitors' comments and some challenges will be made clear.

This leads to learning the lessons that the use of force such as air raids does not solve any problem and only destroys precious lives; instead, dialogues and diplomacy should be used instead of killing people. It should be noted that Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution that renounces war and military is worth introducing to other countries because it would lead to stop air raids if the same kind of the article is applied to other countries, except Italy and Costa Rica that have already had the same type of article in their constitutions. Air raids have been made in Afghanistan even today, but they should be stopped immediately. What is necessary is dialogue and diplomacy because air raids will be greatly changed by a new type of airplane in the future. The Israeli Air Force has introduced "a fleet of pilotless aircraft that can stay in the air for nearly a day and fly as far as the Gulf" (BBC News). The Associated Press quoted defense officials as saying that the planes could provide surveillance and jam enemy communications. This means that a matter of air raids is not one in the past but in the present and the future.

U.S. Air Raids of Tokyo and War Damage

Katsumoto Saotome is a novelist and the director of the Centre for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage which was founded and run privately in order to hand down war devastation by U.S. bombers in Tokyo at the end of World War II to future generations. He talked about the devastation of U.S. air raids on Tokyo, its historical background, the meaning of conveying it to future generations, some problems and future cooperation for peace at grassroots level at the University of Bradford in England on September 15 in 2009. One of the purposes of visiting England was to visit Peace Museum in Bradford, Herbert Art Gallery and Museum in Coventry and Imperial War Museum in London in order to learn how German air raids of Britain are exhibited as well as efforts for peace and reconciliation in England. The author went to England with Katsumoto Saotome as his guide and an interpreter of his lecture.

He pointed out Japan's aggression before he talked about U.S. air raids of Tokyo such as "The war that Japan levied against other countries brought about the catastrophe at the end of World War II and the first atomic bombs in human history were dropped on Japanese cities by the U.S. military." It is said that about 140,000 people were killed by tremendous heat rays, blast and radiation of the bomb in Hiroshima and over 70,000 in Nagasaki by the end of 1945. However, about 100,000 people were killed by air raids on March 19, 1945 in Tokyo before the atomic bombing though they were not nuclear weapons. He said that he had wondered how many people would know about this fact of disaster which is as great as the atomic bombing.

It is possible to understand what happened to Tokyo by U.S. air raids through his testimony. He was twelve years old in 1945 and could barely survive. He thought that it would be his responsibility as a victim to record war devastation and suffering of the small and the weak such as voiceless children and women and convey it to the next generation. This is why he founded the Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage. As of November 1944, the United States started bombing various cities of Japan by B-29s which had been developed as long distance heavy bombers to destroy Japan's cities. Tokyo was air-raided and burnt out by fire over 100 times, but it was before dawn on March 10, 1945 when Tokyo was heavily air-raided by some three hundred American B-29 bombers and people were unprecedentedly killed, which is called "Great Tokyo Air Raids."

The target of Bomber 29s was the downtown area which, superdensely populated. The aim was to deprive people of their fighting spirit and there are several characteristics of bombing which was different from

previous ones according to Katsumoto Saotome. First, the bombing was done at midnight so that bombers could escape from bombshells by antiaircraft guns. Second, they flew in big formations of about 300 bombers. Thirdly, it was indiscriminate bombing by super-low flying. Fourthly, bombing by napalm bombs was overwhelming: the total weight of the dropped bombs was about 1,700 ton. It took only less than two hours to bomb Tokyo, and downtown areas full of wooden houses were enveloped in raging flames because of a north wind that had just begun to blow. The history and destiny of Tokyo was completely changed overnight. About one million people lost their houses because they were burnt down. The number of the injured is countless and about 100,000 people were deprived of their precious lives. Saotome explained his experiences as follows:

Only several hours before people shared scarce food talking and sighing in a dark room. I think that it is important to imagine that each individual had his/her own life and personality. There had been no record that 100,000 people were killed in such a short time in war history. It seems that Tokyo became an unprecedented "battlefield." At dawn the downtown area was full of scorched bodies and it was impossible to identify who they were. Among them there was a dead infant who was hugged by his/her mother without any burns.

Over half of urban districts in Tokyo were burnt down by August 1945 when Japan was defeated. It was not only Tokyo but also other cities that were air-raided by B-29s. Many napalm and other kinds of bombs were used, and the atomic bombs were also used. There were battles in Okinawa and Japan, became wretched full of debris and scorched earth and the war was ended.

It was officially announced that 3.1 million Japanese lost their lives including soldiers, army civilian employees and civilians during this time. Among them the number of the civilians who were killed is not clear and it is problematic that the Japanese government neglected to investigate it according to Saotome. He criticized the Japanese government as follows: It does not reflect the disaster for civilians—on the contrary, it has been hiding facts of the war and distorting them. As a piece of evidence, there is no public memorial on war damage and no peace park in Tokyo where over 100,000 civilians were killed. There has been no official investigation.

He explained its background that "War damage investigated by civilians could be obstacles for a Japanese system that aims at becoming a great military power following the United States. Then handing down war devastation must make it possible to stop the war system. It would also vitalize the movement for protecting the peaceful Constitution." This is why he made efforts of founding the Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage.

The History of the Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage

How was the Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage founded? First, an Association of Recording Air Raids on Tokyo was founded in 1970 and its purpose was to record U.S. air raids on Tokyo from people's standpoint according to Masahiko Yamabe, a researcher of the center. Such activities spread all over Japan and the National Association of Recording Air Raids and War Damage was founded in 1971. As a result, about 800 citizens wrote their experiences of U.S. air raids and they were published in *Journal of Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage Volume 1 and 2* in 1973. The same Journal Volume 5 was published in 1974 and U.S. military records of air raids were translated into Japanese and they were included in it. An Association for Founding Memorial of Air Raids and Damage was founded in 1974 and materials on air raids on Tokyo in the United States were collected. A list of materials related to the air raids on Tokyo was published in 1976 and the materials were kept at Koto Municipal Library in Tokyo from 1976. Edo Tokyo Museum was founded in 1992 and an exhibition on U.S. air raids on Tokyo was made with the cooperation of the Association of Recording Tokyo Air Raids.

Katsumoto Saotome asked Tokyo Municipal government to found a Tokyo Peace Memorial with nineteen other scholars and intellectuals on November 6, 1991. The idea was accepted and a basic plan was made for founding Tokyo Peace Memorial in 1994. But the plan was suspended in 1999 because of "financial difficulties" according to Tokyo Municipal government. However, the real reason was not financial but political: nationalists who glorified Japan's aggression in World War II insisted that an exhibition on Japan's aggression should be removed and most of the Tokyo Municipal Assembly members supported the nationalistic idea according to Masahiko Yamabe. It was the time when nationalists criticized exhibitions on Japan's aggression at public peace museums such as the Osaka International Peace Center. As a result, exhibitions on Japan's aggression such as Japan's air raids of Chinese cities were removed from most of public peace museums in Japan.

Saotome decided to found a private peace center for recording Tokyo air raids and damage without depending on a public peace museum because there was more freedom of speech. The Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage was founded by about 4000 citizens' donation which was about US$1.1 million in 2002. It is affiliated with the Institute of Politics and Economy (Seiji Keizai Kenkyusho) which was founded in 1938 and the first president was Fumimaro Konoe, the former Prime Minister from 1937 to 1941. It became a private academic institution in 1946 and war and damage

has been researched: a journal of Seikeiken Research Paper Series started to be published in 2002. The Center was built on Koto ward which is located in one of the most damaged areas by the air raids. It is impressive that the land was donated by a single generous supporter of the center.

The center is included in "museums for peace" in Japan, though the word of "center" is used instead of using the word "museum". There is a certain criterion to be called "museum" and a formal size of the center before its renewal was not big enough to be called "museum". This is why it is called "center," according to Masahiko Yamane.

Education for Peace

How is education for peace promoted at the center? There is a statue of mother holding a child called "In Time of War" made by Shin Kohno in front of the center. This statue seems to symbolize women and children who were main victims of the air raids of Tokyo. It also implies mother's deep love of children and strong will against war for peace. There is also a statue called "Children's Statue for World Peace" there. Plans for this statue and diligent fundraising were conducted by junior and senior high school students in Tokyo while studying effects of conventional air raids and atomic bombing. It was unveiled on May 5, 2001 (Children's Day in Japan). It is interesting that they were influenced by American children who had been impressed by a statue of an atomic bombed child in Hiroshima in 1995 and had appealed that they would like to make a statue of a child for peace in the world: on October 25, 1955 a girl called Sadako Sasaki passed away because of leukemia caused by the atomic bombing on October 25, 1955 and a movement for making a statue of an atomic bombed child started. It is impressive that children over 3,000 schools had cooperated with fundraising for Sadako in Japan. These two statues in front of the center show wishes for educating children for peace at the center.

Artifacts and documents on air raids and war damage have been collected by the Association of Recording Air Raids on Tokyo since 1970. Exhibitions are based on research of war and peace at the Institute of Politics and Economy. The center plays the role of handing down war experiences to younger generation, and students of 180 schools visit the center as their school excursion a year. In his lecture at the University of Bradford on September 15, 2009, Mr. Saotome said, "We decided not to allow disaster of war and air raids happen again in the future and we have been trying to hand down our wishes for peace to future generations from downtown Tokyo."

Exhibitions were made to show what happened to Tokyo by U.S. air raids, especially damage to civilians. However, there was such criticism that an emphasis is put on Japan's victim side of the war without showing other people's suffering caused by Japan's invasion. It was also criticized that it was not easy to understand the situation of war damage through air-raided materials. It was decided to expand the building and renew the content of the exhibition in August, 2005. Citizens donated money and a new building was added to the center. As a result of its opening on March 1, 2007, it became possible to expand exhibitions and create lecture space for groups of students who come to Tokyo on a school excursion. This made it possible to realize one of the objectives of creating the center: to make the center a study place, especially for young people, and stimulate the interaction of peace-loving individuals. There are exhibitions (permanent ones and special ones) and various programs to promote education for peace.

Permanent Exhibitions

In permanent exhibitions, history before the U.S. air raids of Tokyo is shown from 1931 when Japan invaded China. Exhibited are materials showing soldiers' departure to the front, their death in the war and the sick and wounded, Japan's scrip in countries that Japan occupied and so forth. Women and children had a hard life during the war because they were forced to cooperate with the military, which is also exhibited. As for an exhibition on air defense, exhibited are policies of the air defense, air-raid shelters, civil defense units, and evacuation of children. A room recreating daily life during air raid blackouts is displayed so that visitors are able to understand life during the war. There is a life-size model of incendiary bomb clusters. Each weapon was designed to release thirty-eight smaller bombs before reaching the ground. There are also a tile and a dish melted together by intense heat.

A moving exhibit is a kimono of a girl who was killed by the air raids on March 10, 1945 when she was only seven months old. Her mother, Tomu Kamata, lost her husband, her baby and mother on that day and had a hard life after the war. She worked at a house for orphans who had lost their parents and she played the role of their mother for a long time, until she was seventy. She donated her precious memento of her baby's kimono to the center. A booklet on her life was published by her and Katsumoto Saotome in 2008: the title is "My Daughter on my Back in Flame" (Honoononaka Musumewa Senakade).

Other exhibitions show mainly the result of the U.S. air raids of Tokyo. Survivors wrote their experiences of the air raids in *Journal of War Damage by Air Raids on Tokyo* (Tokyo Daikuhshu Sensaishi) and manuscripts are exhib-

ited as well as information on survivors as much as possible. Fliers from U.S. bombers are also displayed. Efforts for helping survivors are also shown such as official aids of food, clothes, houses, medicine, evacuation, encouraging survivors to move to Hokkaido in the north of Japan as pioneers and so forth.

Not only the Japanese but also non-Japanese suffering is exhibited. A photo showing Vietnamese suffering from starvation is also exhibited: Japan ruled Vietnam and their rice was plundered and sent to Japan. About two million Vietnamese starved to death in 1945. Chinese people's suffering from Japan's air raids is also exhibited, which will be explained later.

About 97,000 Koreans lived in Tokyo before the war because many of them had been forced to go to Japan to work since Japanese young men were sent to battlefields. They also suffered from the U.S. air raids in Japan, but the number of the Korean victims is not clear according to an exhibit at the center. It is explained that some Koreans who did not get injured helped Japanese civilians who had suffered from the air raids according to an exhibit of a booklet called *A Story of a Korean Town in Edogawa of Tokyo*. This fact is heartwarming because many Koreans had suffered from Japanese discrimination against them, but they helped the Japanese victims of the air raids.

The walls are covered with photographs, maps, and original works of art that all illustrate the horror of the air raids. Photographs are exhibited to show the air raids on Tokyo chronologically. There are also photographs showing civilians taking shelter, fighting fire, treating injured people, cremating victims of the air raids and burying the dead tentatively.

A map of air-raided Tokyo with targets such as arsenals was made using the U.S. military report on damage as well as Japanese military reports, and the map is also exhibited. There is also a map of other countries in Asia, Europe, northern Africa and the Middle East that were air raided in World War II. A map of Asia shows Japan's air raids of Chinese cities and it shows routes of bombers from their points of departure to bombing areas using arrows. The map in Asia also shows the U.S. air raids in Japan. Besides a map of Europe, there are also photographs that show air raids on Guernica and Dresden. Photographs of other air-raided cities in Japan are also exhibited with information of the number of the dead and dates of major air raids.

Paintings are also exhibited to show the horror of the air raids. Oil paintings by Sanichi Onozawa show dead children and mothers whom he saw when their bodies were cremated. Also exhibited are Giichi Kojima's paintings on air raids on Ebara ward in Tokyo, and Keijiro Miyairi's paintings on air raids on downtown and Akira Yamamoto's sketches of remains of former German embassy in Tokyo.

There is also an exhibition on the history of the Center for the Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage and a movement of demanding compensation by civilians. The War Disaster Relief Act was enacted on February 25, 1942 and was abolished in November 1946. About 127,000 civilians, the injured and the bereaved families were relieved. Tokyo was mainly air raided in 1945 and the actual period when air-raid victims were relieved was about one year. After the law was abolished, they began to be relieved under Life Relief Act. Official relief of veterans began after the U.S. occupation was over, but civilians who had suffered from war damage were neglected. Therefore, civilians started to demand compensation in the 1970s. In the case of the air raids on Tokyo, the demand was rejected at Tokyo District Court on January 28, 1980. In the case of air raids on Nagoya, the demand was rejected at Nagoya District Court on August 29, 1980. It was also rejected at Nagoya High Court on July 7, 1983 and at the Supreme Court on June 26, 1987. A group of bereaved families of the air raids on Tokyo demanded an apology and compensation at Tokyo District Court on March 9, 2007, but it was rejected on December 14, 2009. Such exhibition makes visitors think of the present situation of air-raided victims and some challenges.

There is a space called "Thinking about War and Peace" and writings, activities, and vision for the twenty-first century of the center's director, Katsumoto Saotome, are highlighted. He published about 150 books on war and peace including ones for children which are kept at many public libraries in Japan. It is almost impossible to introduce all of them, but some themes of his books are air raids on Tokyo, the Vietnam War, a concentration camp in Auschwitz, Japan's Constitution that renounces war, women's testimony of war, Doctors without Borders, Japan's aggression of China including air raids on Chongqing, anti-war Japanese soldiers, bombing on Guernica and so forth. He visited many countries and wrote war-related books for peace. This space is where visitors can sit and think about war and peace. There are also materials from Guernica Peace Museum and Sanxia Museum in Chongqing, China there, which shows solidarity with these museums for peace.

An emphasis is put on education in an exhibition called "Children and War" in terms of wartime education, children evacuation and democratization of education after the war. It is possible to learn how children were educated so that they would be able to support World War II. Children started to be taught that the emperor was the living God and people had to die for him at a new school system since 1941. There is an exhibit of a calligraphy that says "Japan is God's country" by a 3rd grader. Children had to have military exercises: boys had to use a wooden sword to stab dolls with

a portrait of the 32nd U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt and Sir Winston Churchill. Girls had to practice military exercises using a wooden sword called "naginata". There is a panel that explains that about forty people including pupils were killed by air raids on Tokyo on April 18, 1942. Boys over 15 years old began to be recruited by the Navy and the Army as of 1942, and teachers cooperated with such recruit of students. Air defense exercises began at school in 1935 and children had to carry a hood to protect their heads. An old hood is exhibited with an explanation above. Children played cards that glorified militarism, which is clear from an exhibit of some cards that were used during World War II. There was a program of evacuating students in July 1944 and it is explained in an exhibit that 6,500 children of 200 schools in Tokyo were evacuated to fifty places. It was hard for children from 3rd grader to 6th grader to live in different places from their home because there was a lack of food and bullying based on different dialects. Exhibited are children's letters to their parents that show their hard life.

New education began after Japan was defeated in 1945 and it was based on the new Constitution and the Fundamental Law of Education that was enacted in 1947. Old textbooks that glorified the emperor and the war were blackened with ink and new textbooks began to be used: democracy began to be taught and coeducation started.

It is also possible for visitor to listen to survivors' experiences of air raids at the center. However, it is getting hard to have an opportunity to listen to survivors because they are getting older and older. Therefore, it is important to record survivors' war experiences and show films on their experiences of air raids on Tokyo more than before.

Special Exhibitions

Special exhibitions have also been held, such as an exhibition of survivors' manuscripts on their air-raided experiences on March 10, 1945. About 320 survivors wrote their war experiences and some of them were exhibited. An invitation letter was sent to them, but about 180 letters were returned and only fifteen families visited the center to see the special exhibition. After the renewal of the center in 2007, special exhibitions have been held twice a year involving youth, as follows:

In 2007 a special photo exhibition on a survivor of the air raids on Tokyo called Kenji Suzuki was held from July 25 to August 20. The photographs showed Korean atomic bomb survivors of Hiroshima in the Republic of Korea, Japanese orphans who had to stay in China after the end of World War II, Japan's air raids on Chongqing and so forth. He also gave a lecture during

the period of exhibition. The emphasis was put on unknown people who suffered from the war.

The second special exhibition was held from December 6th to January 14, 2008. Young artists were asked the question of how they could convey war experiences to future generations. Tape recordings and photographs by several young artists and students were exhibited such as Miki Hirose' photographs called "Requiem: the Present after the Air Raids on Tokyo." This is a good way to give young people a chance to think what they can do to realize peace.

In 2008 the first special exhibition was held from August 6 to September 7. Kazuko Toyota's original paintings on U.S. air raids on Kobe City were exhibited: they showed life in downtown of Kobe city when she was a child, how the peaceful life was destroyed by World War II, reality of U.S. air raids of Kobe City and life after the war. Paintings that showed children's play in the 1920s by Eiichi Miyasaka were also exhibited. Young people in Kobe, Tokyo and Nagasaki presented a film on air raids on August 23, 2008. Students of Suma Tomogaoka High School who belonged to a broadcasting club showed their film on U.S. air raids on Kobe. Students of Showa Secondary School who belong to a broadcasting club showed their film on the air raids on Tokyo. High school students and college students in Nagasaki also presented their activities for peace. Lectures were given by Kazuko Toyota who is mentioned above, Jitaro Hyuga who produced an animated cartoon called "A Grave of Fireflies" (Akiyuki Nosaka's Hotaruno Haka on children who lost their parents by air raids on Kobe) and Masako Nakata of the Association of Recording Air Raids on Kobe. This was a good chance for secondary school students in Tokyo, Kobe and Nagasaki to exchange their ideas using film, more powerful than just having a conference without audio-visual aids.

The second special exhibition was held from November 19 to December 27, 2008, featuring trees that were air-raided in Tokyo. Students of Shiba Commercial High School researched air-raided trees in spring and summer, 2008 and they wrote essays. About fifty chosen essays were exhibited at the center. The students also guided some people to air-raided trees in Sumida Ward on November 22, 2008. An expert on air-raided trees, Koichi Karasawa (a former high school teacher), gave a lecture on air-raided trees on December 14 and some students of Shiba Commercial High School showed a film on air-raided trees. Such a project must have made high school students think of the history of the air raids on Tokyo from a different perspective: it was not only people but also nature that suffered from the air raids.

In 2009, original paintings on a tragedy of telephone operators at Sumida Telephone Exchange in Tokyo were exhibited from February 25 to April 5.

The telephone exchange was burnt down by the air raids on March 10, 1945. Operators kept working even during the air raids saying "Hang on your transmitter even if you die." They were ordered to stop working and escaped one hour after the air raid started. As a result, thirty-one persons, including twenty-eight operators, were killed among forty-one persons on night duty. Katsumoto Saotome wrote a picture book called *Don't Lose Your Grip of Transmitter* (Shindemo Buresutowo) based on this story in 1981 and Teruyo Endo illustrated the book. Photographs of the building of Sumida Telephone Exchange and memorials were also exhibited. The purpose of the exhibition was to learn lessons from the tragedy and the misery of the war and think why so many people were killed there as well as preciousness of peace and life seeing the original paintings. A survivor read memoirs grieving the death of colleagues on February 24, 2009. The tragedy was made into a song called "Even if mother gets old" (Hahawa Oitemo) and it was sung by Akiko Kuroiwa. Here art such as paintings and music is used effectively in education for peace.

The second special exhibition was held from July 22 to September 6 and about 100 photographs on air raids on Japan including Tokyo, Chongqing, Dresden and Guernica were exhibited. Ten volumes of *Air Raids on Japan* (*Nihonno Kuhshuh*) were published by Sanseido in 1980 and 1981 based on the movement of recording air raids on Japan in the 1970s. About thirty years later, the Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage was founded and efforts have been made to grasp the air raids on Japan in the world history, especially in relation to German bombing of Guernica and Japan's bombing of Chongqing in China. As a result, a book entitled *Tokyo/ Guernica/Chongqing: Learning Peace from Air Raids* was edited by researchers of the center and was published with a DVD by Iwanami Shoten in 2009. Professor Akira Yamada of Meiji University gave a lecture on the significance of the book in the history of researching air raids and its possibility for its use. Here it should be noted that the research of air raids on cities in Japan, Spain and China is reflected on the special exhibition.

Varied Programs for Peace Education

There are various programs such as activities for conveying the tragedy of the air raids on Tokyo to future generations in March every year. For example, the seventh anniversary of the opening of the Center for Tokyo Raids and War Damage was held on March 7, 2009. Ms. Michiko Kiyooka talked about her experiences on March 10, 1945. Ms. Misako Watanabe, an actress, gave a lecture titled "Tokyo in those Days" and talked about her experiences of the air raids in Azabu district in Tokyo. There is also a sum-

mer program for parents and children every Saturdays in August. Picture book reciting, a talk of air raid experience, a presentation of a story using picture cards on air raids, and a musical were given in these programs. In addition, participants enjoyed handcraft workshops such as paper crane folding and drawing pictures in postcards in August 2009.

Lectures are also given to promote peace education. For example, a series of five lectures were given by the researchers belonging to War Damage Research Office of the center from October to December, 2008. Themes were "The Significance of the Center and the Expectation of the Next Generation" by Katsumoto Saotome, "Asia-Pacific War and Air Raids on Tokyo" by Professor Hiroshi Yoshida of Hitotsubashi University, "Exhibition of Air Raids in the Center" by Masahiko Yamane, "Air-Defense and Evacuation: The Ideas, Policies and Reality" by Tetsuo Aoki and "An Issue of Compensation to Air-Raid Victims and Indiscriminate Bombing in the World" by Tadahito Yamamoto.

The second series of lectures were held from October to November in 2009. The theme was "Tokyo, Guernica and Chongqing—to understand war from the viewpoint of air-raided cities in the world." This program was planned to commemorate the publication of a book of *Tokyo/Guernica/ Chongqing: Learning Peace from Air Raids* and to give authors opportunities to explain the contents to an audience. Katsumoto Saotome, the director of the Center, gave a lecture on the significance of understanding air raids in world history as well as his visit to the Peace Museum in Bradford, Coventry and London in the U.K. Shinichi Arai gave a lecture on the relationship between indiscriminate bombings and imperialism mainly in Europe. Masahiko Yamabe gave a lecture on the reality of air raids on Tokyo recorded in historical documents. Tadahito Yamamoto discussed how citizens protected themselves from the air raids and Tetsuo Maeda gave a lecture on bombing on Chongqing and modern wars.

Such lectures by researchers are educational not only for students but also for citizens. One of the characteristics of the center is that an emphasis is put not only peace education but also peace research. The following sections explores some of the details of this peace research.

Research Activities

The center is an affiliated foundation of the Institute of Politics and Economy, and the War Damage Research Office opened in the center in April, 2006. The director is Professor Hiroshi Yoshida and there are eight members. The *Newsletter of the Research Office* is published twice a year. A grant was given to the center by the Ministry of Education and Science. It

is a grant of Japan Society for the Promotion of Science which is awarded to promote creative and pioneering research across a wide spectrum of scientific fields, ranging from the humanities and social sciences to the natural sciences. Grants are awarded to projects organized by individual researchers or research groups at Japanese universities or research institutes engaged in basic research, particularly research in critical fields attuned to advanced research trends. Thus researchers at the center have been active in researching air raids and holding symposiums.

Research and Collecting Materials on Air Raids

A catalogue of air-raid experiences in Tokyo was made based on records of air-raided experiences included in *Record of Air Raids on Tokyo and Damage* (Tokyo Daikuhshuh Sensaishi) Volume 1 and 2. There is information on survivors such as the way how they escaped from fire after air raids on Tokyo, devastated areas, damage (for example, who was killed and injured in families, how they were injured, burnt down houses, etc.), relief operation and so forth.

Information on civil defense and medical services in Tokyo as well as interviews of survivors were collected from reports by the United States Strategic Bombing Survey. The reports were kept secret for thirty years, but they were released on March 8, 1972, which made it possible for Japanese civilians to learn the U.S. strategic bombing of Japanese cities during World War II. A catalogue has been made including information in collected materials. Copies of detailed report on Japan's bombing of Chongqing in China were also collected from the Defense Institute of the Ministry of Defense. Researchers visited Chongqing, Chengdu and Changde in China to visit museums and took photographs. They exchanges ideas with Chinese researchers of universities and attended the International Symposium on Japan's air raids on Chongqing that was held in China. Masahiko Yamabe researched war related exhibitions at museums for peace in Japan.

It is impressive that an emphasis is put not only on Japan's victim side of World War II but also on Japan's aggressive side of the war in their research. Their field trip to China is important because it is reflected on their exhibition on Japan's air raids of Chongqing at the center. Such an exhibition on Japan's aggression has been removed from public peace museums because of nationalists' attacks on museums in the 1990s, but it is encouraging that an original exhibition of Japan's air raids of the then Chinese capital was held at the center.

Holding Symposiums on Indiscriminate Bombing

Symposiums on indiscriminate bombing have been held by researchers of the center since 2007. The following presents a brief summary and significance of the symposiums on indiscriminate bombing since 2007.

A symposium of "The Origin of Random Bombing—Looking into Raids on Guernica and Chinese Cities" was held on October 20, 2007. Shinichi Arai gave a lecture of "Guernica: Roots of Indiscriminate Bombing" and Yasuhiro Fukazawa gave a lecture of "From Rif War (1919-26 war fought between the Spanish and the Moroccan Rif and Jibala tribes) to Civil War in Spain: Air Raids, Impact, Memory and Apology". Tadahito Yamamoto gave a lecture of "Making a Map on Main Air-raided Cities in Asia and the Pacific and a Field Trip Report on the Investigation of Changde, Chungdu and Chongqing in China." Toshiya Iko gave a lecture of "Research of Air Raids on Chongqing in China and Related Materials." The report of this symposium was published on February 20, 2008. An emphasis is put on an analysis of the air raids on cities in Spain and China so that it would be possible to rethink the air raids on Tokyo in world history. The lecturers are all Japanese at this symposium and the next step was to hold an international symposium on air raids, as follows.

The International Conference of "Indiscriminate Bombing: How did Damaged Cities Convey Air Raids? Exhibitions at Museums in Guernica, Chongqing (China) and Tokyo" was held at Edo Tokyo Museum on October 11, 2008. The purpose was to make clear how air-raided cities researched reality of damage and how they conveyed it to people. Experts of museums in Guernica, Chongqing and Tokyo got together for the first time and discussed their research and exhibition, the present situation and some challenges. A total of 195 people participated in it and their reports and discussion are significant in the research field of air raids in the world.

Professor Hiroshi Yoshida of Hitotsubashi University, the head of the War Damage Research Office at the center, pointed out that the number of people who have memory of World War II is becoming a minority and it is important to record their experiences and convey them to future generations using exhibitions at museums. Thus, Yoshida pointed out the importance of peace education at the center. He regarded an issue of air raids as a present issue by saying that there are indiscriminate bombing against civilians in various places of the world even today. Issues of compensation for damage by air raids in World War II have not been solved and he pointed out that they should be solved. Thus he made clear some challenges that should be dealt with today.

There were three reports by experts from Spain, China and Japan. First, Ms. Iratxe Momoitio, the director of Guernica Peace Museum, talked about "Guernica: An Experimental Horror". First she explained the Spanish Civil War that started on July 17 in 1936 and the reality of the bombing of Guernica on April 26, 1937. The reason for the bombing of Guernica was explained that Guernica was close to an industrial city, mines and important traffic areas. There was also a reason of trying to destroy Basque country, she mentioned. The raids were carried out by German Condor Legion escorted by Italian Aviazione Legionaria. Today it is difficult to say an accurate figure of casualties though the most commonly-accepted figures are that 250 people were killed and hundreds of people were wounded, according to Momoitio. Franco's army never acknowledged responsibility—on the contrary, evidence was twisted, and his press service accused the Basque republicans (referring to them as reds and separatists) of having set fire to the town during their retreat toward Bilbao, she criticized. To this day the Spanish army has failed to acknowledge that it took part in the bombing of Guernica. On the other hand, Picasso's "Guernica" became a symbol against war all over the world. When Picasso read the news about the bombing of Guernica, he decided to create an artwork expressing the horror of the war. His famous picture "Guernica" helped much to spread the name of the city of Guernica in the world. Nowadays this artwork, located in Reina Sofia Museum (Madrid), continues to be a cry against the war, she said. The Guernica Museum was opened in 1998 (Guernica Peace Museum since 2003) and Iratxe Momoitio, the director, would like to make it an important tool for spreading the memory of the city. It is a museum to remember the past as well as a museum for the future according to Momoitio. This view of Guernica Peace Museum is very important because this is also one of the aims of founding the Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage.

The next report on Japan's bombing of Chongqing in China was made by Li Jinrong of Chinese Chongqing Sanxia Museum. He explained historical facts of Japan's air raids on Chongqing as follows:

Japanese military air-raided Chongqing, the capital of China during World War II, for five years and a half from February, 1938 to August, 1943. It is called "Great Bombing of Chongqing" in history. According to basic statistics, Japanese military sent 9,513 bombers, bombed 218 times, dropped 21,593 bombs, destroyed 17,608 houses and killed and injured 25,989 people. It also caused great bombing on May 3-4, 1939, great bombing on August 19, 1940 and a Big Tunnel incident at Jiaochangkou, where many people were choked to death or squeezed to death in a tunnel used as an air-raid shelter.

Articles on Chinese war against Japan have been collected, preserved and studied since the 1980s at Chongqing Museum. Experts were organized and articles related to bombing Chongqing were collected. An exhibition on "Great Bombing of Chongqing" was held at the museum in 1993 and an Illustrated Book on Great Bombing of Chongqing was published. More experts were organized in 2000 and they had interviews with survivors who experienced the great bombing of Chongqing. They found 200 survivors and collected 250 photographs and materials of their oral history by 160 survivors.

It should be noted that such facts are not widely known in Japan, for they have not been taught at school nor exhibited at most of the public peace museums in Japan. The testimony of Japan's air raids by fifteen Chinese survivors was introduced in his presentation and they are shocking for Japanese to hear. Li Jinrong made clear three points from their testimony: (1) The great bombing of Chongqing killed innocent people directly and massively by dropping bombs from the sky essentially targeting the city and the people. The massacre of nonresistant Chinese people by bombing happened much earlier than the U.S. bombing of Tokyo and Hiroshima. (2) Though war criminals of great massacre of Nanjing were already tried, those who were involved with the great bombing of Chongqing have not been punished. The Japanese war criminals of killing Chinese people by bombing have never been settled, and tens of thousands of Chinese people who have been suffering from this disaster have never been compensated by Japan. These victims and survivors have still been enduring physical and mental damage by the bombing and suffering from all the damage. If Japanese persons who were responsible for the bombing of Chongqing were not accused, Chinese people would never be healed mentally. (3) The great bombing of Chongqing is not simply a matter of a historical incident. This way of fighting has been developed into a model of modern warfare. If the war crime of the great bombing of Chongqing is not settled, it would be fundamentally impossible to get rid of causes of war in which bombs are used freely. The history of the great bombing of Chongqing would be repeated in the future.

What is Japan's attitude toward Chinese victims of Japan's air raids? Japan has not recognized indiscriminate bombing and bombing of urban districts in China, so Japan has not really apologized to the Chinese people in Chongqing nor compensated them for damage and their suffering according to Professor Tetsuo Maeda. Li Jinrong's presentation made clear what Japan should do in terms of apology to Chinese victims, compensation to them for damage and their suffering and the importance of educating such historical facts not only at school but also museums for peace in Japan.

Lastly, a report of "The History and the Present Situation of the Research and Exhibition of Air Raids at 'Museums for Peace' in Japan" was made by Masahiko Yamabe, the chief researcher of the War Damage Research Office of the Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage. He analyzed that research of Tokyo air raids started in the 1970s because U.S. bombing on Vietnam reminded Japanese citizens of U.S. air raids on Tokyo. Then the Association of Recording U.S. Air Raids was founded and a movement of recording damage by air raids started all over Japan. It was in the 1980s when air raids began to be exhibited at museums for peace in Japan. He introduced twenty-two museums for peace where air raids are exhibited such as Saitama Peace Museum, Osaka International Peace Center and so forth. He also found eleven history museums where air raids are exhibited in Japan such as Nagoya City Museum and Fukuoka City Museum. There are also history museums and peace museums where special exhibitions on air raids were hold, he analyzed.

He introduced the process of the establishment of the Center for the Tokyo Raids and War Damage and the contents of exhibitions. Also explained were exhibitions on Japan's air raids of Chongqing at museums for peace in Japan that introduced damage done toward Chinese citizens in Chongqing. For example, there are exhibitions on Chongqing at Osaka International Peace Center, Kyoto Museum for World Peace and so forth. The bombing of Chongqing is analyzed in the history of indiscriminate bombing and regarded as one of Japan's aggression, he analyzed. It was pointed out that Japan's aggression led to damage of Japanese civilians in the exhibitions. This is important analysis because such a viewpoint is not written in history textbooks in Japan nor explained at public peace museums. Historical facts on Chongqing should be taught at school and exhibited at museums for peace.

Research Milestones

The achievements of the present research of air raids are introduced as follows:

1. *Indiscriminate Bombing and International Law*. It should be noted that air planes were used by the great powers such as Britain, Italy and Spain to look for new colonies and oppress the movement for independence from colonies. Cruel bombs such as toxic gas were sometimes dropped. Rules to control aerial combats were made in The Hague in 1922 and the Rules of Air Warfare that prohibits bombing on civilians became an international common law in the latter half of the 1930s: a resolution of "Protection of Civilian

Populations against Bombing from the Air in Case of War" was passed at the General Assembly of the League of Nations on September 30th, 1938. Yamabe criticized that Japan justified her bombing on Chongqing while blaming the United States for bombing Japanese cities. This is sharp criticism of the Japanese government's attitude toward Japan's war responsibility.

2. *The Review of U.S. Air Raids by B-29s in Japan and Japan's Colonies*: The U.S. military bombed munitions factories, big cities, military bases and air-ports in Kyushu, oil bases, medium and small cities using incendiary bombs and mock bombs from June 5, 1944 to August 15, 1945 when Japan was defeated. Atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima on August 6th and on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945. He pointed out that cities in Japan's colonies were also air-raided by the United States such as Bangkok on Thailand, Rangoon in Burma, Singapore, Chinese cities such as Nanjing and Shanghai, Taiwan and so forth. This is a complicated situation because non-Japanese also became victims of the U.S. bombing and this is one of the issues that remains to be addressed.
3. *The Decision of Air Raids on Tokyo*: The U.S. military had enough number of B-29s to bomb Japanese cities in April and May, 1944. It was decided to use massive incendiary bombs on urban districts of six big cities including Tokyo from March, 1945 when the monsoon was strong. The targets were focused on industrial areas that were related to aircrafts and urban districts of big cities in October, 1944. This is actually against the Rules of Air Warfare that prohibits bombing on civilians.
4. *The Reality of the Great Air Raids on Tokyo*: The area which the U.S. military tried to bomb on March 10 was regarded as the most vulnerable area if incendiary bombs were used. There were no clear military targets such as military facilities and munitions factories, and it was urban districts including residential areas. Because of strong wind from the north and the west, fire spread beyond targeted areas to the south and the east. On March 10 when Tokyo was greatly air-raided, many people lost places to escape from and shelters were burnt down. A huge number of people estimated as 100,000 became victims of the air raids: they were burnt alive, suffocated, drowned in rivers, and were frozen to death. This is because of the following reasons: air raids started before they were alarmed; massive incendiary bombs were dropped on crowded houses made of

wood; fire spread because of strong wind; it was not possible to escape to safe shelters because there were many rivers around; there were thorough orders to fight fire by the government and people tried to do so fighting fire and using buckets of water cooperating one another and thus they could not escape from fire. This explains the tragedy of the air raids on Tokyo well.

5. *Compensation to Victims*: There was a compensation system during the war following War Damage Protection Law enacted in February, 1942: not only soldiers and Army (Navy) civilian employees but also civilians, survivors, injured people and people whose houses were burnt down were compensated. Not only Japanese but also people in colonized Korea and Taiwan were compensated. In 1946 Life Protection Law was enacted which stopped special compensation to war victims, and the War Damage Protection Law was abolished as well as War Aid Law and pensions for soldiers.

In 1952 after the allied Forces finished occupation of Japan, the Aid Law for Injured and Sick Soldiers and Families of the War Dead was enacted and only soldiers and Army (Navy) civilian employees were compensated. In 1953 pension for soldiers was resumed and only soldiers were specially compensated. Civilians started to look for national compensation. The government ignored them and compensated people who cooperated with waging war such as conscripted people, students who were forced to work, and members of civil defense units. But survivors of ordinary people and handicapped people were not compensated.

In the 1980s ordinary people who suffered from war damage filed lawsuits against the Japanese government for compensation. In March 2007 the members of the Association of Survivors of Air Raids on Tokyo filed a law suit insisting that the air raids are against international law and demanded compensation. This lawsuit was not against the U.S. government but against Japanese government.

Lastly, Yamabe pointed out that facts should be made clear to promote reconciliation between conflicting parties, and apology and compensation is necessary. Yamabe's presentation of his paper, "The History and the Present Situation of the Research and Exhibition of Air Raids at 'Museums for Peace' in Japan" is comprehensive and shows how air raids were researched and exhibited at museums for peace including history museums in Japan.

A paper by Professor Andrew Rigby of the Centre for Peace & Reconciliation Studies in Coventry University was introduced at the symposium.

The title was "Memorialising War: The Narratives of Two European cities, Coventry and Dresden." Also introduced was a paper by Mr. Li Jinrong of Chinese Chongqing Sanxia Museum: "Basic Study of Damage by Indiscriminate Bombing in Chongqing upon Foreign Embassies, Consulates and Other Organizations Staying in China." These papers enriched the research of air raids from international perspectives.

After three presentations, Professor Tetsuo Maeda of Okinawa University gave the following comments: It is important to convey air raids to future generations not as a national event but as a common event among nations. In Germany ultra-right wingers insisted on the importance of conveying them. But air raids should be shared as experiences in aggressive war, he said. He introduced recent research of air raids and mentioned the background of Japan's bombing of Chongqing in China: Chongqing was the capital and the political center of China and Japan bombed it so that the Chinese people would lose their will to fight against Japan. He also mentioned that it is necessary to think of Japan's bombing of Chongqing in relation to the present and the future. His comment is very important because a historical fact of Japan's bombing of Chongqing is not known among ordinary Japanese. In this sense, roles of the center are significant because citizens and children can be educated for peace there.

It was made clear that there was no exhibition on bombing under the autocratic regime in Spain and it was not possible for victims to speak out. However, it became democratic in the 1980s and oral history began to be studies and collected. As for Chongqing, there was almost no research until 1985 and researchers started to collect artifacts first and began to exhibit them from 1993. In 1996 they started to record survivors' testimonies. Therefore, it was very meaningful to hold this International Conference of "Indiscriminate Bombing: How did Damaged Cities Convey Air Raids? Exhibitions at Museums in Guernica, Chongqing (China) and Tokyo" in 2008 and share historical facts, ideas, and efforts for peace education through museums for peace.

There were some questions and one of them was who was responsible for bombing in Spain, China and Japan. It was pointed out that it is clear that Franco agreed on the bombing of Guernica implicitly. German government recognized its responsibility and there was compensation while Italy has not done so. As it is noted in a *Los Angeles Times* article on April 28, 1997, Germany admitted guilt over Gernika. German President Roman Herzog expressed remorse for the 1937 bombing of Guernica, making his country's first atonement for what he called "the most terrible atrocities" on March 27, 1997. As for the case of the bombing of Chongqing, it was done under

the name of the emperor, and decision makers of the bombing and the name of the commander were made clear. However, the bombing of Chongqing was not tried at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East held from 1946 to 1948. As a result, nothing has been done to responsible persons in Japan. As for the U.S. bombing of Japanese cities, it was traditionally said that it was General Curtis Lemay who was responsible for the U.S. bombing of Japanese cities. However, it was the Joint Chiefs of Staff that made a decision of bombing Japanese cities and therefore, the U.S. military should be responsible for the bombing according to Masahiko Yamabe. There has been no apology or compensation to Japanese victims by the United States. The discussion made it clear who is responsible for air raids and raised challenges in Spain, China and Japan.

As for a question on efforts for reconciliation with Guernica's sister city of bombed Pforzheim in Germany, there have been exchanges of young people between Guernica and Pforzheim, and damage by bombing has been discussed among them. It is interesting that there are also exchanges of young people between Coventry that suffered from German bombing and German cities. Coventry was air-raided by Germany on November 14, 1940 and at least 554 people were killed and over a thousand were injured (Coventry Heritage & Arts Trust). Coventry forged links with cities in nations that were former allies or ex-enemies after the war. There are 26 sister cities around the world, which is exhibited at Herbert Art Gallery & Museum in Coventry when the author visited there in September, 2009. This is a good example of promoting peace and reconciliation through making sister cities. Lastly, it was pointed out by each speaker that the young people are not so interested in the bombing on Guernica, Chongqing and Tokyo, but efforts have been made to inform them of the bombing. It was also pointed out that it is difficult to convey memory of bombing to future generations. This implies that it is necessary for museums for peace to devise attractive projects for citizens, especially young people. In this sense activities for peace by young people at the Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage are precious. There is much to learn from their activities for peace in which young people are involved.

A Report on the International Symposium on Indiscriminate Bombing was published in Japanese on March 10, 2009 and details of the symposium are available. A book of Iwanami DVD: *Tokyo, Guernica and Chongqing. Thinking of Peace from Air Raids* was also published in 2009 based on results of the international symposium. There are about 500 photographs in a DVD by which it is possible to see damage by air raids and understand what actually happened. It

is written in Japanese except a film with English subtitles. These books will be useful to promote education for peace and reconciliation.

On July 27, 2009, the third symposium "What is the position of urban raids on Germany and Japan—the turning point of indiscriminate bombings" was held at Meiji University in Tokyo. It aimed at giving further consideration about air raids on Germany and Japan conducted by the Allies during the Second World War. Isao Nakayama reported his study of documents on the reality of U.S. bombing on Japanese residents using reports by the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey. He criticized the U.S. report which claims that the aim of the air raids was not to bomb indiscriminately civilian populations, but reality was the opposite. Eiichi Kido, an Associate Professor of Osaka University, made a report on the research of air raids in Germany. It is interesting that air raids on Germany became an issue in public in 2002 when Jörg Friedrich's book, *Der Brand: Deutschland im Bombenkrieg 1940-1945*, was published in München. The book became the best seller and 200,000 books were sold according to Kido. This is because German's aggression has been dealt with much more than the victim side of Germany in World War II while Japan has been irresponsible for her aggression and Japan's victim side has been emphasized without showing Japan's aggression at museums for peace. Nobuhiro Yanagihara, a doctorial candidate of Tokyo University, joined the discussion with his research of exhibitions of air raids in Germany.

It seems that German exhibitions are more honest than Japanese ones because German aggression has been pointed out while displaying air raids on Germany. In the case of Dresden, efforts for peace and reconciliation with Coventry and Guernica have been made by making sister cities. It would be a good idea to learn about making sister cities among conflicting countries in order to promote a culture of peace. The report of this symposium was issued on November 24, 2009 as the "Report of the 3rd Symposium of "What is the Position of Urban Raids on Germany and Japan—the Turning Point of Indiscriminate Bombings" (Yamabe).

These symposiums made clear the history of air raids and the present situation as well as efforts for peace and reconciliation from international perspectives though the number of the countries was limited: cases in Spain, China and Japan were dealt with. It is desirable to share the result of the symposiums with researchers of air raids in other countries as well as directors and curators of museums for peace in the world. This is because civilians have been suffering from air raids even today in Afghanistan by the United States, Gaza by Israel and so forth.

Research of Air Raids at Study Meetings

A study meeting has been held almost once a month since June in 2006. There are various themes such as "relation between air raids and communities", relief operation, the sick and wounded, the movement of recording air raids and damage in the 1970s, the move from strategic bombing to atomic bombing, and "war exhibitions at peace museums and history museums". It seems that basic research on air raids in Japan was done in 2006.

In 2007, the themes were "the process of the enactment of the Aid Law for the sick and wounded and the bereaved", Japan's policy toward air-raid shelters, mobilization of girls' labor service, a lawsuit on Japan's bombing of Chongqing, a lawsuit on U.S. air raids on Tokyo, an international people's tribunal on atomic bombing, and war exhibitions at museums for peace in 2007. An emphasis is put on lawsuits by Chinese victims and Japanese victims because there have been no apology and compensation to them by Japan and the United States.

In 2008 and 2009, the themes are "the comparison of recovery from war damage between Britain and Japan," the time when bombing on Tokyo was decided, a book review of *Dying for Motherland and Rebellion* (*Junkokuto Hangyaku*) by Hiroshi Yoshida, spreading war weariness to the country before World War II, damage by bombing the inland of China like Chongqing, research of air raids on Osaka Bay areas, "Japan's air defense: densely populated cities with wooden houses and air raids", the history of the movement on the air raids on Tokyo in Japan, research on tentative burials and a book review of *History of Air Raids* (*Kuhbakuno Rekishi*) by Shinichi Arai and *War History in the Air* (*Sorano Sensohshi*) by Toshiyuki Tanaka. These themes are comprehensive and it seems that study meetings were held to research air raids on Tokyo from international viewpoints. Their abstracts and the brief contents of discussion are available in newsletters and the website of the center though they are in Japanese. Some articles are published in a journal of Seikei Kenkyu (Research of Politics and Economy) and Rekishi Hyoron (Criticism of History).

Such study meetings are important because some research can be reflected on contents of exhibitions, which leads to promoting education for peace and reconciliation at the center. These steady study meetings make the center unique in the field of museums for peace and peace centers. This is because education for peace is emphasized without much research at other museums for peace in Japan.

Visitors' Comments and the Number of Visitors of the Center

What do visitors feel and think while visiting the center? Some visitors write their impressions of the center and they are introduced in the *Newsletter of War Damage* which is published twice a year. For example, the following comments are introduced in the newsletter published in July, 2009.

- I have an experience of U.S. air raids on Yokohama when I was five years old. There was no food and I had to eat weed by the roadside. But I was happy to see an exhibition on air-raided trees made by young people. (A 68-year-old man in Tokyo)
- I cannot accept war whatever reasons are. I am 79 years old and have an experience of air raids and the bombardment of land by warships. I really know misery of war, but who is going to convey it to future generations? I think that this center is very precious in this sense.
- My children and grandchildren visited us and suggested that we visit this center. I visited the center with my husband and was shocked to know what happened to people in Tokyo. I would like to make efforts to stop war from now on.
- My husband experienced the air raids in Tokyo when he was 17 years old. His mother gave birth to a baby on the day of the air raids. Mother and the baby were put on a two-wheeled cart and my husband carried three-year-old brother on his back and escaped from fire holding a hand of his six-year-old brother. We came to the center chartering a bus so that all of my family members would be able to learn the preciousness of life.
- I was one year old and a half when there was the air raids on Tokyo. Mother carried me on her back though she was pregnant. She escaped from fire holding her children's hands. Mother often talked about her experiences, so I can imagine what happened to us. I was very moved when I saw a map that showed air-raided areas. I am sixty-five years old and I decided to convey the horror of war and precious life to future generations.

These comments were written by elderly people who experienced the air raids on Tokyo. They seem to appreciate the role of the center in educating young people. Younger people also wrote their impressions which are introduced in the newsletter as follows:

- I came here with my two children aged eight and five. I think that this center is important because more and more people live without

knowing what happened in World War II. I hope that modern history will be taught more at elementary school and junior high school.

- My father was killed by the air raids on Tokyo while mother and I were evacuated to Saitama Prefecture. When I saw a photograph of a dead body which was charred, I thought that it might have been my father. I wondered what he was thinking at that moment. His name is Tadao Tanino and he used to live in Kotobuki town. He was 29 years old when he was killed by the air raids. If there is someone who knew him, I would like to know about him because I grew up without knowing him.
- I lost my father by the air raids on Tokyo on March 10, 1945. I was the first grader and was evacuated to mother's parents' home. Mother raised four small children by herself and I appreciate her very much. I hate war since I was a child because my father was killed by the air raids.

These comments show that people who lost their parents by the air raids had a hard time and strongly wish for peace. The center plays a role of providing space to air-raided victims and their bereaved families so that they can think of the past, the present and the future. It also plays an important role of educating not only children but also citizens who have no experiences of air raids.

As for the number of visitors, there were 11,745 visitors when it was opened in 2002. However, the center was not big enough to accept many students from schools. The number was highest when the center was renewed because more space was made. Special exhibitions have been held after the renewal of the center, which seems to make it possible for visitors to go to the center again and again. This is why the number of the visitors looks stable after its renewal according to Masahiko Yamane. Such efforts for holding special exhibitions seem to be a good lesson for other museums for peace.

It is said that the number of war museums and peace museums are almost the same according to Professor Morio Minami of Aichi University of Education as of December in 2009. He mentioned this at a meeting of the Japanese Citizens' Network of Museums for Peace using his research. War tends to be glorified at war museum or museums affiliated to the Self Defense Forces in Japan. On the other hand, war tends to be criticized at peace museums. It is hoped that more and more people, especially young people and children, will visit peace museums and peace centers such as the Center for the Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage in the future.

Some Challenges

Peace education and research of air raids have been promoted at the center since it was opened in 2002. An emphasis is put on educating young people and children who will create the future. One of the challenges is that people who support the center by donation are getting older and older. Once they pass away, the amount of donation would greatly decrease according to Masahiko Yamabe. There are some young researchers at the center, but they are not paid much, which is also a big problem.

The center was founded because a plan of making a public peace museum was stopped by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government. If a public peace museum is founded in Tokyo, it would be difficult to maintain the center, Yamabe said. In this case, it would be necessary to help the public peace museum in Tokyo manage the peace museum while continuing research of air raids, he mentioned to the author on April 9, 2010.

What would happen after victims of the air raids pass away? An emphasis is put on recording survivors' talk of their air-raided experiences using a videotape recorder at the center. The videocassette tapes can be used for peace education at school and museums for peace. Such an activity has been already done at a private peace museum called Grassroots House in Kochi City in Kochi Prefecture where about 400 people were killed by U.S. air raids. It is also important to continue to study air raids and use results of the research in making exhibitions in order to promote the education of young people and citizens for peace according to Yamabe.

These issues seem to be common in other museums for peace not only in Japan but also in other countries. It is possible to say so because the author attended the conference of the International Network of Peace Museums as well as the conference of the Japanese Citizens' Network of Museums for Peace from the beginning until today. It is necessary to discuss what to do to tackle these problems at local, national and international level. Incidentally, the International Network of Museums for Peace was founded in 1992 when the first International Conference of Peace Museums was held at the University of Bradford in England. The Japanese Citizens' Network of Museums for Peace was founded in 1998 when the third International Conference of Peace Museums was held in Osaka and Kyoto. There networks are important for museums for peace to exchange ideas, information, exhibits and visits in order to promote peace education and peace research through museums for peace.

Lessons to Learn

What are lessons to learn from activities of the Center for Tokyo Raids and War Damage? One of the lessons is that the use of force such as air raids does not solve any problems and causes the killing of innocent civilians and children. How is it possible to stop killing and war without using force? One of the solutions would be to spread Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution that renounces war in the world so that no nation would use force in solving problems.

The Japanese Constitution was proclaimed on November 3, 1946 and was enforced on May 3, 1947. Article 9 that stipulates the renunciation of war and of military force is especially important. There are two sections in Article 9 as follows:

1. Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.
2. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

However, the initiatives occurring in the United States of America and Japan have been trying to revise Article 9 since the end of World War II. Akihiko Kimijima (2009) analyzed such situation as "The Issue of revising Article 9 of Japan's Constitution has been a matter of contention in Japan consistently during the post war years, and the issue has been placed before us again as a major point of political contention" (Kimijima, 2009). If Article 9 is revised, the Self-Defense Forces would start to play much more military roles in Japan and abroad while US military burden would be reduced. This means that whether Article 9 can retain or not is not only a matter of Japan but also the world. It would be worth learning lessons from Article 9 if it is used to transform conflicts nonviolently and abolish war and killing internationally.

It is encouraging that Article 9 was introduced in ten fundamental principles for a just world order by the Hague Appeal Agenda when the Hague Appeal for Peace Civil Society Conference was held on May 11-15, 1999. The purpose of the conference was to raise questions as to whether or not humanity can find a way to solve its problems without resorting to arms. Kofi Annan, former Secretary-General of the United Nations, the then Dutch Prime Minister Wim Kok, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasani of Bangladesh and Queen Noor of Jordan were presented The Hague Agenda for

Peace and Justice for the 21st century on May 15, 1999. The agenda demands ten fundamental principles for a just world order as follows:

1. Every Parliament should adopt a resolution prohibiting their government from going to war, like the Japanese article number nine.
2. All States should—unconditionally—accept compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.
3. Every Government should ratify the International Criminal Court and implement the Landmines Treaty.
4. All states should integrate the New Diplomacy, which is the partnership of governments, international organizations and civil society.
5. The world cannot be bystanders to humanitarian crises; every creative diplomatic means possible must be exhausted before resorting to force, then under United Nations authority.
6. Negotiations for a Convention Eliminating Nuclear Weapons should begin immediately.
7. The trade in small arms should be severely restricted.
8. Economic rights must be taken as seriously as civil rights.
9. Peace education should be compulsory in every school in the world.
10. The plan for the Global Action to Prevent War should become the basis for a peaceful world order. (Network for Global Fellowship)

Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution is introduced in the 1st principle of Ten Fundamental Principles for a Just World Order. If every parliament should adopt a resolution prohibiting their government from going to war like the Japanese article number nine, it would be possible to build the world without war and killing. The author attended the conference and it was moving that Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution began to be known to other countries.

There is an important organization called Article Nine Association in Japan. On June 10, 2004 an Appeal from the "Article Nine Association" was inaugurated by nine famous people including Kenzaburo Oe who was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature. In their appeal the use of force against Iraq is criticized and the importance of resolving conflicts through diplomacy and dialogue is emphasized. The number of the branches of the association increased to 7,507 as of April 22, 2010 all over Japan according to the secretariat of the association. The number of cities, towns and villages is 1782 in Japan as of November 29, 2008 according to the website of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. This means that about four branches of Article 9 Association exist in each city, town or village in average, which would be hard to ignore for the Establishment.

The 9th principle on peace education is also very important. This refers to peace education only at school, but it should be noted that peace education can be promoted not only at school but also at communities by peace museums and peace centers such as the Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage. About half of visitors of the center are pupils and students from over 100 schools from elementary school to university according to Katsumoto Saotome. Roles of peace education are clear from comments by visitors. For example, a junior high school teacher wrote such a comment as "I was deeply impressed by a survivor's experiences of Tokyo air raids when she was eight. She said that war should not be waged whatever reasons are. I decided to educate students who will contribute to peace building" (Newsletter No. 12). A sixth grader wrote his comment as "I was impressed by a model of an incendiary bomb and a room that was used during the war. An air-raided piano was especially impressive because some sounds were not available and different from ordinary ones. A survivor's talk made me think how I should live" (Newsletter No. 12).

Making exhibitions based on research is very important in promoting peace education. Therefore, such peace research as has been done at the center is very important to enrich contents of exhibitions. Their research of Japan's air raids on Chongqing is especially impressive: researchers visited Chinese cities where Japan air-raided. This is not easy because old people still hate Japan. The author visited Changde City in China in 1998 to investigate Japan's germ war with members of Grassroots House, a peace museum in Kochi. An old Chinese man told us to go back to Japan because he did not want to meet any Japanese. Such a research trip is difficult, but researchers of the Center exchanges ideas with Chinese researchers of universities and attended the International Symposium on Japan's air raids on Chongqing in China. They also hold study meetings and symposiums regularly and the result of their research is reflected on their exhibitions and books. There is much to learn from their courageous field trip and constant research for peace.

There is also a lesson that citizens' power is not small at all though what one person can do may be small. Money and the land for the center were donated by citizens to found the center and it has been supported by volunteers. It is encouraging to know that there are volunteers and young researchers who work there without much pay. This means that it would be possible for anyone to found a museum for peace or a peace center to promote education for peace if there is will to do so with other people. Such activities would contribute to preventing war and killing as well as promoting peace building in the future.

Last but not least, it should be noted that the Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage has been playing an important role as the secretariat of the Japanese Citizens' Network of Museums for Peace since 2006. Its newsletter, *Muse*, has been edited by Masahiko Yamabe of the center, Professor Ikuro Anzai who is the honorary director of Kyoto Museum for World Peace at Ritsumeikan University and the author. It is published both English and Japanese at the center twice a year. *Muse* is available on the website of the center. It is linked to the website of the International Network of Museums for Peace. These websites are useful to get information on efforts for peace and reconciliation through museums for peace and peace centers.

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Nonviolent Direct Action

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The experience of the civil rights movement forced me to think about the process of social change-about the alternatives of violence and parliamentary reform, and about the principle that was at the heart of the Southern movement for equal rights-non-violent direct action. I presented this paper at the 1965 annual meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association in New York, and it was published in the American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, January, 1966.

In 1937 sociologist Robert S. Lynd wrote a little gem of a book entitled *Knowledge for What?* in which he attacked the divorce of scholarship from the problems of his day. The book has just been reissued 27 years later. In the interim the world has experienced Auschwitz and Hiroshima and Birmingham, yet the accusation in that book against the world of scholarship remains exactly as true in every line. Social scientists for the most part still are not focusing their research directly on the world's urgent problems. True, they are accumulating data on these problems, but too often they avoid moving to close to the presentation of solutions because at that point controversy enters. So the scholarly monographs and the social evils keep rising higher and higher in separate piles, parallel to one another with such Euclidian perfection that we begin to despair they ever will intersect.

I would like in this brief paper to at least initiate a discussion on the uses of power, not as an academic exercise, but in relation to what we see around us and to what we hear, which is more and more these days the sound of crowds in the streets.

The health of society, I assume, is dependent on a balance between people's expectations and the fulfillment of those expectations. Both the Buddhism of Gautama in the East and the Stoicism of Epictetus in the West in their emphasis on resignation as a means to happiness were fitted to the limits of a crude technology. Today the momentum of science has created worldwide waves of demand which can be fulfilled. Quiescence and resignation are no longer pertinent, and the clamor everywhere for change, though expressed in passion, is reasonable.

There is little question any more that change in our social institutions must come. Never before in history has there been such a consensus in objectives all over the world, nor such a variance of method in trying to achieve these objectives. Most men everywhere agree they want to end war, imperialism, racism, poverty, disease and tyranny. What they disagree about is whether these expectations can be fulfilled within the old frameworks of nationalism, representative government and the profit system. And running through the tension between agreement and disagreement are these questions: How much violence will be necessary to fulfill these expectations? What must we suffer to get the world we all want?

We have three traditional ways of satisfying the need for institutional change: war, revolution, and gradual reform. We might define war as violence from without, revolution as violence from within and gradual reform as deferred violence. I would like to examine all three in the new light of the mid-twentieth century.

Assuming that change always involves a degree of dislocation and of social cost, man's problem is then how to achieve maximum desirable change at minimum cost. War at best has been a haphazard way of deciding this question, for the impetus of war piles up the dead with little regard for social consequence, so that even those wars fought against the most obvious of evils, such as the Civil War (with Negro slavery at stake) and World War II (with global slavery at stake), brought in the first case the uncontrolled gushing of what Edmund Wilson calls "patriotic gore" and in the second the needless bombings of Dresden and Hiroshima. At its worst, war has been mass slaughter without even the saving grace of a definable social goal. The Trojan War was the first and classic case, and that element of idiocy has persisted in all wars in varying degree.

Up to the hydrogen bomb, it was still possible to weigh cost and consequence. Now we can throw away the scales, for it should be clear to any rational and humane person that there is no piece of territory (not Berlin or Viet Nam or Hungary), there is no social system yet put into operation anywhere by man (not socialism or capitalism or whatever) which is worth the consequence of atomic war. If war ever in its shotgun way represented a method of achieving social progress, the illimitable table scale of warfare today removes it forever as a justifiable method of social change. John U. Nef of the University of Chicago put it this way in his book *War and Human Progress*, which he wrote soon after World War II:

> The only justification for war is the defense of a culture worth defending and the states of the modern world have less and less to defend beyond their material comforts, in spite of the claims of some to represent fresh concepts of civilization. The new weapons have made nonsense of defensive war. Peoples have been left without any means of defending except by destroying others, and the destruction is almost certain to be mutual.

What of revolution? Here the balance of achievement and cost is less haphazard, though still far from rational. The four great revolutions of modern times (the American, the French, the Russian and the Chinese) though all erratic in their movement toward social progress, in the end, I believe, justified the relatively small amount of violence required to fulfill them. But today, can we still look to revolutions as the chief means of social change, and as a useful means, whereby great change can be achieved at relatively small cost?

In some exceptional instances, yes. But, as a general rule, it seems to me that the conditions of the contemporary world have removed the feasibility of revolutions in the old sense. There are several reasons for this. One is that the power of weapons in the hands of the ruling elite makes popular uprisings, however great is the base of support, a very dubious undertaking. The other consideration, and probably more important, is that revolutions like wars no longer can be contained. They almost always involve one or more of the great nations of the world, and are either crushed by an outside power (as were the Hungarians in their revolt) or are prolonged to the point of frightful massacre (as the revolt in Viet Nam was met by the intervention of the French and then the Americans, and as the revolt in the Congo was stymied by Belgians and other forces). The Cuban revolution was an oddity; it was able to subsist because it brought into the picture not one but both the two leading world powers. There, even in success we can see the perils posed by revolution in the contemporary world, for the Cuban missile crisis almost set off a global disaster.

This removal of both war and revolution as methods of ushering in the inevitable changes would seem to leave us with the stock-in-trade of Western liberals: gradual reform. Here the United States is the prime example of peaceful accommodation, harmonizing gracefully with the requirements of change.

There is a double trouble with this pleasant solution: it does not square with the facts of the American past, and it does not fit the requirements of the American future. Let me explain what I mean.

It is remarkable how many persons, both in the United States and abroad, accept the legend that our country is the quintessential example of peaceful, progressive development as opposed to the violent change character-

istic of other parts of the world. Yet the United States was born in violent revolution, and then solved its chief domestic problem not by reform but by one of the bloodiest wars in modern times. Its history has been punctuated with bursts of violence. Each outbreak was a reminder, quickly forgotten, that the changes we made through gradual reform were not fast enough or large enough to match the growing expectations of sections of the population: the slow steps made against slavery, for instance (the abolition of the slave trade as agreed to in Philadelphia in 1787, the Compromise of 1820 and the Compromise of 1850) were all failures, and the Civil War resulted.

Congress did not move fast enough to alleviate the pains of exploitation for the new industrial working class of the latter half of the nineteenth century, and so the period from 1877 to 1914 saw a series of labor explosions unmatched in their ferocity in any country in the world: the railroad insurrections of 1877, the Haymarket killings of 1886, the Homestead strike of 1894, the textile strike at Lawrence in 1912 and the Ludlow Massacre in Colorado in 1914. What, if not the failure of American reformism, explains the growth of the Socialist Party to a million supporters in 1912, the emergence of the Industrial Workers of the World as a radical, militant labor union devoted to the abolition of the capitalist system? It took the hysteria of world war to help crush both these movements.

How successful was the reform of the Progressive Era of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson when the whole structure they built up to keep the economy intact (Federal Reserve System, Federal Trade Commission, antitrust legislation) collapsed in 1929, and ushered in another decade of violence (bonus marches and marches of the unemployed, of sit-down strikes and clashes between workingmen and police) and again ended not in prosperity but in war? Is it New Deal reform or war expenditures that keep today's economy from collapsing into another period of violent conflict? Can we really say that the history of our nation is of carefully phased reform measures, of peaceful evolution toward domestic prosperity and national peace?

And now, in this last decade, we suddenly have learned that what we thought was gradual progress toward ending race prejudice in the United States was not nearly sufficient. It has taken mass demonstrations in Montgomery, Alabama; mass arrests in Albany, Georgia; the violence of the Freedom Rides; the bombings in Birmingham, and the murders in Mississippi to make us aware of the failure of piecemeal reform to establish racial justice in America.

There are lessons in this, I believe, far beyond the race crisis in the United States, and I want to explore some of them. My point is that gradualism, even in that presumed mecca of reform, the U.S.A., never really has

matched the push of events, and that today the momentum of world change has made it even less able to do so. Thus, *none* of the traditionally approved mechanisms for social change (not war, nor revolution, nor reform) is adequate for the kind of problems we face today in the United States and in the world. We need apparently some technique which is more energetic than parliamentary reform and yet not subject to the dangers which war and revolution pose in the atomic age.

This technique, I suggest, is that which has been used over the centuries by aggrieved groups in fitful, semi-conscious control of their own actions. With the Negro revolt in America, the technique has begun to take on the quality of a deliberate use of power to effect the most change with the least harm. I speak of nonviolent direct action. This encompasses a great variety of methods, limited only by our imaginations: sit-ins, freedom rides and freedom walks, prayer pilgrimages, wade-ins, pray-ins, freedom ballots, freedom schools, and who knows what is on the horizon? Whatever the specific form, this technique has certain qualities: it disturbs the status quo, it intrudes on the complacency of the majority, it expresses the anger and the hurt of the aggrieved, it publicizes an injustice, it demonstrates the inadequacy of whatever reforms have been instituted up to that point, it creates tension and trouble and thus forces the holders of power to move faster than they otherwise would have to redress grievances.

The crucial problems of our time no longer can be left to simmer on the low flame of gradualism, only to explode. Poverty, for instance, will not be attacked on the scale which is required until the ease of the well off is punctured in some brusque way. And in this shrinking world, for how long can the United Sates contain its vast wealth inside the national membrane and spend billions on useless products while a million people starve in Calcutta? Once people begin to measure the distribution of wealth on global lines there may well be a clamor against the deformed concentration of it in one country of the world. Jet travel makes the world smaller than the Roman Empire. Then why shouldn't the parallel existence of America and India be as much as object of concern as the parallel existence in Rome of the opulence of emperors and the misery of slaves? And how else will horror be expressed under conditions of today except by some form of popular protest?

Consider another issue: with the possession of nuclear bombs proliferating the world and with the mathematical probability of war by error increasing, can we depend on the normal parliamentary processes for concerned people to express to the powers of the world their revulsion against war? Should we

not have an increasing number of those little bands of pacifists, from Bertrand Russell to the ones who sailed into the Pacific on the *Golden Rule*?

Also there is the problem of freedom for dissenters, which exists in East and West, North and South, in communist and capitalist countries, in the old nations and in the new nations. How else but by Poznan uprisings, by demonstrations and civil disobedience, can such freedom be maintained and extended?

For us in the United States, it is hard to accept the idea that the ordinary workings of the parliamentary system will not suffice in the world today. But recall that Jefferson himself, watching the Constitution being created, and thinking of Shay's Rebellion, spoke of the need for revolutions every twenty years. And Rousseau, at the very moment representative government was beginning to take hold, pointed to the inability of anyone to truly represent anyone else's interests. And Robert Michels, the Swiss sociologist, 150 years after Rousseau, showed us how an "iron law of oligarchy" operates within any government or any party to separate top from bottom and to make power-holders insensitive to the needs of the mass. No matter how democratic elections are, they represent only fleeting and widely separated moments of popular participation. In that long span between elections, people are passive and captive.

Thus, we face a dilemma: wars and revolutions today cannot be limited and are therefore very perilous. Yet parliamentary reform is inadequate. We need some intermediate device, powerful but restrained and explosive but controlled, to pressure and even to shock the decision-makers into making the kinds of changes in institutions which fit our world. Walter Millis, in an essay written for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, has argued persuasively that the price we may have to pay for a world without war is a kind of intermittent guerrilla warfare, constantly bringing society into rough accord with popular demands. It turns out (and we have the experience of all bourgeois, socialist and national revolutions to support this) that *no* form of government, once in power, can be trusted to limit its own ambition, to extend freedom and to wither away. This means that it is up to the citizenry, those outside of power, to engage in permanent combat with the state, short of violent, escalatory revolution, but beyond the gentility of the ballot-box, to insure justice, freedom and well being, all those values which virtually the entire world has come to believe in.

This idea links the Negro uprising in America to the turmoil everywhere in the world. It also links present to past, for what I am suggesting is a more deliberate, more conscious, more organized use of those techniques of

constructive dissent which man has used in spontaneity and in desperation throughout history.

Those of us reared in the tradition of liberal, gradualist reform, and cherishing tranquility, may have to learn to sacrifice a little of these in order not to lose all of them. Such a course may not be easy, but it is not a bad substitute for the world as we have known it up to now, a world of simplistic and terrible solutions, where we oscillated constantly between two alternatives: the devastation of war or the injustice of peace.