

INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL FOUNDATION

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ICF Report

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PWPA Plans Sino-Soviet Book

Led by chairman Ilpyong Kim, the Professors World Peace Academy task force on Sino-Soviet-U.S. relations met in May in New York City to discuss a book and conference on that theme.

Tentatively titled **A Hot Peace: The Sino-Soviet-U.S. Triad**, the book will discuss the diplomatic history of the three countries since 1961, the concept of the "strategic triangle," each nation's perceptions of each other, and Japanese perceptions of the triad. Leadership change and policy shifts, competition over resources and markets, and the implications of the triad for Korea and Indo-China will also be dealt with.

Publication is targeted for September, 1985.



PWPA members discuss their "Hot Peace" book in New York on May 26.

Introductory Seminars Continue Worldwide

This year to date, the International Cultural Foundation has hosted Introductory Seminars on the Unification Movement in Brazil, Guyana, the Philippines, Zaire, Panama, Nigeria, Zambia, the Ivory Coast, and Italy. Pictured at the right are some of the scholars who attended the seminar at the Contadora Island Hotel in Panama on June 22-25. Fifty-four of the participants signed a proclamation stating, in part: "The Unification message is a message of hope and inspiration because it revives in us the faith in the possibility of world brotherhood, in which the practice of true and sincere love brings solidarity and conquers the threat of selfishness and evil."



Feature Article:

Gandhian Methods and the Civil Rights Movement

by Seshagiri Rao

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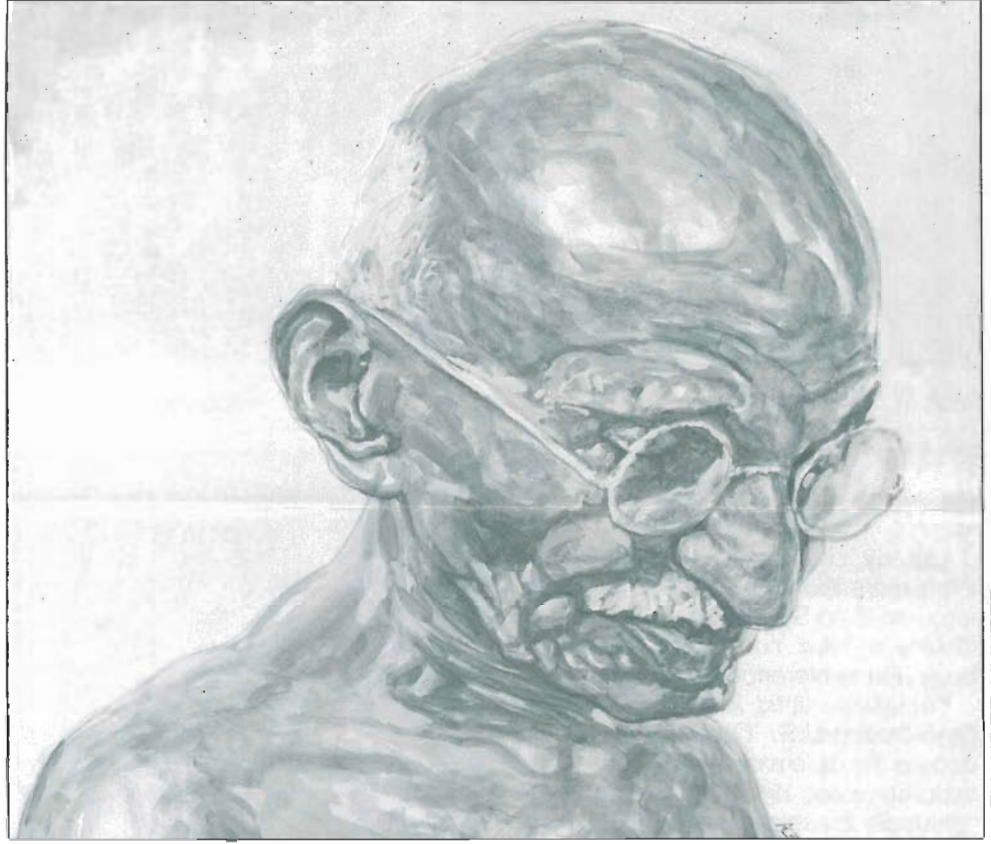
In 1935, while talking to a group of Negro visitors in India, Gandhi observed: "Perhaps it will be through the Negro that the unadulterated message of non-violence will be delivered to the whole world."

Martin Luther King, Jr. was a six-year-old boy living in Atlanta, Georgia at that time. Dr. King is, perhaps, the black leader who came closest to fulfilling this prophecy of Gandhi by employing the technique of nonviolent resistance in all his struggles.

"Satyagraha" or nonviolent resistance received much publicity in America during the fifties and early sixties because of its employment in the civil rights movement of the American Negroes. Dr. King, leader of the American black community for nearly fifteen years, until 1964, became interested in Gandhi's techniques for nonviolent resistance after hearing a lecture by Reverend Mordecai Johnson, a Baptist minister who had returned from India with great enthusiasm for applying Gandhi's methods to the civil rights movement. In **Stride Toward Freedom** Dr. King records his first impression of Gandhism:

"Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale. Love for Gandhi was a potential instrument for social and collective transformation. It was in this Gandhian emphasis on love and non-violence that I discovered the method for social reform that I had been seeking for so many months. The intellectual and moral satisfaction I had failed to gain from the utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill, the revolutionary methods of Marx and Lenin, the social contract theory of Hobbes, the 'back to nature' optimism of Rousseau, and the Superman philosophy of Nietzsche, I found in the nonviolent resistance philosophy of Gandhi. I came to feel that this was the only morally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom."

King called "Satyagraha" "love-force," and it became the heart of his doctrine of nonviolent resistance. He felt that Gandhi showed that Jesus' ethic could work effectively on a large scale as well



ALEXANDER HUNTER

as between individuals. In King's later years, nonviolent resistance became more than just a philosophy; it became a way of life. Dr. King, like Gandhi, was strongly influenced by Jesus' teachings of "social gospel."

Dr. King began his public career in 1955 when a Negro woman in Montgomery, Alabama was arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a bus to a white person. King, a young, enthusiastic minister in Montgomery, interested in civil rights, was asked to help organize a Negro boycott of the city's bus system; he agreed. The Montgomery Negro leaders who met to plan the boycott formed the Montgomery Improvement Association, and elected King president. The movement was on its way.

King's success as a leader was, in large part, due to his ability to get the blacks to work together: he was able to channel their hates, their fears, their prejudices, and their resentments into a constructive program of nonviolent resistance. And because he had studied nonviolent resistance and was well acquainted with Gandhi's demonstration of it, he was able to apply it effectively on a large scale. To people all over the world,

Dr. King became the symbol of freedom for the blacks.

The civil rights movement has been concerned with racial equality for the black people in the United States of America. Since the beginning, it was typified by sit-ins, freedom marches, demonstrations, and picket lines. The movement was aimed at, among other things: (1) bringing pressure for the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1965; (2) increasing black voter registration; and (3) challenging the all-pervasive and over-riding fear that dominated the life of the blacks in the United States.

On February 1, 1960, the first sit-in demonstration began at a Woolworth's lunch counter counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. This phase embraced nonviolent resistance as its official policy. The idea of the "sit-in" gave the movement a philosophy and a direction. It was intended to break down the segregationists' will while, at the same time, gaining public sympathies. All over the United States, "sit-ins" were employed: they became the catalyst for the organization of groups like SNCC and CORE.

Protesters became the victims of police scorn and brutality in the South. In Bir-

mingham, 3,000 nonviolent demonstrators were jailed. The nation became electrified. The fear of a sit-in leading to adverse publicity and nuisance caused many restaurant owners to be happy to serve anyone. Consequently, large numbers of restaurants, even in the South, were integrated.

Several marches of the black community were organized by Dr. King: one was from Memphis to Jackson, Mississippi, another from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama. In these marches the

Both King and Gandhi agreed that the means were as important as the ends. This belief underlies the philosophy of nonviolent resistance. "Constructive ends can never give absolute moral justification to destructive means, because in the final analysis, the end is pre-existent in the means," King wrote in **Stride Toward Freedom**.

Both had, however, the problem of convincing their followers that nonviolence would, indeed, be worth the sacrifice.

If a nonviolent war against evil is to

lence is almost unthinkable as a means to alleviate the problem. The issue is not so much one of changing the physical order of things as of changing the attitudes and prejudices of millions of people. If women were to mount a nonviolent resistance movement with the goal of proving that they are invaluable, equal individuals, they would be demonstrating a spirit of cooperation and reason which would only help their cause.

Many leaders of the feminist movement in the West are relying on a belligerent and a militant approach to the problem. They cannot possibly think that these tactics will cause men to alter freely their thinking and emotions. Rather, the present methods are aimed at forcing a change in the physical order of things, with the hope that a change of heart will occur through fear. Not only is this an unrealistic idea, it also tends to defeat its purpose by polarizing people and making them set in their opinions.

The women's liberation movement can only hope to succeed through a spirit of mutual readjustment. They should be interested in lifting the cloak of prejudice from all people, regardless of sex. It is only through an intelligently waged nonviolent campaign that this can be achieved.

Nonviolent resistance is a mighty weapon that can be used in the struggle for racial equality and human rights among the minorities everywhere. Gandhi's own fight for civil rights of the Asian community in South Africa as well as Dr. King's fight for racial equality in America illustrate this point. The use of violence would result in heavy retaliation by the government, which would inevitably crush the agitations of minority peoples. Therefore, some kind of nonviolent action is the only alternative. The purpose of nonviolent resistance, on the other hand, is to appeal to the better feelings in the opponents' hearts. This can be achieved only by restraint and courage.

Dr. King adapted "satyagraha" for American needs and conditions. Blacks, under the leadership of Dr. King, endeavored to win their rights through Gandhi's methods. They drew inspiration from Gandhi. They turned the other cheek and practised discipline. They learned to suffer in dignity. They demonstrated that, properly utilized and with proper motives, nonviolent resistance has an important role to play in any situation ridden with injustice and oppression.

(Excerpted from a longer article)



Martin Luther King, Jr. and his mentor, Gandhi (left).

Negroes were beaten, jeered at, and tear-gassed. However, they did not resort to violence. (Violence came from other quarters.) Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. repeatedly claimed: "I am not a consensus leader, and I will not turn to violence."

These acts of nonviolent resistance greatly helped the blacks to achieve the Civil Rights Act of 1965.

Nonviolent resistance is characterized by its willingness to accept suffering without retaliation. It is spiritually active and dynamic; it does not seek to humiliate but seeks to conciliate. It is directed not against those who commit evil, but against the evil they commit. The center of the struggle is love—the kind of love that is unselfishly concerned for others, loving for their sakes alone, responding to their needs. Love is the great healing force. King told the blacks that "since the white man's personality is greatly distorted by segregation, and his soul is greatly scarred, he needs the love of the Negro."

be fought, it is first necessary to convince people that violence is a highly unacceptable way of solving problems. Then, nonviolent resistance should be applied, in a disciplined way, to solve social and national problems. Neither of these tasks is easy.

The use of violent protests and riots by some of the blacks in the sixties, the increase in the popularity of the "Black Power Movement," and the assassination of Dr. King would indicate that nonviolent resistance has, of late, suffered an eclipse. This may be only partly true: to an extent it may have been brought about by differential news coverage and by the more vocal of the violent segment of the population.

There are, for example, two clear-cut cases where nonviolent resistance could be used to obtain results which could not be had otherwise: women's liberation; and the struggle for racial equality and human rights.

In the case of women's liberation, vio-

“Crossing the Border” Planned as PWPA Book

The regional PWPA task force on Latin American immigration to the United States, led by co-chairs Jacquelyn Kegley and John Roth, held a meeting in April in Dallas, Texas to discuss a future conference and book on the topic.

Titled **Crossing the Border: Latin American Immigration and the United States Interest**, the book would tackle such difficult questions as closed or open borders, Marxist and non-Marxist options in Central America, and integration of immigrants into U.S. society, including effects on economy, politics, and language.

Expected publication date is late 1985.



Dallas-Ft. Worth Hilton, site of PWPA planning for Latin American Immigration book.

Announcing:

The dates and place for the Second International Congress of PWPA have been fixed for August 14-18, 1985 in Geneva, Switzerland. The organizing committee is Morton Kaplan, President, PWPA International; Aleksis Rannit of the Russian and East European Studies Department at Yale University; and Alexander Shtromas of the Department of Politics, University of Salford, U.K.

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